

SURVIVOR SCRIPTS AND SAFETY SCRIPTS IN LIMA, PERU:

CITIZENS' COGNITIVE ASSESSMENTS AND DECISIONS TO MAINTAIN
SAFETY DURING VICTIMIZATION EVENTS AND IN THEIR DAILY ROUTINES

by

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Abstract
Survivor Scripts and Safety Scripts in Lima, Peru:
Citizens' Cognitive Assessments and Decisions to Maintain Safety During
Victimization Events and in Their Daily Routines

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This study describes how the choices made by crime survivors (during victimization events) and potential victims of crimes (in order to remain safe) affect the outcomes of crimes, the daily routines of citizens and their views on their personal safety. Expanding upon the crime script framework (Cornish, 1994), it describes “survivor scripts” (the cognitive assessment and decision making process employed by citizens before, during and after a victimization event) and “safety scripts” (the cognitive assessment and decision making process employed by citizens to maintain safety). The choices made in these scripts are detailed through the integration of concepts related to “citizen insecurity” (fear and risk of crime), opportunity theories and placed within the context of a Latin American culture. These scripts come from the accounts of 100 citizens in Lima, Peru; a metropolis with one of Latin America’s highest victimization rates.

The study describes 14 different survivor script that describe the before during and after of the victimization events of robberies, burglaries, thefts, extortions, kidnappings, identity theft, assault, threats and vandalism. Before the victimizations, citizens employ precautions to procure their safety. During the victimizations, citizens are faced with decisions on how to react during their attacks based on their available choices and the constraints of their environments. After the victimizations, citizens make a number of choices concerning the reporting of the crime and how to prevent future victimizations. A safety script for the citizens of Lima was created; it includes the most common precautions employed by residents and divides them into 5 scenes containing 42 steps. All together, the analysis describes 72 home, 20 neighborhood and 215 personal categories of precautions. A combination of fear, risk assessments, cultural knowhow, crime experiences, victimization neutralization, informality and pragmatism inform the implementation of these protections.

Residents explain that citizen insecurity is incremented by the high rates of crimes, negative experiences with the police and distrust of citizens, along with their personal victimization accounts. Thus, citizens feel they are forced to adapt lengthy safety scripts in order to decrease their chances of victimization in the absence of institutionalized resources for crime prevention. This leaves many to plan for likely victimizations rather than to plan to prevent them. In order to improve security, citizens would like more police professionalism, an increase in methods of security across the city and cooperation between citizens, law enforcement and local governments.

Acknowledgements

I began to think about citizen insecurity when I returned to my native Lima on a summer break from college, after a 10 year absence. Due to burglaries and personal crimes my childhood home had become a fortress. My grandfather, Victor, installed bars in every window, barricade bolts and reinforced locks in each door, an alarm and spikes around the home's perimeter. I watched him and my grandmother, Maxima, zealously analyze every measure of protection in and outside the home each night in an effort to secure the home they spent a lifetime building. Throughout the various happy and difficult times from then on, one question always lingered in the air, "who is going to stay in and look over the house?" Since then I set out on a journey to understand the various meanings of this and many other questions in order to understand how crime insecurity affects, restricts and shapes the lives of citizens daily. This study is an initial attempt to answer these questions. It is dedicated to the memory of my grandmother Maxima and her husband Victor, who like millions of Lima residents, employ innumerable efforts in order to create a safe place to call home in an uncertain landscape.

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Antony C. Leberatto

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Introduction and Research Problem

Much of criminological research focuses on criminals and their conditions for offending, their background characteristics, socio-historical factors and the processes of how crimes are carried out. The choices made by crime survivors (during an attack or victimization) and by potential victims of crimes (to remain safe) need greater attention in academia. This study explores a necessary focus in criminological research, the decision making of *crime survivors* and *potential victims of crime*; using a methodological framework previously used to map out offender decision making (Cornish's (1994) "crime scripts"). In so doing two new types of scripts are described: "survivor scripts" which outline the cognitive decision making and processes which survivors of crimes employ before, during and after a crime event and "safety scripts" which outline the cognitive decision making and processes of potential victims of crime to maintain their safety. This study aims to push criminological research by integrating concepts related to citizen insecurity (fear and risk of crime) and opportunity theories throughout explanations of the safety scripts and survivor scripts. Finally, the study uses a unique source of data. The scripts come from original data collected in the city of Lima, Peru. There is a growing concern about crime and citizen insecurity in this Latin American metropolis. This study pushes criminological research methodologically and theoretically.

Chapter Outline

Chapter 1: "*Crime in Lima*" details a brief summary of this study's setting, the city of Lima, Peru. It explains information about the victimization of citizens, some responses to crime and the cultural concepts that are important to consider when carrying out research in such a complex and multifaceted city.

Chapter 2: “*Disentangling the Complexities of Fear of Crime*” describes many of the concepts found in the “fear and risk of crime” literature and highlights research on factors such as age, sex, race, and victimization and their effect on fear. Finally, it explains research on fear and its adaptive responses in the context of different cultures.

Chapter 3: “*Concepts in Opportunity Theories*” outlines various opportunity theories such as Routine Activities Approach (Cohen and Felson, 1979), Rational Choice Perspective (Cornish and Clarke, 1986) and Routine Precautions (Felson and Clarke, 2010) in order to explore concepts that are helpful in understanding the decision making of potential victims and survivors of crimes within specific environments.

Chapter 4: “*Crime Scripts and their Uses*” explains the “crime scripts” framework created by Cornish (1994). It notes some of the uses of crime scripts in crime research and possible avenues for the expansion of scripts.

Chapter 5: “*Theoretical Framework: Combining Citizen Insecurity and Opportunity Theory Concepts; and Converting Crime Scripts into “Survivor Scripts” and “Safety Scripts”*” combines all the aforementioned themes, theories and concepts; explains the utility of “survivor” and “safety” scripts in criminological research; and the importance of placing these concepts in various contexts and cultures.

Chapter 6: “*Research Design and Methodology*” outlines the research design and methodological choices of the study; explains the limitations of the study and its advantages. Finally, it outlines the research questions of the study.

Chapter 7: “*Demographic Findings*” notes some of the demographic and general findings of the study. This chapter also outlines the organization of the findings.

Chapter 8: “*Survivor Scripts: Robberies*” explains the survivor scripts for the robbery victimizations experienced by the citizens.

Chapter 9: “*Survivor Scripts: (Violent Crimes) Kidnapping, Vandalism, Assault and Threats*” explains the survivor scripts associated with these crime events experienced by Lima residents. It also notes what happened after the crime event.

Chapter 10: “*Survivor Scripts: (Non-Violent Crimes): Larceny-Theft, Extortion and Impersonation*” explains the survivor scripts of the various types of non-violent crime events and what happened thereafter.

Chapter 11: “*Survivor Scripts: Burglary*” explains the survivor scripts of the various types of burglaries experienced by the citizens of Lima.

Chapter 12: “*Crime Events and Their Relation to Citizen Precautions*” notes the various ways in which victimization events impact the lives of the citizens of Lima.

Chapter 13: “*Neighborhood/Family Crime and their impact on Citizen Precautions*” explains how crime in the citizens’ neighborhoods relates to preventive measures in the citizens’ lives.

Chapter 14: “*A Citizen Safety Script in Lima, Peru*” notes a safety script that comprises the most common precautions employed by citizens to maintain their safety.

Chapter 15: “*Exploring the Daily Precautions of Citizens*” gives an in-depth look at all the home, neighborhood and personal crime precautions of Lima citizens.

Chapter 16: “*How to Improve Safety and Citizen Security in the City of Lima*” notes the citizens’ suggestions for improving citizen safety in Lima.

Chapter 17: “*Summing up the Survival and Safety Scripts of the Citizens of Lima*” restates the research questions of this study and lists the following steps.

Chapter 1: Crime in Lima

Lima is a complex metropolis. This multi-ethnic, diverse city faces various citizen insecurity problems including: crime; distrust of the government and law enforcement; and informality. The citizens of Lima respond to these problems by taking charge of their personal, home and neighborhood security.

Population

The history of the city is marked with waves of migration and informality. Informality in Lima through the methods that citizens used to occupy land to build their homes, through their involvement in illicit economies to earn money and through a lack of formality in governmental processes. From 1940 to 1980, the urban population of the country increased from 2.4 to 11.6 million residents (Soto, 1990). This mass of migration resulted in the crimes of invasion in empty but owned lands around Lima and on its outskirts (Soto, 1990). The limited amount of housing in the city led many migrants to create “barriadas” or marginal settlements of invaded land (Ploger, 2010). In time, these barriadas became their own districts and a part of metropolitan Lima. Currently, there are 43 districts in Lima (5 districts belong to the constitutional province of Callao). According to the 2007 census, more than 27 million people live in Peru and 8.4 million of these residents live in Lima (INEI, 2007). While residents of various socioeconomic backgrounds live in the city; the rich, middle class and poor are highly segregated and isolated from one another (Peters and Skop, 2007).

Informality

Although statistics about crime are unreliable in Peru (Ploger, 2006), the demands of the rapidly growing population resulted in an increase in informality and

crime. De Soto's (1990) *Other Path* explains that the informality in all aspect of Lima's economy and markets is not "make shift" but a socially organized and self-regulating form of enterprise among migrants and previous citizens. In other words, informality in Peru is a way of life. In fact, 61.5 % of the working population in urban cities and 53.1 % of those working in Lima labor in the informal sector (Linares, 2010). As these are non-regulated jobs, taxes are not paid through workers' wages. Some of these informal businesses (which supply consumer goods at low prices) sell and trade stolen, secondhand goods such as home electronics, cell phones, and auto parts. As Durand (2007) explains, formal, informal and illicit crime economies work together in Peru in a system normal to citizens.

Crime and Victimization

The United Nation's International Crime Victims Survey included Peru for the first time in its 2005 rendering. This survey expands our knowledge of comparative victimization, perceptions of crime and attitudes about the criminal justice system around the world (Van Dijk, Van Kesteren and Smit, 2007). An estimated 16% of the populations (among the 30 nations included in this study) were victims of crime in the previous year (Van Dijk et al., 2007). However, major cities in developing nations had higher than average victimization rates at 19.9% (Van Dijk, et al., 2007).

Among major cities in developing countries, Phnom Penh (15%), Maputo (12.6%), and Johannesburg (5.4%) join Lima (6.8%) in having higher burglary victimization rates than any of the cities in the sample (Van Dijk et al., 2007). Lima's burglary rate is higher than that of other South American major cities such as Buenos Aires (2.0%), Sao Paulo (1.5%) and Rio de Janeiro (1.0%).

Lima (12.3%) joins Phnom Penh (12.8%) and London (10.2%) as one of the cities with the highest rates of theft of personal property (Van Dijk et al., 2007). Developed nations have an average of 1.4% robberies, while developing nations show a 6.1% average robberies. Once again Lima (at 7.4%) is one of the cities with the highest rates of robbery (theft by threats or force), only behind Buenos Aires (10.0%) and Maputo (7.6%).

Lima (11.0%) also has one of the highest rates of assaults and threats along with Johannesburg (11.2%) and Belfast (9.2%). Crime related to consumerism and globalization (such as consumer fraud) was at an average of 10% in the past year for the entire sample; Lima once again is above this average with 15.8%.

Lima residents (79%) express some of the highest percentages of fear of burglary, along with Istanbul (75%), Athens (73%) and Sao Paulo (72%). Forty- eight percent of Lima residents feel unsafe when walking in their streets (Van Dijk, et al., 2007). Lima (16%) is below the average of developed nations (47%) and developing nations (19%) in reporting crimes to the police; the same is true in regards to citizens obtaining support from an agency after a victimization (Van Dijk et al., 2007). Surprisingly, Lima residents express below average rates of citizen experiences with corruption (15.5%) (In comparison to other developing nations (18.9%)). These comparisons indicate that victimizations, fear of crime and police cooperation are serious issues in Lima and in comparison to developed and developing cities across the globe.

While the ICVS describes global comparative crime rates, additional studies focus on crime in Latin America. Vanderbilt University's LAPOP study or "Projecto de Opinion Publica de America Latina" found Peru to be the nation with the highest incidences of victimization in all of Latin America (as cited in Costa and Romero, 2010).

It estimated that 31% of the population was victim of a crime in the previous year; 88% of the self-reported crimes were robberies and 12 % of the remaining victimizations did not have theft or robberies as a factor (as cited in Costa and Romero, 2010).

Peru's own household victimization survey explains that 43.2% of households experienced victimization in 2012 (Ciudad Nuestra, 2012¹). In other words, every 1 out of every 2 homes had a family member who experienced victimization. Nationally, 80% of crimes were thefts (street theft at 50%, home or business robberies 18.9% and aggravated robberies 12.4%); a total of 31.1% of these crimes were armed (14.6% of involving a firearm) (Ciudad Nuestra, 2012). Lima's household victimization rate was 42.9%; 13.4% of these crimes were armed (in comparison in the nearby Callao where 24% of crimes were armed) (Ciudad Nuestra, 2012). Due to the informal economies, stolen good markets and commonality of victimizations, Lima's residents fear street victimizations.

Insecurity in the City

Public opinion studies estimate that 54% of Peru's population feels unsafe and afraid of crime (Costa and Romero, 2010). While Ciudad Nuestra's (2012) household victimization survey found that citizen's approval of police work *increased* to 30.8% from 28.1% in 2011; this percentage is still lower than most of Latin America. Peru is listed at number 128 out of 144 nations in the Global Competitiveness Report when it comes to police trust (as cited in Ciudad Nuestra, 2012). Concerns of citizen insecurity are propelled by a lack of trust of public authorities (including the police and local governments) (Ploger, 2006). The majority of residents of Lima feel unsafe due to fear of crime, experiences with crime and a lack of legitimacy in law enforcement.

¹ *Ciudad Nuestra* is a Peruvian non-profit crime and policy think tank founded in 2007 (ciudadnuestra.org)

Fear of crime within Lima may also have a cultural component. Blokker (2010) explains that upper middle-class citizens of Lima fear home victimization such as burglaries and have a cultural fear of “outsiders” who are of non-European descent (these “outsiders” are persons of indigenous decent, the original habitants of this area). Upper middle class citizens believe that citizens from African or indigenous decent in Peru (native Peruvians) are associated with crime (Blokker, 2010). Among middle and upper class citizens and citizens in general there is an expectation that upper class persons of European ancestry are not prone to criminal behaviors while the opposite is expected of indigenous or mixed heritage residents (Blokker, 2010). Race and class are important factors to consider in the exploration of fear of crime and insecurity in the city of Lima.

Policing and Corruption

It is nearly impossible to watch the news in Peru without a headline story on police or government corruption. Not unlike many other nations of the Latin America, Peru’s police force is plagued with numerous corruption scandals. In many ways, corruption is a common phenomenon, or “almost normal” in Peru (Mujica, 2005). Police officers are frequently the culprits of serious crimes such as drug trafficking, kidnappings and homicides (Du Puit, 1995). A lack of government will and support hampers efforts to reform the national police in Peru (Costa and Reid, 2005).

Citizens see the police as inefficient and unable to carry out their function to protect the public and keep them safe (Du Puit, 1995). Notably, the nation’s problems of public insecurity and crime (although always present) increased after Peru’s lengthy battle with terrorism. The nation’s militarization (in order to fight terrorism) left the police force

to take a subordinate role to the armed forces (Basombrio, 2003). This is one reason behind the negative perception that citizens have of the police (Basombrio, 2003).

Responses to Citizen Insecurity

Due to the fear of crime and lack of trust in law enforcement, the citizens of Lima employ many safety precautions. Across all socioeconomic backgrounds citizens hire guards or “watchmanes”, gate their homes, install gates around their neighborhoods, buy dogs and avoiding certain places in Lima (Blokke, 2010; Ploger, 2012). According to Ploger (2007) the citizens of Lima express their feelings of insecurity about crime through a “perceived and real increase in crime and anti-social behaviors” (p.4).

As Ploger (2012) notes, “the urban population have responded to this security gap with a range of collective organizations and actions to establish local ‘comfort zones’ through the appropriation control and fortification of public space” (p. 222). Much of Lima city is now enclosed with gates erected by citizens; these oftentimes illegal “residential enclaves” obstruct access to public spaces (Ploger, 2012). A review of newspaper articles about the residential enclaves found that by the year 2005 about 3000 security measures were installed across 300 residential enclaves in Lima (Ploger, 2006). These enclaves are seen in many Latin American countries facing citizen insecurity and urban violence (Roitman, 2003; Janoschka and Glasze, 2003; Borsdof and Hidalgo, 2004). The “security landscape” is difficult to ignore in a city filled with gates; authorities attempt to take the gates down but then have to deal with very unhappy citizens (Ploger, 2012). Perhaps the gates, spikes and fences help residents feel safer and in control of their environments which helps them to feel a bit of security in an uncertain city.

Conclusion

It is unclear if precaution measures prevent crime, decrease perceptions of fear of crime, or how much their impact Lima's culture. As Lima continues to grow, it appears as though it will grow into an even more guarded and isolated metropolis. The following chapters explain concepts related to fear of crime, crime precautions and changing the physical environment to prevent crime.

Chapter 2: Disentangling the Complexities of Fear of Crime

This chapter explains some of the complexities fear of crime with the help of empirical studies, concepts and theories. There are many individual characteristics associated with *fear of crime* such as age, gender and race. Environmental factors including the presence of strangers, time of the day and type of place are also linked to fear. Responses to fear vary depending on any of the aforementioned factors and through a number of personal, social and cultural contexts. Fear of crime is highly contextual, it influences perceptions, beliefs and actions among persons individually. It should be considered as one factor (among many) in exploring the decision making process of crime survivors and/or victims of crimes.

Age and Fear of Crime

While some studies find that old age is somewhat related to an increase in fear of crime (Clemente and Klaiman, 1977; Braungart, Braungart, and Hoyer, 1980): others indicate that the importance of age in understanding fear of crime is overestimated due to measurement problems (Larrange and Ferraro, 1989; Ferraro and LaGrange, 1992). Pain (1997) explains that *ageism* (as studies treat old age as a singular experience) rather than being of an older age explains why the elderly are said to be fearful; and that their actual fears are age-specific and based on a number of personal characteristics and beliefs. Coincidentally, McCoy et al. (1996) found through their survey of 1,448 elderly Dade County, Florida residents that citizens did not have high levels of fear, and victimization experiences were not the main cause of fear. Instead, being unhappy with their neighborhood and feeling vulnerable (physically and mentally) were the most important correlates of fear of crime (McCoy et al., 1996).

Fear and age can interact with a number of characteristics (gender or race) (Ortega and Myles, 1987); and may lead to greater neighborhood attachment among the elderly (Oh and Kim, 2008). Older citizens may feel less fearful of crime than younger citizens, as they perceive their risk of victimization as low (Tulloch, 2000); while younger people may be more likely to be fearful than older citizens (Ferraro and LaGrange, 1992; Zeigler and Mitchell, 2003). Some studies find no age differences in relation to fear of crime (Ranzijn, Howells, and Wagstaff, 2002; Kappes, Greve, and Hellmers, 2013). The importance of age in understanding fear of crime is more adequately understood in a context of lifestyles differences at different life stages rather than “age” as a reason for fear itself.

Gender and Fear

As Koskela and Pain (2000) note, “women’s fear of crime is normalized” (p. 278); or common part of women’s experiences. Several studies find gender as the most constant predictor of fear of crime; women are often more fearful than men (Braungart and Hoyer, 1980; Larrange and Ferraro, 1989; Ferraro, 1996; Roundtree, 1998; Hayne, 1998; Ranzijn, Howells, and Wagstaff, 2002; May, Rader, and Goodrum 2010; Scarborough, Like-Haislip, Novak, Lucas, and Alarid, 2010); and more fearful of personal crime victimizations and personal safety than men (Ferraro, 1996; Dowler, 2003; Schafer, Huebner, and Bynun, 2006; Lane, Gover, and Dahod, 2009). Ferraro (1996) states through the “shadow of sexual assault” hypothesis, that women’s greater fear of crime is linked to fear of sexual victimization. Ferraro (1996) found that women’s fear of sexual victimization was a predictor of fear of property crime and personal crimes. Evidence in support of the “shadow of sexual assault” hypothesis is found among female college students (Fisher and Sloan, 2003; Hilinski, 2008; Lane et al., 2009) and adolescents (May,

2001); and among males to a smaller degree (Lane et al., 2009). While there is evidence in support of this hypothesis, it does not explain all the factors related to fear. Lane et al. (2009) found that while women's fear of sexual victimization is a stronger predictor of fear of crime; men's perception of risk of victimization is a higher predictor of fear. Cook and Fox (2012) found that fear of physical harm is a greater predictor of fear of crimes (robbery, home invasions) among men and women than fear of sexual victimization. This indicates that fear of a particular victimization can be related to various victimization and fear/risk of crimes unrelated to sexual assaults. While fear of sexual victimization may be omnipresent at different contexts; additional worries can influence fear of crime.

The "fear paradox" notes that women express higher fears of victimization although men are victimized more often than women (Brown and Benedict, 2010); similar to the "fear-victimization" paradox which focuses on elderly citizens' "greater" fear of crime (although victimized less often than younger persons) (Linguist and Duke, 1982). Lupton (1999) explains that women may express fear more often than males because of a lifetime of hearing that they *should* be afraid of attacks from strangers, and constant warnings to be "careful when out alone" (p. 10). In other words, women's expressions of fear of crime may be due to the repeated crime warnings in their lifetimes proliferated by family, friends and society. It is also possible that women's expression of fear may be due to this being an acceptable emotion for women, whereas it is not for men.

Academia does not pay close enough attention in explaining factors behind men's fear of crime. While women fear of crime is stable, men's fear of crime has risen over time (Hayne, 1998). May et al. (2010) explain there to be a gender bias in the interpretation of women fear of crime research which, "has led to the view that women

have an unreasonable fear crime rather than the alternative interpretation that men fear crime less than they logically should” (p. 161). As such, most studies talk about men’s fear of crime in terms of “male fear of crime for others rather than men’s fear of crime for the self” (May et al., 2010; p. 161). Sutton and Farrall (2005) explain that a reason for men’s lower reported fear of crime is due their tendency to give socially acceptable responses when asked about fear. This creation of a “fearless male” and affixing to this stereotype may have a number of negative results (Goodey, 1997; Brownlow, 2005); one of which is misunderstanding men’s perception and feelings of fear. In fact, men may be more fearful of crime than women when controlling for the “lie-scale” factor, thereby addressing the outcomes of the fear-paradox (Sutton and Farrall, 2005).

May et al. (2010) explain that men’s threat of victimization may be affected by the “shadow of powerlessness”; those who feel least powerful (more physically vulnerable) are fearful, perceive more risk and implement avoidance/defensive behaviors. In their study, women were more fearful of criminal victimizations, more likely to perceive themselves at risk and to implement avoidance behaviors and defensive behaviors than men (May et al., 2010). However, men who were victims of property crime, sexual crime victims, and were unhappy with the criminal justice system were more fearful of crime (May et al., 2010). A number of personal experiences, beliefs and ideas can influence women and men’s perceptions, feelings and responses about fear of crime.

In accordance with the concept of expressing socially acceptable perceptions of fear; More and Breeze (2012) found men to be more fearful than women when frequenting public restrooms. Men were fearful of physical assaults, being watched and being perceived of watching other men. This is partly explained by the fact that normal gender

hierarchies are not present in these environments because restrooms are segregated by gender, “both [men] occupy a position of power in this power relationship” (Moore and Breeze, 2012; p. 1188). Therefore, men and women’s fear of crime is based on personal characteristics, experiences, society, beliefs and biases are more related to fear of crime than gender itself. Gender may influence how or if we choose to express these fears.

Race, Ethnicity and Fear

The connections of race and ethnicity with fear have been explored by many studies; although most of these focus on populations in the United States. Chiricos, Hogan and Gertz (1997) found that white urban residents are fearful in neighborhoods where they felt they were the minority, but the same was not true for African American residents. Likewise, white residents living in mostly African American neighborhoods are most fearful of victimization (Moeller, 2007). In places where white residents are segregated from African Americans; the size of the Latino population is a predictor of fear of crime among white residents (David and John, 2008). Fear of victimization is also influenced by knowledge of who lives nearby. Chiricos et al. (2001) found that perceptions of victimization risks are influenced by the knowledge that African Americans or Hispanic residents live in the near distance. Whites are most fearful of Hispanics and African Americans in areas where they were a minority; Hispanics were also more fearful of African American’s and other Hispanics when they were outnumbered by other ethnicities (Chiricos et al., 2001). These studies give credence to the various installments of the “threat hypothesis”; otherwise called “minority threat” or “ethnic threat” hypothesis. These concepts are based out of the “group-threat hypothesis” which explains that groups in control wish to continue this advantage and see the intrusion of other groups as a threat

to social order (King and Weelock, 2007). Various groups of “others” moving into a neighborhood can be a cause of fear, not just for crime but of loss of social status. The creation of *others* as a crime problem is seen in different cultural contexts (much like upper class citizens in Lima see indigenous persons as “others” (Blokker, 2010)). These findings indicate that fear may not just be related to experiences with crime and personal characteristics; beliefs and biases against persons perceived to be “criminal” are factors in understanding victimization fear and how it affects a citizen’s decision making process.

Pain (2000) notes that fear of violence may be understood within a framework of social and spatial exclusion; the power relations that cause this fear are hidden through the ‘othering’ of ‘criminals’ at various social levels. She explains that, “crime, violence, harassment and fear have clear roles to play in the spatial and social exclusion of marginalized social groups” (Pain, 2000; p. 372), and outlines how fear is aligned with social identity and exclusion. Looking at personal crimes, there is a great deal of literature that explains violence and harassment of citizens based on their gender, sexual preference, age and ethnic groups that can generate and enforce social and spatial exclusion (Pain, 2000). Citizens who fear *hate crimes* (racial minorities) and systemic violence may experience some spaces as “particularly threatening and resulting restriction, segregation and isolation play an important role in maintaining the social and special order of the city” (Pain, 2000; p. 373). Social “others” (for example persons who are not of the predominant racial, ethnic, or class groups) may be fearful and feared at the same time (Pain, 2000). Citizens may distance themselves geographically from those they see as “dangerous others”; which can lead to greater physical and legal punitive strategies against “others” (Pain, 2000). Pain (2000) explains that “‘othering’ can obscure the nature of power

relationships involved in fear of crime” (p. 374); this is seen through the paradoxes of how violence more often happens in the hands of people known to the victims (rather than strangers) and how the “others” are often at a greater threat of violence and abuse. Lastly, individuals may experience different types of exclusion but one form of exclusion may be prioritized in research at the cost of others. Pain (2000) uses ‘old age’ as an example of how prioritizing can lead to “questionable conclusions which reinforce negative stereotyping of the group concerned” (p. 374). In this instance, the elderly are stereotyped as fearful (although they are victimized less often); causing their concerns for safety to be seen as unfounded when these fears are related to other factors unrelated to age.

This analysis explains that the “who”, “what”, or “how” is feared can have negative ramifications for the understanding of the concept of fear and the creation and treatment of the feared. Concentrating on people and their characteristics in explaining fear or risk of crime may have negative and mistaken results. It is necessary to explore these concepts while concentrating on *crime events* and how concepts related to fear affect decision making rather than only focusing on the *personal characteristics* of individuals involved or fear/ risk as a main factor.

Time and Place

There is a temporal factor to feelings of safety; some citizens feel specific places are safe during the day and unsafe at night. For some it is “safest” to go out in the middle of the day (Lupton 1999), rather than in the morning when streets are deserted or at night when it is dark. Some places have a bad “night time” reputation (Lupton, 1999), but may be safe during the day. The reputation of a place, created from accounts of crimes and gossip, can make people fearful even if they have not visited an area (Lupton, 1999).

