

## HITTING THE TARGET BUT MISSING THE POINT

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### ABSTRACT

*Reducing crime is a National Key Result Area (NKRA) under the Government Transformation Program (GTP). Polis Diraja Malaysia (PDRM) has been successful in reducing the crime index since 2010. However, when the crime statistics were published, there was a lot of skepticism – people just did not believe the numbers. Eventhough the crime index came down, the fear of crime remains high. So it begets the question – we are hitting the target but are we missing the point? The statistics will remain unconvincing so long as the public does not feel safer. Crime reducing programmes will only be impactful if they are successful in alleviating fear of crime. There are a number of fundamental issues in dealing with public confidence. First, the full extent of crime is unlikely to ever be captured. Second is the understanding of how the numbers are derived. Third is the fear of crime. In summary, we need to reduce both the crime index as well as the fear of crime. Crime as a process has both an upstream and a downstream component. The upstream pertains to crime prevention and the downstream to the criminal justice system. Community engagement and community policing will address the upstream process and help prevent crime from happening. It also reduces the fear of crime.*

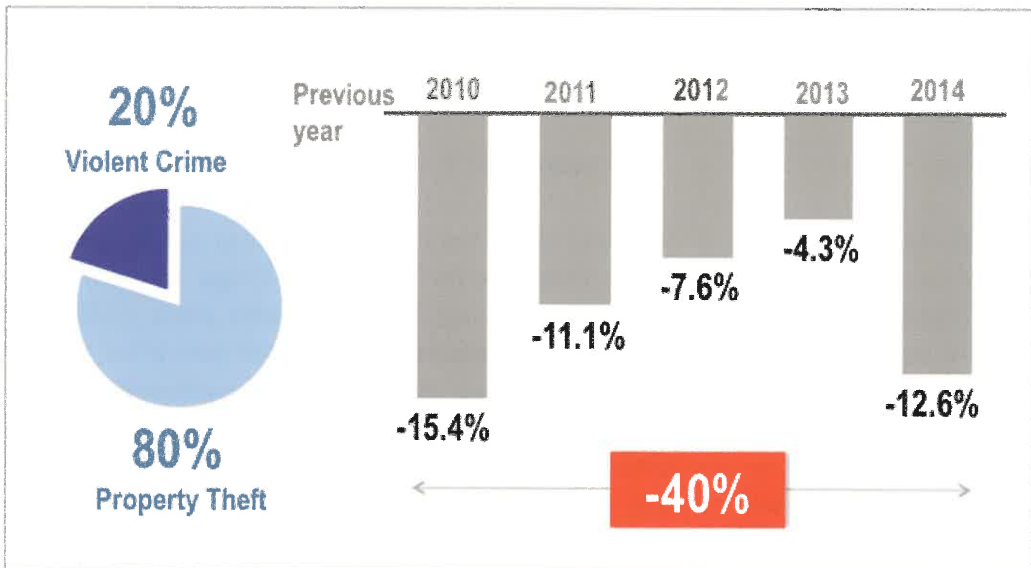
**Keywords:** *crime index, crime statistics, fear of crime, perception-reality gap, National Key Result Area (NKRA), Government Transformation Program (GTP)*

### INTRODUCTION

Reducing crime was made a National Key Result Area (NKRA) under the Government Transformation Program that was unveiled in 2010. Since then, the official crime statistic shows that the crime index has decreased over 40% (Figure 1). In 2014, for the first time in four years, car theft came down by 20%.

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**Figure 1: The Crime Index and Changes during Last 5 Years**

Source: Author, 2015

The crime index comprises violent crime and property crime. Violent crimes are crimes committed against a person whereas property crime are those that have no direct threat or harm to a person. Violent crime accounts for 20% and property theft for about 80% of the total crime volume.

When the crime index was published, the public did not trust the figures. There were comments that the figures were fiddled with. Some of the suspicions include serious offences being downgraded and reclassified as non-indexed crime (and thus not included in the statistics), and multiple offences being recorded as only one offence. Some felt that the police were just chasing targets and were under pressure to show good performance, with possible instances where crime was not recorded, wrongly classified or recorded and subsequently cancelled. The public felt that the real crime levels are not truly represented in the statistics.

It would seem like a no-win situation. Whenever the statistics are 'bad', they are accepted and used to criticize the government and its policies. When the statistics are 'good', they are disbelieved as being false or fiddled with.<sup>2</sup>

What is the significance of crime statistics? They need to be monitored for a variety of reasons. Crime is a top concern of the public (PEMANDU, 2011). This is true not only in Malaysia but also in other countries like UK. It is the

<sup>2</sup> Adapted from the presidential address made by Holt (2008).

key driver of the overall public perception of the effectiveness of a government and it determines the citizens' quality of life. There is also a strong correlation between the public views on the performance of the government in handling crime and the trends in voting intention (PEMANDU, 2011). Furthermore, research has shown that a 1% increase in the violent crime index is expected to reduce FDI inflows by approximately 0.07%, (Constantinou, 2011).

