VS VICTIM SUPPORT

Understanding victims of crime

The impact of the crime and support needs

Tamar Dinisman and Ania Moroz
April 2017

www.victimsupport.org.uk

Acknowledgements

Contents

1: Introduction

Crime has reduced considerably in England and Wales in recent decades.[1] Nevertheless, it remains a significant social ill that has a negative impact on millions of people across England and Wales each year. In 2015/2016 an estimated seven million adults were a victim of at least one crime in England and Wales, which is about 15% of the adult population every year, or one in seven people.[2] This estimation increases to one in five adults if fraud incidents are included.[3]

Victimisation has a range of effects, including on victims' physical health, employment or higher education prospects, finances and emotional wellbeing. Nevertheless, crime does not affect people in the same way;[4] the extent of the impact on the victim is influenced by many factors and some evidence indicates that aspects of the crime and the seriousness of the incident do not solely account for this variation.[5] Additional factors include the victim's characteristics and financial circumstances and the support available.[6]

What victims need to help them cope and recover from the crime can vary. While many victims have several of the same needs, not every victim has all needs; the characteristics of both the incident and the individual can influence the number and nature of the required needs.[7]

This report looks specifically at these issues – the impact of the crime and the victim's needs. It includes a review of existing research, and presents findings from new quantitative and qualitative research with Victim Support (VS) service users. The aim is to identify the main effects of victimisation and recognise victims' expressed needs. It also highlights differences between crime types, where possible.

Victim Support

VS is the leading independent charity in England and Wales for people who have been affected by crime and traumatic incidents. We are committed to providing free and confidential emotional support and practical help for people affected by all types of crime, and do so through our local teams.

In addition, we provide a range of specialist services for murder and manslaughter; violence (including sexual violence); domestic abuse; non-recent sexual abuse; fraud; hate crime; antisocial behaviour; and crimes against vulnerable people, including children and young people. In 2015/2016 VS offered help to one million people, including just over 91,000 suffering from domestic abuse and 16,000 suffering from hate crime.

Research has a vital role in VS's efforts to improve our understanding of, and the support available for, victims and witnesses. We constantly use evidence and data to inform the improvement of our services, champion the interests of victims, and ensure victims' needs are met by the criminal justice system (CJS).

Existing evidence on the main effects of crime and victims' needs

Emotional and psychological impact

Research has found a widespread emotional effect on victims of different crime types.[8] A recent Office for National Statistics (ONS) report on violent crime found that 81% of victims of violence reported being emotionally affected by the incident, including 17% who were affected very much.[9]

Breaking down data by injury type shows that 86% of victims of wounding were emotionally affected compared with 77% of victims of violence without injury.[10] Similarly, most victims of domestic burglary reported being emotionally affected by the incident (81%, with 21% of victims affected very much).[11]

While theft does not tend to cause such a severe psychological reaction as violence or burglary,[12] 78% of victims of theft from the person reported being emotionally affected, with 13% affected very much.[13]

Victims of fraud also reported a wide range of short- and long-term emotional and psychological effects following the crime.[14,15] Those who had also been victims of physical violence, burglary and car theft reported that victimisation by fraud had a more devastating impact upon their lives and the lives of their families than those who had been victims of the other crimes.[16]

Victims of crime experience various short- and long-term emotional and psychological effects. Victims of violence describe feelings of shock and loss of trust in society, and guilt at becoming a victim of crime, as they typically feel they could have prevented the incident from occurring.[17] Violent crime can also cause victims to feel a sense of uncertainty and disempowerment and to feel more vulnerable, leading to high levels of worry about personal safety.[18] Violent victimisation has also been found to be linked to the development of symptoms of fear, anxiety, depression or confusion,[19] sadness, anger[20] and stress.[21]

Victims of fraud also experience a wide range of emotional and psychological responses. Cross and colleagues found that the most common responses reported by victims of fraud were shame, embarrassment, distress, sadness and anger. Other responses included stress, worry, loneliness and depression as well as suicidal thoughts and suicide attempts.[22] Button and colleagues found that the most common response to fraud victimisation was anger (68.4%) or stress (44.3%). Some victims reported feeling suicidal (2.3%) and some attempted suicide (1.7%).[23] There is also evidence that, like victims of sexual or other violent crime, fraud victims blame themselves for their victimisation.[24] Moreover, older victims feel distressed about losing their children's inheritance and being unable to financially support themselves.[25]

Some studies focus on a specific type of fraud such as romance fraud. Whitty and Buchanan found that victims of romance fraud were negatively affected by the scam, experiencing a wide range of emotional responses such as embarrassment, shame, worry, stress, denial, fear, shock, anger and self-blame. Some of the victims reported lower confidence and a reduced sense of self-worth.[26]

For many, the loss of the 'relationship' was the most devastating aspect: they found it difficult to let go and went into stages of grieving.[27] Even victims who did not incur financial losses reported significant distress.[28] Often, victims found it difficult to separate the criminal from their fake identity, as they perceived the fictitious partner as ideal and trustworthy.[29]

Victims of identity theft and identity fraud reported that even though the financial loss related to the fraud was substantial, the emotional trauma and stress were the most difficult aspects of the situation to deal with.[30] Cullina and colleagues found that the most common emotional responses to identity theft included frustration or annoyance (79%), rage or anger (62%), fear regarding personal financial security (66%), and a sense of powerlessness or helplessness (54%).[31] Other commonly reported emotional responses included exhaustion, overwhelming sadness, an inability to trust people, and a sense of grievance.[32]

Research into the emotional effect of burglary found that 73% of burglary victims reported considerable fear of revictimisation,[33] 70% were very distressed following the burglary[34] and 40% were afraid to be alone in their property for some weeks following the incident.[35] Burglary victims also reported long-term worry.[36]

Although Maguire's research with 322 burglary victims was conducted 37 years ago, it remains a good illustration of the various psychological and emotional effects of this type of crime. The research found that 30% of people reported feeling anger and annoyance on discovering the burglary, with shock and emotional upset also prevalent. Moreover, 6% of victims reported suffering acute distress shortly after discovering the burglary. The reactions included panic, trembling, severe shock and uncontrolled weeping. Furthermore, 65% of victims reported that the event had undesirable effects on their lives four to ten weeks after the crime had occurred, with the most persistent effects being feelings of unease or insecurity and a tendency to think about the burglary. Some 15% stated that they were still frightened and fearful when entering the property or certain rooms and were afraid to be alone in the house after dark.[37]

Burglary also has a significant emotional impact on younger members of the family. VS research found that 27% of children whose home had been burgled subsequently had trouble sleeping, and 11% of parents reported that the burglary had had a negative impact on their child's performance at school. In addition, 32% of parents reported that their child's personal safety and wellbeing were affected, 10% reported an increase in their child's bedwetting, and 30% reported that their child was having nightmares and a loss of self-confidence. Moreover, 39% of parents reported that their child needed emotional and psychological support to deal with the aftermath of the burglary. Besides, 37% of adults who experienced burglary as children felt that it still affected them in adulthood, 35% slept with their lights on, and 44% preferred to sleep with someone else in the house.[38]

Handbag snatching can produce not only a financial but also an emotional, long-term effect on victims. As well as losing photographs of loved ones that are often carried in a purse, victims' sense of security may be impaired; they tend to distrust and feel suspicious towards other people, and develop a fear of walking in public and even in familiar environments.[39] Research has also found that victims sometimes describe possessions as having high sentimental value and being much more than functional. Victims perceive

their belongings as an extension of themselves,[40] so they feel the loss as a threat to their self-identity, which elicits strong negative emotional reactions.[41]

Although little research has been done in this area, evidence suggests that the emotional effect of crime on victims can be long term. Wirtz and Harrell reported that victims of burglary showed symptoms of anxiety and fear six months after the incident. What's more, the intensity of their fear one or six months after the crime was no different than that experienced by victims of serious crime such as robbery or assault.[42] There is also evidence that identity theft has a long-term psychological and somatic impact on victims. The long-term emotional responses (two months or more) to identity theft included 19% of victims feeling captive and a sense of grieving, 29% feeling ready to give up, 10% feeling that they had lost everything, and 8% feeling suicidal.[43] The emotional effect on victims of identity theft is still present 26 weeks after victimisation.[44]

All the above may take a toll on the victim's perceived wellbeing; a comparison between burglary victims and non-victims showed that burglary victims reported significantly lower wellbeing than non-victims,[45] even five to seven weeks after the victimisation.[46]

It has also been found that being a victim of burglary significantly decreases one's life satisfaction,[47] happiness[48] and quality of life.[49] Similarly, research conducted by Staubli and colleagues found that victims of property crime (such as car theft), experienced a short-term decline in their wellbeing, whereas victims of personal crime (such as theft from the person) reported a long-term negative impact on life satisfaction.[50]

Some victims develop severe mental health problems. Following a violent crime, between 21%[51] and 33% of victims developed post-traumatic stress symptoms, research has found.[52,53] Three weeks after victimisation over a quarter of victims were in severe distress.[54] In addition, those who suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) as a result of the violent crime were at a higher risk of suicidal feelings[55] and self-harm.[56] Some of the coping mechanisms employed by victims to deal with the aftermath of a violent crime can be destructive, for example, engaging in substance misuse (ie smoking, alcohol and drugs abuse) or unsafe sex.[57,58]

The negative emotional impact of domestic abuse (DA) on victims can be profound. It is well documented that victims of DA have poorer mental health than non-victims.[59] Depression and PTSD, which have substantial comorbidity, are the most prevalent mental health complications of intimate partner violence.[60]

Being a victim of DA has also been associated with greater susceptibility to anxiety,[61] suicidal thoughts[62] and suicidal attempts.[63] A history of sexual abuse has also been found to be associated with an increased risk of a lifetime diagnosis of anxiety disorders, depression, eating disorders, PTSD, sleep disorders and suicide attempts.[64]

A small body of research has demonstrated that victims of fraud share many devastating outcomes similar to those of victims of serious violent crimes.[65,66] For example, Spalek found that some of the participants experienced PTSD following pension fraud,[67] and Ganzini and colleagues found that 25% of victims of fraud experienced a major depressive disorder (MDD) within 20 months of victimisation, and 45% of victims had generalised

anxiety disorder (GAD), with a further 5% developing suicidal ideation.[68] Some association was also found between burglary victimisation and PTSD.[69]

The initial reaction to burglary victimisation shows many similarities with a peritraumatic distress response that is characteristic of PTSD. For instance, it has been found that burglary victims experience intense fear, helplessness, horror, distress, sadness, negative feelings,[70] increased arousal, symptoms of persistent re-experiencing as well as avoidance of stimuli associated with trauma for which they had to seek medical help.[71]

Recent research conducted by Chung and colleagues found that a year after burglary, 41% of persons reported high levels of post-traumatic stress symptoms and 38% reported psychiatric comorbidity indicative of a general psychiatric disorder.[72]