The presence of young people and strangers are related to fear of crime. Lupton's (1999) analysis of fear of crime in various cities across Australia found young and old persons to be fearful of young people near "risky" places such as dark streets and pubs (Lupton, 1999). Fear may also be influenced by the consumption of crime related media accounts (Dowler, 2003; Chiricos, Padgett, and Gertz, 2000). Media accounts of crimes in areas that are thought to be "safe" can turn them into "unsafe" areas (Lupton, 1999). Notably, fear of crime in a neighborhood may lead to more than feelings of lack of safety. Neighborhood fear may "stimulate" and "accelerate" neighborhood decline, making individuals end their community participation and halting processes of informal social control (Skogan, 1986). As Koskela and Pain (1999) remark "fear influences our experience of places, as much as places influence our experiences of fear" (p.269). In other words, we can be afraid of a place based on our assumptions before going there and we can be afraid of a place because its characteristics cause us to be fearful.

While the outside world may be too unpredictable for some, the confines of your own home can bring a sense of security. Some persons only feel safe within their "own homes" in their "domains" or "private places"; away from the uncertainty of the outside world (Lupton, 1999). More than 90 percent of Lupton's (1999) interviewees felt safe in their homes during the day and night except people who have had experiences with home break-ins. Citizens create a "mental map" of places where they feel safe and free of risk:

This 'mental map' does not simply rely on geographical aspects of a space or place, but also draws on ideas and assumptions about social relations and the kinds of people who inhabit or pass through these spaces and places at specific times of day and night (Lupton, 1999 p. 13).

The way in which we create this "mental map" can influence in the quality of life of citizens. For example, if this map only specifies home as safe place for Lima citizens, then

citizens cannot enjoy public spaces. If home is also an unsafe place then this is especially problematic as citizens would have no safe space in their lives. This map and integrating it to decision making during possible crime events (or to avoid crime events) may be complicated among people who are fearful of crime where they live, commute and work.

Previous Victimizations

The effects of criminal victimization on fear are complex and there is no clear consensus on their relation. Roundtree (1998) notes that violent victimization increases fear of burglary and violence; however burglary victimization only increases fear of future burglaries. She explains that violent victimization have a “spillover effect” that leads victims to fear a wide range of crimes (Roundtree, 1998). The neighborhood effects of burglaries on fear of crime *increase* fear of burglaries but not violent victimization; meanwhile violence rates at the neighborhood level *increase* fear of violence yet *decrease* fear of burglary (Roundtree, 1998). It is hypothesized that in violent neighborhoods residents worry more about violence than they would other crimes (Roundtree, 1998); this was proven years later by Hipp (2013). The victimization of family members may also lead to fear of crime (Warr and Ellison, 2000). Rader, May and Goodrum (2007) suggest that fear of crime can be seen in combination with perceived risk, and avoidance/defensive behaviors. These concepts work together in explaining the “threat of victimization”; gender is also an important factor in understanding this concept (May, Rader and Goodrum, 2010). Some studies however conclude that victimization is not a good predictor (or strongly related) to fear of crime (Akers et al., 1987; McCoy et al., 1996). The relationship between victimization and fear of crime is a complex in nature.

Winkel (1998) explains that “the empirical evidence supporting a fear-criminal victimization relationship is weak” (p.473). He created a fear-victimization model that explores how fear responses are mediated cognitively. Winkel (1998) explains that rather than fear and victimization being unrelated, they are related through “cognitive mediation” or “victims actively struggle with their victimization... victims in general are characterized by active adaptational responses, resulting in a non-emergence of fear responses” (p.481). Victimization causes a “subjective victimization risk” (SVR) and a decrease in perceived “negative impact” (NI) as a result of the victimization; these “upward and downward” responses “cancel each other out” and result in a “non-emergence of fear of crime due to victimization” (Winkel,1998; p.482). In other words, once victimization happens and a person rationalizes that “it wasn’t as bad” as expected; the victimization then does not increase fear (although it may increase for those who felt it was bad); even if feelings of *risk* of crime increase. Likewise, Agnew (1985) explains that victims use “techniques of neutralization” to make themselves believe that they were not harmed or that their harm was not “that bad”. A number of cognitive processes occur prior to victimization, during victimization (to lessen its harm), and after to mediate its negative impacts.

Perceptions of Disorder and Incivilities

A large body of research finds perceptions of disorder or incivilities (garbage, abandoned buildings, vagrants, graffiti, etc.; a central part of the “broken windows” theory (Wilson and Kelling, 1982)) related to fear and of feelings of being unsafe (Hunter, 1978; Guarafolo and Laub, 1978; Skogan, 1986; Covington and Taylor, 1991; Flavin, 1994; Perkins and Taylor, 1996; Roundtree and Land, 1998; Robinson, Lawton, Taylor and Perkins, 2003; Shafer et al., 2006; Wyant, 2008; Scarborough et al., 2010; Akman, Cinar

and Cubukcu, 2011). However, perceptions of incivilities also may be formed by changes in racial and ethnic composition of neighborhoods, and economic composition rather than visible signs of disorder (Sampson and Raudenbush, 2004).

Shafer et al. (2006) found that men and women who indicated high levels of disorder and major crime in their neighborhoods felt unsafe; personal experiences with crime was not a significant predictor of feeling unsafe, it was outweighed by perceptions of crime and disorder. They found that men with greater feelings of disorder in their neighborhoods had higher feelings of fear of personal victimization than women (Shafer et al., 2006). Ironically, Taylor and Shumaker (1990) explain that public responses *to* incivilities increase fear. Wyant (2008) noted that those perceived incivilities *and* risk of crime in their neighborhoods were the most fearful residents. LaGrange, Ferraro and Supancic (1992) expressed similar findings; they noted that incivilities' causal effect on fear is mediated through perceptions of risk in crime. Our perception of incivilities and its relations to fear (much like fear's relation to gender, age, and race) are connected to various concepts and may influence our decisions about safety and crime.

The “fear” and “risk” debate

Roundtree and Land (1996. b) note that “fear” and “risk” are distinct concepts. Fear is said to be more of an “emotional” response to crime while “risk” is a cognitive assessment or perception of crime. While Jackson (2011) indicates that perceived likelihood of victimization *risk* is the biggest predictor of crime fear; Smith, Torstensson and Johansson (2001) find that fear cannot account for all perceptions of risk.

Empirical studies find fear and risk to be complex concepts that overlap and interact with a number of characteristics. Among a sample of citizens from Chicago and

Evanston, Illinois; Lavrakas et al. (1981) found, “females, younger (and sometimes older) adults, Blacks, Latinos, those in lower income brackets, renters, and central city residents most likely to report feeling at risk and perceiving the consequences of victimization as serious” (p. 5). May et al., (2010) found that men who were older, victims of property crime, victims of nonsexual violent crimes and felt that crimes were happening more often were more fearful and had higher levels of risk than other men. On the other hand, women who were victims of property crimes, sexual crime victims, nonsexual violent crime victims, felt there was an increase in crime in their community, were most dissatisfied with the criminal justice system and had higher levels of fear had higher levels of perceived risk of victimization than other women (May et al., 2010). Notably, May et al., (2010) find that, men and women who are fearful and have high levels of perceived risk were more likely to implement avoidance behavior than less fearful persons; meanwhile perceptions of risk were associated with fear but not avoidance or defensive behaviors. These differences explain that, “perceptions of risk may have a strong emotional impact on respondents but have little behavioral impact on them,” (May et al., 2010). These findings indicate that the relationship between risk, fear and the implementation of precautions is as complex and multifaceted as the relationship between fear and personal or environmental factors. While “fear” and “risk” are divided in various studies, it is more helpful to see them as factors to consider in understanding cognition and safety behaviors.

Adaptations to Fear and Risk: Victimization, Gender, Place, and the Importance of Culture in Cities of the Developed and Developing World.

Fear of crime is not always a negative phenomenon. Citizen adaptations to fear and risk of may improve their feelings of safety. Jackson and Gray (2010) explain that fear may create positive feelings; citizens may feel as “problem-solvers” by implementing

crime preventions which may in turn make them feel safer. Fear/risk and precautions against victimizations may not always affect a person's quality of life (Jackson and Gray, 2010). However, there differences between persons who are victims of crimes and non-victims; those who were victimized in the past may have greater "dysfunctional worries" of crime which may decrease their quality of life (Jackson and Gray, 2010). There are gender differences in fear of crime but these fears should be seen in the context of the population studied. While men and women engage in avoidance behaviors (not going out at night, avoiding places or people) and defensive behaviors (carrying weapons, self-defense classes); women engage in these behaviors at a higher rate (May et al., 2010). Among teens, girls are also more likely to arrange for companions when going out and to avoid particular areas of their neighborhoods (Lane, 2009). Therefore, responses to fear of crime relate to citizens differently, depending on their characteristics and experiences.

The environment and crime realities of a culture are important factors to consider when explaining how gender fear and adaptations intermix. In conflict with many studies, Brown and Benedict (2012) note that male Mexican college students are more fearful of crimes than females. These findings must be understood within the context of crimes in Mexico. While all respondents fear of home invasions (88%) burglaries (82%), safety during the day (84%) and safety when going out (61%); men take on more avoidance behaviors and have more concerns for safety during the day (Brown and Benedict, 2012). Taking hostages and asking for ransom are commonly feared crimes in Mexican society; men are at a higher likelihood of these occurrences. At the same time, women in Mexico are more protected by family units and oftentimes do not go out without supervision; this might make women less fearful of crime (Brown and Benedict, 2012). Therefore, the

realities of victimization along with the cultural practices explain why men and women react to their risk and fear of crime. Culture is an important part of understanding how different populations mediate their fears and make decisions about their safety.

When speaking about neighborhood context and fear, Pain (2000) uses the term “situatedness of fear” to refer to the ways, “in which place, as a site where historical and contemporary economic changes interplay with social identities and relations, has an influence upon the fear of crime of people living locally” (p. 379). This term explains that in addition to the physical details of the neighborhoods and environment; fear of crime in neighborhoods is also historically and socially specific. Crime in everyday life is seen as an “ordinary experience of western societies, embedded in and shaping routine experience and expectations” (Pain, 2000; p.379).

Studies that look at the ‘situatedness’ of fear often look at how events in communities and an individual’s life course affect to fear of crime (Pain, 2000). A good example comes from the women interviewed in Koskela and Pain’s (2000) comparison of women’s fear of attacks within built environments in Edinburg and Helsinki. These women explained a number of concerns about their surroundings. Walking down main streets, parks, by train stations during night time was worrisome to many (Koskela and Pain, 2000). The women explained why they felt these places were unpleasant; some commented that in the event that something happened in a deserted place no one would help (Koskela and Pain, 2000). Koskela and Pain (2000) noted that they did not find differences in fear based on the social class, age, ability, or if the women had children. Women’s accounts of fear in various environments included physical (dark spaces) and social cues (rumors of crime, vagrants) in open/closed, crowded/empty spaces which were

connected to a fear of being attacked (Koskela and Pain 2000). Much like Lupton (1999) explained, these women created a “mental map” that allowed them to figure out where and how to transit their environments based on their perceptions of risk and fear of crime.

Adams’ (2012) ethnographic study explains how the people of Trinidad and Tobago live amidst violence and fear, how crime prevention shapes their lives, and exemplifies concepts related to the “situatedness of fear” and the “mental maps”. The citizens built “walls” both physical and theoretical to keep a distance between themselves and victimization; and displayed a number of “social distancing techniques” (Adams, 2012). Many citizens do not go out at night, do not leave their homes unless completely necessary, or only go to work if they have transportation (Adams, 2012).

The manner in which neighbors interact goes beyond behaviors in mental maps. Adams (2012) indicates that citizens stopped their interactions with neighbors so as to not witness violence (which may then get them into trouble). Many crime witnesses who came forward were killed; citizens are incentivized to “hear or say nothing.” Unlike previous years when a fight or argument lead to gossiping among the town’s citizens, every time a fight erupted or gun shots were heard citizens quickly headed home and did not speak of the events, including the law enforcement (Adams, 2012). In this crime ridden society, not seeing or speaking about crime in conjunction with a number of preventions is the norm.

Bennett and Flavin (1994) note it is important to understand how cultural settings within social structures, political, and economic systems create different levels and fears of crime. Their comparison of fear of crime in Newark and Belize City found notable differences in residents’ perceptions of social disorder and fear. While insults, gangs, and graffiti are a serious problem in Newark, in Belize drugs are seen as a bigger problem

(Bennett and Flavin, 1994). It is explained that “Belizeans live in poorer, more ethnically diverse areas and experience more crime than do their Newark counterparts, (but) have lower levels of fear of crime”(p. 371); this finding was found to be “paradoxical” as more victimization did not equate to higher fear of crime (Bennett and Flavin, 1994).

This paradox is explained through some of the differences between the two cultures. Douglas (1970, 1978, 1982), Gross and Rayner (1985), Hampton (1982) and Thompson, Ellis, and Wildavsky (1990) explain that cultural settings can be divided into “groups” and “grids” (As cited in Bennett and Flavin, 1994). It is explained that the “group dimension is defined by the importance of the group in everyday life,” and the “grid is defined as the degree to which an individual possesses control of/or access to social, political, or economic resources” (Bennett and Flavin, 1994; p. 364). Persons in close knit communities or family structures are said to have “high group strength,” and fear of crime should be lowest in under these conditions because of the support and protection from family and community (Bennett and Flavin, 1994). Persons in “high grid” social environments are ascribed to these roles through sex, race or economic backgrounds; they have options and access to resources because of these characteristics and can therefore change or control the elements that would produce fear in their environment (Bennet and Flavin, 1994). Those in the high “grid” setting would have the highest fears of crime. Therefore, when putting these concepts in a matrix those high in “group” and low “grid” settings would have the least amount of fear of crime; while those in low “group and high “grid” settings would have the most amount of fear.

Using Belize City and Newark as examples Bennett and Flavin (1994) explain that Belize City is high in the “group” setting and low in the “grid” setting, as family and

extended families are an important part of the culture, but they have little political and social power. Thompson et al., (1990) would qualify this as a “hierarchal” culture (As cited in Bennett and Flavin, 1994). While Newark residents are also low in the “grid” setting, they have more government help and social welfare options than the Belize City residents; they are also low in the “group” setting as family structures are broken up they are surrounded by strangers (Bennett and Flavin, 1994). The Newark culture would be characterized as “fatalistic” by Thompson et al., (1990) (As cited in Bennett and Flavin, 1994). Cultures in the “fatalistic” setting such as Newark may have higher levels of fear of crime than cultures in the “hierarchal” setting such as Belize City (even though Belize residents experience more violence and crime). It is explained that, “group support, as indicated by strong familial ties and the presence of cohesive extended family, might act as an intervening or mitigating effect on producing fear of crime,” (Bennett and Flavin, 1994; p.378). Therefore, in addition to experiences with victimization and the physical environment where crimes may happen, it is important to account for how social relationships with the context of a place interact with fear of crime within each specific culture; the way in which culture may enact, halt or mediate the impact of fear, risk and avoidance behaviors. All of these factors, are related to the way in which citizens make cognitive choices through emotions related to/and about fear of crime.

Summing up Fear

While an extensive body of research outlines the meanings, connections, causes and consequences of fear and risk of crime, these are multifaceted and complicated concepts. Lupton and Tullock (1999) explain that fear of crime does not have to be rational or irrational; legitimate or illegitimate. Fear of crime instead:

Operates at a number of different levels of meaning and consciousness, emerging from and constantly reactive to direct personal experiences, knowledge about others' experiences and mediated sources of information, and also fitting into broader narratives concerning about 'the way society is today' (Lupton and Tullock, 1999, p. 521).

Lupton (1999) further explains that fear of crime is "dynamic and contextual" and this fear is subject to continual changes depending on the time of day, past experiences of victimization, the presence or absence of "others" at specific locations, and knowledge of places. In her review of place, social relations and fear of crime, Pain (2000) defines 'fear of crime' as, "a wide range of emotional and practical responses to crime and disorder individuals and communities may make," (p. 367) and explains that we can travel through "shades of fear" over the course of our life.

As we travel through the various shades of fear and risk in our daily lives, it is important to note that there is no single way to inspect fear of crime, routine precautions, and crime preventative measures; it is important that one take into consideration the various cultural factors that mitigate how these concepts manifest themselves within a specific context. This analysis notes that as we seek to explain the way that the complexities of fear can mediate and interact with the decision making of victims of crime and possible victims of crimes during a crime event, it is central to reflect on fear as an evolving and ever changing phenomenon. As many of the empirical studies explain fear or risk within a context of place and environment, it is important to consider the concepts of opportunity theories to explain how citizens mitigate their decision making in order to prevent victimization.

Chapter 3: Opportunity Theories

This is a brief description of the main concepts related to opportunity theories and their uses in to explaining cognitive choices in the decision making of crime survivors and possible victims of crime.

Routine Activities Approach

Cohen and Felson (1979) argue that there are three elements necessary for a crime to occur. There has to be a presence of *likely offenders*, *suitable targets* and the *absence of capable guardians*. A *likely offender* is “anybody who for any reason might commit a crime” (Clarke and Felson, 1993; p. 2). A *suitable target* is “any person or object likely to be taken or attacked by the offender” (Clarke and Felson, 1993; p. 2). *Absence of a capable guardian* refers to any person that may act as a guardian in that event (Clarke and Felson, 1993). These three factors have to converge in the same place and at the same time for crime to occur. As Cohen and Felson (1979) explain, social structure allows for the convergence of these elements to happen, thereby “allowing illegal activities to feed upon the legal activities of everyday life” (p.588).

A focus of this study is the *suitable targets* which may be the possible victims, their belongings, their homes or neighborhoods. Studies have used the *persons* as the “suitable target” to explore the sexual victimization of women (Schawartz and Pitts, 2006), sexual victimization of children (Walker, Golden, and VanHouten, 2001), and elderly homicide (Nelsen and Huff-Corzine, 1998). Simply put, without a citizen, a home or an item being seen as a *suitable target* by a *motivated offender*, the crime would not occur. The characteristics of an individual (as perceived by the offender) (Jacobs, 2013), in conjunction with the setting of the encounter, may make a citizen into a suitable target.

Rational Choice Perspective

Cornish and Clarke (1986) created their Rational Choice Perspective (RCP) in order to account for offender decision making. It is explained that:

Crime is purposive behavior designed to meet the offender's commonplace needs for such things as money, status, sex, and excitement, and that meeting these needs involves the making of (sometimes quite rudimentary) decision and choices, constrained as these are by limits of time and ability and availability of relevant information (Clarke and Felson 1993; p.6).

Crime happens through an interaction of the offender and their environment. Therefore, explaining crime choices needs a “crime-specific focus” as the “situational context of decision making and the information being handled will vary greatly among offenses” (Clarke and Felson 1993; p.6). The decisions that offenders make to commit crimes are based on calculated decision-making and vary by different types of crime. Even in cases where offenses appear to be “pathologically motivated or impulsively executed” (p.2) rationality is still present and understanding these factors can help us inform policy and crime control measures (Cornish and Clarke, 2014). The decision making approaches to crime have to differentiate between *criminal involvement* and *crime events*. *Criminal involvement* (criminality) explains the “process through which individuals choose to become initially involved in particular forms of crime, to continue and to desist” (p.2) *Crime events* are “decision process involved in the commission of a specific crime” and “characteristically multistage, extend over substantial periods of time, and will draw upon a large range of information, not all of which will be directly related to the crimes themselves” (Cornish and Clarke, 2014; p. 2).

In the same way that offenders make choices about their criminal involvement in specific events; crime survivors make rational choices when confronting situations where

they are in danger or in the middle of victimizations. In order to concentrate on the victim's actions and decisions, rather than call these *crime events* we can call them *victimization events*. Victimization events are experienced from the victim's point of view.

The purpose of a potential victim of crime would be to avoid victimization (as opposed to the criminal's purpose to find suitable targets). As discussed in the previous chapter, citizens employ various tactics to avoid possible victimizations (Lupton, 1999; Koskela and Pain, 2000; Lane, 2009; Jackson and Gray, 2010; May et al., 2010). Within the context of opportunity theories this is expanded in the following section that outlines "routine precautions" (Felson and Clarke, 2010).

Citizens make decisions during a victimization event and these vary depending on each individual, in addition to the temporal and environmental constraints of the situation. Some citizens may be primarily concerned with their physical wellbeing while others may be more concerned with their material belongings; these citizens may then react differently to the same victimization. In fact, a citizen's response during victimization event affects the outcome of the crime (Guerette and Santana, 2010) and the force which criminals use against victims (Jacobs, 2013). Following victimization events, survivors may diminish the impact of the victimization through cognitive coping techniques (Taylor, Wood and Lichtman, 1983; Agnew, 1985; Winkel, 1998); and implement precautionary methods against crime both in the home and when going out (Lavrakas et al., 1981; Friedman, Bischoff, Davis, and Person, 1982; Skogan, 1987).

Routine Precautions

Felson and Clarke (2010) indicate that every citizen takes "routine precautions" to prevent criminal victimizations in their everyday lives. These precautions range from

locking doors and windows at home, to avoiding dark streets. Formal social controls (such as the police and law enforcement) and informal social controls (such as informing family members of possible dangers) work in tandem with routine precautions (Felson and Clarke, 2010). Felson and Clarke (2010) note that as formal and informal social controls continue to decline, the use of routine precautions to prevent victimization will grow. The increase of these precautions is also brought on by the use of new technologies (Felson and Clarke, 2010). Although common, the prevalence of routine precautions and their significance in society is often mentioned but not carefully explored in academia:

When discussed at all, these precautions are generally treated, not as an indispensable part of society's defenses against crime, but as an undesirable response to fear, which, if unchecked, will lead limit people's freedom and encourage a 'fortress' mentality (Felson and Clarke, 2010 pg, 109).

Our understanding of these tactics and their connections to fear/risk have not been extensively explored; we need to understand what the "fortress" means to citizens and what it can or cannot do for them. Whether these precautions curtail crime is not fully clear; this is complicated by the fact that several precautions are utilized at the same time, and cannot be separated (Felson and Clarke, 2010). However, these precautions are an important part of many people's lives and can be seen as a group of techniques rather than separate behaviors. These precautions can be time consuming or very simple; they can be expensive or inexpensive; they may change the physical layout of homes and restrict personal freedoms or go unnoticed. Understanding how precautions shape, improve and re-arrange lives is a necessary part of understanding crime and human behavior. It is also important to explore how routine precautions change after personal victimizations.

Routine precautions have had a number of different names in a variety of studies; their implementation differs based on various factors. May et al., (2010) describe

constrained behaviors to be divided into “avoidance” (not going to certain places at night, restricting your activities) and “defensive” (owning a gun, alarms, or guard dog).

Clotfelter’s (1976) view of self-protective behaviors in households describe “staying at home” as the lengthiest crime protective measure out of a sample of 1,077 residents in the Washington metropolitan area. African American households had more protective crime measures than White households although they had the same crime rates; African American households had a higher likelihood of putting additional locks and leaving lights on when leaving home (Clotfelter, 1976). Lane and Meeker (2004) found ethnic groups to be more afraid of gang crime and crime in general than whites and to be more prone to crime avoidance and defensive behaviors.

Lavrakas et al.’s (1981) classified crime preventions into three categories: actions to protect *their own person*, *their household* and *their neighborhood*. Citizens protect *their own person* through “avoidance” or behavior restrictions; avoiding “circumstances that were perceived to be dangerous” (Lavarkas et al., 1981 p.6). Those most likely to limit their behaviors were those who felt unsafe, women, Latinos, African Americans, the elderly and those citizens with a low income (Lavrakas et al., 1981).

In order to protect *their household* citizens employed *access control strategies* or “measures taken to reduce unlawful entry” (Lavarkas et al., 1981; p.6). Notably, homeowners had a greater number of home protections. Among Illinois residents, Lavarkas et al., (1981) found that one third of house owners used window bars, alarms and special locks primarily used by African Americans and Latinos. Residents also used outdoor lights, engraved their valuables, had a handgun and asked their neighbors to watch their homes if they were out for a few days (Lavarkas et al., 1981).

Finally, citizens engaged in “territorial” group strategies to protect “their neighborhood” (Lavarkas et al., 1981). Territorial group strategies included partaking in community organizations and crime prevention groups; interestingly, many of the persons in these group strategies did so as “part of their participation with these community organizations and *not due to fear of crime*” (Lavarkas et al., 1981; p. 9).

These studies exemplify some of the ways routine precautions are utilized. However, more work is needed in order to explain what these precautions mean to those who implement them and how citizens benefit (or suffer) in their efforts to curtail crime.

Situational Crime Prevention

Clarke’s (1997) Situation Crime Prevention (SCP), “introduces discrete managerial and environmental change to reduce the opportunity for those crimes to occur” (p. 2). Rather than focusing on the crimes, this theoretical framework centers on settings and how to make them less appealing to people motivated to commit crimes. It focuses on the actions of public and private entities, rather than criminal justice system (Clarke, 1997). SCP concentrates on measures to decrease the opportunity of crime in three ways:

(1) directed at highly specific form of crime, (2) involve the management, design or manipulation of the immediate environment in a systemic and permanent way as possible, (3) make crime more difficult and risky, or less rewarding and excusable as judged by a wide range of offenders (p. 4).

These measures total 25 different techniques divided into 5 categories that: 1- increase the effort to commit the crime, 2- increase the risks of committing the crime, 3- reduce the rewards of committing the crime, 4- reduce the provocations to engage in the crime, and 5- remove excuses or justifications for committing the crimes (Cornish and Clarke, 2003; Clarke and Eck, 2005). These techniques can be carried out by citizens to lessen the impact of victimizations or to prevent them altogether.

There is a large body of evidence supporting situational crime prevention techniques throughout different contexts including: cyber stalking (Reyns, 2010), burglaries (Vollard and Ours, 2011), organized crime (Von Lampe, 2011), smoking in public spaces (Sun et al., 2011) and child sex abuse (Choi, 2013), to name a few.

Some studies explore the effects of changing the environment on perceptions of fear, changes in crime and citizens behaviors. Painter (1996) explains the results of a before and after study on the influence of improved street lighting on fear of crime, crime and use of the streets at night. After street lighting was improved in three urban streets around London incidences of crime and disorder decreased in two of the three sites; there was a reduction in fear of attacks and an increase in feelings of personal safety among men and women in all sites; and an increase in using streets at night (Painter, 1996). Residents did not know why they felt safer, which suggests that improving lightings has a “subliminal influence” on personal safety (Painter, 1996). Women reported a change in their pace and demeanor in these sites; they walked on pavement (rather than roads), walked (rather than ran), and felt more confident. This suggests that fear of victimization among women is not only about being physically vulnerable to attacks but also about stimuli and clues about the environment (Painter, 1996). Changes in the environment may not necessarily decrease crime, fear of crime, or victimization. On the other hand, Nair, Ditton and Phillips (1993) explain that better lighting in the Pond Area of Glasgow did not change perceptions of safety and crime. In Mexico, Vilalta (2011) found that living in gated communities or apartment buildings did not decrease fear of crime. Instead, fear of crime when alone at home was associated to gender, levels of social marginalization, neighborhood fear of crime levels, and opinions about the police (Vilalta, 2011).

Newman's "defensible space"

Newman's (1996) ideas of *defensible space* work along the lines of situation crime prevention. According to Newman (1996), defensible space programs restructure the layout of communities to allow residents greater control of their homes and the areas around them. These programs depend on the citizens' initiative to change their environment (instead of government intervention) so as not to be susceptible to government withdrawals of support (Newman, 1996). They may also bring people from different walks of life together to solve crime problems (Newman, 1996). Defensible Space operates by "subdividing large portions of public spaces and assigning them to individuals and small groups to use and control as their own private areas" (p.2). The *ownership* of these spaces gives citizens a chance to be a part of mainstream society.