Gaps between the measurable crime statistics and public perception of safety are not uncommon. In UK and USA, such gaps are referred to as 'reassurance gap'. Although the statistics may show otherwise, the gap exists when public feels that crime rates are on the rise and their personal safety are being threaten.

The public perception of personal safety or their fear of crime is a grave concern for the Government. The fear of crime directly causes impact on the quality of life of all citizens and hence reducing this fear to bridge the reassurance gap has become an important goal.

## **MEASURING CRIME**

There are two main measures for crime. The first measure is derived from statistics provided by the law enforcement agencies (the police, the courts, and the prisons). The second is compiled from victimization surveys.

In educating the public on crime statistics, it has to be made clear which set of measurement is being referred to. The components of these measures, the counting rules as well as the process of getting the statistics must be explained.

*"The utmost confusion is caused when people argue on different statistical data" – Sir Winston Churchill*

Sharing with the public on how the crime statistics are derived is about transparency. The understanding will create a platform for a productive debate about possible criminal justice policies on the basis of agreed facts about trends in crime.

### **Law Enforcement Crime Statistics**

In Malaysia, the official crime statistics are from the police authorities. The data from the police are divided into indexed crime and non-indexed crime. Indexed crime refers to the traditional crimes that are most likely to be reported and to occur with sufficient frequency.

Indexed crime in Malaysia consists of two components: violent crime and property theft. Violent crimes are committed against a person whereas property thefts are those that have no direct threat or harm to a person. These components are similar to the indexed crime of the Uniform Crime Reports collated by the US FBI. The individual components are combined to produce the annual crime ratio per 100,000 in population. The crime ratio is created as a uniform crime-reporting platform for benchmarking among countries.

Non indexed crime are all other crimes – misdemeanors and other felonies such as fraud, embezzlement, gambling, forgery, prostitution, drug use violation and so on.

Knowing the components is just one aspect of understanding the crime statistics. Other important details include what is being measured, how it is measured, and how crime gets reported and finally recorded.

### **What is being Measured**

Defining what is being measured in the crime statistic means operationalizing the concept of crime. “A crime is any act committed in violation of a law that prohibits it and authorizes punishment for its commission” (Wilson and Herrnstein, 1985, 22). One can always refer to the criminal code to determine what the offence is. However, violation of the law is more complicated as there are many laws, and they are subjected to different interpretations. For example, one study found that the Los Angeles police recorded any attempted or completed sexual assault as rape, while Boston police recorded a sexual assault as a rape only if it involves completed sexual intercourse (Chappell, Schafer and Siegel, 1971).

### **How Crime is Counted**

Next, we need to understand the rules in counting. The main guiding principles are ‘one crime per victim’ and ‘no victim, no crime’. If more than one type of crime is committed in the course of an incident involving the same offender and victim, then only the most serious crime is counted. There must be a *prima facie* case that an offence has been committed. This means either the police found evidence of an offence or receive a believable allegation of an offence being committed.

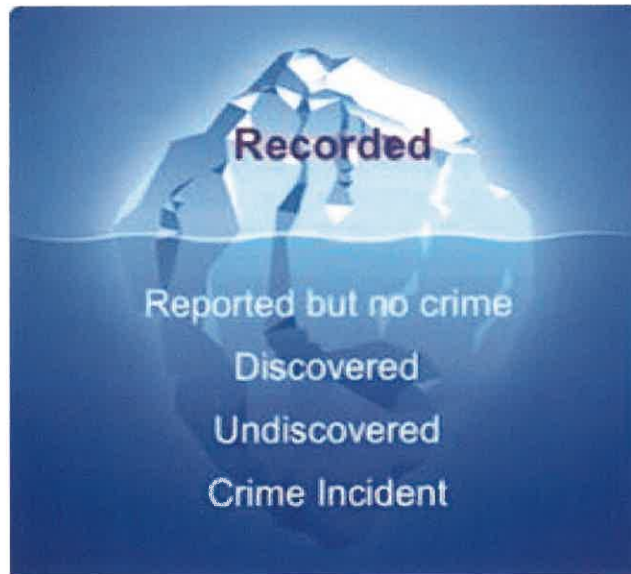
### **How Crime is Reported and Recorded**

In order for the police to record a crime, a number of other things must happen. Someone must notice and decide that a crime has occurred. For example, if a vehicle owner notices that the wing mirror of his car went missing, he may regard

this as accidental or the result of vandalism. If he decided that it is a crime, he must then make the decision to report it to the police. This may not happen for all sorts of reasons – it might be too much of a bother, lack of proof or fear of reprisals by the police.

If he makes a report, the police must then determine whether a crime has occurred. The police may decide that there is no crime to investigate or that a crime has occurred but no action is possible.

Only after all these have happened, the act will be recorded as a crime in the official statistics (Figure 2).