Several factors are known to increase the risk of developing mental health problems including PTSD following a traumatic event. These factors include being female and/or of an ethnic minority group, exposure to trauma in the past, family or individual history of mental illness, childhood trauma, substance abuse problems, limited coping skills, lower socioeconomic status and homelessness.[73,74]

Furthermore, characteristics of the traumatic event itself can increase the risk of developing mental health problems including PTSD. These characteristics include the severity, unpredictability and uncontrollability of the event, whether the crime resulted in physical injury, intentionality of the act, lack of social support, as well as other psychosocial stressors such as medical, financial and occupational worries. [75]

Physical impact

Victims of some crime types are at greater risk of being affected physically by the crime. Victims of violent crime may be left with a chronic physical condition or even a disability.[76]

A recent ONS report found that victims sustained physical injury in 52% of violent incidents. The most common type of injury, accounting for 33% of cases, was minor bruising or black eyes, followed by cuts (14%), severe bruising (14%) and scratches (14%). More serious injuries such as broken bones, broken nose, concussion or loss of consciousness accounted for a lower proportion of injuries (4%, 2% and 2%, respectively). Other injuries included facial or head injuries with no bruising (1%), and broken or lost teeth (3%).[77] Those who were physically injured reported that the crime had a longer impact on their lives compared with other victims of violent crime.[78]

A quarter (25%) of partner abuse victims reported that they sustained some sort of physical injury. The most common types of injuries were minor bruising or black eyes (17%) and scratches (12%).[79] Exposure to DA is also linked to poorer overall health.[80] This link is found whether the abuse is physical or psychological.[81] Furthermore, the negative health consequences for survivors can be long term, even after the abuse ends.[82] The injuries, fear and stress associated with intimate partner violence can result in substance abuse, cardiovascular problems, asthma, sexually transmitted diseases,[83] gynaecological problems, chronic health problems such as chronic pain (eg headaches and back pain), recurring central nervous system symptoms (eg fainting and seizures) and gastrointestinal problems (eg loss of appetite and eating disorders).[84]

Research suggests that victims of sexual violence experience more acute and chronic physical health problems than non-victims; they are at higher risk for abdominal and pelvic pain, gastrointestinal and gynaecologic disorders, headaches and physical symptoms associated with anxiety, panic or PTSD.[85] Sexual assault also affects victim's sexual health risk-taking behaviours and places some at greater risk of contracting HIV.[86]

Victims of other crime types are also affected physically; the emotional and psychological impact often leads to a decline in victims' physical health as well as developing new health conditions. In one study, victims of fraud reported sleeplessness or insomnia, nausea, weight loss[87] and skin conditions.[88]

Moreover, it has been found that fraud victimisation can have a somatic effect on participants. For instance, a study found that following victimisation 18% of people reported heart palpitations, 18% developed headaches, 14% abdominal pain, 11% a sensation of a lump in the throat, and 10% chest pain.[89] Victims of burglary also reported a deterioration in their general physical health. As a result of a fear of being revictimised, some of the burglary victims started having difficulty in sleeping and began using sedatives or other such medicines.[90]

Financial impact

Financial loss can vary considerably between crime types and often depends on the type of incident. The extent of the financial impact can differ according not only to the amount of money lost, but also the victim's financial circumstances, other resources to recoup losses,[91] and their social support network and ability to use community resources.[92]

The financial cost of fraud can vary from a few thousand pounds to over a million. A study by Button and colleagues found that 16% lost under £100, 37% lost under £1,000 and 76% lost under £10,000. Some 22 victims lost between £100,000 and £1 million, and one victim lost over £1 million. For some victims, the financial loss was so severe that they became bankrupt,[93] were made homeless, had to sell their home or business, had to postpone retirement or return to work after retiring, or had to move in with other family members.[94]

Others found that victims of fraud experienced credit problems,[95] were unable to buy food, had lost all their superannuation, had to pay off loans over months or even years, had lost their life savings due to paying for lawyers and civil proceedings against the perpetrator, and had to downsize.[96] Apart from financial loss, costs include time taken to deal with the consequences of the fraud. For example, victims of identity theft reported that the most common problem of victimisation was a loss of time (78%) and financial out-of-pocket costs incurred while trying to resolve their case and recover their identity. Research has found that on average victims spend 175 hours trying to resolve problems caused by identity theft.[97]

The latest ONS report estimates that the mean cost of all theft from the person in the year ending March 2015 was £416. The average costs were £390 for bicycle theft, £4,480 for a stolen vehicle, £308 for damage to a vehicle, and £222 for stolen items from a vehicle. Car theft can result in substantial financial loss. Even though some of the cars were returned to their owners, 87% of them were damaged, with 18% damaged beyond

repair. Moreover, victims incurred additional costs through having to replace items stolen from vehicles.[98]

Burglary victims also report financial difficulties following the incident. First, there is the direct financial cost from damage to property and material loss from stolen items.[99,100,101] Second, victims also suffer from indirect financial costs; Wollinger found that following a burglary 9.3% of victims moved house.[102] Some victims' burnt clothes and furniture touched by the burglar. Others improved the security of their properties by fitting new locks or alarms (50%) or investing in security devices (51.8%). Furthermore, a study found that following a burglary, 43% of victims took out insurance policy while 42% increased their cover.[103,104]

One form of domestic abuse is financial or economic abuse, which has an immense effect on the victim's financial situation. Many variations of economic abuse exist: the abuser may wilfully control the financial wellbeing of the victim by withholding income or assets or limiting their access to bank accounts and credit cards. In some cases, the abuser withholds necessities such as food, clothing and sanitary products, which can lead to poverty regardless of the overall family income or assets.[105] Additionally, domestic violence can reduce a person's capacity and capability to work. Financial abuse can also have a direct and indirect effect on a victim's financial situation in the immediate aftermath of leaving a violent partner. Perhaps the best known of these are the costs associated with moving house.[106]

Past evidence has also shown that violent crime has a negative effect on the victim's employment or education prospects; falling victim to a violent crime in early adulthood has a negative influence on one's educational achievements and income realisation.[107] Experience of violence is also correlated with negative occupational behaviour such as absenteeism, increased unemployment or high job turnover.[108]

Additional time and financial costs for victims arise from the involvement of the police and the CJS.[109] For example, victims often need time off work to report the crime, assist with the investigation and attend court.[110,111,112]

The financial impact extends beyond the victims and their families to wider society. Adverse outcomes of violent crime are associated with greater service use, high healthcare costs and increased morbidity and mortality.[113] A recent ONS report found that following a violent crime 17% of victims required some form of medical attention, 10% required medical attention from a doctor, and 3% required a hospital stay to address their physical injuries.[114]

In 2012, the total economic impact of violent crimes in the UK was estimated to be £124 billion, which is £4,700 per household, with murder costing over £1.9 billion.[115] The cost of domestic violence to the public across England was estimated as £5.5 billion a year, which includes physical and mental health costs, criminal justice processes, social services, housing and refuge, and civil legal costs.[116]

Fraud incidents also have a financial burden on society. It has been found that the annual cost of fraud in the UK could be as high as £193 billion a year, with the private sector losing around £144 billion a year, according to the Annual Fraud Indictor based on research

by the University of Portsmouth. The study also found that the cost of fraud against individuals is £9.7 billion a year, with identity fraud accounting for almost £5.4 billion of the total.[117]

Indirect impact

The effect of a crime goes beyond the immediate victims; it also has an impact on family members, friends, colleagues and communities. Relatives and friends often find it difficult to cope with the aftermath of the incident, as they are worried about the victim's safety and feel more vulnerable themselves.[118]

Research indicates that coping with the aftermath of rape can cause significant stress for the family, friends and significant others of sexual assault survivors.[119] Evidence also suggests that friends and relatives of victims of violent crimes take additional safety precautions such as purchasing security devices for themselves.[120]

Another wider effect is on relationships. Evidence shows that fraud incidents have an impact on victims' relationships with parents, siblings, children, partners and friends;[121] the financial loss causes stress and distrust in these relationships as victims often keep the financial loss secret at first, but eventually have to reveal it. Also, distress and a strain on relations are caused when family members try to stop victims from losing their life savings to scams. This in turn leads to relationship problems in families – including family breakdown (17.2%), with the greatest impact occurring on the families of repeat victims – as well as with friends (9.1%).[122]

Victimisation also affects communities and the general population. For example, to avoid violent incidents, people move to different areas or avoid affected locations.[123] Furthermore, it has been found that following an increase in the burglary rate in a community, residents moved from the area. Xie and Mcdowall found that regardless of their own victimisation people were more likely to move when households nearby had been burgled as they perceived the neighbourhood to be unsafe.[124] High prevalence of violent incidents also pushed people to move to safer areas.[125] In addition, areas considered to be unsafe also saw a reduction in new retail and personal-service businesses,[126] a decrease in property value,[127] and a negative influence on local businesses.[128]

Others found that theft can have a negative impact on neighbours' wellbeing, even if they are not directly affected. Theft negatively affected the mental wellbeing of neighbours by increasing distress and changing people's behaviour. For example, due to high levels of crime in an area and to avoid victimisation, residents may buy less expensive vehicles, park their cars only in safe areas or avoid wearing jewellery.[129]

The fear of falling victim to a crime also takes its toll on the general population. This fear of crime can have an impact on people's psychological and physical health by forcing them to change their routine activities,[130] reducing social activity[131] and negatively affecting their psychological wellbeing.[132] Brand and Price found that fear of violent crime included not only security expenditures or insurance costs but also changes in behaviour such as taking taxis rather than walking or using public transport where available. Some organisations provide transport for employees to and from work to avoid victimisation en route, which incurs additional costs.[133] It has been found that 17% of Britons believe they

will be a victim of a violent crime in the future.[134] The fear of victimisation by violent crime and its implications have been calculated as an intangible cost of £19.50 per person per year.[135]

Similarly, Wittebrood reported high levels of fear in residents living in areas with high burglary rates.[136] In addition, victimisation of burglary has an impact on non-resident family members; Ostrihanska and Wojcik found a persistent emotional effect such as worry, a sense of threat and fear displayed not only by victims but also by their families six months after incidents occurred.[137]

It has also been found that fear of identity theft and related fraudulent activity was a source of worry in the general population, with 15.9% reporting being very worried and 24.4% being worried.[138] Also, recent research found that fear of identity theft and related fraudulent activity is common across all socioeconomic groups, even though research showed that people on higher incomes are the most likely to be victimised.[139] Monahan labelled fear of cyber identity theft as a 'moral panic' and found that people take extreme, exacerbated precautions to mitigate it.[140] For businesses, this can lead to a decrease in customers' trust and confidence in online purchasing, adding to the economic burden.[141] Indeed, it has been found that online purchasing decreased as the perceived risk of internet theft victimisation increased.[142]

The needs of victims of crime

Past research on the needs of victims of crime is much more limited than on the impact of the crime hence the evidence is less extensive. Nevertheless, the literature does highlight several needs of victims to help them cope with, and recover from, the effect of the crime.