With the context of Latin American realities, Ploger (2006, 2007) explains the emergence of residential enclaves in Lima as a response to crime insecurities. This greater "ownership" is due to the public insecurities expressed by citizens through anti-social behaviors and through the awareness of real or perceived increase of crime. While programs through "defensible space" were designed to give residents greater ownership and control of their environments; in Lima citizens *took* control by erecting illegal enclaves in their neighborhoods. Ironically, citizens in Lima are breaking the law to secure themselves against crime. Lima residents from every socioeconomic background, in every type of neighborhoods use these tactics (Ploger, 2006; 2007) to gain ownership and safety.

Opportunity Theory and Victim Self-Protective Behavior

Guerette and Santana (2010) describe a theory of victim self-protective behavior (VSPB) which unites opportunity theories and situational crime prevention (SCP). They

explain that SCP theories seldom look at victim actions and their responses to the crimes and used data from the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) from 1992 to 2004 to predict the effects of victim resistance during the crime events of robbery and rape. They looked at how the level of resistance from victims reduce the opportunity for crime by changing the suitability of the target (making the target unattractive to offenders); the place where the criminal victimization takes place (public or private) and if there are capable guardians in the location (Guerette and Santana, 2010). When victims resisted a robbery the odds of it being *completed* decreased by 57%; *verbal resistance* decreased the odds by 76%; *physically* resistance decreased the odds by 87% and if they resisted using a gun the odds decreased 93% (Guerette and Santana, 2010). In the events of rape, resisting verbally reduced the odds of completion by 64%, physically by 85% and with an object, knife or gun (92%) (Guerette and Santana, 2010). This theory affirms the “utility of opportunity explanation for crime and the SCP framework in a way that has not been done before... it examines the usefulness of the victim’s action during crime incidents as a way to alter the opportunity for a crime to be completed” (p. 220). Using opportunity theories to explore how victims change the way the crime happens, and how environment affect crime outcomes is a novel use of these concepts.

Summing up the Concepts of Opportunity Theories

Opportunity theories allow us to understand crime through various interconnected stages. They marry cognition and rationality with the built environment and explore ways in which these factors can be arranged to produce better outcomes for survivors of crime and potential victims. Importantly, we can choose where and how to concentrate our interests of research whether it be offender, location or the target.

While the majority of opportunity theory research centers on offenders rather than victims (Leclerc, 2013), this review outlined how many of these concepts can apply to survivors of crime and potential victims. Utilizing the routine activity approach (Cohen and Felson, 1979) we can explore the experiences of potential targets (victims) and those who endured a victimization event (survivors of crime). As these accounts are coming from citizens' own experiences we can learn about how the physical environment played a role in how citizens rationalized their choices (Cornish and Clarke, 1986). Some of the choices that potential victims make to avoid victimization can be seen through the ideas of routine precaution (Felson and Clarke, 2010). The available and rational responses that crime survivors may have during their victimization can depend on the routine precautions they employed during that time. These routine precautions may take a more permanent form through the implementation of protective techniques at home and the designing/changing of neighborhoods and streets (as explained through situational crime prevention (Clarke, 1997) and defensible space (Newman, 1996)).

Finally, taking all of these factors into consideration can help us understand how the choices of crime survivors make change the outcomes of victimization events (Guerette and Santana, 2010); these decisions may be understood better by describing how fear and risk inform these choices. Combining these concepts requires a methodology that gives citizens the ability to explain these events in their own words and that allows the interpretation of their experiences in depth. The following chapter outlines the crime script framework (Cornish, 1994) and its conversion into "survivor scripts" and "safety scripts".

Chapter 4: Review of Crime Script Literature

This chapter notes the usefulness of “crime scripts” in explaining the stages before, during and after a crime among crime survivors and potential victims of crimes. An explanation of Cornish’s (1994) Crime Scripts framework outlines its basic components. This is followed by a review of the literature that uses this framework to explain crime and an example of crime scripts in the context of carjackings. The final section notes how crime scripts can be used to understand the choices made by survivors of crimes during victimization events and citizens to remain safe.

Cornish’s (1994) Crime Scripts

Derek Cornish (1994) expanded the use of opportunity criminological theory through the use of scripts as a useful tool in analyzing the steps and situations that take place during the event of a crime. Cornish (1994) explains that “the crime event itself is only one among many events which occur within the crime-commission process” (p. 155), a number of decisions are taken within specific locations and at particular times. Cornish (1994) notes that using scripts to explain crime events has two main outcomes: 1- It creates a framework that will help us explore and explain the various stages of the crime commission process (before, during and after the crime;), the decisions taken at each stage, and the conditions necessary for the crime to be completed, and 2- It can help crime prevention practitioners understand the stages where they can intervene.

Scripts derive from cognitive structures and processes. Cornish (1994) cites work by Schank (1982) and Riesbeck and Schank (1989) and explains:

Scripts are members of a family of hypothesized knowledge structures, or schemata, considered to organize our knowledge of people and events. Such schemata are held to guide our understanding of other’s behaviors, and our own actions. The script is a special type of schema, known as an “event” schema, since

it organizes our knowledge about how to understand and enact commonplace behavioral processes or routines (p.157-158).

An example of scripts is the “restaurant script”; it organizes what we do when in a restaurant, “enter; wait to be seated; get the menu; order; eat; get the check; pay; and exit” (Cornish 1994, p. 158). Likewise, describing the stages of crime commission allows us to look at “behavioral routines in the service of rational, purposive, goal-oriented action” (p. 159); these stages may be seen as “scenes” with each necessitating “props” within particular locations (Cornish, 1994). Scripts are said to generalize, organize and systemize knowledge about “procedural” aspects and requirement of crime commission at all stages for particular crimes; they provide accounts of crime that are subjective (from offenders’ accounts) which offer a framework for building objective accounts (from offenders and other sources of information) (Cornish, 1994).

Cornish (1994) explains that for the purposes of situational crime prevention, one should use a “bottom-up” strategy; one that begins with a specific instance of a crime and works itself to uncover the details of the crime. This instance will define the “track” (sets) category’s characteristics; as more crime instances are collected they are analyzed and grouped based on the features present in crime commission that are similar to first instance. Cornish (1994) explains that one must “find ways of characterizing the nature and development of criminal expertise” (p.171), while recognizing the “routinization” of decision making, and improvisation and innovation of offenders. As we describe scripts it is important to note how within specific crimes, scenes may differ based on environmental factors and how this may lead to an actor’s improvisation within available routines.

As Cornish (1994) describes, scripts showcase the “form” of crime as “dynamic, sequential, contingent, improvised activity” while the “content” of crime are seen as

activities with “particular requirements in terms of actions, casts, props and spatio-temporal locations” (p.175). Routines may change and shift based on the content of crimes. As offenders gain more experiences with crime commission they will find better ways to “neutralize risk” (avoiding and downplaying obstacles to the end goal) and share with other likeminded offenders what they have learned and how to improve (Cornish, 1994); thereby adding to and morphing available responses to situations. Scripts may also be changed as new goals are formed due to the influence of a co-offender or a sporadic opportunity; thereby creating a new “optional path” or subplot/subplot (Cornish, 1994). New scripts may come when two crimes are integrated and create new criminal options (Cornish, 1994). Cornish (1994) explains that complex crimes may involve several crime activities within a script; some may be a “collection of individual ones” while other crime operations can be seen as “scaled up” versions of simple crimes. This extends the use of scripts to a variety of criminal activities, from a simple mugging to organized crime.

Cornish (1994) also highlights that creating scripts largely depends on the local context of place and local knowledge of its characteristics. In other words, the way in which actors build knowledge of how to carry out crimes depends on what they know about the area; more succinctly the *culture* of the place. Importantly, “criminal activity is also influenced by general sources of information about new techniques, other crime-commission scripts, or new criminal opportunities” (p.181); learning about crime and adapting new scripts is fluid and subjective to various influences (Cornish, 1994).

Crime scripts are divided into four levels, from most general to most specific (metascript, protoscript, script, and script tracks). “Metascripts” comprises crimes in the same classification, (home invasions or muggings); “protoscripts” work within different

subgroups of a type of offense (e.g. female intimate partner violence); “scripts” divides categories according to the factor related to situational crime prevention (victim, offender, goal) and “tracks” are detailed accounts of all the circumstances related to the crime (sexual harassment of females in the public sector) (Leclerc, 2011).

As scripts work within “behavioral routines, lifestyles, and life courses” (p.185), they push the rational choice perspective further as they express the “routinized quality, yet flexibly responsive natures, of criminal decision making”(Cornish, 1994; p. 187). In arguing that crimes are often seen as over simplified in nature, Cornish (1994) explains that crimes are seen as simplistic because we only see one of the stages of the event (the crime); instead through scripts we see a number of stages expanded over space and time aimed at a specific goal. Crime scripts can easily be combined with a number of other theoretical frameworks and variables that are relevant at the time of decision making; many of these frameworks may vary and overlap at various stages of a specific scene.

Previous uses of Crime Scripts

Many studies use crime scripts as a framework that outlines the occurrences before, during and after a crime. For example, Leclerc, Wortley and Smallbone (2011) scripted the crime commissions of adult child sex offenders; Bearegard et al., (2007) outlined on the “hunting” processes of serial sex offenders, and Deslauriers-Varin and Beuregard (2010) focused on the target selection of serial sex offender who committed these crimes on strangers. Notably, Deslauriers-Varin and Beuregard (2010) concentrated on offender target selection based on victim’s routine activities; they devised scripts (home script, outdoor script and social script) for the victims’ routine activities prior to the attack based on interviews with the rapists and court documentation. Copes, Hochstetler and

Cherbonneau (2012) mapped out the crime scripts of carjackers, while Morselli and Roy (2008) and Tremblay, Talon, and Hurley (2011) scripted how criminals re-sell stolen car parts. The processes of check forgery were scripted by Lacoste and Tremblay (2003), while Zanella (2013) analyzed scripts for corruption in public procurement.

Crime scripts are also useful the context of more complex crimes that involve groups of people or are organized crimes. Brayley, Cockbain and Laycock (2011) used scripts to detangle the complexities of internal child sex trafficking, while Savona, Giommoni, and Mancuso (2013) scripted human sex trafficking in Italy. Hancock and Laycock (2010) interviewed law enforcement officers who specialized in organized crimes in the UK to script their processes. Jacques and Bernasco (2013) scripted drug dealing in Amsterdam's Red Light District while Chiu, Leclerc, and Townsley (2011) used court transcripts to script the crime processes of clandestine drug manufacturing laboratories. Chiu et al., (2011) specified seven main scenes and highlighted the importance of social networks and "script facilitators" or the conditions necessary (guards, drivers, materials) for the completion of the drug manufacturing. Frelick and Chermak (2009) used scripts to explain violent encounters between American far right members and the police, while Hiropoulous, Freilich, Chermak, and Newman (2013) used scripts to hash out cigarette smuggling by Hezbollah supporters in the United States with the aim of financing terrorism. This short review outlines the uses of scripts in a variety of crimes across different nations and contexts.

A Focus on Victims' Behavior and Crime Scripts: Carjacking as an Example.

Copes et al. (2012) explain that a victim's response to being attacked during carjacking changes and varies the choices made by offenders in their crime scripts. The

victims' responses can vary the level of risks that offenders face while committing the crimes, and also create a number of possible strategies to overcome these difficulties (which can be used as experienced in later crimes) (Copes et al., 2012). Based on interviews with 30 carjackers, they found that offenders actively make choices based on previous and current information, keys from their environment and on their perception of the victim (someone who may fight vs. someone who may comply) (Copes et al., 2012).

Goal completion (stealing the car) is only one of the concerns; offenders were actively worried about their safety, it was important that they “control” the carjacking from beginning to end (Copes et al., 2012; Jacobs, 2013). In order to create the most advantageous circumstances for carjackings, offenders carefully scanned for targets (reviewed characteristics of victims, types of cars, looked for preferred victims). Some did not like female victims as they were more likely to yell and ask for help, (making it difficult to control the situation); while others explained that older women were good targets as it is assumed they would not fight (Copes et al., 2012). Victims also needed to be shocked into submission, this was done by a blitz attack (pulling out a gun, punching them) or *manipulating* their appearance (asking for directions (Jacobs, 2013)) so that victims would willingly get closer to the carjackers (Copes, et al., 2012). Carjackers had to establish co-orientation or gain compliance through violence and threats in order to get away with the cars. Lastly, the carjackers remove the victims prior to departing.

Jacobs (2013) interviews of 24 active carjackers further explains that carjackers use fear in order “link” threats to compliance from the victims. Fear was used in two ways; carjackers exploited it by choosing victims who they perceived would be fearful of them and by allowing offenders choices in how forceful they need to be in order to get

compliance from the victims. As such, fear can be used in a number of ways by carjackers; it can “calibrate the severity of threatened consequences in the situation-specific ways” (Jacobs, 2013 p. 538). In other words, for some victims a small threat might be enough to comply but for others it is necessary to “calibrate” the fear and “amplify” the fear of the victims by using violence or threats for compliance (Jacobs, 2013). Therefore, fear can be an important factor in how the various scenes in scripts transition from one to the next in the competition of a crime and a necessary component for offenders to carry out crimes successfully from their initial co-presence with victims.

Copes et al. (2012) review the changes in scripts due to failed carjacking. At times victims would fight back (using weapons), and this would lead offenders to choose their victims more carefully next time (Copes et al., 2012). As Copes et al. (2012) explain, failure made offenders increase their “attention and diligence devoted to approach technique, victims selection, and mental resolve to intimidate”, it made them improve their scripts. Victims’ refusal to comply (Jacobs, 2013) and defensive behavior was the reasoning offenders use physical force and violence during the crime (Copes et al., 2012; Nelson and Descroches, 2014). Rather than spontaneous, these crimes were planned based on scripts that were developed and refined through experiences both good and bad. As Copes et al. (2012) explain, “carjackers did not set out to search for the optimal target or commit carjackings exclusively in the most desirable environments; instead, pre-existing scripts primed them for recognizing suitable situations to strike”(p. 264) these choices were made by logical decisions based on a number of possible available scripts. Likewise, understanding how possible victims and survivors of crimes make these choices based on their knowledge and experiences can help us understand the best ways to maintain safety.

Adapting Scripts to Survivors of Crime

Most of the studies that use scripts to understand crimes focus on the criminals (Leclerc, 2013) and they often neglect to include crime prevention methods which are learned from the scripts (Chiu et al., 2011). As Leclerc (2013) explains, crime scripts are not meant to be focused solely on the criminal's actions but they can also explore the actions and behaviors of the other actors and factors necessary for a crime to occur. We know very little about the role of crime controllers and crime survivors from the use of crime script. Scripting the roles of crime controllers (handlers, guardians or place managers) is necessary as they can prevent a crime from happening and intervene in the event that offenders attempt to commit a crime (Leclerc, 2013; Leclerc, 2014). Likewise, scripting a survivor's behavior before, during and after a crime can be useful in understanding how these cognitive choices affect crime outcomes (Leclerc, 2013), and help in finding ways in which to prevent possible victimization. In the same ways that offenders look out for potential victims (Copes et al., 2012); potential victims take a number of actions and make choices which they hope will curtail victimization (Koskela and Pain, 2000). As Leclerc (2013) remarks:

The goal of the potential victim (or past victim) is to avoid victimization not to commit crime, and the purpose of script analysis from the perspective of the potential victim would be to identify the behavioral sequence leading to non-victimization, that is, the self-precautionary process that potential victims should adopt to avoid being victimized. Accordingly, the ultimate object would not be to disrupt the script but rather to facilitate its execution (p. 225).

We can learn how to make potential victims or crime survivors safer from exploring what they do to be safe or how victimization shaped their precautions. A hypothetical victim script from Leclerc (2013) shows a number of scenes that a person may go through when stepping out of home and then encountering a potentially dangerous situation (Figure 1).

Figure 1: A Hypothetical Victim Script (Leclerc, 2013; p. 226)

Table 12.3 A hypothetical victim script

<i>Script scenes</i>	<i>Script actions</i>
Preparation	Carry mobile phone, capstun canister, put money in more than one place (e.g. pockets, socks)
Entry	Walk on the street
Precondition	Look around for other people, walk where street lighting and/or presence of other people is noticeable
Instrumental precondition	Locate potential offenders yelling, do not pay attention
Instrumental initiation	Walk faster and change route
Instrumental actualization	Knock on door of a residence (or enter commercial establishment) wherever possible
Doing	Enter residence, use mobile phone to call a friend or relative, ask for help
Post-condition	Wait for assistance to arrive
Exit	Leave setting

This potential victim takes a number of steps before, during and after a possible victimization. The potential victim has a phone in case of emergency and hides their money in several places, is also aware of their surroundings and choose to walk where there is better lighting. Once the potential offender encounters people yelling he/she changes their route and walks looks for help. After help arrives, they leave the scene. In this potential script we see that routine precautions to maintain safety are made before, during and after the encounter of a potentially dangerous situation.

Smith (2009) described a six step theoretical model for potential victim's decision making. The model integrates decision making with concepts of fear of crime, environmental theories and the personal characteristics of the potential victim. Smith (2009) calls for qualitative research about these interrelated topics which explore the meanings of "situational cues and the types of routine precaution and reactive tactics employed by potential victims in relation to elaborated crime scripts" (p.245). Various

concepts related to fear are related to the decision making processes that citizens make in a daily basis to feel safer within specific environments and aided by a number of environmental cues. Smith (2009) explains “concerns about personal safety” (CPS) as a term that combines the *fear* of crime and *perceptions of risk*. Combining these concepts makes it is easier to manage the great deal of information we have about their complexities as both can be motivations for people’s actions. In the context of Peru, CPS defines what residents see as *citizen insecurity* or *inseguridad ciudadana*.

Smith (2009) notes that our decisions to move can be influenced by our personal “hierarchies of threats” or threats to our well-being based from prior experiences. These threats are based on a number of personal views about “(1) the seriousness of the harms to him or her; (2) the varieties of harms; and (3) the possibility of personal harm affecting him or her” (p. 235). We arrange our ideas of possible harms based on these factors and this is a personal determination. Smith (2009) further remarks where qualitative research can help explore these concepts:

(a) crime script formation by potential victims; (b) their views about script linkages and script escalation; (c) the process by which potential victims make sense of the situational cues presented in a location; (d) how potential victims perceive who is a possible capable guardian or how they perceive themselves as guardians for themselves ... (p. 245).

It is clear that qualitative research is an appropriate recourse for the expansion of scripts.

Conclusion

This chapter notes the previous uses and possibilities of the script framework. The next chapter sums up the main concepts reviewed thus far and operationalizes them in order to describe two new types of scripts: survivor scripts and safety scripts.

Chapter 5: Theoretical Framework

This chapter explains the concepts useful in the description of the survivor scripts and safety scripts. This chapter also explains the meanings of these scripts and lists some hypothetical examples.

Fear and Risk

There are some discrepancies in our understanding of the concepts of fear and risk of crime. However, it is still helpful to include “fear” and “risk” in frameworks that explain how citizens implement safety precautions and respond to victimizations.

Personal Factors

Age is not a very good predictor of fear on its own (Clemente and Klaiman, 1997), however age may be an indicator of the kind of lifestyles that citizens enjoy, and thereby indicate how much risk their lifestyles entails. A person who works and attends school would be exposed to a greater number of opportunities for victimization through in their daily commute in comparison to a person who stays at home.

While *sex* is the most salient variable related to fear of crime (Larrange and Ferraro, 1989) and the use routine precautions (May et al., 2010), this may also be due to cultural factors that limit men from speaking about their fears (Sutton and Farrall, 2005). While men are victimized more often than women; women may also be seen as easier targets by criminals than men (Copes et al., 2012). Rather than compare women’s and men’s experiences to one another, it may be more helpful to see them in and of themselves; as men and women experience the social world in different ways.

Our knowledge of the connections of *race* and *ethnicity* on fear of crime is largely limited to research centered in the United States. Our understanding of how race,

ethnicity and social class may impact on fear, cognition and precautions against crime in the context of Latin American cultures is limited. Blokker (2010) explained some of these concepts within the context of Lima and fear of mixed-race and indigenous citizens.

Considering the vast array of cultures and ethnicities found in the metropolises of Latin America, we can expect that there are many connections that are yet to be explored.

Previous Experiences

While *victimization* may not be strongly connected to fear (Akers et al., 1987), it has connections to the choices we may make to protect ourselves (Adams, 2012) and how we create “mental maps” (Lupton, 1999) to curtail victimization. Citizen’s relationships with victimization can go through cognitive processes that allow them to minimize the harm of the event (Agnew, 1985; Winkel, 1998). If we are to believe that we change the way we see our victimizations in order to continue to function in society without being paralyzed by fear, then we can expect that crime survivors and possible victims of crime employ routine precautions as a part of these adaptations.

Environmental Factors

Several environmental factors are also related to fear and extend over to how we inhabit, respond to, and make cognitive choices about our environment. It is explained that our understanding of the *Place* and *Time* of the day influences whether we feel a place, city or region is safe (Koskela and Pain, 1999). A specific place in an urban city may be safe during the daylight and unsafe at night or the early morning. Even if it is safe during the day, a person may still implement a number of precautions in order to feel safer in this place. Our understanding of this place and the “mental map” we create around it expresses a number of known or expected behaviors within this context. In other words, a citizen

may explain if asked; “If I am going to the city market, I am dressing down, hiding money, not taking a wallet and going during the daytime with a friend.” This may be normalized in the citizen’s routine, and tells us how many restrictions and cognitive choices they have to make daily to improve their odds of maintaining safety.

The way in which we create the mental maps that tell us where we can and cannot go can come from perceptions of *disorder* and *incivilities*. While disorder and incivilities are related to fear of crime (Guarafolo and Laub, 1978; Skogan, 1986; Wyant, 2008); this may be due to contextual changes in population (Sampson and Raundenbush, 2004). In other words, the incivilities that were always present in a neighborhood may become a bigger problem when a new ethnic group or “others” begin to move in. If we are to believe Agnew’s (1985) claim that we neutralize our victimization in order to not see it as “bad”, then would it not also be possible that we neutralize our perception of danger in relation to signs of incivilities? If trying to fix incivilities may actually increase fear of crime (Taylor and Shumaker, 1990); then taking more personal precautions might be a better approach for some citizens.

The importance of *Culture* cannot go unnoticed. Some of the routines and behaviors of citizens for the study may be best understood within the context of insecurity in Lima. Nevertheless, the responses citizens take during a victimization event may be applicable to residents in many other cities. As this is a study that concentrates on the lived experiences of citizens in a metropolitan South American city, some of its findings may only be applicable to the context of Lima while other findings can extend to other Latin American cities. Some of the cultural factors that may influence fear of crime and the choices of citizens in Lima are: general perceptions of public insecurity (Costa and

Romero, 2010), lack of trust in the police (Du Puit, 1995) and general informality in the city (Soto, 1990); all of which makes citizens take responsibility for their personal security (Ploger, 2006). The crime incidences that citizens in various cultures experience (such as the Mexican students noted by Brown and Benedict (2012), and citizens of Trinidad and Tobago outlined by Adams (2012)) inform us that their responses to crime can be different than what we read about in studies of the United States. It is extremely important to expand our understanding of how concepts of fear and risk of crime are applicable outside of the most common research locations.

Concepts in Opportunity Theories

The concepts of opportunity theories can be helpful in understanding how the behaviors of survivors of crime can affect the outcomes of crimes (Guerette and Santana, 2010). These concepts also help us learn about the activities citizens take to maintain safety and their effectiveness. When taken together, these concepts express agency in the part of citizens. This study pays close attention to the environmental factors (as described by the citizens) during their daily routines to maintain safety and crime events. As previously mentioned, the ***routine activities approach*** (Cohen and Felson, 1979) assumes that crimes occur in the convergence of likely offenders, suitable targets, and the absence of capable guardians. While citizens can be considered targets of crime they are able to change the characteristics which that make them targets (for example, dressing down). Citizens may also serve as their own guardians or guardians of their belongings.

The ***rational choice perspective*** (Cornish and Clarke, 1986) expands the routine activity approach; and it can also expand our understanding of citizens' behavior. This study pays special attention to the rational choices (within the environmental, physical or

psychological constraints) made by survivors of crime and potential victims. As rational choices are goal oriented and bound by the time/place and knowledge of a specific area, each citizen will perceive a set of available options depending on the circumstances.

Every citizen employs a number of ***routine precautions*** (Felson and Clarke, 2010) to maintain our safety and prevent victimization. These precautions can be seen as actions to protect “your person” (which can be further divided into avoidance and defensive behaviors (May et al., 2010)), “your household” and “your neighborhood” (Lavrakas et al., 1981). The employment of routine precautions by citizens can also be seen as using ***situational crime prevention*** (Clarke, 1997). Precautions such as putting fences around your home directly change the environment in a permanent way, makes entry more difficult and it is specific to home break-ins.

As Guerette and Santana (2010) note crime survivors’ resistance (or ***victim’s self-protective behavior***) during crime events makes crime completion more difficult for offenders. It is useful to explore the ways in which possible victims and survivors of crimes change the outcomes of crimes through target hardening tactics, routine precautions and their knowledge of their available choices in specific environments.

Employing the previously mentioned theories, routine precautions can be seen as rational choices made by citizens to harden targets or make them less accessible to motivated offenders. Making targets less accessible would be then related to methods of situational crime prevention. Target hardening may not only happen for homes but citizens who are being victimized may make it more difficult for criminals to complete crimes. It is important to see how these behaviors and choices work together daily and at the event of a crime to see how crime survivors can use their environment to their benefit.

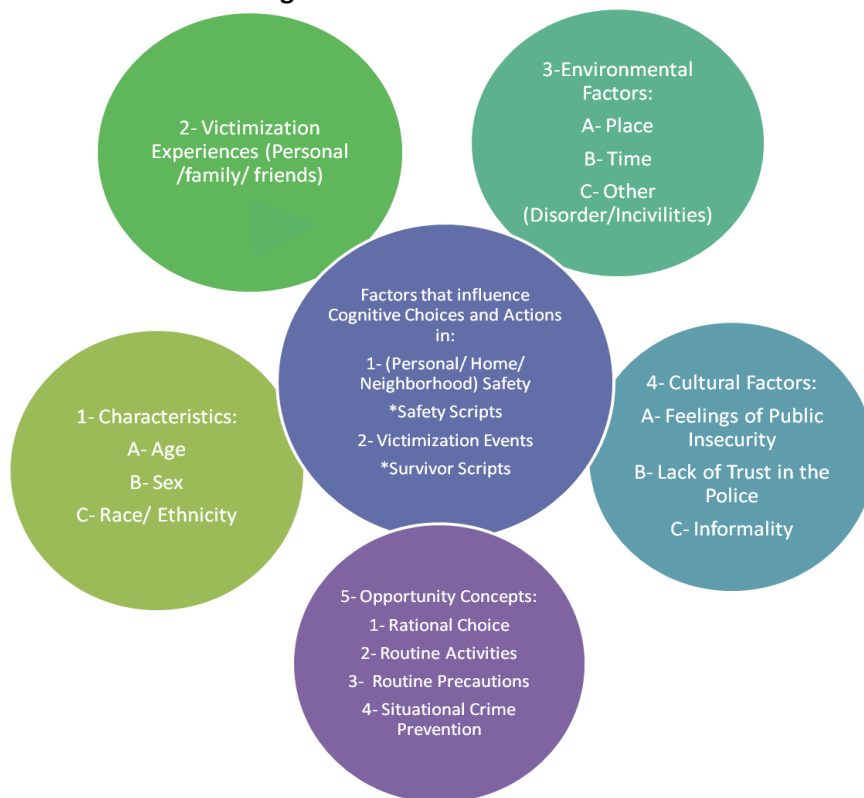
Integrating Concepts (Fear/Risk and Opportunity) and Accounting for Culture

The simplest way to integrate these bodies of research is through the simple notion that:

(1) We can assume that sensations of fear occur through the course of victimization events (to both criminals and victims (Bruce, 2012)) and that in addition to the information about our environments, during a victimization these emotions affect how we react and;

(2) Routine precautions and other protective behaviors aimed at decreasing possible victimizations are in different ways connected to “concerns about personal safety” (Smith, 2009) or as commonly referred to in Lima “citizen insecurity”. As they may be implemented because of the fear of possible victimization (Koskela and Pain, 2000) or minimize these emotions when precautions are employed (Jackson and Gray, 2010)). (Figure 2: Factors that Influence Cognitive Choices and Actions Victimization Events and Crime Safety).