**Figure 2: How Crime is Recorded**

Source: Author, 2015

The public is more likely to report indexed crime that is more serious in nature. Victims of indexed crime may want to seek medical assistance or make insurance claims. Examples are car thefts and house break-ins where victims need the police report for insurance claim. On the other hand, domestic violence and sexual abuse may not be reported because of the intimate relationships involved and the embarrassment.

In UK, it was found that 19% of the crimes reported to the police were not recorded (HMIC, 2014). This could be attributed to lack of knowledge, lack of training and/or lack of proper supervision.

Thus getting the crime statistics is no simple matter. An important element is that the methodology must be consistent over time and comparable. The measure must have the “backbone of comparability” to facilitate comparison over a period of time and across countries. The statistics should also have the properties of reliability and validity. Reliability refers to the consistency and/or stability of measurement over time. Validity is concerned with the accuracy of measurement.

In the case of Malaysia, the crime statistics have the necessary properties of comparability, reliability and validity. The methodology has been systematically maintained since 35 years ago and the trend line is clear.

### **Victimisation surveys**

The other source of crime statistics is compiled through victimization surveys. These surveys take a sample of the population to find out their experiences of crime. These surveys are dependent on the respondents’ perception whether a crime has occurred.

An example is the Crime Survey in England and Wales (CSEW) (Crime Survey Team, UK, 2014) that measures the extent and nature of criminal victimization, and the public’s perception of crime. The CSEW interviewed about 35,000 people each year about their experience of being a victim. The survey findings are then used to estimate national crime rates. It does not cover all types of crime and victimization.

The following on what a victimization survey is and is not must be noted:

- It is a survey and relies on the respondent to report the victimization
- It may contain reports that the police consider as “no crime”
- There may be “telescoping effect” – the over reporting of the frequency of events
- The definition of some crimes may not be the same
- There is no way of verifying the information given by the respondent in a victimization survey

### **The Dark Figures**

The police can only capture the crimes that are reported and recorded. The crime figures that are not captured and recorded by the police are known as the dark

figures (Constantinou, 2011). Some of the dark figures may be uncovered by victimization surveys.

- In 2004, about two third of criminal incidents experienced by Canadians are not reported to the police (Statistics Canada, 2009).
- In Sweden in 2012, 48% of property offences and 67% of offences against the person (such as assaults and robbery) are not reported to the police.
- In the UK, the police estimated that only 40% of all crimes are reported every year (FindLaw, 2015).
- In the case of Malaysia, it was found that 25% of the victims did not report to the police.<sup>3</sup> Given the 19% not recorded, the amount of dark figures across the 14 items in the traditional index could be in the region of 40%. We also know that in the case of car theft, the dark figures are closed to zero. According to the Office of National Statistics, UK, the dark figure of theft of vehicles in 2012 is about 6% (Flatley and Bradley, 2013).

It is important that these dark figures get surfaced for the criminal justice system to deal with all incidents of crime. More importantly, these figures must be unveiled so that crime prevention measures can be formulated and implemented more effectively. Building confidence in the criminal justice system would encourage more victims to come forward.

### **Communicating the Statistics**

In summary, there is no perfect measure of crime statistics. The two main approaches measure different aspects (reported and recorded crime on one hand and victimization on the other).

Measuring and reporting on crime statistics are inherently difficult for the reasons discussed above. The important step is to develop national crime statistics series that are consistent over time to provide trend data that are reliable and valid.

The statistics and how they are derived should be made transparent and shared with the public. The statisticians and the authorities must play their role to filter out the noise and explain the results in a way that gains public confidence to reduce the reassurance gap.

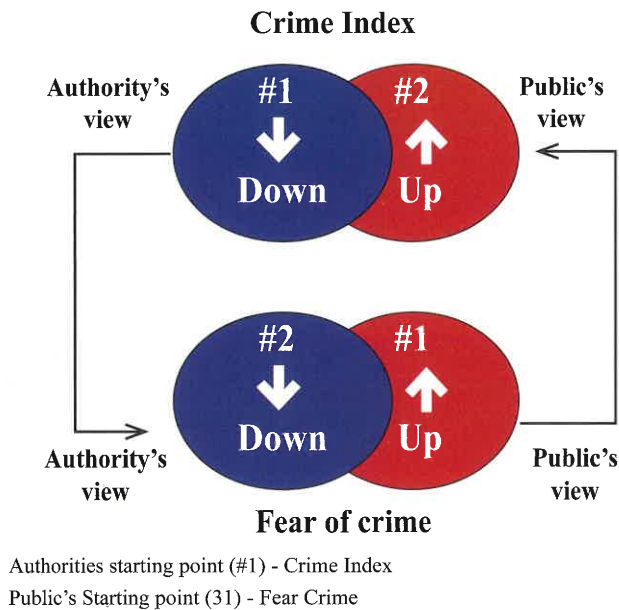
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<sup>3</sup> The Fear of Crime Workshop, PEMANDU and Alpha Catalyst Consulting, 14 October 2014.