Results from previous studies found the need for emotional support and a single point of contact to be the most common needs of victims of all crime types.[143,144] Previous research also found the most frequently expressed needs include emotional support or someone to talk to;[145,146] a single point of contact;[147,148] information from the police;[149,150] updates on the progress of the case;[151,152] and guidance to help prevent revictimisation.[153,154] Other commonly expressed needs include safety or protection[155,156] and to be heard in the criminal proceedings.[157,158] A systematic review conducted in 2012 found that victims of all crime types express a range of needs – emotional or psychological, information, concerning the criminal proceedings, practical, financial and primary.[159]

Research into needs has pointed out that victims have a need to understand and negotiate a complex CJS, which they may never have dealt with before.[160] Several studies have stressed the importance of providing information to victims about the CJS and on the progress of their case at all stages.[161,162,163] Lack of information, both pre- and post-trial adds further to victims' distress.[164] Despite this wide recognition, evidence shows that a lack of timely and accurate information remains one of the biggest concerns for victims[165,166] and can leave them afraid for their safety.[167]

Furthermore, research shows that it is important that ongoing or additional emotional support is available during victims' engagement with the CJS to ensure they have a clear understanding of the legal process and are coping with the related stress and anxiety.[168,169]

Recent research found that ongoing support extending beyond the initial post-victimisation period was particularly important, especially for victims of DA.[170]

Peer support has also been shown to help victims feel less isolated and relieved that other people have similar feelings, through talking to people in a similar situation.[171] Previous research suggests victims of some crimes would particularly benefit from participation in peer support groups due to lack of support from family and friends, such as victims of romance fraud,[172] or where perpetrators have been a close friend or family member, such as victims of identity theft.[173] Similar findings were reported for victims of sexual assaults, who found attending support groups and sharing their experience with victims of the same crime was very helpful in their recovery process.[174]

Victims' needs change over time. Some needs exist immediately after the offence with others arising during the criminal justice process.[175] While research assessing victims' long-term needs is scarce, a few studies examined both the most urgent needs in the aftermath of the crime and long-term needs. They found that some needs such as emotional support or emergency repairs to secure the home exist immediately after the offence,[176] whereas others such as the wish to be heard in the legal proceedings arise later, as the case proceeds.[177] The limited research also emphasises the need for follow-up contact to reassess victims' needs.[178]

Some existing evidence suggests similarities and differences between victims of different crime types. ten Boom and Kuijpers found that while the main needs were shared by all victims of crime, victims of some crime types were more likely to express certain needs. For example, victims of violent crime more often wanted to talk to someone or receive emotional support (ranging from 27% to 57% in different studies) compared with victims of property offences (10% to 35%). Also, victims of violence asked for protection advice and assistance more often than victims of property crime (27% to 50% and 8% to 22% respectively). On the other hand, victims of property crime wanted more practical help such as making emergency repairs compared with victims of violence (13% and 7% respectively), contacting insurance, credit card companies etc (10% and 3% respectively), and financial compensation from an insurance company (61% and 5% respectively).[179]

Moreover, ten Boom and Kuijpers found that bereaved families by homicide and victims of domestic and/or sexual violence committed by a known offender have specific needs. For instance, victims of domestic and or sexual violence expressed a need to repair relationships with the offender or with the wider community.[180]

Research looking at the differences in needs between different groups of demographics is limited. However, there is some evidence relating to gender and ethnicity. Evidence from one study suggests that females appear to have more needs for emotional support or someone to talk to than males.[181] Literature on specific types of crimes, especially domestic abuse, shows that male victims may have different needs to women and may require different prevention and intervention approaches. For example, male victims are less likely, due to shame or embarrassment, to disclose the true seriousness of assault inflicted by women.[182,183]

Previous research has also found that, rather than engaging with services that are easily identifiable as having a health or support focus, male victims preferred to engage and

were more comfortable undertaking structured activities underpinned by therapeutic principles and aims.[184]

Limited evidence suggests that people from some ethnic groups have unique needs and require specific services that relate to some aspects of their culture. This is even more likely if they don't speak English. Victims from ethnic minorities more often reported a need for advice on safety and protection from revictimisation.[185] Their wishes from services included awareness of different norms and values, respect for different cultures and religions, and translation services.[186]

Research also suggests that services provided to vulnerable victims should be more extensive and long term. It has been suggested that victim support services consider the special needs of vulnerable victims and go beyond the general framework of victim support. Vulnerable victims also require specialised professionals, services and facilities.[187]

The evidence described above stresses the numerous effects of victimisation. The literature is particularly focused on three main life areas: emotional, physical and financial. While various similarities and variances between crime types can be inferred, most of the previous research focuses on specific crime types. Research encompassing several crime types is less prevalent. Also, the evidence on the needs of victims of crime is very limited.

The current research presented in the report tries to narrow this gap by including participants who have fallen victim to various crime types and by examining the differences and similarities between them. Furthermore, it explores victims' expressed support needs following the crime.

2: The research

The aim
The research had three main aims:

1. To evaluate the impact of victimisation on victims of various crime types.

2. To assess differences in the impact of the crime between crime types.

3. To explore and increase the understanding of victims' support needs.

Methodology
To meet these aims and gain as rich an understanding as possible a mixed methods approach was used, including both quantitative and qualitative data collection.

A survey of former service users was used for quantitative data collection. An invitation to complete an online questionnaire was sent between September 2016 and March 2017 to VS former service users whose service came to an end within the past two years and who had agreed to be contacted for the purposes of research. Out of the 3,542 persons approached, 390 completed the online questionnaire, which represents an 11% response rate.[i] Respondents were from all nine regions in England and from Wales.

The qualitative data collection took place from November 2016 to January 2017. It comprised 11 in-depth interviews and four focus groups with VS current and former service users of various crime types from across the country.

The quantitative survey focused mainly on the impact of the crime. The qualitative data collection, on the other hand, explored in more detail the experience of the victims, particularly how the crime had affected their lives and their views on the type of support that would have helped them to cope with and recover from the effects of the crime.

Participants
Table 1 presents the distribution of the final participants of the quantitative survey - those who were approached and VS service users - broken down by gender and age. While men constitute 38.3% of VS service users, a higher proportion (47.6%) were offered the opportunity to take part in the survey. In addition, participants were more likely to be older overall than VS service users and those who were approached.

---

[i] Considering the sample size, in general, estimation from this sample to the total population of victims in England and Wales should allow for a margin of error of 4.95% in either direction with a 95% confidence interval. Margin of error is a measure of the difference between the estimate from the sample and the population value (Calder, K. (1953). *Statistical inference*. New York: Holt).

Table 1: Age and gender distributions of service users and participants of the quantitative survey

		VS service users[ii] (%)	Ex-service users who were approached (%)	Participants (%)
Gender	Female	61.7	52.4	53.8
	Male	38.3	47.6	46.2
Age	18-24	16.6	14.0	5.0
	25-34	24.7	26.9	18.3
	35-44	21.7	23.7	24.0
	45-54	17.6	17.1	23.7
	55-64	9.2	10.1	17.0
	65+	10.2	8.2	12.0

The 390 participants had fallen victim to various crime types: 32.4% to violence, 20.1% to burglary, 13.6% to theft, 15.7% to criminal damage, 11.1% to public order, 9.5% to fraud, 6.9% to sexual abuse, 4.9% to robbery, 2.6% to domestic abuse, and 0.3% to homicide.[iii]

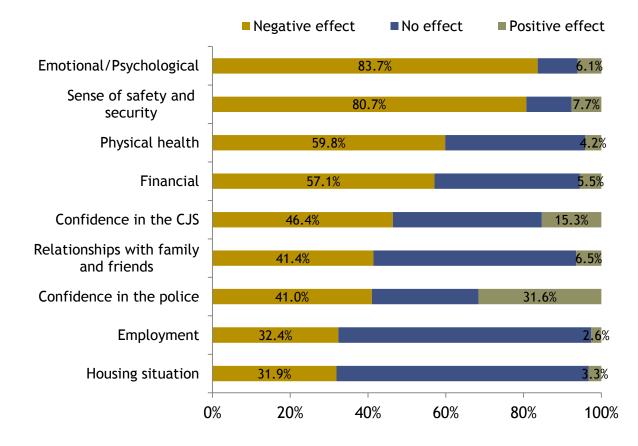In total, 28 victims participated in the qualitative data collection; 39.3% were men and 60.7% were women.

[ii] From April 2014 to October 2016.
[iii] Figures add up to more than 100% due to victims identifying as being the victim of more than one crime type.

3: The impact of the crime

Participants in the survey were presented with a set of questions on the impact of the crime on their life. For each of the areas of life they were asked to indicate whether they were negatively affected, positively affected or not affected. Results show that the impact of the crime was extensive, diverse and encompassed many areas of life. In the following sections, results for each of the areas of life are presented.

Emotional or psychological wellbeing and sense of safety and security

A can be seen in Figure 1, two negative effects were shared by the majority of victims across all crime types – emotional or psychological wellbeing (83.7%) and sense of safety and security (80.7%).

Figure 1: The effect of the crime on victims

These two impacts also emerged as the key themes in the qualitative research, which further illustrates the extensive effect crime has on victims' lives. They were common to victims of all crime types.

Victims of a single incident can feel distressed and traumatised following the crime.

"I couldn't go to work the next day, I was too shaken, I didn't sleep at all that night… This incident will be with me for the rest of my life, I can't help it… The recall side of the assault was there constantly, so I made the decision - I didn't drive my car for about five to six days, I did a lot of walking, I didn't feel I was safe to do anything that involved machinery of any kind… I didn't go near what I do for a living." (Victim of violent crime)

Two victims of non-recent sexual abuse shared the ways in which victimisation emotionally affected their whole life.

"Because it was something that happened to me as a child, it has had an effect on my all entire life. I struggle to trust people particularly with my children. I don't like to leave my children with anybody, even family. I have struggled with self-esteem, confidence. It affected my relationships with boys growing up; [I] did not let people near me." (Victim of non-recent sexual abuse)

"Sadly, I've chosen from a young age not to have a family because I did not want any children to come to this world and have anything like that [sexual abuse] done to them. Which is sad… That was the saddest thing, looking back." (Victim of non-recent sexual abuse and rape)

Echoing the quantitative findings, the qualitative data collection found that participants of all crime types reported an impact on their sense of safety and security. In many cases, the impact on victims' sense of safety impaired their emotional wellbeing. Indeed, these two impacts – the emotional effect and sense of safety and security – are very much linked.

Many victims of harassment described their experience of constantly feeling fearful.