Figure 2: Factors that Influence Cognitive Choices and Actions in Victimization Events and Crime Safety



The only way to understand how these behaviors are intertwined is to ask citizens about their actions during the course of victimization events and their behaviors to maintain safety daily. In order to organize and understand these events, we can use “survivor scripts” and “safety scripts”.

Safety Scripts and Survivor Scripts

As detailed in Chapter 4, the use of scripts has concentrated on crime scripts of criminals during the event of crime (Leclerc, 2013). This study employs a new and important use for the framework of scripts as *survivor* and *safety* scripts. This is a rundown of some of the basic components of these scripts.

Survivor Scripts

Survivor Scripts can be defined as a crime survivor's account of their actions and cognitive choices (before, during and after) a victimization event. We would want to know where the survivor was, what happened, how they reacted, what they did after the event happened, and why they made these choices. The central scene of this script would be the victimization scene. Through the survivors accounts we would also learn about the actions of the criminal(s) at each step of their encounter, understand the victimizations at a deeper level, and find ways in which to intervene or stop these crimes in the future.

Survivor scripts tell us several things within its name. Using the words *survivor* rather than *victim* or *victimization* scripts is useful for several reasons. First, *survivor* tells us that this is the account of a person who survived the crime event. Secondly, the word does not define the citizens by their victimization, instead we are looking at how citizens acted and reacted to the crime; before, during and after. In doing so, we are not only interested in their actions and cognitive choices during the victimization but after the victimization occurred. How this victimization changed their routine precautions and other views about crime and their personal security. As they are survivors of crime, and have adapted to their victimizations in different ways, using the word *survivor* is appropriate.

Survivor Scripts begin with scenes that recount the survivor's actions prior to the victimization(s). Citizens may be commuting to or from work prior to being mugged. The following scene would account the initial contact with the criminal(s). Then the victimization would take place. The survivor would explain what they did and what happened after the crime occurred. The script may end with the precautions this victimization caused on the survivor. Figure 3 outlines an Example of Survivor Script.

Figure 3: Example of Survivor Script

Preparation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hide money around body, wear non-descript clothing
Entry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Walk on street towards bus stop.
Precondition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Look around bus stop for any suspicious citizens. Tries to look normal as he waits for bus.
Instrumental precondition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Become surrounded by criminals, criminals ask for belongings. • Other citizens in bus stop begin to step away and look the other way, ignoring the criminals. • Citizen becomes aware of the situation and attempts to step away.
Instrumental initiation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Citizen tells criminals that he does not have any money or belongings with him. • Citizens instructs criminals that its daytime and they will be caught if they attempt an attack.
Instrumental actualization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Criminals hold down citizen, begining to search him, citizen begins to fend them off.
Doing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Citizen begins hitting criminals and attempts to push them off. • Citizen begins to scream and asks for help.
Post-Condition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Criminals run off with the citizen's wallet. • Citizen yells at other citizens for standing by and not helping.
Exit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Citizen heads to local police statition to report the theft.
Post- Exit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Citizens no longer frequents the bus stop. • Citizen decides to only take cabs from then on. • Citizen weary of general public.

In this script we see the actions carried out by a citizen when they are mugged at a bus stop. A full description of the script describes the actions of the citizen and decisions during the victimization event. This description would include notes on how fear and perceptions of the environment indicated their choices during the victimization event. As we are looking at Survivor Scripts we may also be able to look at various victimization events within the same script. For example, a citizen who is walking down the street may be robbed, beat up and threatened within the same encounter with a group of criminals. These crimes are interrelated but they are nevertheless different criminal acts within the same crime event. As such, survivor scripts may give us a better and more complete view at the crimes that occur during crime events.

Rather than concentrating on individual factors, such as gender and age, survivor scripts help us concentrate on the survivor's actions and choice during the victimization events. This is important as it may avoid the bias that is sometimes expressed in academic research that concentrates on the personal characteristics of a particular group.

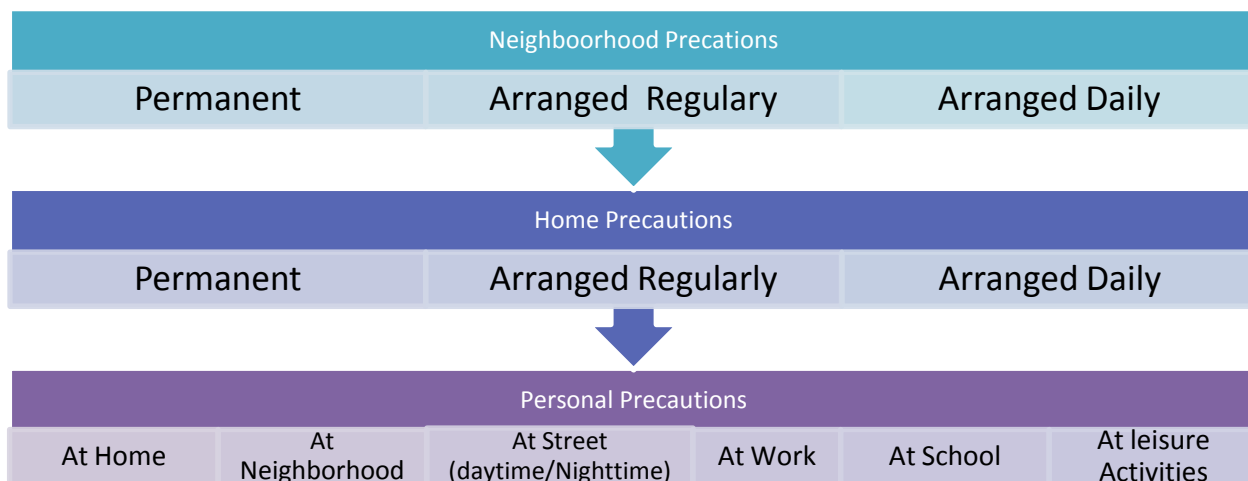
Safety Scripts

Safety Scripts can be defined as scripts that detail the daily activities and cognitive choices taken by citizens to maintain their safety. In this occasion we are concentrating on safety scripts against possible criminal victimization. These scripts include any number of routine precautions, changes in the environment, and behaviors in and out of home with the purpose of maintaining safety from crime. As safety scripts are very general (any citizen may partake in safety behaviors), there does not need to be any specific conditions necessary for a case to be considered in a safety script. A person would not need to be fearful of crime, a victim of a crime or otherwise influenced by personal (or

family) experiences related to crime. Citizens would simply need to partake on precautions that are aimed at maintaining safety from possible victimization.

There are many ways in which to organize these scenes. In order to borrow some of Lavrakas et al., (1981) classification of we can subdivide each citizen's daily safety scripts into three main sections, (1)Personal Safety Precautions, (2) Home Safety Precautions and (3) Neighborhood Safety Precautions (Figure 4: Types of Precautions). How these behaviors are rationalized through each citizen's explanation may be based on the aforementioned factors related to fear of crime or opportunity theories. For example, a citizen may install video cameras at home and make sure they are connected and working each day due to fear of crime, previous victimizations or because it was advised by a neighbor. Making sure that the cameras are working can be part of the scene *before leaving home* that describes "home safety precautions".

Figure 4: Types of Precautions



The *before leaving home* scene would also include "personal safety precautions" such as dressing down or hiding money in different clothing items. Likewise, we might observe precautions when walking to school, precautions at school or precautions at work, among

many others places; these would be part of the “personal safety precautions” that take place in the *transiting from location A to B*.

A full analysis of the scenes taking place in the example would explain the reasoning behind each action and how they came out. (Figure 5: Example of Safety Script). Therefore, each different location beginning from home and ending back at home would be a different scene in the script, each scene would have its own number of actors, props, cues and choices. The scenes would differ based on each citizen’s lifestyle.

Safety Scripts would be most beneficial for understanding the description of various types of routine precautions and situational crime preventions. In inquiring about these actions throughout the day, one may simply ask citizens if each of the actions in each scene make them feel safer or what other positive (or negative) outcomes are attached to them. We can ask citizens if these precautions make them feel more secure and what would make them feel more secure in the future

Conclusion

This chapter listed several concepts related to citizen insecurity (including fear and risk) and opportunity theories and how these concepts influence decision making to maintain safety daily and decision making during a victimization event. This chapter also highlights that a useful way to understand how these concepts influence decision making is through the identification of “survivor scripts” (a crime survivor’s account of their actions and cognitive choices before, during and after a victimization event) and “safety scripts” (which detail the daily activities and cognitive choices taken by citizens to maintain their safety). The following chapter outlines the methodology of this exploration.

Figure 5: Example of Safety Script

(Preparation) Prior to leaving home	<ul style="list-style-type: none">•Neighborhood Precautions: (daily) Making sure street guards are at their post, (Permanent) Gated neighborhood.•Home Precautions: Locking doors and windows, leaving lights on, making sure family member stays home.•(Personal Precautions) Hiding money, hiding cellphone.
(Entry/ Doing) Commuting to School	<ul style="list-style-type: none">•Personal Precaution: Walk on busy streets/main streets, appear nonchalant.
(Doing) Arriving at School	<ul style="list-style-type: none">•Personal precaution: Lock belongings on locker, do not take out cell phones and valuables in plain view.•(Home precaution) Call home to make sure everything is ok.
(Doing) Commuting back home	<ul style="list-style-type: none">•Personal precaution: Call home to say you are arriving, walk in well lit/busy streets, change routes back home.
(Post- Condition/ Doing) Arriving at home	<ul style="list-style-type: none">•Neighborhood precaution: Make sure street gate is closed.•Home precaution: Check surroundings for signs of trespassing.•Personal precaution: Put valuables away.
(Exit) Prior to Sleeping	<ul style="list-style-type: none">•Home precaution: Lock doors and windows, set alarm.

Chapter 6: Methodology and Research Design

This chapter outlines the methodology and research design of the study, its advantages/disadvantages and its limitations. It also lists the study questions formulated from the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter 5.

Study's Purpose

This study uses qualitative and ethnographic methods (in the form of citizen semi-structured interviews) to explore how concepts related to fear of crime and opportunity theories impact the cognitive assessments and decision making of citizens: 1- at the time of victimization events and 2- through use safety measures (routine precautions, situational crime prevention) in their daily lives. In order to organize the findings, the study utilizes “Survivor Scripts” and “Safety Scripts”. These scripts were modeled after Cornish’s (1994) crime scripts. In the same way that Cornish (1994) used crime scripts to explain the cognitive decision making of criminals during crime events (Chapter 4), this analysis uses “survivor scripts” or crime survivors’ accounts of their actions and cognitive choices before, during and after a victimization event and “safety scripts” which detail the daily activities and cognitive choices taken by citizens to maintain their safety. The study also furthers research in the field of criminology through its location. The citizen interviews take place in the city of Lima, Peru; thereby expanding the very limited criminological research in Latin American countries and our understanding of non-western views and practices related to crime.

Methodology

The lengthy descriptions utilized in qualitative methods are useful for understanding how citizens make choices about their daily lives (Lupton, 1999), their

feelings about how place and time influences these choices (Koskela and Pain, 2000), and how cultural realities influence these decisions (Adams, 2012). Pain (2000) explains that qualitative research and ethnography are useful in exploring fear of crime, considering that *fear* is complex and changes due to “spatial, temporal and social contexts” (p. 369).

Qualitative methods aid in the collection of detailed descriptions about how situational factors influence the outcomes of crimes (Copes et al., 2012; Jacobs, 2013).

Data Collection

As our focus is to explore the topics of citizen insecurity, opportunity theories and their connections to daily precautions and victimization events; rich descriptive data is necessary. A manageable way to do this exploration is through a purposive sample of 100 citizens. Purposive samples are comprised of participants based on a specific number of criteria. The criteria for participation in this study are for subjects to be Peruvian born residents of Lima and nearby constitutional district of Callao and 18 years or older.² The sample is divided into an equal number of men and women. The study did not decline participants into the study if they did not endure a criminal victimization or look for persons who were victimized.³ However, if we are to go by the results of victimization surveys in Lima (Costa and Romero, 2010; Ciudad Nuestra, 2013) then it is likely that some subjects will have personal experiences with crime.

Site Selection

Although this is a limited sample, the study manages to address issues related to generalizability in different ways. As Schofield (2002) notes, a way to increase

² Lima is not unlike other metropolitan cities, a large number of its residents are immigrants from other countries and there is also an influx of persons from other provinces of the country who visit the city daily. This study is only concerned with citizens who reside in Lima fulltime and who are Peruvian born in order to have the responses from people who are accustomed to life in the city and understand its culture in depth

³ In fact, the subjects were not asked if they were victims of a crime at the time of recruitment.

generalizability in qualitative studies is to perform multisite studies.⁴ This study utilized a multisite recruitment methodology with an aim to get as many respondents from the various districts as possible. Lima has 42 districts and the constitutional province of Callao has 6 districts; this would mean that there are 48 possible districts for recruitment.⁵ Subjects were recruited in popular public spaces visited by the residents from all of the districts of Lima and Callao which resulted on the recruitment of citizens from 30 districts.

Eight parks and plazas were visited at various times and days of the week. Six sites were visited during weekdays and interviews conducted from approximately 10 to 2 pm, noon to 6 pm, and 3 to 9 pm. Sites on the weekend were visited from about 2 to 8 pm. Four sites were located in the historic metropolitan part of Lima; these sites see a great deal of citizen and tourist traffic as well as a great influx of vehicular traffic due to its proximity to historical sites, government buildings and shops. The sites in the “Center of Lima” are considered urban plazas and parks. The remaining four sites were located in residential areas and away from the center of Lima but still highly visited and renowned. In comparison to the sites in the Center of Lima, these parks and plazas are surrounded with residential neighborhoods with exclusive homes and apartment complexes rather than historical sites and government buildings. These parks and plazas are generally seen as *safer than and more secure* than those in the Center of Lima which are considered to be dangerous.⁶ In sum, 4 urban and “dangerous” central plazas and parks (Plaza San Martin, Plaza Mayor, Parque Universitario and Parque de la Exposicion) and 4 residential and

⁴ Generally, multisite studies may draw small samples from various sites for comparison purposes (for example urban, suburban, rural) and look at findings across heterogeneous settings (Schofield, 2002).

⁵ Visiting all 48 districts (while feasible) would be time consuming and also counterproductive as residents in Lima are very mobile and they are not limited geographically to their districts. In other words, if were to visit each district and pick two residents it would be very likely that we would come across residents from other districts in our search.

⁶ In fact, the residential sites were considered due to the initial responses to questions about safety from citizens who explained to feel safer in these more residential public areas.

“safe” plazas and parks (Parque Kennedy, Parque el Olivar, Plaza San Francisco, and Parque Central de Miraflores) were chosen at various day and time intervals.⁷

Out of the 8 recruitment sites, 100 citizens who live in 29 districts of Lima and Callao were recruited for the study and 1 additional citizen was recruited from the Lima province of Cañete. Data for this study was collected during the months of winter in Lima from July and August of 2013. Interviews lasted from 5 and up to 45 minutes.

Choosing Subjects

Recruiting persons in the parks and plazas was a difficult endeavor. The most pressing hurdle was the *subject matter* of the study. As discussed in Chapter 1, citizens in Lima are fearful of crime and are distrustful of citizens, police and government. A stranger asking questions such as “what security measure do you have at home?” was met with skepticism.⁸ In order to increase the odds of finding willing subjects, some ethnographic tactics were used. Recalling the history of Peru’s respect and admiration for the military, I dressed formally (which according to subjects made me a greater target for crime) and shaved my head. Shaved heads are not popular among the general public or law enforcement; they symbolize military involvement. Prospective subjects responded more positively to the more formal appearance and more citizens allowed me to speak about the study (instead of dismissing me from the initial introduction).

⁷ The thought behind recruiting from open spaces in various types of environments had a bigger purpose other than choosing between urban and residential. As Lima residents transit through various spaces routinely and they are not secluded to their districts, this was a manageable way to recruit persons who live across all districts across metropolitan Lima. It was assumed that both persons who live in poorer and more expensive parts of the city visit and spend time in both urban and residential spaces. In other words, most people like to frequent nice public spaces where they feel safe and secure

⁸ In fact, the great majority of persons approached for the study declined participation (an estimated 35% of those approached agreed to participate). There were intervals of hours of recruitment without a single interview. While an attempt for an equal number of men and women per site was made, it was not always possible. Men were often times more willing to participate. Towards the end of the data collection there was a greater focus in the recruitment of women in order to have an equal number of men and women.

Another tactic occurred on its own. As I have lived in the United States the past 18 years, I have a slight American accent when speaking in Spanish (particularly when speaking about technical terms related to crime). The accent in combination with the University ID and answering questions about the United States created a positive impression among many citizens which encouraged participating in the study. Being perceived as an American (although technically a Peruvian-born multiracial man) not only made people comfortable enough to relate their stories about victimization events but made citizens explain in very meticulous detail how they protect their homes and person's against crime.⁹ This was of benefit to the study, as citizens felt they were sharing their life experiences with an international audience. In many occasions during the course of being interviewed the respondents described the events, the places and the context of what was happened to them in great detail (due to the assumption that a foreigner would be unaware of these details). Citizens would often times begin their descriptions with, "you probably haven't been here or heard about this place in Lima, it is in this intersection...", "you probably don't know much about the police here, let me explain...", thus their role as an interviewee changed to that of a teacher and guide through the events and places in the city where their experiences with crime occurred. Thus as an interviewer, I adopted the role of an "outsider" but not *completely* outside due to my heritage. While some subjects rejected participation so as to not "make Lima look horrible to the world," the great majority of citizens who participated were very helpful in their explanations and descriptions of the events they endured, oftentimes they were also grateful and proud of the chance to air out their grievances.

⁹ As Blokker (2010) notes, persons who are foreign (or perceived to be foreign) are seen as more trustworthy than persons who are from indigenous or mixed non-European backgrounds in Lima.

Citizens were asked to take part in a study about their opinions on safety precautions, experiences with crime, and *citizen insecurity* (this is the common term in Peru used in conversations about public security or “concerns about citizen safety” (Smith, 2009)). Study consent forms explaining the procedures of the study were given to all participants.¹⁰ The forms noted that the study was confidential, voluntary and that citizens had the power to decline answering questions or participation at any point. Subjects signed the consent form to agree to participate and gave an additional signature to audio record the interview. A copy of the consent form was given to the subjects.

Themes for the Interviews

The study employed semi-structured interviews using open-ended questions. This method of data collection allows for a relaxed open flow of conversation. The subjects were asked to describe the type of precautions they use in their homes, their neighborhoods and when they leave home, and how and if these precautions help them feel safer. These questions help us describe and explain the safety scripts. Subjects were asked if they (or any of their family members) experienced a victimization event in the past 6 months. In the event the subjects explain that a victimization event(s) occurred, they were asked what happened during the event, how they reacted and what happened after it was over. Subjects were asked if they contacted the police and what their feelings about public insecurity are after being victimized. The subjects were asked again about any victimization events over the past 5 years. This method of questioning hypothesizes that some victimization events may have lasting effects of long-term precautions.¹¹

¹⁰ All study procedures were approved the Rutgers University’s IRB board. Please see attachments 1, 2 & 3.

¹¹ For example, a pick-pocketing event in the last 6 months may not be very important, but a home burglary 4 years ago may have changed their lives drastically. If the study were to only ask crime that happened recently we would be missing out on victimization events which affected the citizens permanently.

Following Cornish's (1994) suggestion that scripts should be used to crime prevention methods, subjects were asked their opinions on what could be done to improve security. As citizens take a number of precautions to maintain their safety, their opinions on improving public security will potentially make their safety routines easier to carry out.

Analysis of Data

After the interviews were finalized, they were transcribed and saved in separate word documents. In order to fully analyze the findings, the data was explored through various steps. First, the data was coded manually using a "grounded theory" approach (Glazer and Straus, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1990); where themes, categories and concepts were coded in the same transcriptions of each interview. Grounded theory approaches are not based on proving or disproving previously identified theories, instead the results of the study explains and identifies theories about what is happening based on the subject's responses. As we know very little about safety behaviors and victimization reactions in the context of citizens in the city of Lima, utilizing grounded theory is appropriate. Secondly, following the hand coding, the information was organized in Microsoft excel worksheets. Excel sheets allowed for a meticulous organization of each and every finding related to victimization events and safety precautions. Spread sheets organized and outlined home precautions, neighborhood precautions, personal precautions, personal victimization events, family victimization events, neighborhood victimization events for each of the 100 participants. In order to check for consistency and accuracy, all of the categories and every entry of information each participant were crosschecked with the hardcopies of the transcribed interviews.

Cornish (1994) explains a “bottom up” strategy in building scripts. This strategy begins with a single crime instance and works to uncover the details of the crime. It identifies the first track (or the event’s characteristics) and as more victimization events are reviewed we can see how many tracks differ or are similar. In order to identify our safety or survivor scripts we begin with one account of each citizen and continue our review from there on, adding similar accounts to that track or beginning a different track if the citizen’s accounts differ from those previously mentioned.¹²

Advantages of the Study

Some of the advantages of this study come from its simplicity to replicate in different locations. Scripting is a method that does not need expensive software or technical knowhow (Brayley et al., 2011); any police department or public agency anywhere can create a script from citizen interviews or official accounts of crimes. The study serves as a simple template and useful tool for understanding crimes and figuring out appropriate interventions. This study also expands our understanding of the intersections of citizen insecurity, opportunity theories and culture. It can develop our basic understanding of these complexities in the context of Lima, which will be easy to test in many locations. The greatest advantage of this study comes from the identification of a template and examples for the use of survivor and safety scripts. The exploration of these scripts will hopefully encourage other researchers to explore and pay closer attention to how the opinions, behaviors and actions of survivors of crime and citizens affect crime.

¹² As Chiu et al. (2011) explain, first a script is identified for each case and then patterns and commonalities in these events are compared and contrasted. From these comparisons we can describe various tracks for each type of script. There are four levels of specificity in “crime scripts”; this study explores the most general level or “metascripts”. Metascripts list crimes in the same classification, for example “robberies” or “kidnappings”. The analysis also describes a metascript safety script comprised of the most common precautions described by citizens

Disadvantages of the Study

While purposive samples are not commonly seen as the best tool for generalizability, they allow us to manageably explore scripts and the aforementioned concepts. Generalizability is still an important concern. The study addresses this issue by choosing various sites to recruit respondents and recruiting citizens from the majority of districts and zones of Lima. This strategy allows us to have heterogeneity among the citizens included in the. Many of the respondents live in the poorest and most dangerous neighborhoods of Lima and others live in the most exclusive and expensive areas of the city. Another shortcoming is the study's limited sample size, a bigger sample size would be difficult to manage.. However, this sample size makes the analysis of this information feasible for one researcher. Additionally, limited sample sizes may still yield generalizable results. In fact, a study by Guest, Bruce and Johnson (2006) found that saturation of findings may occur after the first 6 to 12 interviews.¹³

Research Questions

Through the use of the aforementioned methodology and the description and exploration of scripts this study asks and answers the following research questions. These questions are answered in the analysis and summarized in Chapter 16:

- 1- What kinds of “survivor scripts” can we identify?
- 2- What kinds of “safety scripts” can we identify?
- 3- What kinds of routine precautions to crime can we observe in survivor and safety scripts?
- 4- How do concepts of citizen insecurity (risk and fear of crime) and opportunity theories explain these crime precautions?
- 5- What do these precautions mean within the cultural context of crime in the city of Lima?

¹³ In other words, the majority of categories of findings (92% of codes) among a purposive sample were created from the first 12 interviews (Guest et al, 2006).

Conclusion

This chapter notes the basic components of this study. A total of 100 of Lima's residents were interviewed across 8 different parks and plazas. Respondents were asked a number of questions about their personal, home and neighborhood routine precautions; their experiences with crime and opinions on solving the problems of crime insecurity in Lima. Interviews were transcribed and analyzed manually through a grounded theory approach. The findings are described in the following chapters.

Chapter 7: Demographic Findings

This chapter outlines the demographic findings of this study. The chapter begins by outlining the demographic information in order to understand some basic information about who these persons are and where they come from. The chapter then outlines some information about the victimization events experienced by the citizens.

Sample Demographics

This sample is divided between 50 men and 50 women with an average age of 30.4 years. The average age for women is 26.60 years and for men is 34.16 years, making it a primarily young sample of subjects.¹⁴ Recruiting subjects from open areas such as plazas and parks resulted in a sample of respondents from the majority of districts and zones of Lima and Callao (including some of the poorest and richest districts). The sample includes respondents from 25 out of the 43 districts of the province of Lima, 4 out of the 7 districts of the constitutional province of Callao and 1 from the Lima province of Cañete (Table 1: Home Districts)¹⁵. This study includes citizens from districts where less than 1% of the population live under conditions of poverty, citizens who live in districts within the average percentage of poverty for Lima (11.70% to 14.40%) and citizens living in districts with very high percentages of poverty.¹⁶ Twenty nine citizens live in 10 districts that are below average rates of poverty, 17 citizens in 4 districts with an average poverty range and 54 live in 16 districts with higher than average rates of poverty.

¹⁴ Recruiting efforts did not target a younger population. Older subjects were hesitant to participate and declined participation more often than not when approached about the study.

¹⁵ Table 1 lists the districts, number of citizens from each district, the household victimization %, the average number of victimizations per household, district poverty % and estimated population size.

¹⁶ The median poverty range for the 43 districts of Lima is from 11.70% to 14.40%. Ten locations are below the average poverty ranges for all of Lima, 4 are at the average poverty range and the remaining 16 districts are above the average poverty range.