## FEAR OF CRIME

The fear of crime is another factor that distorts the reality of the actual crime level.

The authorities have often believed that if the crime level has come down, the fear of crime should also come down (Figure 3). Their starting point is always the crime index. Yet the public believes crime is increasing and their fear of crime remains high. This is because the public starting point is always the fear of crime and they make inferences on the crime index based on such fear.



**Figure 3: The Reality – Perception**

Source: Author, 2015

The fear of crime is an emotion, a feeling of alarm or dread caused by awareness or expectation of danger. Fear is not a perception of the environment but a reaction to a perceived environment (Warr, 2000). It is fear of being a victim as opposed to the actual probability of being a victim of crime (Hale, 1996). Research has provided little evidence to suggest there is a link between fear of crime and the likelihood of victimization (Wyne, 2008). This point is further illustrated in Figure 4.





**Figure 4: Little Correlation between the Fear of Crime and Crime**

Source: Journal of Public Security and Safety, 2015.

The fear of crime is real, contagious and affects more people than crime itself. Individuals often choose where to live, shop, and socialize based on their perceptions of the relative safety of the neighborhood. Parents allow their children to play in the park or walk to school if they think it is safe.

Besides the social impact, the behavioural responses to the fear of crime also causes economic impact. Below are some of such instances:

- When customers fear entering a commercial area, the viability of businesses located there is threatened.
- In Chicago, fear of crime has been one of the most important factors driving residents to stay in the suburbs.
- In terms of tourism, avoidance behavior arising from fear of crime may lead to mass cancellations resulting in financial losses for the tourist destination. In a survey of British holidaymakers, 42% of respondents said they have ruled out at least one country because of crime related problems (Brunt et al., 2000). This dependence of tourism demand upon perceptions of safety is termed “the safety elasticity of demand”. Tourism is a discretionary activity and even if the destination is attractive, tourists will stay away if their safety cannot be guaranteed.

As pointed out by a UK government crime strategy paper, “if crime falls but people do not see and feel that fall, their quality of life is affected and the benefits of reduced crime is not being realised” (Home Office, 2007, p.44). Hence it has been argued that while ensuring public safety is top on the priority list of a government, making them feel safe is nearly as important.

In many countries, it has been accepted that the fear of crime is a social problem in its own right and must be addressed as a component of an explicit modern police mission. “We want the police to produce a sense of security as well as the reality of reduced risk of criminal victimization. If they produce real, objective security, but leave us feeling afraid, they have not accomplished what we really want them to do—allow us to go about our lives with a reasonable degree of security”, Moore and Braga (2003, p. 20).

### **Possible Reasons for the Reality-Perception Gap**

There are a number of possible reasons for the gap between the actual crime level and the perception of crime or the fear of crime.

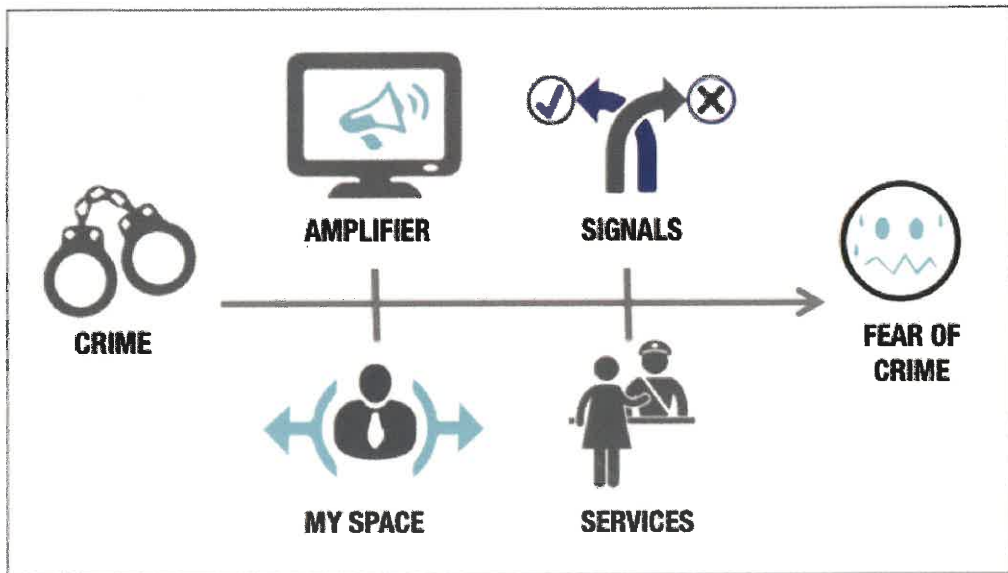
- A number of studies have shown that media coverage of crime is biased towards the negative and this could explain why perceptions are more negative than actual crime levels. When the public is asked why they think crime is increasing, more than half will say it is because of what they read or see in the newspapers, the TV and the social media. It may also explain how people often believe that crime in the city or across the country is much higher than in their local neighbourhood.
- There may be a number of high profile crimes that have a greater impact on perceptions than other crimes.
- The definition of crime in the public minds may incorporate far wider issues such as terrorism and anti-social behavior.