"I was very, very nervous and anxious all the time… anxious of going to work every day. Obviously that reflects on your family; I was quite upset, frightened as they were abusive to me and my husband. I wouldn't go to my workplace by myself; I wouldn't stay there by myself…. I stopped going out by myself completely… He came to my home and threatened my husband and spat in my husband's face. I didn't feel safe in my home. It was really nasty. I was massively impacted." (Victim of harassment)

"Emotionally, the impact has been tremendous… It made me feel completely vulnerable and unsafe and I stopped any form of self-employment. I just didn't continue with it because I didn't feel safe to do so." (Victim of stalking and harassment)

"It is fear of not knowing what can happen next … What he [the offender] is going to do next. It was just awful… It was quite traumatic." (Victim of harassment)

"My family and I live in fear, like when we come out [of the house] and he's [the offender] out we are not comfortable; we don't look at each other's and we have the same driveway… I am, and my family is, living in fear." (Victim of harassment)

"I feared for the safety of myself, my husband and my kids. When he [the son] was going out, I was worried about him… I feared lot of sort of different things you know that could happen. Then my husband you know he was going out and I was just thinking what if he

[the offender] will go into his workplace, you know when he is at work." (Victim of harassment)

Victims of violent crime also feel unsafe.

"When I'm walking now I just keep looking behind me all the time and it just makes you feel really frightened sometimes if somebody walks too close to you... I had quite a few panic attacks... I couldn't even go shopping on my own, I was that scared, I was that frightened... I couldn't go back to work, I really couldn't cope." (Victim of violent crime)

Fraud can also influence victims' sense of security.

"I still fear he can come back, because I told him so much about myself and I haven't got any family here. Only two days ago I saw a car outside and I needed to go to the shops and I wouldn't go out till they've gone, because I have got this fear that they [are] probably watching the house. I shouldn't be living like that". (Victim of fraud)

The effect can extend beyond the immediate victim, as we learn from victims of harassment.

"It [the crime] made my daughter very, very nervous about being in the house on her own... even when we were in she was nervous. Myself, very nervous as well, constantly looking out of the window, my husband constantly looking out of the window. Also, we had to get CCTV cameras put in... It was absolutely a living nightmare... You don't feel safe in your own home." (Victim of harassment)

The impairment to victims' sense of safety can affect their everyday life, resulting in changes in behaviour, lifestyle and even place of living.

"It got to the point it was so bad I never left my flat for five weeks. When I eventually went out... somebody had to be with me because otherwise I couldn't go out of the door. Every time I went out I had this verbal abuse. It was just awful. I had to move to no fault of my own. And I moved 10 miles away. I still cannot go into town unless I have somebody with me, because I'm just frightened I may bump into those people again... Even now I don't go out, the minute it starts getting dusk I do not go out even though I don't live there any more." (Victim of antisocial behaviour [ASB])

"My wife is scared to go out of the house... when I'm not in the house. During this time none of my kids or my wife comes out; they all the time sit in the house." (Victim of harassment)

"Emotionally, I couldn't leave my house. I was really, really scared, mainly because he knew what my routine was... [I needed to] find alternative bus routes... I was having like anxiety attacks." (Victim of DA)

"I can't leave my car outside on my own property because next time he [the offender] will... do damage or whatever. It's horrible." (Victim of harassment)

"I changed my personal image just out of preference. I didn't want to be that person any more. I didn't want to be the victim. I didn't want to be weak." (Victim of DA)

The emotional or psychological impact and effect on the victim's sense of safety continue even after the criminal justice procedures are over.

"The court case has been done… but I still don't feel 100% safe because I think what if he just [does something again]… It's [the crime] still at the back of your head… We still get up when we hear a bang." (Victim of harassment)

Physical wellbeing and health

The impact of the crime on the physical wellbeing and health of victims was widely reported; it was the third most common effect. Around 60% of participants in the survey reported a negative effect on their health (Figure 1).

The victim's health can be directly affected by the crime, mainly in incidents of violence.

"I ended up with a broken nose… I can't breathe properly now: the one airway is completely blocked, and I've lost all taste and smell… When I came out of hospital with my face as it was, my children were petrified." (Victim of violent crime)

Additionally, victims' health can be negatively affected as a result of the emotional impact. Victims experienced difficulty sleeping, decreased appetite and anxiety, all of which influence their health.

"I wasn't really sleeping, neither was my husband. We would jump up at every loud bang we would hear… checking on CCTV… I wasn't really eating much, so consequently I was losing weight, probably because of the stress and the worry about it all." (Victim of harassment)

"I feel very anxious now; I am not sleeping at all – it makes me feel so tired." (Victim of fraud)

"I have to have Diazepam to help me sleep." (Victim of hate crime)

Another indirect effect is on the future health of victims.

"I cannot even have a smear test, so I may develop cancer in that area because it's too invasive… It's like being raped all over again." (Victim of non-recent sexual abuse and rape)

Financial costs

A negative effect on finances was reported at a similar level (nearly 60% of participants) to the effect on physical wellbeing and health (see Figure 1). In particular, victims of fraud who participated in the qualitative data collection reported a high degree of financial impact due to the incident.

"[As a result of the fraud] I became homeless and I had to live in my car for three months." (Victim of fraud)

"Because I am on a pension, it will take me some time to get the money back and I've got to pay someone again to do the repairs." (Victim of fraud)

Nevertheless, victims of other crime types also experienced a financial impact, as illustrated below by victims of harassment, ASB and hate crime. This impact is due to costs resulting from the incident or the effect on the victim's work. In total, 32% of participants in the survey reported a negative impact on employment due to the incident.

"It [the crime] affected me financially very much so. I still have to pay council tax even though I don't live there. I had to move of no fault of my own… They [the housing association] wouldn't take responsibility for my removal bills. I have no flooring where I am at the minute, because it's all concrete floors… now I have to move out of here for six weeks because the house is sinking; it's got subsidence and I have got to be put into a hotel… so this is all going to cost me more money." (Victim of ASB)

"Obviously, it was my living and I am the main breadwinner, so I thought they will take away all my living and I will lose my home, everything." (Victim of harassment)

"It started off in the workplace… and I ended up leaving my job. I took voluntary redundancy primarily as a result of his behaviour towards me in the workplace. I was not employed for a while, but his harassment of me continued for quite a long time." (Victim of stalking and harassment)

"I'm still shaking from this, what has happened to me and it has affected my work life. I could try to carry on as normal but it has affected me very badly." (Victim of hate crime)

Confidence in the CJS and the police

The crime had a negative effect on confidence in the CJS of nearly half of the participants, and a negative impact on confidence in the police of 41% of participants (see Figure 1). Past evidence shows that the impact of the crime can sometimes be made worse by the way criminal justice agencies respond to and treat victims.[iv] Individuals who are involved in the criminal justice process as either victims or witnesses frequently feel let down by it, which adds to the feeling of victimisation.[188]

Victims in this research reported being treated unsympathetically and without respect, or not being believed when they gave evidence.

"I didn't have a good experience when I reported the crime… I didn't feel I was believed. I felt very uncomfortable. The lady [police officer] left me in the room and sat out in the reception to phone up her supervisor because she didn't know what to do… And then she said… 'how old were the men' [the offenders] and I said 'well… I really don't know', [I] just didn't have a clue. She took on herself to say to her supervisor 'oh, they are probably both in their 80s, they are probably not even alive, probably get nothing from it'… It almost put me off reporting it. I almost said to her 'forget it, just leave it', which I'm glad I didn't, but that's what it almost made me want to do… because of the way she was treating me." (Victim of non-recent sexual abuse and rape)

[iv] VS's report *Victim of the System* (April 2017) explores victims' and witnesses' experiences of the CJS further.

"I rang the police and they said 'sorry there is nothing we can do, it's domestic, you have to go, we are too busy, just wait for the outcome and see what will happen and if you need to ring us, ring then'… It was horrible because I am scared of him [the ex-partner]." (Victim of DA)

"He [the police officer] basically told me he didn't think it was worth [doing] or bad enough to do anything... He made me feel like I shouldn't phone up any more and that made me feel really isolated… I felt very let down." (Victim of harassment)

"They were treating me really, I felt as if I was the one to blame." (Victim of hate crime)

However, when victims are treated with dignity and respect it can improve their confidence in the CJS, as well as their experience following the incident.

"I was really worried about going to the police… I went to the police and… I really didn't know what to expect, whether they will take me seriously or not and he [the police officer] couldn't take me more seriously… There was never any kind of feeling that I was taking up too much time. He was just really good. He listened to me… at no point did I feel that they were not taking me seriously… They dealt with it so well… The police were very empathetic. It makes a huge difference." (Victim of stalking and harassment)

"I think part of me I always thought nobody would believe me. I know that sounds silly but that's how I felt. They [the police] definitely did believe me and they definitely supported me. The PC I've been working with, she was really, really good with me." (Victim of DA and rape)

The results of the trial can also affect the victims' confidence in the CJS for better or for worse.

"Although I was pleased that he's been found guilty and I've been believed, I don't think the sentence was fair and I don't think I've got justice, and I certainly haven't got closure." (Victim of non-recent sexual assault)

"I was actually happy with the sentence… I think I was quite surprised, relieved actually that they did treat him [the offender] quite harshly actually… Obviously, the most important thing for me was restraining order and he's got indefinite restraining order. The judge took a really good view at what he done… The judge took it [the crime] incredibly seriously." (Victim of stalking and harassment)

Relationships with family and friends

About 40% of victims who participated in the survey reported a negative influence on their relationships with family and friends (see Figure 1). Unfortunately, this negative effect comes at a time when people are most vulnerable and are in need of support. The experiences described by the victims in the qualitative interviews shed light on the way relationships are negatively affected.

This victim of ASB needed to change her residence because of the incident, which affected her relationship with her family.

"I used to have my grandchildren to dinner three times, three nights a week. I have not seen my grandchildren now for over six weeks. I don't see them because it's too far for them to commute here. That's another thing that's been taken away from me." (Victim of ASB)

The incident can also damage relationships between family members.

"I don't want to talk to her [the sister] any more really. I thought that we were ok, but when she turned around and said she didn't want to talk about it [the crime], she just wants to brush it under the carpet, 'don't bring it up, it should stay where it is in the past'… which is a shame because she is the only blood relative I've got." (Victim of non-recent sexual abuse and rape)

On the other hand, one of the victims identified the positive effect that coping with the crime would have on her future relationships:

"In a way, I think I'm a lot wiser and I'm a lot less trusting but not in a way that is negative, I think anyway. I don't trust people as easily, but at the same time I'm better at forming relationships. It's a weird sort of combination. I've just got [a] lot… wiser." (Victim of DA)

Differences between crime types

Further analyses[v] were done to explore the differences in the impact of crime between crime types. Due to the small number of victims of some crime types, we were only able to include property crimes (burglary and theft), violence (including robbery[vi]), public order and fraud.[vii]

In general, victims of violent crimes were significantly more affected by the incident in many areas of life compared with the other crimes included in this analysis, as can be seen in Figure 2. When compared with all other victims, victims of violence were significantly more likely to be negatively affected emotionally; 92.6% of victims of violence were negatively affected compared with 76.8% of all other victims. Not surprisingly, victims of violence were much more likely to suffer from a negative effect on their health. Their housing situation was also much more likely to be negatively affected, as well as relationships with family and friends, and confidence in the CJS and police. However, they were less likely to be negatively affected financially.
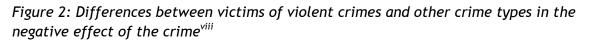
---

[v] Chi-square tests were performed to examine the difference in proportions between specific crime types and the rest of the victims in the impact of crime. Statistically significant results are referred to a p-value of less than 0.05.
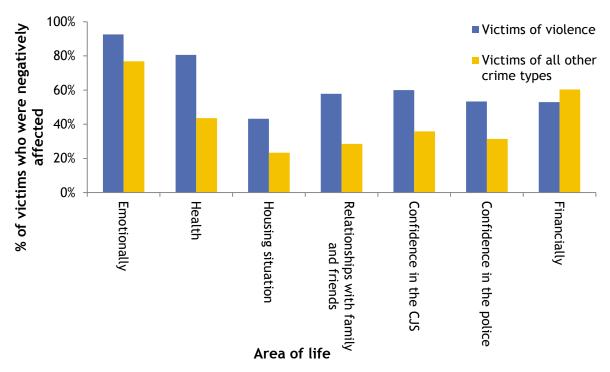
[vi] Robbery has often been included as part of violent crimes. See for example, Office for National Statistics. (2016). *Focus on violent crimes and sexual offences: Year ending March 2015*. London: Office for National Statistics.