Table 1: Home Districts

Citizen's Home Districts (100 Citizens)						
	District	Number of Citizens	Household Victimization (Ciudad Nuestra, 2012)	Victimization Per Household (Ciudad Nuestra, 2012)	Percent in Poverty* (2009) (INEI,2015)	Estimated Population (INEI,2015)
	Metropolitan Lima		42.90%		11.70%-14.40%	9,838,251
1	Ancon	1	No data	No data	19.60%	43,382
2	Ate Vitarte	4	44.80%	24	19.90%	630,085
3	Barranco	6	33.80%	10	5.30%	29, 984
4	Breña	1	39.30%	17	8.50%	75,925
5	Carabayllo	1	45.80%	27	26.40%	301,978
6	Cercado de Lima	5	46.80%	30	12.30%	271,814
7	Chorillos	5	35.80%	13	17.20%	325,547
8	Comas	5	41.00%	20	22.30%	524,894
9	El Agustino	1	55.30%	34	22.10%	191,365
10	La Independencia	2	42.80%	22	21.30%	216,822
11	La Victoria	5	46.30%	32	14.90%	171,779
12	Los Olivos	6	49.00%	32	13.40%	371,229
13	Lurigancho	1	28.00%	2	24.40%	218,976
14	Miraflores	4	29.80%	16	0.80%	81,932
15	Pueblo Libre	3	39.10%	16	2.00%	76,114
16	Rimac	2	56.60%	35	16.50%	164,911
17	San Isidro	1	30.10%	8	0.60%	54,206
18	San Juan de Lurigancho	9	48.00%	28	27.00%	1,091,303
19	San Juan de Miraflores	9	46.00%	6	19.70%	404,001
20	San Martin de Porres	2	44.30%	23	10.90%	700,178
21	San Miguel	2	44.80%	7	2.30%	135,506
22	Santa Anita	2	45.30%	12	12.00%	228,422
23	Surco	8	34.50%	12	3.30%	344,242
24	Villa el Salvador	3	53.00%	33	25.90%	463,014
25	Villa Maria del Triunfo	4	43.50%	21	21.10%	448,545
Total		92				
Districts of Callao						
	All of Callao		No data	No data	No Data	1,010,315
26	Bellavista	1			4.90%	71,833
27	Cercado de Callao	4			13.20%	406,889
28	Reinoso	1			11.40%	41,100
29	Ventanilla	1			23.60%	428,284
Total		7				
	Lima Region		No data	No data		
30	Cañete	1			26.60%	233,151
Total		1				

* Poverty is defined as "monetary poverty". Monetary poverty describes a person who is unable to afford a basket of basic necessities (including food, clothes, transportation, education, health services etc) (INEI, 2013).

While Ciudad Nuestra's Household Victimization Survey (2012) does not include all the districts represented in the study, it gives us some perspective of the crime rates in the districts of the majority of participants. The districts with higher rates of poverty also have higher rates of household victimizations; the opposite is true for the districts with lower rates of poverty. We are able to describe the victimization events and safety scripts of residents from some of the wealthiest and poorest districts and with the lowest and highest rates of household victimization (and many districts in between).¹⁷

In this study, citizens living in districts with below average rates of poverty have highest averages of victimizations at 1.47, those in districts with average poverty rates had an average of 1.06 victimizations and citizens in districts below the average poverty rate have 1.14 victimizations on average. Unlike the family averages described by Ciudad Nuestra's (2012) survey this study does not describe great differences in the victimization averages among citizens in poor and rich districts.

Dwelling Type

The majority of citizens live in houses (75%). Due to a variety of factors, the structural make up of these homes vary greatly. The majority of homes are made of bricks and concrete but there are a few homes created from "materiales nobles" or inexpensive

¹⁷ While the household victimization rates in Ciudad Nuestra's (2012) survey for all the available districts are shockingly high there are differences in the percentages of victimization and the average number of victimizations per household amongst the districts; these differences also mirror the poverty percentage rates of the districts. The districts with the lowest poverty rate also have the lowest family victimization rates. The district with the lowest percentage of household victimizations is Lurigancho with a 28.00% family victimization rate for the previous year and an average of 2 household victimizations per residence. It is followed by Miraflores with 29.00% family victimization rate and 16 household victimizations per residence, San Isidro with 30.10% family victimizations rate and 8 household victimizations per residence. At the other end of the spectrum are the districts with the highest household victimization rates; coincidentally these districts are all well above the average poverty range. The highest percentage of household victimization for the year 2012 is from Rimac at 56.60%, this district also has an average of 35 household victimizations for the previous year. Rimac is followed by El Agustino with a 55.30% household victimization rate and 34 household victimizations per residence and Villa el Salvador with a 53% household victimizations rate and 33 household victimizations per residence.

building materials (plywood, cardboards, etc). A smaller number of respondents live in apartment buildings (22%). Interestingly, out of the 22 persons who live in apartments more than half (14) live in the wealthiest districts. Furthermore, 3 persons live in rented rooms. Most respondents live with their immediate family and other family members, which is the norm in Peru.

Victimization Events

Out of the 50 women interviewed 38 recounted previous victimization events; while 29 out of the 50 men interviewed survived victimizations (Table 2: Victimization Events). This indicates that 67% of the sample had experiences with crime in the past while 33 % did not recount personal crime events at the time of the interview.

Table 2: Victimization Events

Victimization Events (100 Citizens)			
Sex	Victimization	No Victimization	
Women	38	12	50
Men	29	21	50
Total	67	33	100

Time of Victimization

In the past 6 months, 24 respondents experienced 27 crime events (divided among 8 men and 16 women), this amounts to 20.93% of crime events in the sample (Table 3: Time of Victimization Events by Sex). There were 25 victimization events among citizens occurring in the intervals of more than 6 months and up to one year (19.58%). Otherwise stated, 40.31% of the crime events occurred in the past year.

Citizens were also asked about their experiences with crime up to the past 5 years. Many respondents gave specific dates for their previous victimizations. Thirty-five crime events (or 27.13%) occurred from more than one year and up to 5 years. While many respondents gave specific dates of their previous experiences with crimes; at times respondents only answered the questions with relation to the “up to the past 5 years”. Therefore, a number of victimization events can only be categorized as having occurred within the past 5 years, this makes up 24.03% of the victimization events. A few respondents spoke about crime experiences that happened more than 5 years ago, this equates to 8.53% (or 11 victimization events).

Table 3: Time of Victimization Events by Sex

Time of Victimization Event by Sex of Citizen (67 Citizens)					
Time	Citizens (# of events)	Women (# of events)	Men (# of Events)	Percentage	Added Percentage
Past 6 months	24 (27)	16 (17)	8 (10)	20.93%	20.93%
6 months + to a 1 year	20 (25)	11 (13)	9 (12)	19.38%	40.31%
1+ year to 5 years	27 (35)	16 (22)	11 (13)	27.13%	67.44%
Within past 5 years	16 (31)	9 (17)	7 (14)	24.03%	91.47%
5+ Years to 10 Years	9 (11)	5 (6)	4 (5)	8.53%	100.00%
Total	*(129)	38 (75)	29 (54)	100%	
* It is important to remember that citizens experienced victimization events at repeated time intervals.					

Repeated Victimizations and Sex

It is important to note that citizens also experienced different types of victimization events at various times. As noted on Table 4: Number of Victimization Events by Sex, 36% of citizens experienced 1 victimization event, 17 % experienced 2 victimization events and 8% experienced 3 victimization events. A small number of citizens experienced 4 or more victimization events (as many as 8).

Table 4: Number of Victimization Events by Sex

Number of Citizen Victimization Event Divided by Sex (100 Citizens)				
# Victimization Events	Women (Total # Events)	Men (Total # Events)	Total (# Events)	Percent
0	12 (0)	21(0)	33 (0)	33%
1	19 (19)	17 (17)	36 (36)	36%
2	10 (20)	7 (14)	17 (34)	17%
3	5 (15)	3 (9)	8 (24)	8%
4	1 (4)	0 (0)	1 (4)	1%
5	2 (10)	0 (0)	2 (10)	2%
6	0 (0)	1 (6)	1(6)	1%
7	1 (7)	0 (0)	1 (7)	1%
8	0 (0)	1 (8)	1 (8)	1%
Total	50 (75)	50 (54)	100 (129)	100%

Women experienced more victimization events and more repeatedly in comparison to men. In fact 19 or half of the women who experienced a victimization event in the sample (38 in total) experienced more than one victimization event (2 experienced 5, and one experienced 7). Meanwhile, out of a total of 29 men with victimization experiences, 12 experienced more than victimization event (one as many 8 events). Looking into Table 3 and Table 4 together, in this study's sample women experienced more victimization events, more often and more recently than men.

Inclusion of Older Victimization Events

As the aim of the study is to find out how crime shapes the precautions citizens take to prevent further victimization and how this shapes their daily lives, crime instances past the last 5 years are included in the analysis, many of these instances changed the way the citizens implement safety precautions in a daily basis (even if, for example the crime event in question occurred 8 years prior to the interview). While many of the more recent crime events were carefully detailed by the respondents, a great number of older crime events were also meticulously detailed. This may indicate that while temporal factors are

important when asking about victimization experiences and their impacts in the lives of citizens, older crimes shape the perceptions of citizens about safety for years to come.

Inclusion of Attempted Crimes

The citizens were asked about their experiences with crime, this included crimes that were completed and attempted crimes. Attempted crimes are an important part of this analysis. While attempted crimes were not completed (for example a robbery where the citizen got away or was not robbed) these experiences impacted the way the citizens implemented precautions and prevented crime. In more than one occasion, respondents stopped an attempted crime due to their experiences with previous victimization events.

Citizen definitions of “Crime”

Many participants believed that only violent acts (such as murder) constituted crimes. The notion that only violent victimizations are “crimes” potentially influenced the citizens’ thoughts about their own victimization events (which may not be seen as crimes). Many citizens recognized victimization based on the monetary value of the items that were stolen. If the item stolen was an old phone, some change or something inexpensive, many citizens did not consider these events as “crimes”. This scenario happened often. Several respondents prefaced their recounting of their experiences by saying “it wasn’t a big deal” or “I don’t know if this is a crime” or ended their explanation with “it wasn’t really serious” even their lives were threatened. While these may be neutralization techniques used to diminish the impact or harms done by victimizations, they were a hurdle in the study. This hurdle was mediated by explaining the questions with care. Initially subjects were asked if they had previous experiences with crime, and most indicated they did not. Citizens were then told a list of crimes that may have occurred

including robberies (even phone robberies) burglaries or assaults. Upon hearing a list of crimes outside of “murder” the citizens listed a higher number of victimization.

Types of Victimization Events

Out of the 100 citizens, 67 experienced 129 victimization events (Table 5: Types of Victimization Events).

Table 5: Types of Victimization Events

Types of Victimization Events			
Crimes	Female (38)	Male (29)	Total
Robbery	50	33	83
Burglary	8	14	22
Larceny Theft	9	2	11
Extortion	3	4	7
Kidnapping	2	0	2
Vandalism (gang)	1	0	1
Assault	1	0	1
Threats	1	0	1
Identity Theft	1	0	1
Total	76	53	129

Out of the 67 persons who experienced a crime event, there is an average of 1.92 crime events. Out of the 50 women, 38 experienced a total of 75 crime events. Otherwise stated, 73% of women in the sample experienced 58.14% of all crime events.¹⁸ Out of 50 men, 29 experienced a total of 54 victimization events. In other words, 58% of the men accounted for 41.86 % of all victimization events.¹⁹ Therefore, women express a greater sample average of crime events (1.50) compared to men (1.08) and a greater average of crime events among those who endured victimization at 1.97 (compared to men at 1.86). The victimization events are defined utilizing the FBI’s Uniform Crime Report (2015),

¹⁸ Within the entire women sample there is an average 1.50 crime events per woman; the average crime event per women who endured victimization is 1. 97.

¹⁹ This breaks down to an average of 1.08 victimization events per male respondent in the sample and an average of 1.86 crime events per man who expressed a victimization event.

National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) and a Bureau of Justice Statistics Special Report on Victimization during Households (2010).

Robberies

Robberies are the most common victimization events experienced by the citizens in this sample. The UCR's defines robbery as the "taking or attempting to take anything of value from the care, custody, or control of a person or persons by force or threat of force or violence and/or by putting the victim in fear" (FBI, 2015)²⁰. The citizens in this sample experienced a total of 83 robberies; including armed robberies (20) and robbery attempts (7). Women experienced 51 robberies while men experienced 37.

Burglaries

There are a total of 22 burglaries in this sample. Burglaries are defined as "burglary as the unlawful entry of a structure to commit a felony or theft" (FBI, 2015). The UCR includes three subcategories of burglaries 1- forcible entry; 2- unlawful entry where no force is used; and 3-attempted forcible entry (FBI, 2015). In this sample 17 burglaries are forced entry and 5 are attempted forcible entry.

On four occasions, citizens were present at the time burglars entered their homes or businesses. This is commonly referred to as "home invasion" or "a crime committed by an individual unlawfully entering a residence while someone is home" (Catalano, 2010). However, this term lacks specificity of intent (as homes may be invaded for number of reasons) (Catalano, 2010). In a Bureau of Justice Statistics special report on victimization during household burglaries Catalano (2010) utilized the National Crime Victimization Survey and distinguished three burglary categories: 1- household burglary with household

²⁰ FBI definitions of crime are utilized as its basic components closely mirror the definitions used in Peru.

member not present, 2- household burglary with a household member present and 3- violent household burglary. This study utilizes the definition of *violent household burglary* “any household burglary committed while one or more household member are present and violent occurs between the offender and household members” (Catalano, 2010; p11) for the two burglaries that happen at home and violent business burglary (instead of *home invasion*).

Violent and Non-Violent Victimizations

Citizens experienced violent and non-violent victimization events. Violent victimizations include: Kidnapping (2), Assault (1), Vandalism (1) and Threats (1) (in addition to the robberies); non-violent victimization events are: Larceny-Theft (11), Extortion (8) and Impersonation (1).

Conclusion

This review of the demographic findings reveals several important facts. The subjects of this study are primarily young, with an average age of 30.4 years. Most of these citizens live in houses as opposed to apartments. The subjects live in 29 out of the 48 districts of Metropolitan Lima and the constitutional province of Callao (in addition to the Lima district of Cañete). These citizens come from some of the poorest and wealthiest districts of Lima (and Peru). Surprisingly, victimization averages do not vary greatly among citizens from different districts. Robberies and burglaries are the most common victimization events and women endured victimizations more often and recently in comparison to men. These victimizations are analyzed in the following Chapters:

- Chapter 8 describes the “robbery” survivor script (including attempted and armed robberies). As robberies are the most common victimizations they are detailed in a separate from the rest of the violent offenses.

- Chapter 9 describes the remaining violent victimization survivor scripts (kidnapping, assault, vandalism and threats).
- Chapter 10 describes the non-violent victimizations survivor scripts other than burglary (Larceny-theft, extortion and identity theft).
- Chapter 11 describes the burglary survivor scripts. Burglaries are the second most common victimization and it is therefore described in length in its own chapter separate from the other non-violent offenses.

Chapter 8: Survivor Script: Robbery

This chapter describes the Survivor Scripts for Robberies. The Robbery Survivor Script has 9 scenes (Figure 6: Survivor Script - Robbery). Each scene describes the decisions made by citizens before, during and after the robberies. This script is formulated by the citizen accounts of 83 robbery victimization events.²¹ Unarmed robberies (58), armed robberies (18) and incomplete robberies (7) are included in this script.

1- Preparation

In **preparation** (or prior to entering the scene) the citizens implement a number of precautions. The most common precautions are taking little or no money, only going out during the daytime and being vigilant of the surroundings. Every single citizen in this study implements precautions daily. Therefore, we assume that during the victimization events the citizens employed one or more precautions.

2- Entry

In the **entry** scene the citizens decide how to enter the place of victimization event. Most citizens were walking (56) and some were riding buses/taxis (10). In 17 victimization events the citizens did not provide a description of the setting.

3- Precondition

In the **pre-condition** scene several citizens (34) decide to carry a personal item which is visible. In 49 events the citizens do not describe having a personal item visible. Many residents noted that carrying a personal item or “taking a phone out” was a “careless” or “irresponsible” decision which ultimately led to their victimizations.

²¹ The script includes the accounts of 24 women (50 events) and 22 men (33 events).

Figure 6: Survivor Script - Robbery (47 Citizens/ 83 Events)		
1	Preparation	<p>Citizens decide to implement precautions daily</p> <p>A- Every citizen implements personal precautions (83)</p>
2	Entry	<p>Citizens decide how to commute</p> <p>A- Walking (56)</p> <p>B- Ride bus/taxi (10)</p> <p>C- No description (17)</p>
3	Pre-Condition	<p>Citizens decide to carry a visible personal item(s)</p> <p>A- Carrying a bag/purse or pull out a phone to talk (34)</p> <p>B- No description (49)</p>
4	Initiation	<p>Citizens realize are approached by robber(s)</p> <p>A- Group of robbers (27)</p> <p>B- Group of robbers in vehicle(6)</p> <p>C- Single robber (17)</p> <p>D- Single robber in vehicle (8)</p> <p>E- No description (25)</p>
5	Instrumental actualization	<p>Citizens encounter threats and violence at hands of robber(s)</p> <p>A- Citizens items grabbed and pulled (35)</p> <p>B- Citizens beat/choked/held down (14)</p> <p>C- Citizens threatened w/firearm (11)</p> <p>D- Citizens beaten/choked/held down/threatened w/firearm (6)</p> <p>E- Citizens threatened w/knife (2)</p> <p>F- No description (15)</p>
6	Doing	<p>Citizens decide how to react to robbery in progress</p> <p>A- Overpowered/lose possessions (64)</p> <p>B- Robbers unable to attain possessions (8)</p> <p>C- Fight robber/lose possessions (4)</p> <p>D- Fight robber and yell for help/ lose possessions (3)</p> <p>E- Give possessions willingly (3)</p> <p>F- Yell for help/lose possessions (1)</p>
7	Post Condition	<p>Citizens decide what to do once victimization ends</p> <p>A- Citizens go back to home/work/school (61)</p> <p>B- Citizens chase after robber(s) (5)</p> <p>C- No description (17)</p>
8	Exit	<p>Citizens decide on reporting crime</p> <p>A- Do not make a report (62)</p> <p>B- Reports mostly made for lost ID's/credit cards, not robberies (20)</p> <p>C- Citizen tries to make report but police do not allow it (1)</p>
9	Post-Exit	<p>Citizens decide to employ additional precautions</p> <p>A- Additional precautions employed in relation to event(s) (45)</p> <p>B- No mention of additional precautions (50)</p>

A- Citizen decides to pull out cell phone or carry a personal item (34)

Some citizens take out their cell phones to receive or make calls, while others carry a purse or backpack. In several robberies the criminals lunge at the citizens and grab these items. Moreover, deciding *not* to carry a personal item and deciding *not* to take out a cell phone are common precautions taken by many residents

Ricky, a 27 year old male from Rimac, believes that his victimization event happened due to being “irresponsible” by in pulling out his cell phone in public:

Close to my house they’ve only robbed me once; well it was due to being irresponsible by taking out my phone... I was close to some apartment buildings where everyone knows criminals and robbers live, you know they live there. Anyhow, I took out my phone since I was getting close to the University, only 3 blocks away, and it was getting late so I wanted to call home. At that the moment I took out the phone, they put me on a sleep hold (and robbed me). Since then I’ve had many more robbery attempts but I had more precautions in place.

In this passage Ricky blames himself and his decision to make a call for the robbery. He is not alone; self-blame was repeated by several citizens who were robbed. In Ricky’s case, self-blame is rationalized by two factors: 1- he pulled out a phone to make a call, making himself a target and 2- pulled out his phone in a place “where everyone knows criminals and robbers live.” Ricky concludes that he was irresponsible for his victimization due to his decision. Notably, he does not dwell on the violence of the attack (he was put in a sleep hold, falls to the ground and is robbed by the men while he is unconscious).

4- Initiation

In the **initiation** scene the citizens are approached by the robbers and the citizens realize the robbers’ attempt to rob them. In most instances, a group of robbers approach the citizens by foot (27) or vehicle (6). Citizens were approached by a single robber by foot (17) and in vehicles (8) (15 instances are not described).

A- Group of robbers approach citizen by foot (27)

Gino is a 21 year old male from San Juan de Miraflores. He was robbed by a group of men who approached him by foot. Gino describes how “drunken” men robbed him:

It was 2 in the morning and the whole street was empty... I see some guys with their arms across each other's shoulders, some drunken guys walking and then they turn at the corner. Then I reach that corner and the guys who were drunk, were acting as if they were drunk. At the corner they were waiting for me. When I got there they came out with a pistol and assaulted me. It was all a set up.

We may infer that the robbers act as if they are drunk in order to decrease Gino's heightened awareness (supposing that Gino is extra careful in an empty street at 2 am). These robbers as “manipulate” their appearance (Jacobs, 2013) to increase their chances of a successful robbery. Once the men turn the street corner they wait for Gino, ambush and rob him at gunpoint. Gino has few options other than to comply with the robbers.

B- Group of robbers approach citizen in vehicle (6)

A 35 year old woman from Villa Maria del Triunfo named Nina describes one of six robberies carried out by a group of men who drive up to the citizens in a vehicle:

A block away from my house at about 8 at night I got off the bus and walked. In the first corner of the street a car was waiting for me. I suppose that someone was at the wheel because another man got off the car and he intercepts me. He comes from behind me and puts his arms around me (holds her down). I thought it was my brother because my brother is about that age and body type He then rips off my purse and runs to the car and flees.

Much like Gino's victimization, the criminals who rob Nina appear to have planned the robbery. The men wait until Nina is walking away from the bus, drive up to her, get off the car, hold her down, rip off her purse and drive off. As she is caught by surprise and overpowered, Nina does not have many options during the attack and robbery.

Citizens were also robbed by a group of men while commuting on buses. Pablo is 22 years old and lives in Comas. He was robbed by a group of men in a bus:

In the same bus they robbed me, I was in Callao returning to Comas and three or four guys go on the bus and they sat by the back door. One of them sat next to me and began searching my things. I could not do anything because they were more people... rather than expose you to other things it was best to leave it there.

As noted by Pablo, the men corralled him in the bus and robbed him. Pablo decided that his best option was to allow for the men to rob him. Speaking up or fighting back may have put Pablo in danger; his best option was to “leave it there,” or let the robbers finish.

C. Single robber walks up to citizen (17)

In several instances citizens were approached by a single robber who walks up to them (17). Ruby, a 38 year old woman from Miraflores, gets on the back seat of a taxi.

One man robs her when he walks up to her taxi and reaches inside of the vehicle:

As the window was half open, I went to close it and at that time half his (the robber's) body was inside the car. The young man and I struggled over the purse. He began to scratch me but in the end he took the purse and took off running.

Ruby decides to fight the robber in order to keep her purse. The robber eventually overpowers her and flees. As she is stuck in traffic, Ruby decides to stay in the taxi.

D- Single robber approaches citizens in vehicle (8)

A few citizens were robbed by a single robber who approaches them in a vehicle (8). Amado is a 24 year old man from Villa Maria del Triunfo. He was robbed by a taxi driver who drove up to him and pulled out a gun. He notes, “The taxi stops, it comes and robs you.” Since his life is threatened Amado complies with the armed taxi driver.

5- Instrumental Actualization

In the **instrumental actualization** scene the citizens face threats and violence at the hands of the criminal(s). In 15 events there are no descriptions of the attack. Out of the remaining 68 events the robbers pull or grab the citizens' personal belongings (35) or utilize physical violence and guns (33). In other words, nearly half of the described

robberies involve high levels of violence. Citizens were beat up, choked and/or held down (14), threatened with a fire arm in (11); beat up, choked, held down **and** threatened with a fire arm (6); or threatened with knives (2).

A- Citizens items grabbed and pulled by robbers (35)

Dina is a 23 year old woman from Villa de Salvador. Her purse was swiped by a taxi driver while she was looking for money to pay the fare:

I was getting of a taxi and I had 1000 soles with me, I was there with my friend... the same taxi driver was a thief. I did not have change to pay him and I was I was getting off the car (and looking for money) he took off with the purse and left. I did not do a police report because I would have had to write the plaque number before making a report, I didn't have it so there was nothing I could do.

The taxi driver takes advantage of an opportunity to steal Dina's purse while she looks for the taxi fare. The robber is in a vehicle and can easily drive away, he is at an advantage. The driver pulls the purse and drives off. Caught off guard and without any information about the car or driver, Dina believes there is nothing she can do.

B- Citizens beat up/choked/held down by robbers (14)

In 14 instances the citizens are beat up, choked or held down by the robber(s).

Simon, a 22 year old man from Independencia, describes one of these events:

Just going out of work, a work friend called me and at the time I answered they crept up to me and held me from behind. All I could do was let it go because if I didn't let it go or I resisted they were going to hurt me. They used a lot of force and then they left. Since then I am fearful, you could say that I am fearful. It was the first time... Now I have many more precautions.

The robbers use physical force to hold Simon and rob him. Simon believes that refusing to comply would have resulted in a more painful attack. He decides to let go of his belongings to prevent additional harms. This attack made Simon fearful and he remedies this fear by implementing additional precautions.

C- Citizens threatened with firearms by robbers (No physical violence) (11)

The robber(s) threaten the citizens with weapons in 19 events, 11 of these did not involve additional physical violence. These robberies occur in open public spaces such as streets, parks, plazas and Universities. Anita, a 21 year old woman from Miraflores, describes an armed robbery:

One time by the University I was with a friend we got robbed. They took his cell phone and took my money. Just like that a man walking who had a gun showed us the gun and we got scared and he robbed us... Serenasgo, when they robbed me for the first time there was a guard there standing and he knew that I was getting robbed and he did absolutely nothing.

As Anita notes, she and her friend were robbed at gunpoint outside of their University.

Anita felt she had no choice but to comply with the armed robber as her life was threatened and Serenasgo did not step in to help her.

A few armed robberies occurred in buses. Samuel is a 23 year old male from San Juan de Miraflores. He describes how he robbed with a firearm while riding a bus:

I was going to class and I was carrying a really huge book from school. So I went to the University and he put a gun in the seat behind me and took all my money... 40 soles... The guy was very nonchalant behind me. I got off the bus and acted nonchalant.

Simon was caught off guard when the robber placed a gun behind his seat of the bus. He felt that there were few options available and decided to comply with the robber.

Several armed robbers drive up to the citizens, pull out a gun and rob them. Mayra is a 28 year old woman from Reinoso. She tried to avoid a motorcycle (she saw was coming towards her) but the robbers reached her before she could enter her home. The criminals threatened Mayra and her husband with a gun at their doorstep:

Me and my husband were intercepted at the door of our house, but not where I live now. We got intercepted but I wasn't carrying my phone, it was well hidden, or money because I had gone out to drop off some invitations and I did not bring

anything with me. They intercepted from a motorcycle, I tried to avoid them but they pulled out a gun and asked for all of my belongings. Thank god I did not have anything on me.

In this instance the robbers were not able to get away with Mayra's belongings as she was not carrying any valuables. Although her life (and her husband's life) was threatened, Mayra considers herself lucky because she was not robbed of any expensive valuables. In other words, the severity of this robbery is measured by the loss of personal items; as she did not lose any expensive items Mayra considers herself fortunate.

D- Citizens beaten up/choked/held down and threatened with firearms (6)

In 6 instances the robber(s) beat the citizens up **and** also threaten them with firearms. Renzo is 20 year old man and lives in Comas. He was beat up, threatened with a firearm and robbed by a group of men:

They pointed a gun at me. Three men got off a vehicle and they only took my cell phone. They hit me and left me lying on the floor. It happened last year.

The group of men utilized physical violence and a fire arms to get compliance from Renzo. As he was physically hurt and threatened with a gun; there was little that Renzo could do to end the attack.

E- Citizens threatened with knives (2)

Citizens were threatened with knives in 2 instances. Jimmy is a 24 year old male from San Juan De Lurigancho. He describes an event where he was robbed at knife point:

They robbed me in the street, justly so, for walking in places where one should not go, places that are deserted, that you know are dangerous. But I still went walking and they assaulted me with a knife... they took my wallet, cell phone. I did not do a police report, I was afraid for a few days but now I take more precautions.

Jimmy describes a repeated theme in this analysis. He believes he made a bad decision by walking in a place known to be "dangerous" and is at fault for his armed robbery. Much

like Ricky, Jimmy justified the robbery and was fearful following the victimization. Due to this experience Jimmy implements additional safety precautions.

6-Doing

In the **doing** scene the citizens decide how to react to the attacks. In the majority of victimization events (64) the robber(s) overpower the citizens and the citizen's possessions are stolen. In 8 instances robbers do not steal the citizen's belongings; in 7 instances citizens fight against the robbers (and yell for help in 3 of the 7); in 3 instances citizens give up their possessions willingly and in 1 instance a citizen yells for help.