### **The Factors Driving the Fear of Crime**

Fear of crime is not determined simply by the seriousness of the offence (Warr, 2000). To generate strong fear of crime, an offence must be perceived as both serious and likely to occur. Residential burglary is the most feared crime in the United States because it is viewed as both relatively serious and rather likely to happen. Murder on the other hand is perceived to be very serious but is less likely to occur.

A quick survey was carried out in Malaysia in 2014 by the Performance Management Delivery Unit (PEMANDU) in collaboration with Frost and Sullivan to find out on the crime that is top of mind and most feared, termed as anchor crimes. The survey found that house break-ins and snatch theft is top on the list of anchor crimes. It would then seem logical that these anchor crimes must be tackled in order to alleviate the fear of crime.

PEMANDU also conducted a joint workshop with Universiti Sains Malaysia last year to ascertain the factors that drive the fear of crime. One of the workshop's findings is that in addition to crime, amplifier, signals, "my space", and the quality of police services influence the fear of crime (Figure 5).



**Figure 5: The Factors Affecting the Fear of Crime**

Source: Author, 2015.

The mass media is found to be a powerful amplifier when it comes to crime. Information known only to a few people can within hours reached the knowledge of thousands of people. When the general public is asked where they obtain most of their information about crime, the answer is the mass media (Graber, 1980). Furthermore, according to a survey in UK, when the public is asked why they think there is more crime today, more than half said it is because of what they see on television and almost half said it is because of what they read in the newspapers.

This is consistent with the survey by Frost & Sullivan (2014) in Malaysia (Figure 6) where 52% of the respondents reported a higher level of fear from exposure to traditional media.

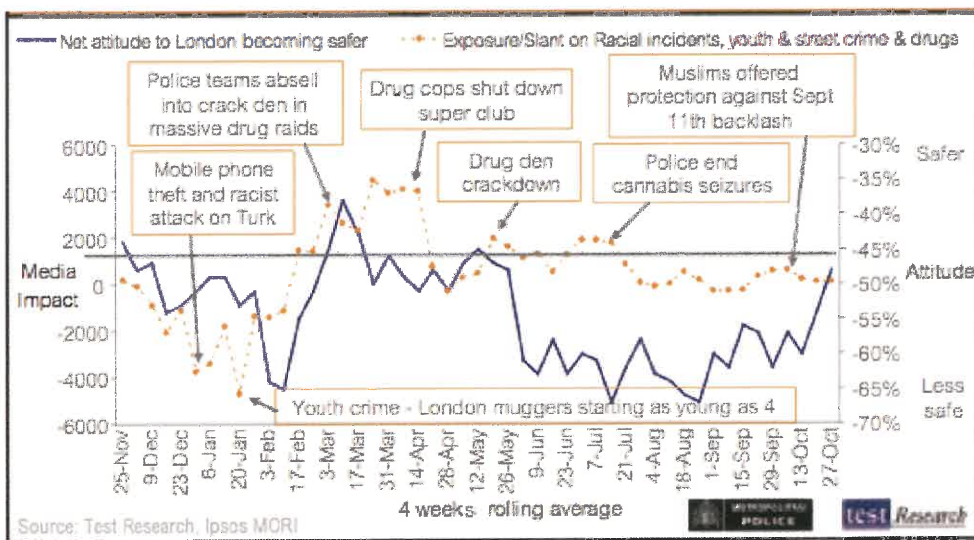


**Figure 6: Traditional Media Driving Crime Perception**

Source: Frost and Sullivan (2014)

It is possible that a number of distortions in news coverage may exaggerate the frequency and seriousness of crimes. Research has found that crimes occur in inverse proportion to their seriousness (Erickson, Maynard and Gibbs, 1979). In the media, the emphasis is newsworthiness. A key element of newsworthiness is seriousness. The more serious the crime, the more likely it is to be reported. It is precisely those crimes that are least likely to occur (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981).

There are strong indications that broadcast media and newspapers have a direct impact on the fear of crime. Duffy et al. (2008) showed that when an analysis of stories about specific crime related events in London are run alongside a survey tracking the fear of crime, troughs were seen in perceptions of safety following stories of violent crime and increased feelings of safety following positive stories on crackdown on crimes (Figure 7).



**Figure 7: Media Impact on Fear of Crime in London**

Source: Duffy et al. (2008)

This means that the media should be encouraged to produce a more balanced view of crime. This may be difficult given the pressure to have “news worthy” coverage. Another take-away is the need to advertise successes in fighting crime so that the public can have a better evaluation of the real risk is and would not be so fearful.