[vii] The classification of the crime type is based on self-reports by the participants.

The extensive effect of a violent crime on the victim can be demonstrated by the experiences shared with us by a victim of violence:
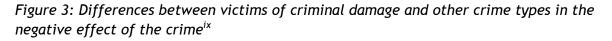
"It [the incident] totally changed my life, totally changed who I am, my attitudes towards things, towards people, everything. I'm less responsive to people, I tend not to be around people anymore, just to be on my own… Fitness wise - a lot worse, sleep patterns - really brief, eating patterns [changed]… Everything I had in my life has totally changed."
(Victim of violent crime)

Figure 2: Differences between victims of violent crimes and other crime types in the negative effect of the crime[viii]
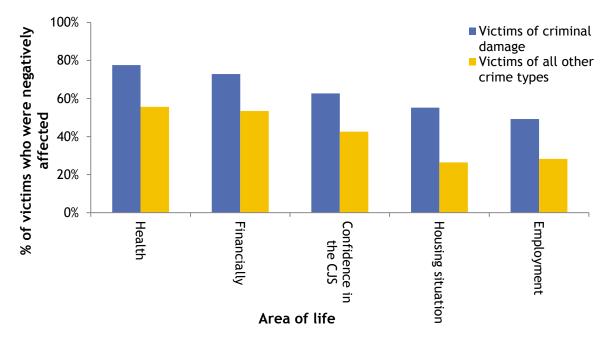

More surprisingly, victims of criminal damage also reported an extensive effect on their life, compared with victims of the other crime types included in this analysis (see Figure 3). They were more likely to report a negative effect on their finances, confidence in the CJS, health, housing situation and employment.

[viii] Only statistically significant results are presented.

Figure 3: Differences between victims of criminal damage and other crime types in the negative effect of the crime[ix]

Differences in the effect of property crime can be identified. Victims of property crimes were more likely (68.4%) to be only negatively affected financially compared with all other victims (50.5%). They were less likely to be affected emotionally or for their health or relationships with friends and family to be affected. Similarly, victims of fraud were more likely (67.6%) to be negatively affected financially by the incident compared with all other crime types (57.7%). No differences were found between victims of public order offences and other crime types.

Interestingly, the only area where no differences were found between victims of crime types was in the impact on their sense of safety and security. Namely, many of the victims, regardless of crime type, reported a negative impact on their sense of safety and security.

[ix] Only statistically significant results are presented.

4: The needs of victims to cope with the effects of the crime

As well as increasing the understanding of the impact of crime on the victims, we explored the needs of victims to help them cope with the effect of the crime. Our qualitative research with VS service users who had fallen victim to a variety of crime types provided us with valuable information about the expressed needs of victims.

Seven themes arose from the interviews and focus groups. Victims expressed a need for:

- a strong, trusting relationship with a caseworker
- support and assistance during legal proceedings
- sharing with people who had gone through similar experiences
- support during weekends and evenings
- long-term support
- support for other members of the family
- being informed about the CJS and kept updated on the progress of the case

These are explored further in this chapter. Due to the nature of our research into victims' needs, which was based on qualitative data, we were unable to examine differences between crime types and demographics.

A strong, trusting relationship with a caseworker

Victims expressed the need to have a caring and secure relationship with a caseworker to help them cope with the impact of the crime. A person that really cares, listens and is available when needed. This need was experienced by victims of various crime types.

"It's very important to be able to talk to somebody who can understand what you've been [through] and can support you… that you can phone when you are absolutely drained and don't know where to turn and to talk to somebody about that." (Victim of rape and DA)

"Talking to someone and to be listened to… as you are in a state, you cannot think straight. She [the VS caseworker] was very warm, very understanding, [a] very lovely lady. That was the biggest point [that helped me], as if you don't trust [the] person then you are not so able to talk and feel confident." (Victim of harassment)

One of the key elements expressed by the victims in establishing this relationship was consistency.

"She [the VS caseworker] came out to see me every single week. It was brilliant… I don't think I would be here now. I become so depressed, well, I'm still depressed, but you know you think 'who do I go to, what do I do', but I knew she was there for me if I needed it." (Victim of ASB)

"She [the VS caseworker] would ring me up on like [a] weekly basis to see how I was… I could just let everything out and that in itself [was] what helped me because I had

someone to talk to, and that's a big factor... She was caring... Talking to someone like this helped me mentally." (Victim of harassment)

The need for a strong relationship with a caseworker was raised regardless of having a strong support network, as some people felt they could not share the full impact of the crime with their family.

"No matter how much family support you have when anything goes wrong... you can never ever tell them your deepest fears or concerns like I did to a lady at Victim Support. I let it all out to her and I actually don't really know where I would be without her... She was just there, she listened and she just gave great advice to me... She just helped me through the most difficult time I ever had in my life." (Victim of harassment)

"I was quite mindful of the worry and the concerns and stress that [were the] impact on my family, and it was actually really good to be able to speak to somebody not involved in any way." (Victim of stalking and harassment)

Nevertheless, this need was also very significant for victims who expressed loneliness.

"I used to look forward to that phone call [from the VS caseworker] because it was the only person I spoke to. It gives you something to look forward to." (Victim of violent crime)

"Somebody said 'Victim Support' you say 'no, no, no I'm fine, I will get by', but you don't realise how much of an impact it had on you and how somebody else can help, especially if there is no close family at hand. They [the VS caseworkers] almost become that shoulder to cry on, somebody to talk to, especially when people are on their own like me." (Victim of violent crime)

Support and assistance during legal proceedings

Victims in our research expressed a need to be supported throughout the criminal justice process, including when reporting the crime.

"Victim Support was my initial contact because... I was scared to go to the police, I haven't had any involvement with the police; I didn't know if I [would] be believed because 20 years have passed. Victim Support [was] really helpful and I did a month later after my first appointment with VS reported [the crime] to the police and the caseworker from VS actually came with me to the police station, so I wasn't on my own... Sometimes you don't want to take your family because it is not a very nice thing to do." (Victim of non-recent sexual abuse)

Several participants also spoke about the difficult experience of taking part in the court process and the need for support before, during and after the trial.

"...It was awful because your body just keep feeling sick all the time and you just couldn't cope... And I was just so scared and frightened because I haven't been to court before and it was just scary. And she [the VS caseworker] made that ok because I went and had a pre-visit... She took me to the side room [waiting room] and I felt so much calmer."
(Victim of violent crime)

"Victim Support people… volunteered to help me… I wish I'd taken them up on it, I didn't at the time. When I did take them up on it was immediately after the court case, because it brought all back again. And I have to say they were brilliant then." (Victim of violent crime)

Sharing with people who had been through similar experiences

Victims of various crime types who participated in our research expressed the need to share their experience with other people who had been through similar experiences.

"I found the one time that I was able to talk to people, I felt a heck of a lot better… particularly talking to somebody going through a similar experience who completely understands and gets where I was coming from." (Victim of stalking and harassment)

"It would be helpful to have groups for people who [have gone] through similar experiences, because you will have more understanding of how this person is feeling to report the crime." (Victim of non-recent sexual abuse)

"A group session is very good, because you can talk to other people as well, and other people went through different things, supporting each other - that can really help." (Victim of violent crime)

Support at weekends and evenings

Several vulnerable and lonely victims also spoke about their need to be supported not just during working hours, but at evenings and weekends as well. These are the times when participants tended to feel lonelier and more vulnerable. However, there is limited evidence of this need and we would welcome further exploration.

"It would be helpful to have long hours and weekend support, because I know that there is always somebody there for me. I don't get out of bed [on the weekends]… and never, never leave the house at the weekends, never. I think that's [evenings and weekends] when people are more vulnerable. Evenings when it starts getting dark you get worried… weekends as well when you've got nobody around. I don't see anybody… until Monday. And even if it's just somebody there at the end of the phone to talk to, that is probably what a lot of people will need." (Victim of ASB)

"I think that a 24-hour service would be better, because some people in the dark hours feel very insecure and lonely." (Victim of violent crime)

Long-term support

Some participants in our research expressed a need to be supported for a longer period of time, including when the crime was over.

"They said, 'it's time to move on'. I thought it was too early. So maybe it needs a few more support workers to help little bit more and for little bit longer for those who need it… My diagnosis [PTSD] and what's wrong with me didn't come out until months later." (Victim of violent crime)

"After I moved [because of the crime] my support worker came to see me for the first month but then she said that I don't need her any more. But I don't have any support as

well. I mean, I've got a son… 10 miles away [but] I haven't seen him for three months. My friends I don't see because it's too far for them to come. So I just lost everybody around me… I really needed it… I could've done with that extra bit of support when I moved." (Victim of ASB)

"…It's nice because even though for me like the trial and everything is over they [VS] haven't just said 'it's all over now, we don't need to see you any more'. They still want to see me and make sure I'm ok." (Victim of non-recent sexual abuse)

Support for other members of the family

The crime and the criminal justice procedures may have an impact on the family of the victim as well. Several participants expressed the need for their family members to be supported as well, even if they were not directly affected by the crime. In some cases, family members serve as the main support network for the victim, so supporting them can reinforce the support available to victims.

"It's a vicious circle really, isn't it? Even you don't realise it's not just [the] victim, it's [the] victim's family as well." (Victim of violent crime)

"The court case and everything have had an effect on my family, because my dad didn't know anything about it until I reported it to the police. It has been quite upsetting for everyone involved. My family never received any support; they obviously supported me through the court case, they were also witnesses in the court case and had to give evidence. That is something that perhaps could do in the future - to provide support for not just for the victim but for the family members involved as well. It is a lot for them to take on board as well." (Victim of non-recent sexual abuse)

*"They [the friends and family] didn't know how to handle me… It [to receive support] would have helped them to support me. This is what you need. I needed support from my friend and I didn't get it initially because he didn't have a clue on how he can help me… That's definitely something that needs to be looked more at." (*Victim of violent crime*)*

Being informed about the CJS and kept updated on the progress of the case

Participants in our research reported a lack of information and updates on their case, and explained the ways it affected their feelings and increased their distress.