A- Robbers overpower the citizens and citizens lose possessions (64)

Most citizens are either caught by surprise, threatened, beat up and/or held up at gunpoint; therefore many do not feel they have many available options at the time of the attack. These citizens lose their possessions and the robbers flee the scene of the crime.

B- Citizens hold on to possessions, robbery is incomplete (8)

Ricky explains 1 of 8 instances where the citizens are successful in holding on to their possessions and/or avoid a complete robbery. Ricky was walking in Gamarra with his girlfriend and a woman tried to steal his wallet from his back pocket:

I had my wallet in my back pocket and a man and woman came up to me and told me, "be careful they tried to rob you." When I was walking with her (his girlfriend) I felt that they were pulling on me. I turned around and an older lady passed by me and tells me about it. I wasn't carrying a lot of money. We could not find her (the woman who tried to rob her) she got lost.

Ricky was warned by a citizen of a robbery attempt (the robber was unable to steal the wallet). Ricky and his girlfriend decided to look for the robber to no avail. Some avoided robberies by running and hiding from the robbers. Nina explains:

I noticed that they were trying to assault me. They were chasing after me but when I noticed I tried to go inside a very public place, in order to avoid the situation. I

was accompanied with a male friend and a female friend; it was the three of us, but even though we were a group (they still tried to rob them). It was the 15th of the month, on the 15th of the month it is dangerous here (due to many citizens receiving their salaries twice a month). Well we tried to avoid the situation but there was definite intent.

Nina avoided a robbery by running and going into a public place with lots of people. She noted that due to the date of the month (when most citizens are paid) there are additional dangers in the streets of Lima. This knowledge informed her decision to be extra cautious and run away from the man who was following her.

In some instances the citizens avoided robberies by hiding their belongings. Ricky prevented a robbery through a calculation of the events and people around him. He moved his wallet in order to walk past a group of men and fool them (a similar scenario previously resulted in a violent robbery). Ricky explains:

I had my wallet in the back pocket of my shorts and I saw that around 200 meters in front of me there was a group of young men around 17 to 20 years old and I thought to myself, "These guys are robbers." When I was relatively far from them what I did was take out my wallet (from the back pocket) and put it in my front pocket. Since the pocket was wide I also put my hand in and I started to walk towards them, nonchalant, calmly. I saw one of them came towards me and got close to me but he did not come to me to rob me. He walked right by my side, I felt him walk by me and he bumped into me and I noticed that when he walked past me he turned around to see me. In other words, he was looking to see if I had a back pocket in my shorts and if my wallet was there. I kept walking. I deduced that he was waiting for me to have something, the wallet, and he was going to tell his friends so that they could grab me, throw me to the ground and rob me.

Ricky utilized his knowledge of the potential dangers that come from walking past group of men late at night and more importantly, what these men are after (his wallet). Due to a previous experience of a robbery by a group of men (who put him in a sleep hold and beat him), Ricky employs precautions including being vigilant of his surroundings. He measured the distance where he could remove his wallet without being noticed by the men. He removes his wallet and hides in his front pocket by shielding it with his hands in

his pockets. Ricky suspects that the men sent one of their friends to see if he had a wallet in his pocket (a man bumps into him). Once the man sees that Ricky does carry any items in his pocket, Ricky walks through the group of men safely. Importantly, Ricky recognizes that it was necessary for him to act nonchalant. Acting scared or appearing to be cautious may alert the men. These decisions work within specific scenes and contexts familiar to Ricky (due to his previous robberies); Ricky's choices allow him to exit the script safely.

C- Citizens fight with the robbers (4)

In 7 instances the citizens decide to fight the robber(s). In 4 of these 7 instances the citizens only fight against the robber(s). Ivette is a 19 year old female from Chorrillos.

Once she realized the men were trying to rob her, she fought with her armed robbers:

Last time I was robbed was at the end of March when I was returning home. I was a few blocks from my house and it was with a handgun (the robbery) from a motorcycle. Two men were coming behind me and I had not noticed since I was walking home directly. One comes up to me and he holds me down and he grabs my purse in order to take it from me. Then I begin to fight him off because I did not want him to rob me so he puts the gun in my head. At that moment I did not feel fear of the weapon, I told him, "If you're going to shoot, then shoot me." I did not want to let go of my purse because I had some documents from work.... In the fight I could feel that the robber was shaking. I suppose it gave him more strength (the fear of being called out by the citizen's neighbor) because he was able to tear off the purse and he was able to take it...

Ivette refuses to comply with the armed robber and fights him in order to protect her work documents. Fearless against the threats to her life, she tells the robber to shoot her if he wants. The decision to fight him is also informed by Ivette's perception of the robber's fear (he is "shaking"). Eventually the robber overpowers her and flees.

D- Citizens fight with robbers and yell for help (3)

In 3 of these 7 instances, the citizens fight the robbers and yell for help from citizens nearby. Beatris is a 24 year old woman from San Juan de Lurigancho. She fought

with her robber but was eventually overpowered by him: She explains her victimization event at a busy bus stop:

I was talking on the cell phone in the middle of the day at 9 in morning in Breña and my phone was pulled... we started to fight and ended up on the floor. Due to the strength he wins. But the people standing around us did nothing, they were all standing around and I was telling them to help me and they did nothing. They said, "Well, what if he has a gun and he attacks me?" another lady told me, "I thought that it was an argument between a couple that is why I didn't get involved." On top of the phone he managed to open my bag and took my wallet and documents.

Beatris decides to fight the criminal and yell for help. She was surrounded by citizens at the time of her robbery and yelled for help while she fought the robber but the citizens refused to help her. The citizens who watch her fighting did not intervene because they were fearful of being hurt and thought this attack was a couple's quarrel. Although she did all she could to stop the robbery, Beatris was overpowered and the robber ran away.

E- Citizens give possessions to robbers willingly

In 3 instances, the citizens choose give up their belongings willingly. Larry is a 21 year old male from Chorrillos. He describes why he and his friends decided to willingly comply with a group of armed robbers:

We were a group of 5 friends and a 4x4 truck came by and 4 armed men got off of the truck and they stole our cell phones, wallets, watches, chains and fortunately we never opted to attack them. We simply decided that they should take everything.

Larry believes he made the right decision by complying with the robbers. The armed robbers ambushed Larry and his friends; objecting with the men was not a good option. He considers the outcome of the robbery fortunate since no person was hurt.

F- Citizen yells for help (1)

In one instance a citizen asks for help. Julia is a 53 year old woman from San Juan de Lurigancho. She was sitting in a park next to a university when she was robbed and

decided to yell for help. No person came to aid her (although it was a park with security). She ran away after the robber stole her belongings.

7- Post- Condition

At the **post-condition** scene, the citizens decide what to do immediately following the victimization ends. Most citizens decide to return home, go to work or school (61). In 5 instances the citizens decide to chase after the robber(s). In the remaining 17 instances the citizens do not describe their decisions after the victimization event.

A- Citizens go to their home, work places or school (61)

In the majority of instances the citizens return home, go to work or school. Many citizens tell their families of their ordeals. Many citizens also call their cell phone carriers and cancel the phone lines. They note that cell phones are a preferred item by robbers because they are openly sold in many markets across Lima.²²

B- Citizens chase after the robbers (5)

In 5 instances the citizens chase after the robber(s) by foot or by car. Amanda is a 19 year old female from San Juan de Lurigancho. She was shopping in the business complex of Gamarra when she was robbed. Once the robber got away she ran after him:

Two months ago they attacked me and stole my cell phone and to tell you the truth it's a big indignation. This was in Gamarra and they pulled on my purse, they pulled across the floor (in the middle of the shopping center) with it and even so I got up and started to chase after the robber. And I could see that the people around and they were not doing anything, all they were telling me was, "you are not going to reach him." People just stared as spectators and did nothing else.

Amanda was unable to reach the robber and she became more upset due to the apathy of the citizens (who saw her being dragged across the floor). Rather than stepping in and

²² Selling of stolen merchandize is common place in Lima. Once sellers of stolen phones make a receipt for the buyers the transaction is found to be legal (even if the phones are fact stolen and the sellers do not have documentation that indicates how the phone came to their store).

helping her, the vendors and shoppers of Gamarra told Amanda that she was wasting her time and would not reach him.

In a few instances, the citizens decided to hop on a vehicle and follow the robbers. Nina made a “mistake” by carrying her purse after leaving a movie theater with her boyfriend. She was robbed and decided to hop on a taxi and follow her robbers:

I made the mistake of carrying my purse in my hand; I was close to the movie theater in San Juan de Miraflores. A moto-taxi came by and it ripped off my purse. Feeling desperate I go after the robbers and I get on a taxi (to go after them). However at the moment the taxi goes to turn, the taxi driver takes too long and I lose sight of the robbers, otherwise I would have caught them. It was something very scary, I should not have exposed myself to that situation but sometimes in the heat of the moment you do it.

Nina made a “mistake” by carrying her purse in her hands and in deciding to hop on a taxi to follow the robbers. She believes that she put herself in danger by following the robbers.

8- Exit

At the **exit** scene, most the citizens (62) forgo filing a report of the crime. Twenty citizens file a police report and 1 citizen is not allowed to file a report by the police.

A- Citizens forgo making a police report (62)

Most citizens indicate that making a report is a “waste of time” and “useless” due to several factors:

- 1- The lengthy processes involved in making police reports;
- 2- The unlikelihood that they will not recuperate their stolen items;
- 3- Law enforcement’s unwillingness to take reports/investigate the crimes; and
- 4- Making reports may put citizens in greater dangers if they know the criminals.

Dona is a 25 year old woman from Pueblo Libre. She explains her victimization event and why she decided to forgo filing police report:

A month ago, they put a gun in my head, threw me in the ground and robbed me... it was two men in Los Olivos (she recently moved from this district to Pueblo Libre)... They took my phone because that was the only thing I had on me, I didn’t have a wallet... I did not make a report because those people who robbed me live

around the zone where I used to live. Therefore in order to avoid retribution, I avoided making a report because I was afraid that they would do something worse to me or to my family.

In order to protect her and her family's safety Dona decided to not report the armed robbery. She feared retribution from the criminals and in order to avoid more victimizations Dona decided to move to a different district.

B- Citizens file a police report (in order to replace lost items) (20)

Some citizens (20) decide to make a report for lost items (ID's and credit cards). The citizens explain that without a loss item report from the police they are unable to replace their credit cards and government identification card (DNI). When asked why they did not report the crime, many noted that the police do not take reports of robberies unless 3000 soles or more are stolen. Therefore, a loss item report is the best solution. A small number of these reports (3) were made for actual robberies.²³

The road to filing a robbery report is not clear-cut or simple. This is exemplified by Nino's account. He is a 45 years old man who lives in Surco and experienced a total of 8 victimization events. Nino explains his difficulties in getting the police to file his report:

They took my merchandise about 1000 soles worth... I went to talk to Serenasgo²⁴ but there was no one who knew me at the station, eventually one person took it (the report of the robbery).

They did not want to take the report?

Serenasgo? No. Neither did the Police that were there. Then at the police station an officer made the report because he wanted to learn how to do them, the paper work. He said, "I will take your report" and he added, "When we want to fall on them (the gang), we will tell you." What happened then was that they robbed a higher up's wife, it was the entire gang. Then that set it off, they had a large file, they got messed up, they gave them drug charges, every charge they could.

²³ As most citizens were dismissive of the question about reports, only 3 robbery reports can be confirmed through the analysis of the victimization events. However, there may be additional robbery reports among the remaining 17 cases.

²⁴ Serenasgo are municipal security agents. They may detain an offender while they wait for the police.

They put on a bunch of charges (that were not real)?

Yeah, when the police want to soil you (screw you over) they soil you, they add on the charges and it is done! They gave them a bunch of drug charges but they were damned (the gang members).

As Nino notes, the only reason the police allowed him to make a report of this victimization event is because a newer officer wanted to learn how to file a report. Both Nino and the police were aware of the gang who robbed him (they were well known). This notorious gang was only apprehended (with alleged false drug charges) when the wife of an officer endured a victimization event. Although the gang was caught, Nino did not want to participate in the proceedings related to this case. He explains:

They were a known gang, a gang of 6, they got caught and got sent to prison, they used to call me all the time to go to Palacio de Justicia to declare on my case, but it was a waste of my time. The last times they called me it was for the sentence, they were sentenced to 8 years and 5000 soles of civil retribution for the state but I do not know what happened after that... when the notification for me to go came the last time I told them to not call me again because I was going out of the country, since then they never called again.

Although Nino's robbers were caught, tried in court and sent to prison, he did not want to be a part of the legal proceedings. In fact, he lied about his whereabouts in order to stop getting legal notices about his case as this was a "waste" of his time.

C- Citizen is not allowed to make a police report (1)

Another citizen describes her difficulties in filing a report; the police did not allow her to file a report for her armed robbery.²⁵ Felicia is a 22 year old woman from Barranco. She explains how she was robbed and why the police refused to let her make a report:

They stole my wallet and everything I had in it, mostly my documents, about 3 or 4 months ago inside a bus. I was in Miraflores and they got on the bus (robbers)

²⁵ We do not know if this citizen was the only person who was outright denied the opportunity to make a report for her robbery. It is possible that some of 17 lost item reports were filed as lost items because the police would not allow "robbery" reports to be filed.

they opened and searched through all of the purses to all of the persons who were standing. They hit the people (who did not comply) and the people around could not help because they threatened them with guns...I went to the police department (to make a report) and the chief very judiciously said, "They robbed you less than 3000 soles, I cannot make a report for you."

Although Felicia's life was threatened by the group of armed men, the police would not allow her to file a report (as she lost less than 3000 soles). Although this study's focus is not citizen interactions with the police, we begin to understand through these accounts why many citizens forgo contacting the police or filing reports of their victimizations.

9- Post-Exit

At the **post exit** scene the citizens decide whether to employ additional precautions in relation to this victimization. Forty-five victimizations (experienced by 23 citizens) are related to additional precautions. In 38 events there is no mention of precautions.

A- Citizens implement additional safety precautions due to robbery (45)

One of the 23 citizens who implements additional precautions is Thomas. He is a 54 year old man from Callao. He implemented precautions due to his victimization event and the incessant pleas of his son to be more cautious:

I go out with a headset so as to not pull out the phone, my son taught me that, to not pull the phone out because it is already happened. I was with my phone talking and two guys came up to me and grabbed it. That is why my son keeps telling me, "don't take out the phone, they are going to rob it." I have had to get used to using the headset and they haven't robbed it since, it is because they cannot tell what kind of phone it is, that is why they don't rob it (if you wear a headset).

Thomas notes that criminals look for expensive phones they can resell in black markets. If they were to steal an old, inexpensive phone they would not get a lot of money when they offer it to the sellers. Hiding the phone or using headphones is a useful precaution because the robbers cannot see the type of phone the citizen carries. A detailed discussion of all of the preventions taken by citizens following a victimization event is detailed in Chapter 12.

Summarizing the Robbery Survivor Script

This analysis describes 9 scenes in the robbery events of Lima citizens which describe the decisions made by citizens before, during and after the robberies. This script describes several similarities in the robbery stages and decisions made by citizens:

- 1- Citizens implement precautions every day to prevent victimizations.
- 2- Most citizens are robbed while walking, and (to a smaller degree) while riding public transportation and taxis.
- 3- Many citizens decide to carry a bag, purse or a cell phone in their hands at the time of the robbery. Many believe that this decision is directly related to their victimization.
- 4- Citizens are robbed by a group of men most often; although in several instances citizens are also robbed by a single person. Robbers most often approach the citizens by foot, although approaching citizens by vehicle is also common.
- 5- Nearly half of all victimizations were violent (wherein the citizens were physically hurt and/or threatened with a weapon). In the remaining half, the citizen's belongings were pulled, grabbed or given willingly.
- 6- Most citizens are ambushed or caught by surprise; this leaves few options in responding to the attacks. In some instances the citizens fight the robbers and/or yell for help.
- 7- After the attacks the majority of citizens decide to go home, school or work. Several citizens chase after the robbers.
- 8- The majority of citizens decide to forgo filing a police report due to negative thoughts and experiences with the police.
- 9- Following the victimizations, many citizens decide to implement additional safety precautions in order to prevent victimizations.

Many citizens believe that their best protection against future victimizations is employing additional precautions (rather than alerting the police or citizens for help).

Prevention is a big focus in the routines for the majority of citizens. Through the description of the scenes we learn important facts about the citizens' views of their victimizations and the impact of these crimes in their lives:

(1) Citizen behaviors and cognitive decision making

Several citizens described how their own decision making and behaviors before, during and after the victimization impacted the outcome of these events. Ricky, Nina, and Jimmy described these events by saying that it was due to their own negligence and bad

choices (carrying an item/ walking in a dangerous area) that they became victimized. Citizens also had to make choices when they realized they were being approached or attacked. Some citizens are able to avoid the robberies once they realize they are being followed and act calmly and quickly. However, the majority of citizens are ambushed or caught by surprised. Most do not have a chance to decide what to do since these events happen quickly and/or the robbers threaten or hurt them.

A few citizens decide to comply with the robbers in order to avoid further danger. However, some citizens decide to fight their robbers in order to keep their items. Unlike the sample described in Guerette and Santana's (2010) theory of victim self-protective behavior (VSPR), the majority of citizens who fought with their robbers were unable to stop the crimes from completion. Notably, the majority of citizens who fought were women and the fights ended when they were overpowered by the physical male robbers. Another choice made primarily by women was to scream for help and chase the robbers.

In order to prevent future victimizations, the citizens make cognitive choices to implement precautions. Some of these precautions are simple, such as not taking out their phones. Leaving items at home is of special interest; many citizens speak about these precautions in terms of preventing losses when they (inevitably) are robbed. If we were to consider the loss of an expensive item as a marker for a *serious crime* (rather than physical harms), then it is logical for citizens to prevent the most *serious crimes* by protecting and safeguarding their most valued items. Some precautions change and rearrange the structure of the citizens'. For example, one citizen moved to a different district following her armed robbery; another citizen changes her commuting route daily. Citizens create lengthy "mental maps" (Lupton, 1999) that describe where and how they may go to

various places. In simpler terms: 1- what citizens choose to carry in their persons; 2- how they carry it; and 3-where, when and how they travel when they have this item in their possession is centered on situational crime prevention principles. Crime prevention is a consideration for every cognitive decision and choice made by citizens in a daily basis.

(2) The environment's relation to victimization events

The citizens described the setting of the scenes of their victimization events in great detail. Citizens were robbed in buses; taxis; parks; outside their universities; in the door of their home; in shopping centers; in streets during the day, afternoon and night; in places with multitudes of citizens, Serenasgo and Police. An often mentioned comment about safety in Lima is that there is “no place is safe”. In making decisions about where to go and how to get there, citizens have to calculate which risks are safer to take.

Choosing the right place, how to get there, and what to take are important considerations for most citizens. However, being in a “safe” place does not guarantee safety. Several citizens were in public, open areas with visible security and police presence, during daytime hours at the time of their victimizations. This added to the indignation of citizens who yelled for help and were ignored during their victimizations.

The setting of the victimizations impacted and limited the decisions of the citizens during the victimizations. For example, Samuel was robbed at gun point by a robber who sat behind him in a bus. He had very limited available responses to this robbery. Anything other than compliance may have resulted in his death and if he alerted the passengers their lives may have been jeopardized. Among citizens who feel unsafe at every setting, Lima is a city with a large number of restrictions.

(3) The way harms are neutralized (“no harm”, self-blame and “nothing lost”

While some citizens see their victimization events as traumatizing occurrences which cultivated fear and insecurity, other citizens see these events as commonplace and neutralized their harms (Winkel, 1998; Agnew, 1985). These victimizations were neutralized through self-blame, diminishing the physical harms and material losses.

Several citizens expressed that they were robbed due to their poor choices, as some decided to walk in “dangerous” areas or were carrying their personal items visibly. For example, Jimmy indicated that he was “justly” robbed for walking in “places where one should not go”; and Ricky believes he was robbed because he acted irresponsibly.

Some citizens diminished the physical harms of the attacks in order to neutralize their victimizations. In other words, when these crimes happened they were not “that bad”, are citizens are therefore not “fearful” of future crimes (Winkel, 1998).

Some citizens see their robberies in terms of the items stolen. A “serious” robbery occurs when an expensive valuable is lost and a “non-serious” robbery is one where not many valuable objects are lost. When many citizens were asked if their precautions made them feel safer many responded that precautions made safer because “nothing can be taken” or “they won’t take much” once a crime inevitably happens.

Perhaps neutralizing these victimizations through self-blame describes the citizens’ own perceptions of poor decision-making and failing to follow rules of conduct in Lima. Another possibility is that by claiming responsibility over the victimization the citizens can feel they are also capable to prevent them in the future by making “better” choices and thus becoming “problem-solvers” (Jackson and Gray, 2010).

(4) The impact these events have in the citizen’s lives (implementation of precautions, feelings of citizen insecurity (fear and risk of crime) and negative perceptions of the police.

These victimizations had long lasting impacts on the lives of citizens who decided to implement additional precautions to their daily routines. Some citizens also became fearful. For example, following her armed robbery, Anita “became fearful” and “did not feel safe at all.” She employs precautions such as not going out alone at night and not carrying any personal belongings. Jimmy explained that he was “afraid for a few days” after the robbery but now takes “more precautions” and feels safer. Other citizens express “risk” of crime rather than fear and mediate the risks with help of their precautions.

Several citizens also developed negative opinions about security and law enforcement due to their victimizations. As Anita notes, when she was robbed at gun point a security guard was standing nearby and he did “absolutely nothing”. This is one account of a handful where police or security (Serenasgo) were present and did not step in to help the citizens. Residents nearby rarely stepped in to help citizens when they were being robbed. These situations invite emotions of helplessness among the citizens who explain that when crimes occur, no one (not even law enforcement) will come at their aid.

Another situation that causes helplessness among the survivors is their inability to report crimes due to fear of retribution and apathy from law enforcement. Dona did not make a report of her armed robbery because she was afraid the robbers would hurt her or her family. She decided to move to a different district where she feels safer. The majority of citizens did not report their crimes; some filed “loss item” reports with the police but the actual robberies were unreported. While some citizens explained that they did not report the crimes because it is a “waste of time” or “useless”; others who tried were not allowed to report the robberies by law enforcement. Felicia was robbed at gunpoint in a bus but she was not allowed to report this crime because she lost less than 3000 soles.

Nino was only allowed to report his robbery after a police officer volunteered to take his statement because he wanted to know how to file reports. The negative opinions that citizens hold for the police, law enforcement and government entities are expressed through the citizen's lack of trust in the police; this leads to apathy towards judicial processes.

Conclusion

The robbery survivor script helps us understand the various stages of this type of victimization. The analysis of the citizens' decisions and opinions of the victimization events highlight the importance of the citizen's own perceptions of the crimes and their available options in response to these events. These perceptions (along with their knowhow and environmental constraints) inform how the citizens decide to react to victimizations and how they choose to prevent victimizations thereafter.

Chapter 9: Survivor Scripts (Violent Crimes): Kidnapping, Vandalism, Assault and Threats

This chapter describes the survivor scripts of the violent crimes of Kidnapping, Assault, Vandalism, Assault and Threats.

Survivor Script: Kidnapping

Two young women endured kidnappings.²⁶ These kidnappings occurred while the citizens were passengers of taxis; the taxi drivers kidnapped the citizens. Both of these events occurred in the previous year and involved serious physical harms to the citizens. One of the kidnappings was armed. The Survivor Script for these kidnappings is listed in Figure 7: Survivor Script - Kidnapping.

1- In the **preparation** scene the citizens are traveling with a friend and it is nighttime. The citizens implement routine precautions including avoiding dangerous areas.

2- In the **entry** scene the citizens get on the back seat of a taxi.

3- In the **precondition** scene the citizens are riding towards their final destination. In one instance the citizen is having a conversation with her friend and the taxi driver joins the conversation. The conversation between the citizen and driver continues after the citizen's friend is dropped off. In the other instance the citizen is talking with her friend.

4- In the **instrumental initiation** scene the cab driver begins to drive off of the main road. Paloma is a 19 year old female from La Victoria. The taxi driver asks her to move up to the front seat in order to continue their conversation. The driver gains Paloma's trust, she feels comfortable with the driver and moves up to the front seat.

²⁶ The NIBRS (2013) defines kidnapping as "The unlawful seizure, transportation, and/or detention of a person against his/her will, or of a minor without the consent of his/her custodial parent(s) or legal guardian.

Figure 7: Survivor Script- Kidnapping (2 Citizens/ 2 Events)		
1	Preparation	It is nighttime, citizen is traveling with a friend/ has precautions in place.
2	Entry	Citizen gets on back seat of taxi with friend. Citizen is riding taxi.
3	Pre-Condition	A- Taxi driver beings friendly conversation with citizen and her friend. Friend is dropped off. B- Citizen is talking to friend.
4	Instrumental Initiation	Taxi driver drives off of the main roads. A- Citizen decides to sit on passenger's seat (at driver's request). Driver has to go off the road to urinate. B- Citizen and friend notice that taxi is headed to dangerous part of Lima.
5	Instrumental Actualization	Citizen becomes alert as driver speeds off main roads. Citizens are attacked. A- Citizen's hair is pulled, driver searches through her belongings. She tells him to take everything. B-Taxi stops, a vehicle drives up taxi. Citizen and her friend are forced off of the taxi by the passengers of the other car.
6	Doing	Citizen responds to attack, is robbed of personal belongings. A- Citizen screams for help, driver punches citizen in the face to her from yelling. She continues yelling; he pushes her off moving car and keeps her belongings. B- Citizen and friends lined up outside of car; their personal belongings are taken by taxi driver and armed men.
7	Post-Condition	Citizen left in dangerous parts of Lima without belongings or money. A- Citizen picked up by a woman in small van, taken to a medical post to treat her wounds. She then heads home. B- Citizen and friend manage to make it back home.
8	Exit	Citizens opt out of making police report. A- Citizen did not feel the crime event was serious enough for a report. B- Citizen did not have the plate number of taxi.
9	Post- Exit	Citizens implement several precautions related to this crime event.

Moving to the passenger seat makes it easier for the driver to attack Paloma in the following scene. The driver then informs Paloma that he has to urinate and takes a detour. In the other instance, Lana (a 21 year old female from San Miguel) and her friend notice that their taxi driver is heading towards a dangerous part of Lima.

5- In the *instrumental actualization* scene the citizens become alert once the taxi drivers speed off to get off main roads. The citizens are attacked. Paloma, now sitting in

the passenger's seat, is pushed and pulled by the taxi driver. The driver goes through her belongings. Paloma pleads with him and tells him to take her all of her belongings. Lana is driven to a different location and she is intercepted by armed men that drive up to the taxi.

She explains her kidnapping:

The taxi was supposedly taking us home (Lana and her friend) and at the end we got intercepted by two robbers in another car. They took all of our things and were violent in their manner of pulling us out of the car. And well they took everything and in the end they got on board the same taxi that was giving us a ride. They left us in a very dangerous avenue... it was a year ago or less. Since then everything has become much more dangerous, you see it on the news, how they rob people in the doors of their homes, at their jobs, it is much more dangerous... before I felt much more safer, I would go out at night and nothing would happen, but now you cannot do that anymore, there are too many things happening with insecurity in the country, it is very scary.

As Lana explains, the taxi driver and the robbers were working together and planned this kidnapping. The robbers even got on board the taxi after the kidnapping ended. This was a "blitz" attack (Jacobs, 2013), the driver and his accomplices got compliance from the citizens by surprising them and using violence.