Signals refer to visible cues that affect people in public places. Citizens react to dark areas as darkness obscures potential threat that may lurk in the vicinity, abandoned buildings and so on. Signs of ‘incivility’ or anti-social behavior such as public drunkenness, rowdy groups, trash and litter provoke the fear of crime (LaGrange et al., 1992). In the same way, social cues like beggars or homeless people on the streets, and groups of young people idling on street corners can also lead to fear. People become fearful as these are visible signs that social order is breaking down.

According to the Broken Windows theory, social and physical disorder especially in urban neighbourhoods can, if unchecked, lead to serious crime. The reasoning is that even minor public incivilities such as drinking in the street, spray-painting graffiti, and breaking windows can escalate into serious crime because prospective offenders assume from these manifestations of disorder that the residents are indifferent to what happens in their neighborhood.

The New York police for example have implemented zero tolerance policing in embracing the Broken Windows theory approach. They targeted graffiti and other forms of anti-social behavior extensively. According to a study, violent crime dropped 56%, property crime dropped 65% and crime continued to drop for the following ten years after adopting the broken windows theory (Corman and Mocan, 2002). As the former Mayor of New York city, Rudolph Giuliani, told the press in 1998, “Obviously murder and graffiti are two vastly different crimes. But they are part of the same continuum and a climate that tolerates one is more likely to tolerate the other.” (p. 3).

When disorder and minor crimes are left unchecked, neighborhood residents feel unsafe but actions to address this type of low-level conditions by the police will reduce fear of crime (Cordner, 2010). Foot patrols to tackle minor crimes and disorders, as well as engagement in formal and informal social controls reassure residents that anti-social behavior would not go unchecked. Their mere presence sends the message that authorities care about worries of the residents and are doing something to address them. Such foot patrols extended into community policing will represent a powerful approach to reassuring the public and making them feel safe.

Fear of crime often confines people to their homes and undermines trust in their neighbours. In this case, “my space” has three dimensions. The first is whether the person has confidence in venturing out, and could protect oneself should anything happen. The second is the assurance that the police would come to the person’s aid quickly enough. The third is whether the public will come to the rescue of the victim should a crime occur.

The fourth element that influences fear of crime is perceptions about the services provided by the police. The public judge these services by their experiences. Most dissatisfaction arises from frustration in getting access to police services, the police’ unhelpful attitude and response, and the public’s feeling that their concerns are not resolved effectively (Hopkins, 2010). In reality, such experiences do not always prevail but the negative impression leaves an impact and reduces public confidence.

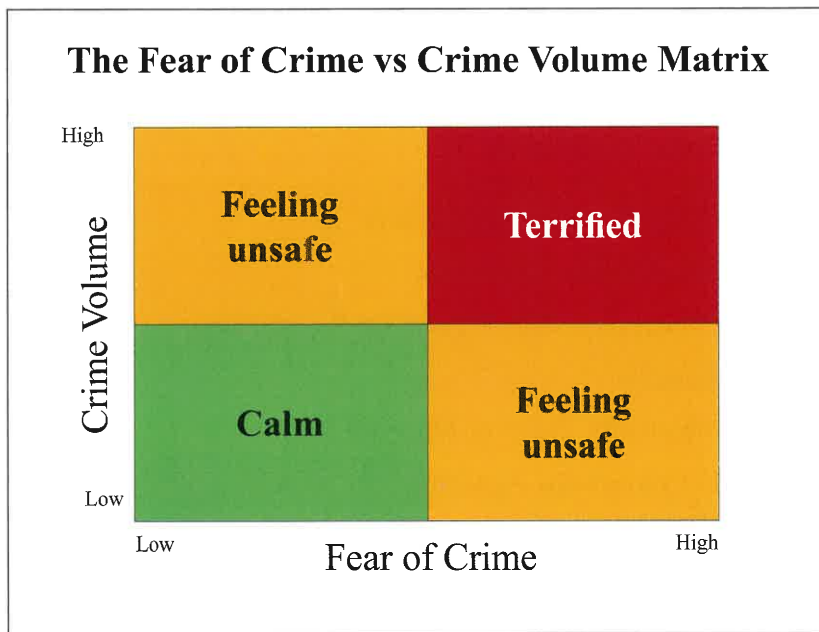
From the International Crime Victimization Survey, van Kesteren, Mayhew and Nieuwebeerta (2000) found that the lack of satisfaction with the police is the single most important variable affecting the fear of crime outside their homes amongst the Japanese. Hence, in this case, the most promising way to reduce fear of crime is to boost public confidence in the police.

## Reducing the Fear of Crime

Recognising that the fear of crime is a problem does not necessarily imply the role to reduce such fear lies entirely with the police. However, police officers in many countries including the USA have accepted that lowering citizens' fear of crime should be given as high a priority as that for reducing crime.