"I reported the crime to the police, they [the police] came took my statement and that was it, I never heard from them again. They didn't speak to me about what was going on, and they didn't contact my family about what was going on… They didn't tell anything [about how you can] be supported, like nothing… You can't just come and take a statement and then ignore you." (Victim of violent crime)

"They've [the police] been to see me, that was back in November… and I haven't heard from them since [mid December]. It makes you feel that you are worthless and what's happened to you isn't important, that it wasn't significant." (Victim of harassment)

"They were not very good at keeping me updated. I had to call. I called CIV several times, 'can you tell me what's happening, can you tell me what's happening'. I had to phone

them for follow-ups on what's going on. They didn't really keep me informed." (Victim of road incident)

"Follow-up is essential. Even if no more can be done to solve a crime, being told this would put an end to it. You otherwise feel lost and unimportant." (Victim of burglary)

"It took a while to find out what punishment they are going to give him… They [the police] only told me after I had to do a fair bit of chasing up and then I was told that, I think, he had 21 days in which to appeal, and I contacted the police, I contacted the sergeant and the constable I've been dealing with after the 21 days elapsed and I think they didn't get back to me for about another 10 days or so to let me know that he'd appealed and that my mum and I would have to go to court… Again, I haven't really been given any information as to anything… and most of the information I do have has been research of the internet basically or via the lady at Victim Support I've been speaking to." (Victim of harassment)

"Information, information, information. Telling people what options they have, telling where to get information, where to get support. It's not out there and that's the biggest issue… You have to give them [the victims] that information." (Victim of violent crime)

"I think it would be helpful to, from a practical point of view, have the explanation of the process that you go through from going to police, to the court etc and what services may be out there for people." (Victim of stalking and harassment)

Other victims reported very different experiences of the service provided by agencies, which helped them cope with the impact of the crime.

"The police were very good, they helped me through. They kept me updated; I had regular calls and chats with the police." (Victim of violent crime)

"The explanation with regards to the process was explained clearly to me and I understood exactly what was going to happen… I had a really good conversation with an officer who took my statement and he advised me about external agencies that could support me… They also told me about what options were available to me with regard to finances, process and court. So they were really helpful." (Victim of road traffic incident)

5: Summary and conclusions

- Across all crime types the majority of victims had two negative effects in common – to their emotional or psychological wellbeing and their sense of safety and security. The experience of the participants illustrates how these effects are linked to each other, as impairment to the victim's sense of safety is a source of stress and distress.

- The negative impact on the sense of safety can go beyond the immediate victim and affect the everyday lives of those around them.

- A large number of victims also suffer from a negative effect on their health. The victim's health can be directly affected by the incident or the emotional impact of the crime.

- More than half of the victims reported a negative effect on their financial situation. Victims of various crime types felt a financial impact.

- The crime had a negative effect on confidence in the CJS for nearly half of the participants and confidence in the police for 41% of participants. Victims identified experiences of disrespectful and unpleasant treatment by the police, not being believed when giving evidence and the result of the trial as possible reasons for the negative effect.

- About 40% of victims reported a negative influence on their relationships with family and friends.

- Several differences and similarities in the impact of the crime between victims of various crime types emerged. Property crimes (eg burglary and theft), violence (including robbery), public order and fraud were highlighted:

  o Victims of violent crimes were significantly more affected by the incident in many areas of their life compared with all other crime types included in the analysis.

  o Victims of criminal damage reported an extensive effect on their life, compared with other victims. These results strengthen the claim that even incidents considered as less serious by the CJS can have a significant effect on victims.

  o Victims of property crimes and fraud were more likely to be negatively affected financially.

  o The only area where no differences were found between victims of these crime types was in their sense of safety and security. Many victims, regardless of the crime type, felt a negative effect on their sense of safety and security.

- Seven themes were identified as needs of victims and possible support to cope with the negative impact of the crime:

  o a strong, trusting relationship with a caseworker

  o support and assistance during legal proceedings

  o sharing with people who had gone through similar experiences

- o support during weekends and evenings

- o long-term support

- o support for other members of the family

- o being informed about the CJS and kept updated on the progress of the case

Our findings demonstrate the immense and diverse impact that crime has on victims, which supports previous evidence on victimisation. By encompassing victims who had fallen victim to many crime types, we were able to add valuable knowledge on similarities and differences. Our research suggests that, on the one hand, many victims, regardless of the nature of the victimisation, share similar feelings and experiences, in particular a negative effect on their emotional wellbeing and sense of safety. On the other hand, we found differences between crime types: victims of violent crime reported a wider effect on their life following the incident than victims of the other crimes included in the analysis. This fact has also been illustrated by previous research.

Our evidence also shows the wide-ranging impact that criminal damage has on victims, which has previously attracted little research. These results strengthen the claim that incidents considered as less serious by the CJS can have a significant effect on victims.[189] More research is needed on how various crimes affect victims differently, especially crimes that are viewed as less serious.

This research also adds to the growing understanding of victims' needs, based on their own experiences and views. The literature on the needs, support and services that would help victims cope with and recover from crimes is still very limited, and additional evidence involving victims is crucial.

Research into victimisation is essential to increase understanding of how people are affected by crime and what they need to move beyond the crime. It is important that victim support services are evidence based to ensure they are effective. We believe further research is needed to build on existing knowledge and make continuous improvements to help the millions of people affected by crime.

References

[1] Office for National Statistics. (2016). *Crime in England and Wales: Year ending Sept 2016*. London: Office for National Statistics.

[2] Office for National Statistics. (2016). *Crime in England and Wales: Year ending March 2016*. London: Office for National Statistics.

[3] Office for National Statistics, 2016 (as n.1).

[4] Walklate, S. (2007). *Imagining the victim of crime*. Berkshire: Open University Press.

[5] Gale, J., & Coupe, T. (2005). The behavioural, emotional and psychological effects of street robbery on victims. *International Review of Victimology, 12*(1), 1–22.

[6] Walklate, 2007 (as n. 4).

[7] ten Boom, A., & Kuijpers, K. F. (2012). Victims' needs as basic human needs. *International Review of Victimology, 18*(2), 155-179.

[8] ten Boom & Kuijpers, 2012 (as n. 7).

[9] Office for National Statistics. (2016). *Focus on violent crimes and sexual offences: Year ending March 2015*. London: Office for National Statistics.

[10] Office for National Statistics, 2016 (as n. 9).

[11] Office for National Statistics. (2015). *Crime statistics, focus on public perceptions of crime and the police, and the personal well-being of victims: 2013 to 2014*. London: Office for National Statistics.

[12] Shapland, J., & Hall, M. (2007). What do we know about the effect of crime on victims? *International Review of Victimology, 14,* 175-217.

[13] Office for National Statistics. (2015). *Focus on property crime: 2014 to 2015*. London: Office for National Statistics.

[14] Button, M., Lewis, C., & Tapley, J. (2014). Not a victimless crime: The impact of fraud on individual victims and their families. *Security Journal, 27*(1), 36-54.

[15] Ganzini, L., McFarland, B. H., & Cutler, D. (1990b). Prevalence of mental disorders after catastrophic financial loss. *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 178*(11), 680-685.

[16] Spalek, B. (1999). Exploring the impact of financial crime: A study looking into the effect of the Maxwell scandal upon the Maxwell pensioners. *International Review of Victimology, 6*, 213-230.

[17] Shapland & Hall, 2007 (as n. 12).

[18] Jackson, J., & Gouseti, I. (2015). Threatened by violence: Affective and cognitive reactions to violent victimization. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence,* 1-30. doi: 10.1177/0886260515584336

[19] Norris, F. H., & Kaniasty, K. (1994). Psychological distress following criminal victimization in the general population: Cross-sectional, longitudinal, and prospective analyses. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 62*(1), 111-123.

[20] Ditton, J., Farrall, S., Bannister, J., Gilchrist, E., & Pease, K. (1999). Reactions to victimisation: Why has anger been ignored? *Crime Prevention and Community Safety: An International Journal, 1*(3), 37-54.

[21] Jones, C. (2002). Victim perspective of bank robbery trauma and recovery. *Traumatology, 8*, 191-204.

[22] Cross, C., Richards, K., & Smith, R. G. (2016). *The reporting experiences and support needs of victims of online fraud*. Australia: Australian Institute of Criminology.

[23] Button et al., 2014 (as n. 14).

[24] Titus, R. M., & Gover, A. R. (2001). Personal fraud: The victims and the scams. *Crime Prevention Studies, 12*, 133-151.

[25] Deevy, M., Lucich, S., & Beals, M. (2012). *Scams, schemes & swindles. A review of consumer financial fraud research*. Financial Fraud Research Center. Retrieved from http://www.ncpc.org/resources/files/pdf/fraud/Scams-Schemes-Swindles.pdf

[26] Whitty, M. T., & Buchanan, T. (2015). The online dating romance scam: The psychological impact on victims – both financial and non-financial. *Criminology & Criminal Justice, 16*(2), 176-194.

[27] Whitty, M., & Buchanan, T. (2012). *The psychology of the online dating romance scam*. Retrieved from https://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/media/people/monica-whitty/Whitty_romance_scam_report.pdf

[28] Buchanan, T., & Whitty, M. (2014). The online dating romance scam: Causes and consequences of victimhood. *Psychology, Crime & Law, 20*(3), 261-283.

[29] Whitty & Buchanan, 2015 (as n. 26).

[30] Foley, L. & Gordon, S. (2007*). Identity theft: The aftermath 2007*. Identity Theft Resource Center. Retrieved from http://www.idtheftcenter.org/images/surveys_studies/Aftermath2007.pdf

[31] Cullina, M., Velasquez, E., Bond, P., Grant, S., Cook, M., Fergerson, J., & Lee, J. (2014). *Identity theft: The aftermath 2014*. Identity Theft Resource Center. Retrieved from http://www.idtheftcenter.org/images/surveys_studies/Aftermath2014FINAL.pdf

[32] Foley & Gordon, 2007 (as n. 30).

[33] Reppeto, T. A. (1974). *Residential crime*. Cambridge, Mass: Ballinger.

[34] Haward, L. R. C. (1979). *Psychological consequences of being the victim of a crime*, paper presented at SSRC Law and Psychology Conference, Trinity College, Oxford, September, 1979.

[35] Waller, I., & Okihiro, N. (1978). *Burglary: The victim and the public*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

[36] Clarke, R. V. C., & Hope, T. (1984). *Coping with burglary*. Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff.

[37] Maguire, M. (1980). The impact of burglary upon victims. *British Journal of Criminology, 20*(3), 261-275.

[38] Victim Support & ADT. (2014). *Take no more*. Retrieved from https://www.adt.co.uk/take-no-more/burglary-affects-children-as-well-as-adults

[39] Crime prevention, purse theft crime prevention and safety tip: "Purse theft and purse snatching". Retrieved from: http://www.hyattsville.org/DocumentCenter/Home/View/248

[40] Belk, R. W. (1988). Possessions and the extended self. *Journal of Consumer Research, 15*(2), 139-168.