6- In the **doing** scene the citizens are robbed of their personal belongings. Paloma details how she kidnapped, attacked and robbed by the driver. Importantly, Paloma decides to fight and yell for help. Her reaction to the attack ended her kidnapping:

I was robbed coming after work, I got into a cab and the driver was up front, I was in the back with my friend. My friend was left at her house. After the driver left my friend, he (driver) told me to come up to the passenger seat to talk (the three had been talking). And since I am like a parrot (like to converse) I went. He was going on the route and then he said he had to pee and he drove into a dark alley and did a U-turn and grabbed me by the hair until I told him to take everything I had. I had my book bag and a few other things, 'take everything'. I grabbed him and started to scream, then he punched me in the face and opened the door and pushed me out (while he was driving) I was left frightened, crying and bleeding in the street. A lady (nearby) was just headed towards my district in a small van and she made me get up and took me to a free medical post, then I got home.

Paloma ended her victimization due to her decision to fight the driver off and yell for help. She alerted possible guardians by calling attention to herself. Her reaction to the attack infuriated the driver who then decided to push Paloma off the car and speed away.

As previously stated, the robbers take Lana and her friend's personal belongings. The robbers then get on board of the taxi and flee the crime scene.

7- In the **post-condition** scene the citizens are left in dangerous parts of Lima without money. Paloma was picked up by a woman who was traveling in a small van. She was taken to a medical post to treat her wounds. Lana made her way home.

8- In the **exit** scene the citizens decide that making a police report is not in their best interests. Paloma explains her decision, "it was something small, I did not do a report, I did not go to the hospital either, I just left it as is." Paloma describes the kidnapping as "something small". Perhaps she believes her victimization was not a serious crime due to the fact that no expensive valuables were stolen. Another possibility is that citizens may fear that their victimizations would not be taken seriously by the police.

9- In the **post-exit** scene the citizens implement precautions related to these kidnappings. Paloma explains, "I don't take taxis anymore... I only take buses, no more taxis, it is scary." Paloma refuses to ride on taxis and prefer buses, she is fearful of a repeat victimization. Lana's routine also changed after her kidnapping:

Now I take secure taxis (taxis that are called from a company who distributes them rather than from the street). Or I ride the taxis with a lot of people so that that nothing happens to me. In any event I have to call and inform, "Hey mom I am in taxi with the license plate." You always have to say the license number so that taxi driver knows that you are alert, so that something worse does not happen. Now there is a lot of insecurity, there is a lot of fear.

Lana rides in secure taxis (which are costly), rides taxis with several people and calls her family to them know the license plate number of the taxi.

Summarizing Kidnapping Survivor Scripts

Paloma and Lana endured two of the most violent and traumatizing victimization events of the study. Although both women employed routine precautions to prevent victimizations prior entering into the taxis, as passengers they were both at a great disadvantage and at the mercy of the kidnappers. The criminals utilized this imbalance and created situations advantageous for their crimes (driving to desolate areas).

Lana was completely blindsided once the men drove up to the taxi and pulled her (and her friend) out of the car, lined them up and robbed them. She had very few options other than to comply with the armed men. On the other hand, Paloma reacted to her attacker by hitting him and yelling for help, eventually ending her victimization. As Guerette and Santana (2010) may explain, she ended the kidnapping through fighting her aggressor and making noise. Although Paloma was robbed of a few possessions, she ended the victimization sooner than the criminal wanted. The “threat of victimization” increased for both citizens following the attacks. These women employ additional precautions and their fears of kidnappings changed their daily routines.

Survivor Script: Vandalism (Gang Violence)

One citizen experienced repeated instances of and vandalism.²⁷ Ariana is a 28 year old woman from Villa Maria del Triunfo. Her neighborhood was attacked by gangs 4 months ago. Figure 8: Survivor Script- Gang Violence/Vandalism lists this script.

²⁷ Vandalism is defined as “to willfully or maliciously destroy, injure, disfigure or deface any public or private property, real or personal, without the consent of the owner or the person having custody or control by cutting, tearing, breaking, marking, painting, drawing, cover with filth, or any other such means as may be specified by local law. Attempts are included (FBI, 2014).

Figure 8: Survivor Script- Vandalism / Gang Violence (1 Citizen/ 1 Event)		
1	Preparation	Due to repeated acts of gang violence wherein gang members destroy neighborhood after soccer matches (breaking windows, doors and beating citizens in their way) citizen installed metal window and door protectors. Family members would also hide under beds. Having no support from law enforcement. Neighbors decided to fight gang members the next time they vandalized the neighborhood.
2	Entry	Group of 30 gang member enter neighborhood.
3	Pre-condition	Citizen and neighbor (aware of the soccer match) armed themselves with sticks, pans and other objects that could be used to fight.
4	Instrumental Initiation	Gang members begin to make noise and destroy neighborhood.
5	Instrumental Actualization	Citizens head out of homes and confront gang members with weapons and artifacts.
6	Doing	A group of 100 neighbors fight against 30 gang members.
7	Post-condition	Citizens outnumber gang members and gang members retreat from neighborhood.
8	Exit	Gang members return to neighborhood but only make noise without destroying homes. Citizens demand that Serenasgo help with the gang problems. Serenasgo comes into neighborhood when called.
9	Post- Exit	Citizen continues to implement precautions.

1- In the **preparation** scene Ariana employs several precautions to prevent victimizations. She installed metal protectors for her doors and windows (doors and windows were destroyed by gang members often). Ariana's family is home by 9 pm. Ariana does not go out at night, takes taxis to her house (instead of walking), dresses down and does not go out alone. Her children hide underneath their beds every time the gang vandalized the neighborhood. Ariana explains that gang members destroy the neighborhood each time there is a soccer match and her neighbors were fed up with it. With no support from law enforcement, the citizens got together and decided to fight the gang with any household items they have near them the next time that the gang members pass by the neighborhood. This survivor script takes place after a soccer match ends.

2- In the **entry** scene 30 gang members enter the neighborhood.

3- In the **precondition** scene the citizens are waiting for the gang members to pass through the neighborhood after the soccer match.

4- In the **instrumental initiation** scene the gang members begin to make noise and start tearing down the neighborhood.

5- In the **instrumental actualization** scene the citizens step out of their homes to fight off the gang members.

6- In **doing** scene the citizens fight with the gang members. Ariana explains how the neighborhood banded together and fought with the gang:

We got together and decided that when they would come we would not run inside the house and we would not hide. Since they come with sticks and bars, we were going to go out with whatever we had in our homes. They then came with a group of 30 and we were a neighborhood of more than 100. Fathers and sons, everyone came out and the gang got scared.

As the gang members were outnumbered and caught by surprise by the neighbors, the neighbors win this battle.

7- In the **post-condition** scene the gang members retreat from the neighborhood.

8- In the **exit** scene the gang members return to the neighborhood but only make noise; they do not destroy the homes. The neighbors also demand patrolling by Serenasgo, which is starting to patrol the area when called due to gang presence.

9- In the **post-exit** scene Ariana continues to implement safety precautions.

Summarizing the Vandalism/Gang Violence Survivor Script

Ariana description of this vandalism survivor script is a remarkable example of collaboration among neighbors. She and her neighborhood decided to fight against the gang who kept destroying their homes. This is an example fear incentivizing citizens to become “problem-solvers” (Jackson and Gray, 2010). In the absence of capable or willing

guardians, these neighbors defended their homes by grabbing household items and fighting the gang members. As Lavrakas et al. (1981) may say, these neighbors employed a “territorial” group strategy. Being outnumbered 30 to 100, the gang members retreated. The gang no longer destroys the homes (although they make noise in the neighborhood); they may rationalize that citizens will fight (and win) if they choose to destroy the neighborhood. These citizens were able to reclaim their neighborhood by fighting back.

Survivor Script: Assault

One citizen experienced an assault.²⁸ Pedro is a 57 year old male from Miraflores. Figure 9: Survivor Script - Assault lists the scenes in this script.

Figure 9: Survival Script - Assault (1 Citizen/ 1 Event)		
1	Preparation	Citizen implements precautions daily. Citizen carries a revolver regularly.
2	Entry	Citizen is walking with girlfriend
3	Instrumental Initiation	Two men approached the citizen and his girlfriend.
4	Instrumental Actualization	The men began to throw insults and threats at man and his girlfriend due to their age difference.
5	Doing	Citizen punched one of the men.
6	Post-Condition	The two men retreat.
7	Exit	Citizen's girlfriend becomes upset due to violence.
8	Post- exit	Citizen does not indicate precautions related to this crime event.

1- In the **preparation** scene Pedro implements several precautions. These include: being alert and vigilant of his surroundings; not staying in the same place for too long; making sure he looks behind while he is walking to make sure he is not being followed; and carrying a revolver. He is also trained in self defense

2- In the **entry** scene Pedro is walking with his girlfriend.

²⁸ Assault or “Other assaults (simple)” is defined as “assaults and attempted assaults where no weapon was used or no serious or aggravated injury resulted to the victim. Stalking, intimidation, coercion and hazing are included” (UCR, 2014)

3- In the **instrumental initiation** scene two men approach the Pedro.

4- In the **instrumental actualization** scene the men begin to throw insults at the Pedro and his girlfriend. As Pedro describes, these insults are based on him being older than his girlfriend. The men threaten to harm Pedro and his girlfriend.

5- In the **doing** scene, Pedro decides to responds to the threats of the men by punching one of the men.

6- In the **post-condition** scene the men retreat from the scene.

7- In the **exit** scene Pedro's girlfriend becomes upset due to his actions.

8- In the **post-exit** scene Pedro does not implement any precautions due to this event. In this script the men threatened to harm the Pedro, instead Pedro ended their threats of violence by hitting one of the aggressors.

Summarizing the Assault Survivor Script

While the two men threatened to assault Pedro, he ended the threats of assault by hitting one of the men. This assault ended by through Pedro's actions (Guerette and Santana, 2010). Perhaps, he decided to hit the man due to his confidence in his capacity to handle this type of confrontation, as he is trained in self-defense and carries a revolver.

Survivor Script: Intimidation (Threat)

One citizen's life was threatened in relation a robbery that culminated in the arrest and prosecution of the robber.²⁹ Ivette is a 19 year old woman from Chorrillos. She is the woman with the greatest number of victimization events (7 in total). Figure 10: Survivor Script - Intimidation lists the 7 scenes related to this victimization.

²⁹ Intimidation is defined as "to unlawfully place another person in reasonable fear of bodily harm through the use of threatening words and/or conduct, but without displaying a weapon or subjecting the victim to actual physical attack (NIBRS,2013).

Figure 10: Survivor Script - Intimidation (1 Citizen/1 Event)		
1	Preparation	Citizen experienced a robbery by a man who had attacked her. The man was caught by police and the citizen reported the crime.
2	Entry	Police call citizen to give declaration about her robbery.
3	Instrumental Initiation	Robber is known in citizens in neighborhood. Citizen is threatened by robber; he will harm her if she makes declarations against him.
4	Instrumental Actualization	Citizen is afraid to make declarations against robber and fearful that he will send his friends to harm her.
5	Doing	Citizen decides that declaring against robber is too risky and time consuming. Police procedures are lengthy and she would miss time from work. She does make declaration against robber.
6	Exit	Citizen declines repeated requests to give declarations on crime event. She does not report the threats to her life.
7	Post- Exit	Citizen does not indicate additional precautions related to this crime event.

1- In the **preparation** scene Ivette experienced a robbery. Ivette makes a report of the crime. The criminal was arrested on an unrelated crime.

2- In the **entry** scene the police ask Ivette to give her declarations on her robbery. The police tell Ivette that similar robbery reports were made. They believe that this robber is the perpetrator of these robberies

3- In the **instrumental initiation** scene Ivette is threatened by the robber. The robber tells Ivette that she will be harmed if she makes declaration against him.

4- In the **instrumental actualization** scene Ivette becomes frightened and fears that the robber will send his friends (also notorious criminals in the neighborhood) to retaliate against her if she gives her testimony.

5- In the **doing** scene Ivette decides that it is too risky to present declarations against the robber due to the threats. She notes that making declarations is too time consuming and she would make her miss considerable time from work. Ivette chooses to ignore the notices from the police and does not declare against her robber.

6- In the **exit** scene the police continue to contact Ivette and ask for her declarations but she continues to decline. Ivette does not report the threats to the police.

7-In the **post- exit** scene Ivette does not indicate any additional precautions related to this victimization event. This is one of two crime events where a criminal was apprehended. In both instances the citizens refused declare against the robbers.

Summarizing the Threats Survivor Script

Ivette felt that she only had one option in ending this robber's threats. The robber threatened Ivette's life and in the absence of capable guardians to protect her, Ivette decided to forgo her testimony against the robber. According to Ivette, choosing to not testify is actually making her and her family safer from harm (at the hands of the robber's friends). Ironically, compliance with the criminal (rather than law enforcement) is what ends the threats against her life.

Conclusion

As exemplified by these survivor scripts for violent crimes, the citizens of Lima make difficult choices in response to crime victimizations and threats. Some citizens decide to fight back (in kidnappings, assaults and vandalism); while others decide to comply (kidnappings, threats). These choices are informed by each citizen's knowledge of these crimes, their perceptions about their own capabilities to confront the criminals (which are based on their sets of skills) and their desired outcomes. Although every citizen implements precautions routinely, each victimization event requires a careful deliberation of various factors. These factors include: the criminals involved; the environmental constraints in each scene; the dangers that each choice carries and the citizen's perception of the safest choice.

Chapter 10: Survivor Scripts (Non-Violent Crimes): Larceny-Theft, Extortion and Identity Theft

This chapter describes the survivor scripts for the crimes of larceny-theft, extortion and impersonation.

Survivor Script: Larceny-Theft

There are 11 larceny-thefts in this sample.³⁰ Figure 11: Survivor Script - Larceny-Thefts lists the 8 scenes describing these thefts.

1- In the **preparation** scene the residents implement a number of precautions. Some common precautions include avoiding El Callao and El Cono Norte. Citizens do not go out at night and their precautions “vary depending on the district” they visit.

2- In the **entry** scene the citizens decide to commute by hopping on board a bus (10). In one instance a citizen decides to go to a free concert in a public park (1).

3- In the **precondition** scene the citizens notice that the bus (10) or concert (1) is crowded. The citizens make their way to seats or have to stand next to other citizens. One citizen is standing in a crowded concert.

4- In the **instrumental initiation** the robbers approach the citizens and calculate how to get a hold of the citizen’s belongings without being noticed. In one instance a citizen falls asleep on her window seat, this makes her vulnerable. In the remaining instances the citizens are sitting or standing in a crowded bus. In a final instance, the citizen is distracted by the concert he is watching. These circumstances make it easier for the thief to approach the citizens without raising suspicions.

³⁰ Larceny-Theft is defined as “as the unlawful taking, carrying, leading, or riding away of property from the possession or constructive possession of another” and includes pocket-picking or “stealing any property or article that is not taken by force and violence or by fraud” (FBI, 2014).

Figure 11: Survivor Script - Larceny-Theft (7 Citizens/11Events)		
1	Preparation	Citizens decide to implement precautions daily
2	Entry	Citizens decide to ride bus (with one exception)
3	Pre-Condition	Citizens notice that bus (10) or concert (1) is crowded
		Robber approaches unsuspecting citizen.
4	Instrumental Initiation	A- Citizens are riding bus standing or sitting (9) B- Citizen falls asleep in seat next to window (1) C- Citizen watching performance in concert (1)
		Citizen belongings are taken without their knowledge
5	Doing	A Citizen's bag was opened and phone/ wallet is taken (9) B- Citizen's bag is taken while she is asleep (1) C- Robber makes a hole in citizen's back pack (1)
		Citizens reach for their belongings and discover they were stolen.
6	Post-Condition	A- Citizens reach for their phones and realize that they were stolen (9). B- Citizen wakes up/ is upset that bag is stolen (1) C- Citizen sees that a hole was made in her bag (1)
		Citizen decides to make a police report
7	Exit	A- One citizen files a lost item report (1) B- Do not file a report (10)
		Citizens decide to implement precautions to prevent crime events.
8	Post- Exit	A- Citizen implemented precautions related to crime event (3) B- Citizen does not mention precautions related to crime event (8).

5- In the **doing** scene the citizens are robbed of their belongings without their knowledge. One citizen's bag is taken while she sleeps. In 9 instances bags are opened and in 1 instance a thief makes a hole in a citizen's bag; phones or wallets are stolen.

6- In the **post-condition** scene the citizens realize that their belongings were stolen. One of the citizen's wakes up and finds her bag missing. Another citizen sees her bag has a hole in it. The 9 remaining citizens reach for their items and cannot find them.

7- In the **exit** scene the citizens decide if filing a report is in their best interest. One citizen files a lost item report. The remaining citizens do not file a report.

8- At the **post-exit** scene three of the citizens who experienced a theft implement precautions. The citizens no longer pull out their personal belongings in public. One of the

citizens refuses to purchase expensive phones and does not purchase items that are fashionable (as she believes these are craved by criminals).

Summarizing the larceny-theft survivor script

This script describes 8 scenes of larceny-theft victimizations in the city of Lima. Citizens employ a large number of precautions when riding public transportation (described in Chapter 15), this indicates that they are aware of the dangers while riding buses. Most thefts occurred in crowded buses. Crowded environments allow the criminals to get close to citizens without being suspicious. Once citizens realize their items were stolen, it is too late to react. Three citizens implement additional precautions following the theft. It is possible that the remaining citizens already have so many precautions that there is not much more they can do to prevent additional victimizations.

Survivor Script: Extortion

There are 7 extortion victimizations in this study; these are divided into two extortion scripts “in-person” and “over the phone”.³¹ In the *in-person* extortions the criminals impersonate researchers and citizens in need of help in order to obtain information and money from the citizens. Five of these extortion attempts occurred *over the phone*; extorters pretended to be authority figures (officers, doctor and researcher) in order to extract money from the citizen.

Survivor Script: Extortion (In- Person)

Two citizens experienced extortion in-person. The 8 scenes of this script are outlined in Figure 12: Survivor Scripts: Extortion (In-Person). Both instances happened one year ago.

³¹ Extortion is defined as “to unlawfully obtain money, property, or any other thing of value, either tangible or intangible, through the use or threat of force, misuses of authority, threat of criminal prosecution, threat of destruction of reputation or social standing, or through other coercive means” (NIBRS, 2013).

Figure 12: Survivor Script - Extortions (In Person) (2 Citizens/2 Events)		
1	Preparation	Citizens implement precautions in their daily lives.
2	Entry	Citizen is home.
		The extorter contacts citizens at home and asks for help.
3	Instrumental Initiation	A- Citizen asked to participate in survey. B- Citizen asked by well-dressed man for car help.
		Extorter tries to get information/ money from citizen.
4	Instrumental Actualization	A - Citizen asked questions about their daily habits. B- Citizen asked for money to fix the car, is told money will be returned
		Citizens decide to question the motives of the men asking for help.
5	Doing	A- Citizen asks about the organization that is conducting the survey. The interviewer becomes nervous and is unable to answer the questions. B- Citizen does not believe man and does not give him money.
		Citizens become alarmed over extortion attempt.
6	Post-Condition	A- Citizen becomes vigilant; is called several times and believes extorters want to know if he is home (in order to break in). B- Citizen warns building security about extorter and checks video surveillance with building manager.
		Citizens warn family and building security about the extortion events.
7	Exit	A- Citizen tells family to be aware of phone calls. B- Citizen tells security to be aware of man extorting money.
8	Post- Exit	Citizens do not implement additional precautions related to extortions.

1- In the *preparation* scene the citizens implement precautions daily.

2- In the *entry* scene the citizens are home.

3- In the *instrumental initiation* scene an extorter contacts the citizens and asks for help. One extorter asks for help in crime insecurity survey. In a different instance, a well-dressed man approaches the citizen and asks for help with his car.

4- In the *instrumental actualization* scene the extorters try to get information or money from the citizens. Nino, a 45 year old man from Surco, is interviewed about his daily routines, crime insecurity and precautions. Mateo, a 75 year old man from Miraflores, is asked for money to fix a car. The extorter tells Mateo that he is from a wealthy and well-known family in Lima and will return him the money swiftly.

5- In the *doing* scene the citizens decide to question the motives of the extorters. Nino questions his “interviewer” and asks him about the company he works for:

A guy came with a survey; much like you, he also had a survey. Then I asked him, “What is the name of the company making the survey.” It had some initials, some odd letters, and he was not able to explain it to me. That is how I realized that it was fake; that they were extortionists.

Nino realized that the survey was ruse to get information about his daily behaviors. The “researcher’s” inability to answer questions about the company confirmed his suspicions. In the other instance, Mateo refuses to give money to the extorter and ignores his pleas.

6- In the *post- condition (6)* scene the citizens become alarmed over the extortions. Nino becomes vigilant and worried about people contacting him:

They kept calling and recognized my voice, and they immediately would hang up. They would not ask anything else. They would call at like 3 in the morning but I knew it was them... They wanted to know if someone was home or at what time they were home, if you were not home they would have come immediately (to burglary the home), that’s why they called. If there was no one home they would come and break in (and burglarize) the home.

Nino’s extortion continued over the phone (this is included in the following script). Mateo checked with his apartment building’s security personnel and looked through the surveillance video; he alerted the building management of this extortion.

7- In the *exit* scene the citizens alert family and neighbors about the extortions. Nino speaks with his family and Mateo speaks with the building’s security personnel.

8- In the *post exit* scene neither citizen implements additional precautions.

Survivor Script: Extortion (Over the Phone)

The second form of extortion is over-the-phone extortions. Three citizens experienced 5 different extortions over the phone. Two extortion calls are related to the false survey listed in the previous survivor script, two extorters claim family members are detained by the police and one extortion centers on a medical emergency. Figure 13:

Survivor Script - Extortion (Over the Phone) lists 8 scenes in this type of victimization

Figure 13: Survivor Script - Extortion (Over the Phone) (3 Citizens/5 Events)		
1	Preparation	Citizens implement precautions in their daily lives.
2	Entry	Citizen is home.
3	Pre-Condition	Citizen is called by extortionist.
		Extortionists describe an emergency situation to citizens.
4	Instrumental Initiation	A- Family member injured in hospital (details about family member) (1) B- A family member arrested (details about family member) (2). C- Call for additional information about a survey (2).
		Extortionist attempt to manipulate citizens into helping with emergency.
5	Instrumental Actualization	A- Asks for money in order to treat family member (1). B- Asks for deposit into a bank account to keep family out of prison (2). C- Calls at late hours (3 am) and hang up once citizen speaks (2).
		Citizens decide to lie, ignore or confront extorters.
6	Doing	A- Caller ignored (2). B- Caller told they cannot get money at late hours (1). C- Callers hang up when they recognize citizen's voice (2).
		Citizen becomes more vigilant.
7	Exit	A- Citizen does not pick up when she sees the same number on caller ID (1). B- Citizen ignores follow up calls/ calls end (2). C- Citizen answers phone at late hours to let extorters know he is home (2).
8	Post- exit	Citizens do not indicate precautions related to attempted extortions as they mention these are commonplace

1- In *preparation* for their daily routines, the citizens implement precautions.

2- In the *entry* scene the citizens are home.

3- In the *precondition* scene the citizens receive a phone call from the extorters.

4- In the *instrumental initiation* scene the citizens are informed by the extorters of an emergency or to check if the house is alone. In 1 instance the extorter tells the citizen that a family member is in a hospital. In 2 instances the extorters tell citizens a family member is in prison. In the 2 instances the extorters check in to see if the citizen is home.

5- In the *instrumental actualization* scene the extorters attempt to manipulate the citizens into sending money or supplying information. One extorter tells a citizen that she must bring money to cure a sick family member. In 2 instances the extorters tell the citizens that their family members will be imprisoned if money is not deposited into a

bank account. In the last instances, the citizen is called at 3 in the morning by the extorters to find out whether he and his family are home.

6- In the **doing** scene the citizens lie, ignore or confront the extorters. In 1 instance the citizen tells the extorters she cannot help. In 2 instances the extorters are ignored. In 2 instances the callers recognize the citizens' voice once he confronts them.

Wanda, a 24 year old female from San Juan de Miraflores, describes why she lied to the extorters. She recognized this modality of extortion because her family members were called in the past with the same requests:

One time they called me, supposedly from the police. Someone who said was a general told me that in order for my family member to not go to prison that I should deposit 250 soles and that he wouldn't let him be sent to prison. ... Well, I didn't believe it because I already knew about this (type of extortion). When I moved to Lima I would watch the news often and I knew all the stories they would tell to rob you. I didn't believe it so I told him, "Well yes, I am going to consult this (with her family) but there are not bank agents that are open, perhaps tomorrow." Then I saw that the same number called me again but I did not answer. I am always talking to my family in the event that something happens.

Due to her knowledge and experience with extortions, Wanda prevents being victimized.

7- In the **exit** scene the citizens become vigilant over the calls. In 3 instances the citizens choose to ignore follow up calls from the extortionists. In 2 instances the citizen picks up the phone; he assumes that a "non-answer" is a sign that the home is empty (and an invitation for a burglary).

8- At the **post-exit** scene the citizens do not implement precautions related to these victimization events. Citizens make an effort to answer calls

Summarizing Extortion Survivor Scripts

These scripts describe two types of extortions: extortions in person and extortions over the phone. The citizen's own instincts and knowledge about extortions helped them

to curtail these crimes. Unaware citizens may have fallen for the extorter's lies. The method used by Nino's extorters, ironically enough, is the same premise of this study. These extorters rationalized that citizens in Lima are worried about citizen insecurity and may be open to discussing topics related to daily precautions. To these extorters this method may be a useful tool to get information from residents. The extortion calls detailing family emergencies play the citizen's desire to act as "problem-solvers" and love for their families. Fortunately, these citizens were able to end their extortion attempts.

Survivor Script: Impersonation (Identity Theft)

One citizen's identity was stolen.³² Felicia is 22 years old and lives in Barranco.

There are 7 scenes in this script (Figure 14: Survivor Script – Impersonation (Theft)).

Figure 14: Survivor Script - Impersonation (Identity Theft) (1 Citizen/ 1 Event)		
1	Preparation	Citizen's back pack was stolen previous year; including her ID. She reported the crime and takes precautions.
2	Entry	Citizen goes to bus company to purchase tickets.
3	Instrumental Actualization	Bus company employees explain that citizen information is in file.
4	Doing	Citizen protests to bus company's indication that her information is on file. She demands a review of their files.
5	Post-Condition	Citizen is reassured by the company that her information is in their system. Citizen realizes her identity was stolen.
6	Exit	Citizen decides to file a police report due to her stolen identity.
7	Post- exit	Citizen does not additional precautions/follows up on investigation.

1- In the **preparation** scene Felicia survived a robbery in the previous year. Her backpack, wallet and documentation were stolen in the city of Cusco. She made a loss item report for her lost property. She also implements safety precautions in her daily life.

2- In the **entry** scene Felicia goes to a bus company's service counter to purchase tickets for a trip outside of Lima.

³² Otherwise described as "impersonation" it is defined as "Falsely representing one's identity or position, and acting in the character or position thus unlawfully assumed, to deceive others and thereby gain a profit or advantage, enjoy some right or privilege, or subject another person or entity to an expense, charge or liability which would not have otherwise been incurred" (NIBRS,2013).

3- In the **instrumental actualization** scene the bus company's service representative alerts Felicia that her personal information is already in their system. Felicia is informed there are several trips registered to her name.

4- In the **doing** scene Felicia protests to her information being a part of their system; she has never used their services. She demands a review of their information.

5- In the **post-condition** scene Felicia is reassured by the bus company that her information is in the system. Felicia realizes that her identity was stolen when her bag with her wallet were stolen in Cusco

6- In the **exit** scene Felicia decides to file a report for a stolen identity.