Some of the police strategies in reducing the fear of crime include visible policing, target hardening and zero tolerance policing (following the approach of Broken Windows theory).

When the volume of crime versus the fear of crime is plotted (Figure 8), we are able to see more clearly the measures that need to be taken to reduce crime as well as the fear of crime. In the 'Terrified' zone where both crime and fear of crime is high, the priority is to reduce crime. In the 'Feeling unsafe' zone where the fear of crime is high but the crime volume is relatively low, we need to focus on initiatives to reduce the fear of crime. The goal is to move towards the 'Calm' zone where both the crime volume and the fear of crime are low.



**Figure 8: The Fear of Crime Vs Crime Volume Matrix**

Source: Author, 2015

The matrix can be used as a planning tool to target crime reduction, fear of crime and police-public engagement. It is also a useful tool to guide engagement of the political leaders, the media and the community for understanding of the policing efforts in combating crimes and fear of crime.

Increased police-public contact seems to be an effective way to reduce the fear of crime by enhancing positive public opinion of the police (Dalglish and Myhill, 2004). Increased police presence was found to reduce fear of crime in 62% of the studies reviewed by Zhao et al. (2002). Officers on foot patrols, for example, seem more approachable, more likely to have casual interactions with the citizens and are more individually identifiable.

Community engagement will reduce the fear of crime possibly by reducing the social distance between residents, as well as increasing social cohesion and perceived social control (Kerley and Benson, 2000). The mere act of getting people to participate or doing something together will empower people within the community and make them feel less vulnerable. The Government of Malaysia has been aggressively promoting “community engagement” under the new Crime Prevention and Community Safety Department (or *Jabatan Pencegah Jenayah & Keselamatan Komuniti*, JPJKK).

There are two groups known as the reassurance groups, working in tandem on crime prevention. One is the community group – consisting of tenants, residents, and resident associations including:

- RTK (*Rukun Tetangga Kommuniti*)
- SRS (*Skim Rondaan Sukarela*)
- MCPF (Malaysia Crime Prevention Foundation)
- Rakan Amanita
- COP (Community Policing Malaysia)
- MARAH (Malaysians Against Rape, Assault and Snatch)
- Safer Malaysia.

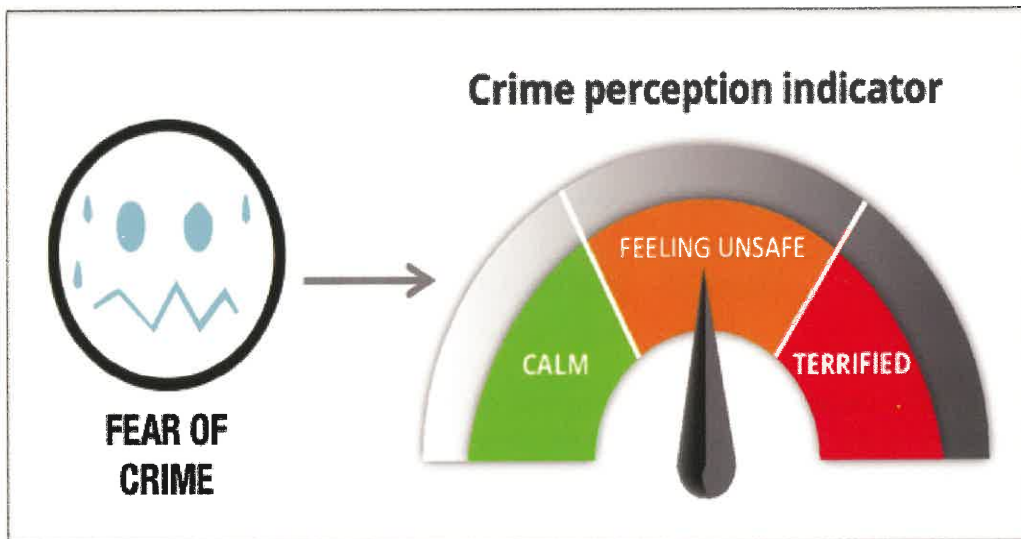
The other is the agency group – consisting of police, local councils, local education groups, and so on. This group is driven mainly by JPJKK and Amanita. Amanita is an initiative that was set up with the theme ‘Engage housewives in neighborhood safety’.



The reassurance groups are in a way an expanded policing community that helps to reduce crime and the fear of crime as well as provide public reassurance. These groups represent formal social control – sanctions enforced by the authorities to prevent crime and anti social behaviour. The other aspect is informal social control – the social values (belief systems) present in individuals. Studies have shown that informal social controls, which work every day through relationships at the individual levels and their relationship with institutions, are more effective than legal sanctions. Informal social control usually has more effect on individuals because social values are internalized. Residents and businesses can contribute to informal social control by keeping an eye on the street as a form of surveillance and supervision. Residents can form a sort of cocoon around their houses to prevent physical and social disorder.