[41] Burris, C. T., & Rempel, J. K. (2004). "It's the end of the world as we know it": Threat and the spatial-symbolic self. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 86*(1), 19-42.

[42] Wirtz, P., & Harrell, A. (1987). Victim and crime characteristics, coping responses and short- and long-term recovery from victimisation. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 55*, 866-871.

[43] Foley & Gordon, 2007 (as n. 30).

[44] Sharp, T., Shreve-Neiger, A., Fremouw, W., Kane, J., & Hutton, S. (2004). Exploring the psychological and somatic impact of identity theft. *Journal of Forensic Science, 49*(1), 131-136.

[45] Office for National Statistics, 2015 (as n. 9).

[46] Beaton, A., Cook, M., Kavanagh, M., & Herrington, C. (2000). The psychological impact of burglary. *Psychology, Crime & Law, 6*(1), 33-43.

[47] Cohen, M. A. (2008). The effect of crime on life satisfaction. *The Journal of Legal Studies, 37*(S2), S325-S353.

[48] Kuroki, M. (2013). Crime victimization and subjective well-being: Evidence from happiness data. *Journal of Happiness Studies, 14*, 783-794.

[49] Powdthavee, N. (2005). Unhappiness and crime: Evidence from South Africa. *Economica, 72*(3), 531-547.

[50] Staubli, S., Killias, M., & Frey, B. (2014). Happiness and victimization: An empirical study for Switzerland. *European Journal of Criminology, 11*(1), 57–72.

[51] Resnick, H. S., Kilpatrick, D. G., Best, C. L., & Kramer, T. L. (1992). Vulnerability-stress factors in development of posttraumatic stress disorder. *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 180*(7), 424-430.

[52] Gale & Coupe, 2005 (as n. 5).

[53] Resick, P. A. (1987). Psychological effects of victimisation: Implications for the criminal justice system. *Crime and Delinquency, 33*(4), 468-478.

[54] Gale & Coupe, 2005 (as n. 5).

[55] Hardt, J., Bernert, S., Matschinger, H., Angermeier, M. C., Vilagut, G., Bruffaerts, R. … & Alonso, J. (2015). Suicidality and its relationship with depression, alcohol disorders and childhood experiences of violence: Results from ESEMeD study. *Journal of Affective Disorders, 175*, 168-174.

[56] Nada-Raja, S., & Skegg, K. (2011). Victimisation, posttraumatic stress disorder symptomatology, and later nonsuicidal self-harm in a birth cohort. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 26*, 1-15.

[57] Krug, E. G., Mercy, J. A., Dahlberg., L. L., & Zwi, A. B. (2002). The world report on violence and health. *The Lancet, 360*, 1083-1088.

[58] Kort-Butler, L. A. (2010). Experienced and vicarious victimization: Do social support and self-esteem prevent delinquent responses? *Journal of Criminal Justice, 38*, 496-505.

[59] Dillon, G., Hussain, R., Loxton, D., & Rahman, S. (2013). Mental and physical health and intimate partner violence against women: A review of the literature. *International Journal of Family Medicine*. doi: 10.1155/2013/313909

[60] Campbell, J. C. (2002). Health consequences of intimate partner violence. *The Lancet, 359*, 1331-1336.

[61] Trevillion, K., Oram, S., Feder, G., & Howard, L. M. (2012). Experiences of domestic violence and mental disorders: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *PLoS ONE*, *7*(12). doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0051740

[62] Devries, K. M., Mak, J. Y., Bacchus, L. J., Child, J. C., Falder, G., Petzold, M., ... & Watts, C. H. (2013). Intimate partner violence and incident depressive symptoms and suicide attempts: A systematic review of longitudinal studies. *PLoS Med, 10*(5). doi:10.1371/journal.pmed.1001439

[63] Dufort, M., Stenbacka, M., & Gumpert, C. H. (2015). Physical domestic violence exposure is highly associated with suicidal attempts in both women and men. Results from the national public health survey in Sweden. *The European Journal of Public Health, 25*(3), 413-418.

[64] Chen, L. P., Murad, M. H., Paras, M. L., Colbenson, K. M., Sattler, A. L., Goranson, E. N., ... & Zirakzadeh, A. (2010). Sexual abuse and lifetime diagnosis of psychiatric disorders: Systematic review and meta-analysis. *Mayo Clinic Proceedings, 85* (7), 618-629.

[65] Ganzini, L., McFarland, B. H., & Bloom, J. (1990a). Victims of fraud: Comparing victims of white collar and violent crime. *The Bulletin of the American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law, 18*(1), 55-63.

[66] Deem, D. L. (2000). Notes from the field: Observations in working with the forgotten victims of personal financial crimes. *Journal of Elder Abuse & Neglect, 12*(2), 33-48.

[67] Spalek, 1999 (as n. 16).

[68] Ganzini et al., 1990a (as n. 65).

[69] Wohlfarth, T. D., van den Brink, W., Winkel, F. W., & ter Smitten, M. (2003). Screening for posttraumatic stress disorder: An evaluation of two self-report scales among crime victims. *Psychological Assessment, 15*, 101-109.

[70] Caballero, M. A., Ramos, L., & Saltijeral, M. T. (2000). Posttraumatic stress dysfunction and other reactions of the victims of house burglary. *Salud Mental, 23*, 8-17.

[71] Mol, S. S., Arntz, A., Metsemakers, J. F. M., Dinant, G. J., Vilters-Van Montfort, P. A. P., & Knotterus, J. A. (2005). Symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorder after non-traumatic events: Evidence from an open population study. *The British Journal of Psychiatry, 186*, 494-499.

[72] Chung, M. C., Stedmon, J., Hall, R., Marks, Z., Thornhill, K., & Mehrshahi, R. (2014). Posttraumatic stress reactions following burglary: The role of coping and personality. *Traumatology: An International Journal, 20*(2), 65-74.

[73] Brady, K. T., Kileen, T. K., Brewenton, T., & Lucerini, S. (2000). Comorbidity of psychiatric disorders and posttraumatic disorder. *Journal of Clinical Psychiatry, 61*, 22-32.

[74] Kilpatrick, D. G., & Acierno, R. (2003). Mental health needs of crime victims: Epidemiology and outcomes. *Journal of Traumatic Stress, 16*, 119-132.

[75] Brewin, C. R., Andrews, B., & Valentine, J. D. (2000). Meta-analysis of risk factors for posttraumatic stress disorder in trauma-exposed adults. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 68*(5), 748-766.

[76] World Health Organization. (2014). *Global status report on violence prevention.* Geneva: WHO.

[77] Office for National Statistics, 2016 (as n. 9).

[78] Shapland, J., Willmore, J., & Duff, P. (1985). *Victims in the criminal justice system.* Vermont: Gower Publishing Company.

[79] Office for National Statistics, 2016 (as n. 9).

[80] Pimlott-Kubiak, S., & Cortina, L. M. (2003). Gender, victimization, and outcomes: Reconceptualizing risk. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 71*(3), 528-539.

[81] Coker, A. L., Davis, K. E., Arias, I., Desai, S., Sanderson, M., Brandt, H. M., & Smith, P. H. (2002). Physical and mental health effects of intimate partner violence for men and women. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine, 23*(4), 260-268.

[82] Campbell, 2002 (as n. 60).

[83] Black, M. C. (2011). Intimate partner violence and adverse health consequences: Implications for clinicians. *American Journal of Lifestyle Medicine, 5*(5), 428-439.

[84] Campbell, 2002 (as n. 60).

[85] Leserman, J. (2005). Sexual abuse history: Prevalence, health effects, mediators, and psychological treatment. *Psychosomatic Medicine, 67*(6), 906-915.

[86] Campbell, R., Sefl, T., & Ahrens, C. E. (2004). The impact of rape on women's sexual health risk behaviors. *Health Psychology, 23*(1), 67-74.

[87] Cross, C., Richards, K., & Smith, R. G. (2016). *Improving responses to online fraud victims: An examination of reporting and support. Final report.* Australian Institute of Criminology.

[88] Button, M., Lewis, C., Tapley, J. (2009a). *A better deal for fraud victims.* London: Centre for Counter Fraud Studies.

[89] Ganzini et al., 1990b (as n. 15).

[90] Maguire, 1980 (as n. 37).

[91] Cross et al., 2016 (as n. 87).

[92] Deem, 2000 (as n. 66).

[93] Button et al., 2014 (as n. 14).

[94] Deem, 2000 (as n. 66).

[95] Titus, R., Heinzelmann, F., & Boyle, J. M. (1995). Victimization of persons by fraud. *Crime and Delinquency, 41*(1), 54-72.

[96] Cross et al., 2016 (as n. 87).

[97] Benner, J., Mierzwinski, E., & Givens, B. (2000). *Nowhere to turn: Victims speak out on identity theft.* California Public Interest Research Group and the Privacy Rights Clearinghouse. Retrieved from https://www.privacyrights.org/blog/nowhere-turn-victims-speak-out-identity-theft-survey-identity-theft-victims-and-recommendations

[98] Office for National Statistics, 2015 (as n. 13).

[99] Mawby, R. I., Gorgenyi, I., Ostrihanska, S., Walklate, S., & Wojcik, D. (1999). Victims' needs and the availability of services: A comparison of burglary victims in Poland, Hungary, and England. *International Criminal Justice Review, 9*, 18-38.

[100] Shapland & Hall, 2007 (as n. 12).

[101] Victim Support & Direct Line (2005). *Investigating the practical support needs of burglary victims.* Retrieved from https://www.victimsupport.org.uk/sites/default/files/Investigating%20the%20practical%20support%20needs%20of%20burglary%20victims.pdf

[102] Wollinger, G. R. (2016). Choice behavior after burglary victimization: Moving, safety precautions, and passivity. *European Journal of Criminology,* 1-15. doi: 10.1177/1477370816661738

[103] Maguire, 1980 (as n. 37).

[104] Wollinger, 2016 (as n. 102).

[105] Conlon, A. (2013). Financial abuse. In *Encyclopaedia of domestic violence and abuse* (pp. 171-175). Santa Barbara CL: ABC-CLIO.

[106] Walby, S. (2004). *The cost of domestic violence.* London: Women and Equality Unit.

[107] Macmillan, R. (2001). Violence and the life course: The consequences of victimization for personal and social development. *Annual Review of Sociology, 27*, 1-22.

[108] Hanson, R. F., Sawyer, G. K., Begle, A. M., & Hubel, G. S. (2010). The impact of crime victimization on quality of life. *Journal of Traumatic Stress, 23*, 189-197.

[109] Siegel, L. J. (2010). *Criminology: Theories, and Typologies* (10th ed.). United States: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning.

[110] Shapland & Hall, 2007 (as n. 12).

[111] Field, S. (1993). *Crime prevention and the costs of auto theft: An economic analysis.* London: Home Office Research and Planning Unit.

[112] Jackson & Gouseti, 2015 (as n. 18).

[113] Walker, E. A., Newman, E., & Koss, M. P. (2003). Cost and health care utilization associated with traumatic experiences. In P. P. Schnurr & B. L. Green (Eds.), *Trauma and health: Physical consequences of exposure to extreme stress* (pp. 43-69). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

[114] Office for National Statistics, 2016 (as n. 9).

[115] UK Peace Index. (2013). *Exploring the fabric of peace in the UK from 2003 to 2012.* Institute for Economics & Peace. Retrieved from http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/UK_Peace_Index_report_2013_0.pdf

[116] Coy, M., & Kelly, L. (2001). *Islands in the stream: An evaluation of London independent domestic violence advocacy schemes.* London: Trust of London, The Henry Smith Charity and London Metropolitan University.

[117] Croft, J. (2016, May 25). Fraud costs the UK up to £193bn per year, reports says. *Financial Times.* Retrieved from https://www.ft.com/content/fbb5c2e8-21ad-11e6-9d4d-c11776a5124d

[118] Shapland & Hall, 2007 (as n. 12).

[119] Ahrens, C. E., & Campbell, R. (2000). Assisting rape victims as they recover from rape: The impact on friends. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 15*(9), 959-986.

[120] Davis, R. C., & Friedman, L. N. (1985). The emotional aftermath of crime and violence. In C. R. Figley (Ed.), *Trauma and its wake: The study and treatment of post-traumatic stress disorder* (Vol. 1, pp.90-112). New York: Brunner/Mazel.

[121] Cross et al., 2016 (as n. 87).

[122] Button et al., 2014 (as n. 14).

[123] Shapland & Hall, 2007 (as n. 12).

[124] Xie, M., & McDowall, D. (2008). Escaping crime: The effects of direct and indirect victimization on moving. *Criminology, 46*(4), 809-840.

[125] Ellen, I. G., & O'Regan, K. M. (2010). Crime and urban flight revisited: The effect of the 1990s drop in crime on cities. *Journal of Urban Economics, 68*(3), 247-259.

[126] Greenbaum, R. T., & Tita, G. E. (2004). The impact of violence surges on neighbourhood business activity. *Urban Studies, 41*(13), 2495-2514.

[127] Gibbons, S. (2004). The cost of urban property crime. *The Economic Journal, 114*(499), 441-463.

[128] Rosenthal, S.S., & Ross, A. (2010). Violent crime, entrepreneurship, and cities. *Journal of Urban Economics, 67*(1), 135-149.

[129] Dustman, C., & Fasini, F. (2014). The effect of local area crime on mental health. *The Economic Journal, 126,* 978-1017.

[130] Wilcox Rountree, P., & Land, K. C. (1996). Burglary victimization, perception of crime risk, and routine activities: A multilevel analysis across Seattle neighborhoods and census tracts. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 33*(2), 147-180.

[131] Lindström, M. (2004). Social capital, the miniaturisation of community and self-reported global and psychological health. *Social Science and Medicine, 59,* 595-607.

[132] Avdic, D., & Bünnings, C. (2015). Does the burglary also disturb the neighbor? Crime spillovers on individual well-being. *RUHR Economic Papers.* Retrieved from http://www.rwi-essen.de/media/content/pages/publikationen/ruhr-economic-papers/rep_15_540.pdf

[133] Brand, S., & Price, N. (2000). *The economic cost of crime.* Research Study. United Kingdom: Home Office.

[134] Rosenthal & Ross, 2010 (as n. 128).

[135] Dolan, P., & Peasgood, T. (2007). Estimating the economic and social costs of the fear of crime. *British Journal of Criminology, 47,* 121-132.

[136] Wittebrood, K. (2002). Fear of crime and victimization in western industrialized countries: A multilevel analysis. In P. Nieuwbeerta (Ed.), *Crime victimization in a comparative perspective: Results from the International Crime Victim Survey, 1989-2000* (pp. 285-300). The Hague: Boom Juridische uitgevers.

[137] Ostrihanska, Z., & Wojcik, D. (1993). Burglaries as seen by the victims. *International Review of Victimology, 2*(3), 217-226.

[138] Roberts, L. D., & Indermaur, D. (2012). Are neighbourhood incivilities associated with fear of crime? In J. Pietsch & H. Aarons (Eds.), *Australia: Identity, fear and governance in the 21st century,* (pp. 61-78). Australia: ANU E Press.

[139] Roberts, L. D., Indermaur, D., & Spiranovic, C. (2013). Fear of cyber-identity theft and related fraudulent activity. *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law, 20*(3), 315-328.

[140] Monahan, T. (2009). Identity theft vulnerability: Neoliberal governance through crime construction. *Theoretical Criminology, 13,* 155-176.

[141] Lynch, J. (2005). Identity theft in cyberspace: Crime control methods and their effectiveness in combating phishing attacks. *Berkeley Technology Journal, 20,* 259-300.

[142] Reisig, M. D., Pratt, T. C., & Holtfreter, K. (2009). Perceived risk of internet theft victimization: Examining the effects of social vulnerability and financial impulsivity. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 36,* 369-384.

[143] Pascoe, T., Owen, K., Keats, G., & Gill, M. (2006). *Identity fraud: What about the victim.* Leicester: CIFAS.

[144] Button, M., Lewis, C., & Tapley, J. (2009c). *A better deal for fraud victims: Research into victims' needs experiences.* Working paper. London: National Fraud Authority.

[145] Button et al., 2009c (as n. 144).

[146] ten Boom & Kuijpers, 2012 (as n. 7).

[147] Pascoe et al., 2006 (as n. 143).

[148] Button et al., 2009c (as n. 144).

[149] Maguire, M., & Kynch, J. (2000). *Public perceptions and victims' experiences of victim support: findings from the 1998 British Crime Survey*. Home Office Research, Development and Statistics Directorate, London.

[150] Brickman, E., Davis, R., Rabinovich, B., Cantor, D., & Shapiro, G. (2002). *Victim needs and victim assistance*. Report to the National Institute of Justice. New York: Safe Horizon.

[151] Button et al., 2009c (as n. 144).

[152] Kilchling, M. (1991). Interests of the victim and public prosecution. First results of a national survey. In G. Kaiser, H. Kurry, & H. J. Albrecht (Eds.), *Victims and Criminal Justice*, (pp. 29-65). Freiburg: Max-Planck-Institut.

[153] Button et al., 2009c (as n. 144).

[154] Davis, R. C., Lurigio, A. J., & Skogan, W. G. (1999). Services for victims: A market research study. *International Review of Victimology, 6*, 101-115.

[155] Stuebing, W. K. (1984). *Victims and witnesses: Experience, needs and community or criminal justice response*. Ottawa: Department of Justice.

[156] Maguire & Kynch, 2000 (as n. 149).

[157] Wemmers, J., & Cyr, K. (2004). Victims' perspective on restorative justice: How much involvement are victims looking for? *International Review of Victimology, 11*, 259-274.

[158] Wemmers, J. (2006). *Reparation and the International Criminal Court: Meeting the needs of victims*. Report of the Workshop held 28 January 2006. University of Montreal, International Centre for Comparative Criminology.

[159] ten Boom & Kuijpers, 2012 (as n. 7).

[160] Victim Support. (2011). *Left in the dark: Why victims of crime need to be kept informed*. London: Victim Support.

[161] Button et al., 2009c (as n. 144).

[162] Shapland et al., 1985 (as n. 78).

[163] Wedlock, E., & Tapley, J. (2016). *What works in supporting victims of crime: A rapid evidence assessment*. University of Portsmouth, Victims' Commissioner.

[164] Newburn, T., & Merry, S. (1990). *Keeping in touch – police-victim communication in two areas*. London: Home Office Research Study 116.

[165] Victim Support, 2011 (as n. 160).

[166] HM Crown Prosecution Service Inspectorate. (2016a) *Communicating with victims*. London: HMSO.

[167] Victim Support, 2011 (as n. 160).

[168] Bricknell, S., Boxall, H., & Andrevski, H. (2014). Male victims of non-sexual and non-domestic violence: Service needs and experiences in court. *Research and Public Policy Series, 126*, 1–50.

[169] Laxminarayan, M. (2015). Enhancing trust in the legal system through victims' rights mechanisms. *International Review of Victimology, 21*(3), 273-286.

[170] Bryce, J., Brooks, M., Robinson, P., Stokes, R., Irving, M., Graham-Kevan, N., … & Lowe, M. (2016). A qualitative examination of engagement with support services by victims of violent crime. *International Review of Victimology, 22*(3), 239-255.

[171] Tapley. J., Stark. A., Watkins, M., & Peneva, B. (2014). A *strategic assessment of support services for victims of crime in the South East*. Portsmouth: University of Portsmouth.

[172] Whitty & Buchanan, 2015 (as n. 26).

[173] Benner et al., 2000 (as n. 97).

[174] Australian Government. (2005). *No longer silent. A study of women's help seeking decisions and service responses to sexual assault*. Australia: Australian Government, Australian Institute of Criminology.

[175] ten Boom & Kuijpers, 2012 (as n. 7).

[176] Stuebing, 1984 (as n. 155).

[177] Bazemore, G. (1999). Crime victims, restorative justice and the juvenile court: Exploring victim needs and involvement in the response to youth crime. *International Review of Victimology, 6*, 295-320.

[178] Freeman, L. (2013). *Support for victims: Findings from the Crime Survey for England and Wales (Ministry of Justice Analytical Series)*. London: Ministry of Justice.

[179] ten Boom & Kuijpers, 2012 (as n. 7).

[180] ten Boom & Kuijpers, 2012 (as n. 7).

[181] Maguire & Kynch, 2000 (as n. 149).

[182] Gadd, D., Farrall, S., Dallimore, D., & Lombard, N. (2002). *Domestic abuse against men in Scotland*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive Central Research Unit.

[183] Mirlees-Black, C. (1999). *Domestic violence: Findings from a new British crime survey self-completion questionnaire.* Home Office Research Study 191.

[184] Bricknell et al., 2014 (as n. 168).

[185] Maguire & Kynch, 2000 (as n. 149).

[186] Cook, B., David, F., & Grant, A. (1999). *Victims' needs, victims' rights: Policies and programs for victims of crime in Australia.* Australia: Australian Government, Australian Institute of Criminology.

[187] Bárd, P., & Borbíró, A. (2011). *Local and regional good practices on victims' rights.* European Union: Centre for European Policy Studies.

[188] Walklate, 2007 (as n. 4).

[189] Gale & Coupe, 2005 (as n. 5).

VS VICTIM SUPPORT

We are an independent charity offering free, confidential support to people affected by crime and traumatic incidents. For information and support, contact us by:

- calling: Supportline **08 08 16 89 111**

- using Next Generation Text (add **18001** before any of our phone numbers)

- Online: **victimsupport.org.uk**

To find out how you can help us, visit **victimsupport.org.uk/get-involved**

victimsupport.org.uk

f **VictimSupport**   **@VictimSupport**

Business Disability Forum
Building disability-smart organisations

Leaders in Diversity

Stonewall DIVERSITY CHAMPION