Hence, the fear of crime must be addressed through all four channels, i.e., the media, the signals, my space as well as the quality of police services. Engagement is a powerful tool to achieve this objective especially when such efforts are interactively strengthened with professional modern policing.

PDRM and PEMANDU in collaboration with non government organisations and the academia are in the process of building a crime perception indicator (Figure 9) that would incorporate all the four elements (the media as amplifier, the signals of crime, my space and the service quality of the police).



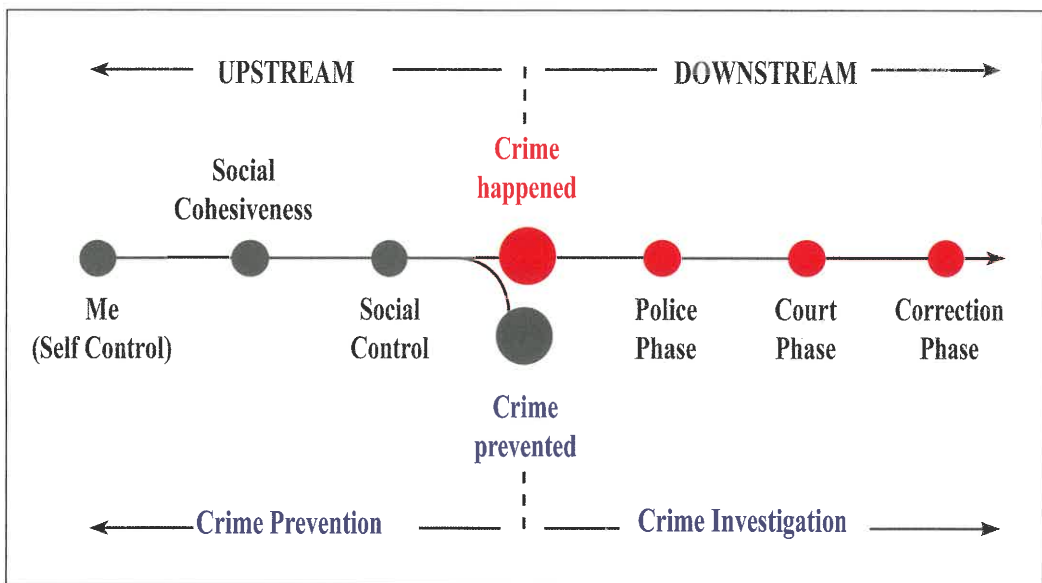
**Figure 9: The Crime Perception Indicator**

Source: Author, 2015.

The idea is to institutionalise the measurement of fear of crime. Objective measures are formulated with the purpose of including items to be focused upon in the initiatives to reduce fear of crime. The crime perception indicator would enable the authorities as well as the public to objectively gauge the effectiveness of the strategies in reducing the fear of crime.

### A HOLISTIC APPROACH

Tackling crime can be viewed as a process that has an upstream as well as a downstream component (Figure 10). The upstream pertains to crime prevention and the downstream to the criminal justice system. Both the upstream and downstream components must be tackled in order to bring down crime (as reflected in the crime statistics) and the fear of crime.



**Figure 10: Tackling Crime as a Process**

Source: Author, 2015.

Community engagement and policing will address the upstream process in helping to prevent crime and reduce the fear of crime. The effectiveness of the downstream criminal justice system will be reflected and made known in the compilation and communication of crime statistics. Each component in the upstream and downstream processes represents an important link in the whole ecosystem that deals with crime. When both the upstream and downstream processes are effective in addressing the problems of crime, not only will crime and the fear of crime be reduced but the public confidence of the police and justice system will also improve.

## CONCLUSION

The crime statistics convey important information to both the citizens and the police. They are a measure of how well citizens are being safeguarded from crime and provide a valuable source of risk information. For the police, these statistics are a gauge of their effectiveness in safeguarding public safety and a basis for the planning platform. The challenge is to gain public confidence in the information conveyed in these statistics, and relatedly their perception of the effectiveness of the police force.

There need to be better communication of how those statistics are derived. Trust in the reliability and validity of the crime statistics indicated public confidence of the government in the provision of safety in the community, society and country. Once better understanding of the statistics is achieved, the citizens will use them as a measure of their own risk exposure. The statistics then offer a platform for better social and community engagement for crime prevention and police reforms.

The fear of crime causes disbelief in the crime statistics. Fear, although a personal issue can be contagious. Finally, there are four factors that contribute to fear of crime. The first is the media that is seen to have the tendency to amplify the seriousness of crime incidents. Second is the signals of crime – the physical and social cues in the public space that the public see or perceive. The third is an individual's level of confidence in venturing out of his or her perceived safety zone and the assurance that assistance from the police as well as the public will be forthcoming in event of a crime. The fourth is the level of satisfaction with services provided by the police. All the four factors must be addressed in all the initiatives and programs targeted at reducing the fear of crime, as well as the gap between the reality as reflected in the crime statistics and the public perception.

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