7- In the **post-exit** scene Felicia does not express any precautions related to this victimization event. She follows up on the stolen identity investigation with the police.

Summarizing the Identity Theft Survivor Script

Felicia's identity theft reminds us that stolen items are resold by the criminals and a possible result of robberies is impersonation or identity theft. In this instance, Felicia discovers her identity was stolen a year after the theft of her backpack. If Felicia had chosen a different bus company, she may have never discovered that a citizen was utilizing her identity. The only choice left for Felicia is to follow up on the report. One can only imagine how many of robberies in the study are related to impersonations that citizens are currently unaware of.

Conclusion

These non-violent victimization scripts detail some of the crime modalities present in Lima. Citizens adapt to these victimizations by becoming more cautious and employing additional safety precautions.

Chapter 11: Survivor Scripts Burglary

A total of 22 burglaries (including 5 attempts) were registered by the 20 of the 100 citizens interviewed for this study.³³ This chapter describes 5 burglary scripts.

- 1- Household burglary (household members not present) (12)
- 2- Violent household burglary (2)
- 3- Violent business burglary (2)
- 4- Household burglary: family member walks in (1)
- 5- Attempted household burglary (5)

The most common type of property crimes are household burglaries with household members not present. There are 4 violent burglaries instances.³⁴ Two of these violent burglaries occurred in households (violent household burglaries) and two in a citizen's business (violent business burglaries). There is one instance of a citizen's household member of a walking in while a burglary is in progress. Finally there are 5 burglary attempts; 4 while the family is absent and 1 while the family is home.

Survivor Script: Household Burglary (Household members not present)

Twelve citizens experienced burglaries while they were absent from their homes, or household burglaries while household members are not present (Catalano, 2010). At the time of these burglaries no household member was home to guard it and the home was vulnerable. Unlike most other victimization events in this study, a little more than half of these crimes were reported to law enforcement. Figure 15: Survivor Script: Household Burglary (Household members not present), lists the various scenes connected to this victimization event.

³³ Burglary is defined as “the unlawful entry into a building or other structure with the intent to commit a felony or theft.

³⁴ Violent household burglary is defined as “any household burglary committed while one or more household members are present and violence occurs between the offender and the household members (Catalano, 2010). From this definition the study created “Violent Business Burglary”.

Figure 15: Survivor Script - Household Burglary (Household Members Not Present) (12 Citizens/12 Events)		
1	Preparation	Citizens have precautions in place. Leave home (Time of absence varies from 30 minutes to the night before). Home is burglarized while family is absent.
2	Entry	Citizens return home.
3	Instrumental Actualization	Citizens realize home is burglarized and react (anger, panic and shock).
		Citizens inspect home to see what was taken. Burglaries vary by the amount of items taken and the way home is searched.
4	Doing	A- Home emptied completely, everything taken (4) B- Only expensive items (home appliances, TV's, computers) taken (3). C- House ransacked/ searched for valuables, not much taken (2). D- Did not specify what was taken (4).
		Decide if reporting crime is in their best interests.
5	Post-Condition	A- Police report made (7). B- No mention of report (4). C- No police report as family likely to be responsible for crime (1).
		Decide if following up on police report is in their best interest.
6	Exit	A- After the report nothing happened, everything remained the same (7). B- Did not file a report (5).
		Citizens decide to implement home precautions due to this victimization.
7	Post Exit	A- Citizens implemented a number of precautions after the burglary (11). B- One citizen did not explain any precautions related burglary (1).

1- In the **preparation** scene the citizens employ a number of home precautions. The most common home precautions is having a member of the family stay home (one which is absent in this scene). The time of the citizen's absence from their households vary greatly. One citizen is celebrating a holiday at a nearby restaurant and is only absent for 30 minutes while a couple of citizens leave for the entire night and return the next morning. The majority of citizens are absent for a few of hours. In this scene the home is burglarized. As these scripts are from the citizen's perspective, the central scenes are their reactions to the victimization event and not the victimization event itself.

2- In the **entry** scene of the script the citizen returns home.

3- In the **instrumental actualization** scene the citizens realize that their home was burglarized and they react with feelings of anger, panic and shock. Mayra, a 28 year old female from Reinoso, describes the scene she found once she returned home:

They came in when no one was home. I had left to do an assignment for my University and when I returned the next day there were no appliances, even the clothes they had taken. I was in shock, I became desperate. Since that moment I never leave the house alone.

Although this event occurred 6 years ago, and Mayra has since moved to a different home, she maintains her policy to never leave her home alone.

4- In the **doing** scene the citizens inspect their homes to see what was taken by the burglars. Burglaries vary based on the types (and number) of items that were taken. In 4 instances (including Mayra's) everything in the home was taken and the "home was emptied". This includes appliances (even heavy items such as refrigerators, vacuums and stoves), clothes and furniture. In 3 instances the burglars only took expensive appliances such as televisions, and computers. In 2 instances, the house was ransacked for expensive valuables such as jewelry and money (which were hidden by the citizens). As burglars were unable to find these expensive items they did not take much. In 4 instances, the citizens did not specify which items were taken.

5- In the **post condition** scene the citizens decide if making a police report is in their best interests. Seven citizens file a police report following the burglary. Four citizens do not mention filing a report and 1 citizen explains that he did not file a report due to his suspicions that a family member was the perpetrator of this burglary. Paolo is a 21 year old male from Villa El Salvador, he explains why he did not file a report:

I did not do a report, no. Because I had a clue of who it could have been (the burglar) in that time we had some family problems so I knew who could be responsible for this. In any event, I started to take more precautions and I started

to make sure someone was always here and to lock up a bit better, to put a bar across the door, that type of thing.

As Paolo describes, he did not want to get the police involved in what he believes to be a family matter. Instead, he decides to implement more precautions to secure his home.

6- The **exit** scene the citizens decide whether to follow up on the police report (in the event that they filed a report). Six citizens explained that after they filed the report, nothing happened because the police do not take any initiative to investigate these crimes. As Bobby, a 37 year old male from Surco, notes:

We made a report in the police department but in the end you do not know anything, the police archive the report, they do not investigate anything and you just have to keep fighting.

Following the burglary reports, the citizens do not hear anything back from the police.

7- In the **post exit** scene 11 of the 12 citizens adapt precautions in relation to their household burglary. The most common precaution is making sure that a household member is home at all times. Nine of the 12 citizens make sure that a family member is always home. Six out of the 12 always lock their doors, 5 installed reinforced locks, 5 installed gates around the home and 3 installed barricade bolts across their doors. Some of the more permanent precautions include moving to a different apartment (1), building higher walls (1) parallel to the neighbor's property and listing the home for sale (1).

Survivor Script: Violent House Burglary

Two citizens experienced violent house burglaries. Luna and Mariela were home when their homes were broken into. These women were held up at gun point by the burglars while they emptied their homes. Figure 16: Survivor Script: Violent House Burglary lists the 8 scenes in this script.

Figure 16: Survivor Script - Violent House Burglary (2 Citizens/ 2 Events)		
1	Preparation	Day time and citizen is home.
2	Entry	Burglars break into home and find citizen.
3	Pre – Condition	Burglars threaten citizen with a firearm.
4	Instrumental Initiation	Burglars go through family belongings.
5	Instrumental Actualization	Burglars empty out entire home and leave.
6	Doing	Citizen decides to report burglary. Citizens must decide if following up on police report is in their best interests.
7	Post – Condition	A- Police asked for money for the investigation. She felt she robbed by police and stopped pursuing the investigation and paying them. B- Nothing happened, "everything remained the same."
8	Exit	Citizens decide how to secure the home after the armed burglary.

1- In the **preparation** scene the citizens are home.

2- The **entry** scene burglars break into the citizen's home.

3- The **pre-condition** scene the burglars realize that the homes they broke into are not empty. The citizens are threatened with firearms by the burglars.

4- In the **instrumental initiation** scene the burglars ransack through the citizens' belongings. The citizens can not react as their lives are threatened.

5- In the **instrumental actualization** scene the burglars empty out the citizen's home of their personal belongings, appliances and furniture. The burglars then leave.

6- In the **doing** scene the citizens decide to make a police report.

7- In the **post-condition** scene the citizens decide if following up on the police report is in their best interests. Luna is a 56 year old female from Los Olivos. She described how she was victimized twice due to this burglary, once by the robbers and a second time by the police through their "investigation". She explains:

Making a police report is a waste of time. You report the crime and they do not do anything, they ask money for gas because they say they have to go here and have to go there, it is worse. We come out more victimized, I do not believe in justice (law enforcement). When we put the police report (for the burglary) they

assaulted us worse. We went to the police department and they kept asking for money for gas, they would say, “ma’am they have given us a clue that they have seen your belongings and you have to give us money.” It just remained that way; nothing changed...there isn’t any faith in anything... From then we began (to secure the home) we changed locks, put a barricade bolt, gates, the security is minimal but it is something.

Having lost faith in the law enforcement and feeling victimized by the police’s continued requests for money to assist in the investigation; Luna decides to stop pursuing a police investigation. She concludes that only way for her to be safe is to secure her home as with as security precautions she can afford. Mariela, a 24 year old female from San Juan de Miraflores made a report and did not follow up on it.

8- The **post-exit (8)** scene the citizens implement precautions related to this victimization. Luna implemented 12 different home precautions after the burglary. She installed an alarm, barricade bolt across her door, spikes, and several locks per each door. Luna also works with her neighbors to safeguard her home, she always warns them if someone is stepping out, if they see something strange and if she needs help in watching over the house. She also replaces the locks in her doors continuously throughout the year. Both Luna and Mariela installed gates around their homes, installed reinforced locks and their families are always home to guard the residence.

Survivor Script: Violent Business Burglary

Jimmy is a 24 year old male from San Juan De Lurigancho. His bar was violently burglarized during service hours twice in the past year. Figure 17: Survivor Script Violent Business Burglary lists the 9 scenes related to these crimes.

- 1- In the **preparation** scene Jimmy employs precautions for his business.
- 2- In the **entry** scene the bar is open for business.
- 3- In the **precondition** scene the patrons are coming into the bar.

Figure 17: Survivor Script - Violent Business Burglary (1 Citizen/ 2 Events)		
1	Preparation	Citizen has security precautions for bar.
2	Entry	Bar is open for business.
3	Pre- Condition	Citizens are coming into the bar to enjoy some drinks.
4	Instrumental Initiation	A group of 6 armed men enter the business.
5	Instrumental Actualization	Citizen and bar patrons are threatened with guns. They are instructed to give up their belongings.
6	Doing	Citizen opens cash registers as instructed by armed burglars. Criminals rob his patrons from their belongings.
7	Post- Condition	Citizen appraises the losses in bar.
8	Exit	Citizen decides to make police reports for the robberies.
9	Post- Exit	Citizen implements precautions related to the robbery.

4- In the **instrumental initiation** scene a 6 armed men enter the business.

5- In the **instrumental actualization** scene Jimmy, his employees and the bar's patrons are threatened with guns. The criminals also utilize physical violence against the patrons. Jimmy, his employees and patrons are instructed to give up their belongings.

6- In the **doing** scene Jimmy is forced to open the registers of the bar, he is robbed and his patrons are robbed of their belongings. The criminals flee the scene.

7- In the **post condition** scene Jimmy appraises the losses and tends to his frightened and hurt customers. He explains, "if you have a business like this (a bar) then you will have experienced something like this."

8- In the **exit** scene Jimmy files a police report for the two burglaries that took place in his bar (in November and December of the past year).

9- In the **post-exit** scene Jimmy implements precautions partly due to these events. He does not specify precautions for his business but we may assume that he took measures to secure it. Some of his personal precautions related to victimization events are hiding his wallet and hiding money around his body.

Survivor Script: Household Burglary (Family Member Walks in)

In one instance a citizen's father entered their home in the middle of a burglary. Wanda is a 24 year old female from San Juan de Miraflores. The 8 scenes of this script are listed in Figure 18: Survivor Script: Household Burglary (Family Member Walks in).

1- In **preparation** scene house is empty and is being burglarized. At this time the citizen's father is making his way home and expecting to find his family.

2- In the **entry** scene Wanda's father walks into their home.

3- In the **pre-condition** scene the father realizes the home was burglarized.

4- In the **instrumental initiation** the father rushes goes to look for the burglars.

5- In the **instrumental actualization (5)** the father bumps into the burglars.

6- In **doing** scene the father gets into a confrontation with the burglar. The burglar beats Wanda's father and he is unable to react. The burglars get away with the family's expensive belongings.

Figure 18: Survivor Script – Household Burglary (Family Member Walks in) (1 Citizens/ 1 Event)		
1	Preparation	Home is empty; family is out for the day.
2	Entry	Father walks in assuming family is home.
3	Pre - Condition	Father goes to children's bedrooms and sees it was burglarized.
4	Instrumental Initiation	Father rushes to the back door to see who burglarized home.
5	Instrumental Actualization	Father bumps into one of the burglars in the back exit of home.
6	Doing	Father is caught by surprise is unable to respond. Burglars beat citizen's father and leave with expensive house belongings.
7	Exit	Father decides to make police report. Following the report nothing happened. An earthquake in Cañete tore down the city, including the prison. It is unclear if the burglars were escaped prisoners.
8	Post- Exit	Citizen does not indicate any precautions related to this burglary.

Wanda explains:

The first thing he did was go into the bedrooms and he saw that the burglars had taken all of the things from the room and had escaped at the other side of the house. There were two ways for them to leave, so what he did was go out (the back door) in a rush to see who the robbers were and at that time he bumps into one of them. They hit him and he could not react because they beat him really hard. They got away with everything, jewelry, expensive items...

7- In the exit scene the citizens file a police report. There are no follow up with the investigation. Wanda explains why the police was unable to solve the case:

He went to do a report but they did not do anything because in those times we had the earthquake that happened in Cañete and the police could not do anything because the in the prison, the prisoners also escaped. We didn't know if it was them (the escaped prisoners) or others

Due to an earthquake, there was great uncertainty about who may have escaped from the city's prison. The police had a difficult time investigating the burglary because of this and other emergencies in the region.

8- In the **post-exit** scene the citizen did not explain any precautions related to the burglary. However the citizen and her family moved to Lima.

Survivor Script: Household Burglary Attempt

Four citizens experienced five household burglary attempts. Four of these burglary attempts occurred while the homes were alone and 1 while the family was home.

Figure 19: Survivor Script: Household Burglary Attempt lists the 5 scenes of this event.

1- In the **preparation** scene the citizens secure their homes with safety precautions. In 4 instances the homes are alone and in 1 instance the citizen is home.

2- In the **entry** scene the criminals attempt to break into the citizen's home. In 4 instances the burglars attempt to pry the doors open. In 1 instance the burglars jump over a patio wall into the citizen's home.

Figure 19: Survival Script - Household Burglary Attempt (4 Citizens/5 Events)		
1	Preparation	Home has safety precautions. A- Home is empty (4) B- Citizen and his family are home (1).
2	Entry	Burglars attempt to break into home. A- Burglars attempt to pry doors open (4) B- Burglars climb over neighbor's wall that connects with citizen's patio and jump into citizen's patio (5).
3	Doing	Citizen becomes aware of a burglary attempt. A- Neighbors warn citizen that burglars tried to pry door open/ citizen sees doors were tampered with (3). B- Citizen sees the door handles were tamped with; neighbors confirm that they also had an attempted break-in (1). C- Citizen hears noise coming from patio and lets burglar's know he and his family are home (1).
4	Exit	Citizens decide if making a police report is in their best interests. A- Citizens do not file a report (4). B- Citizens file a police report for the break-in (1).
5	Post- Exit	Citizens implement home precautions following the burglary attempts.

3- In the **doing** scene the citizens become aware of the attempted break-in. In four instances the citizens return home and see that their doors were tampered with. In 3 of these 4 instances neighbors inform the citizen that someone tried to break into their home and the citizen sees their doors where tampered. In 1 instance the citizen sees that his door handles were tampered and asks the neighbors if they know anything it; the neighbors confirm there were burglary attempts in the neighborhood. In the remaining instance, the citizen and his family hear the burglars in their patio. They decide to make noise and turn on the lights. The burglars become aware that the citizen and his family are home and they flee from the residence.

4- In the **exit** scene the citizens decide if filing a police report is in their best interests. In 4 instances the citizens opt out of filing a report. In 1 instance a citizen (who warded off the intruders in his patio) files a report.

5- In the **post-exit** scene the citizens implement precautions in order to prevent future burglary attempts. In order to prevent future burglaries the citizens lock their doors more carefully. One citizen installed reinforced locks in his doors, bought guard dogs and replaces the door locks frequently. Another citizen installed a barricade bolt across his door, gates around his house and uses iron hinges. This citizen who caught the burglars in his patio installed spikes around his house and built a higher wall in his property.

Conclusion and Summary

These burglaries survivor scripts highlight important facts about these crimes.

1- The majority of burglaries happened while no household members were present.

As most crimes happen while citizens are away, citizens can only react once they discover a burglary took place. These citizens had household precautions in place prior to the burglaries; for the most part the burglars were able to bypass these precautions.

The precautions warded off burglars in 5 instances. In 4 instances the burglars were unable to break in to the homes, although they tried to pry the doors open. In one instance, a citizen and his family ended their burglary by responding to the entry of the burglars (Guerette and Santana, 2010). Once the family became aware that there were burglars in the premise, they made noise and turned on the lights. It is possible that the burglars assumed the home was empty. In their miscalculation they were faced with a situation that they may not have been equipped to handle (unlike the violent burglaries). Unable or unprepared to take on an entire family, these burglars left the premises.

2- The time of the citizens' absence from the home and the items stolen vary greatly.

Some of the burglaries happened in a very short amount of time, (as short as 30 minutes) and at different times of the day. The burglaries also varied based on the objects

that were taken. Taking into consideration the rational choice perspective (Cornish and Clarke, 1986) and looking at the types of items that were stolen it is evident that each burglar had a specific intent and purpose. Some criminals searched for money and expensive valuables; these burglars ransacked the homes looking for these items without taking other valuables. Other criminals stole expensive home appliances such as TV's and computers; their purpose was to take appliances that are highly sellable in black markets (in comparison to money or jewelry which may be kept by the criminals). Finally, some burglars took everything from the home or "emptied the house"; including worn clothes, appliances and furniture. We can assume that these criminals were looking to sell everything they stole in the black markets. Their crimes would be the most complex and planned. The burglars would need to know when the family would be out and that they would have enough time remove items. The burglars also would need transportation for these items without getting caught.

3- In 5 of the 22 burglaries citizens were home. Four of these 5 burglaries were armed and violent.

In 4 occasions a home or business was burglarized at gunpoint while the citizens were present. One may suspect that the burglars were prepared for this scenario due to the fact that they were armed. In the violent household burglaries both homes were emptied. This indicates that the burglars had vehicles to transport the household items. In the violent business burglaries the criminals attacked the bar at its peak hour. This allowed the criminals the opportunity to rob many persons at the same time.

In these violent burglaries, the citizens had very limited choices in their response to the crimes. At home, the citizens were at a huge disadvantage by being alone at the time of the break-in. Their safest option was to comply. At the bar, neither the patrons nor the

bar owner confronted the six armed men. The most logical and rational decision in those instances would be to comply and hope that once the crime is over no person is unharmed.

Rather than employing “cognitive mediation” to neutralize harms (Winkel, 1998), these citizens became very fearful of crime and implemented many precautions.

4- The majority of citizens implemented precautions after the burglaries.

The “threat of victimization” (Raider et al., 2007) was high among these citizens (due to burglaries and attempted burglaries) and many citizens implemented household precautions for additional security. These situational crime prevention methods (Clarke, 1997) were employed by the citizens themselves; rather than relying on the police. In fact, one citizen felt victimized by the police who kept asking her for money to investigate the burglary. Many citizens secured their homes with bars, gates, and spikes; making it more difficult for potential burglars to reach the premises. The physical environment of a few homes was changed drastically when citizens decided to build higher walls (in order to make it more difficult for potential burglars to climb into their homes). These citizens became “problem-solvers” (Jackson and Gray, 2010) in their efforts to secure their homes. For a couple of citizens the “threat of victimization” was too high, and they decided to move to a different district or put up the home for sale. Each citizen made cognitive decisions about the best way to respond to these victimization events. As every citizen has different resources available to them, their responses to these burglaries were highly personalized to their individual situations and monetary limitations.

Chapter 12: Crime Events and Their Relation to Citizen Precautions

Throughout the interviews, each citizen described the precautions they implemented due to victimizations events. This chapter delves further into those precautions for personal crimes and property crimes.

Personal Crime and Safety Precautions

Twenty eight citizens implemented additional personal precautions due to experiences with personal crime, an average of 4.54 precautions per citizen. The average total number of personal precautions for the entire sample is 8.54, for these 28 citizens the average total of precautions is 9.89. Appendix 4 “Citizen Personal Precautions Related to Personal Crimes” lists the citizens who adapted precautions due to robberies, larceny-theft and kidnapping.³⁵

The citizens with the largest number of precautions due to victimizations are Nina (with 15 precautions (with 23 total precautions and 4 victimization events)) and Beatris (with 12 precautions due to victimization (and in total) and 1 victimization). Nina lives in Villa Maria de Triunfo. She experienced two robberies by men (who approached her from a vehicle) and two attempted robberies. Two of these events involved violence; Nina fought with the robbers in both instances. She explains her precautions:

The security measure is to not carry money; I do not carry cash because I have already been assaulted. I always carry a purse; well it is like an obsession with we women have. I have credit cards and I try to carry as few as possible, or to carry them in a secret pocket that is close to my body, never taken them in the purse. The cell phone also placed close to my body and not in my purse. And every time I walk somewhat paranoid, I’ve become paranoid because they have robbed me. I walk looking back and looking front, how they say “one eye behind and one on front” that way always, every time. If I am getting off of the car (bus or taxi) I am always looking at who is coming or going. When I get home the same thing, prior

³⁵ In addition to their age, sex and district the table lists the number of total crime events experienced by the citizens and the number of precautions related to their victimization events and the number of total personal precautions (including those related to their victimization and those which are used generally).

to opening the door I see who is in front of me and who is behind me. I don't just get off the car and walk, I always have those measures. If they knock on the door I have to see who is knocking very cautiously, same thing at work is there. I always try to do this... it is a part of my habits.

As Nina notes, her multiple experiences with robberies have resulted in a myriad of daily precautions aimed at preventing possible victimization events. She hides her belongings and is very vigilant of her surroundings. Nina became paranoid due to her victimizations and these preventions are a part of her daily habits. When asked about any items she may use for her security such as a whistle and pepper spray she explained:

No, in the past I thought about getting a gun permit but that is double the danger, it is dangerous for me. Many people have advised me that if they rob you, you have to let them take your things, not to resist. It is not good for you; they could hit me or even kill me.

Nina considered purchasing a gun but is fearful of the dangers that may come carrying a firearm. She has been advised to not resist at the time of a robbery (something that she did not do in two occasions). Nina also feels insecure and unsafe at home. When asked if she feels secure at home, she notes:

No, everything is gated with simple materials, there is a big metal gate, there is no camera, and there is no vigilance. Serenasgo, well it rarely comes by, but that is all the security (we have). It almost due to our own initiative, no? (Security in place).

She was asked if her home precautions make her feel safer, she noted:

Safe, *safe*, no. We do not feel secure, not even at home. The way things are now, no. But I think it is the safest place because if we were out in the street then it is nothing at all.

Nina feels insecure while walking in the streets of Lima during her daily commute and at home. Her experiences with crime in addition to her overwhelming feelings of insecurity have created a lengthy process of behaviors to prevent crime each day.

Beatris experienced a violent robbery where she was beaten to the ground and fought with the robber until he overpowered her. This event occurred in the middle of the morning at a bus stop with citizens around (who did not step in to help). Unlike Nina, Beatris does not express fear although she does not feel completely safe. She explains:

I am generally not one of the persons who feel fearful even though I've been robbed in certain places. I do prefer to go out at times where there is sun light, not go out at night; I wouldn't stop going to a place, no. I would simply have considerations of the dangers in certain places.

Rather than limiting her mobility due to insecurity or fear, Beatris works around possible dangers with the help of her knowledge of Lima and implements precautions to mediate these risks. She notes that her previous victimization experience, although very violent, has not made her afraid. She goes on to explain her precautions:

The experiences of having so many assaults makes you not want to buy fancy or expensive cell phones. You use credit cards more than cash. Or if you use cash you distribute it in different places, your backpack, jacket, pants. In the event that they steal your backpack you have a backup. More or less you have to know the zones where you go and if the zone like Barrios Altos or the Historic Center, you go with more precautions. You do not wear fancy clothing or do not show off a camera.

After her robbery, Beatris added more precautions to her routine:

My routine changed, I take alternate routes. In that day when the robbery occurred, I generally used that route. Now I have to make changes to the route, I come in *this way* or go *that way*, and I change the times. I do not always go out at the same time. It was by mishap that he saw me with a cell phone and robbed me.

Beatris calmly explained how this victimization event changed and shifted her routine.

Rather than fear, she expressed a calculative stance to her methodology for maintaining safety and assessing risks. Unlike Nina, her precautions make her feel safer.

Nina experienced more robberies than Beatris. This may one of the reasons why they both have many precautions due to victimizations but have very different feeling

about them (fear of crime for Nina and risk calculations for Beatris). A bigger reason may come from the fact the Beatris feels safe at home while Nina does not:

I live in a military neighborhood. It is a home of families and for family members of the military. In order to get in there are two gates you have to go through, it is not a simple bar. There is a guard (at the gates). That is why I tell you that I feel safe (at home).

Unlike Nina who does not feel safe at home or in her neighborhood, Beatris' lives in a military village which makes her feel safe. Having one place where citizens feel safe and secure may be an important factor to their overall outlook of safety and security. Although both women have a high number of precautions related to victimization experiences, at day's end Beatris can go home and feel safe from the dangers of Lima while Nina cannot. Utilizing the accounts of Nina and Beatris we learn that citizen opinions about the safety that precautions afford them are an important consideration in their notions of security and related to their feelings of safety at home.

All of the 68 different precautions implemented by these 28 citizens due to personal crimes are listed in Appendix 5 Personal Precautions Related to Personal Crimes. The most commonly adapted precaution is becoming more aware, vigilant and alert of their surroundings (12). As many crimes were cell phone robberies, citizens do not take their phones out in public (6), and hide their phones when heading out (6). Other precautions include carrying little money (4), hiding money, (4) and not pulling out valuables in public (4). Notably many of these precautions are aimed at concealing targets of crime (hiding valuables) or removing targets of crime altogether (leaving items home).

Property Crime and Safety Precautions

The citizens who experienced burglaries also adapted a greater number of home precautions. Out of the 20 citizens who experienced 22 property crimes, 18 implemented

household precautions. The average number of household precautions for the entire sample is 3.43; this average is nearly an entire precaution higher (4.39) among the 18 citizens who implemented precautions due to property crime. Appendix 6 “Household Precautions Related to Property Crimes” lists these citizens.

Luna, from Los Olivos, has the greatest number of house precautions (12) of the sample. She is one of three citizens who experienced a violent burglary. She also felt victimized by the police due to their continued requests for money in order to carry out the burglary investigation. Luna explains some of her precautions:

It is scary. We cannot leave the house alone... now that I am here (at a park) I have left the house in charge to some neighbors. We have agreed that any time someone goes out one of the neighbors will tell two or three other neighbors that if they see something strange to go out and check on it. But even so, there is no security... I have three keys, two locks on the door and also a barricade bolt that has a key. I also have keys on the gates; I wish I could install more security... I also continuously change the locks, each lock is about 100 soles, the barricade bolt is about 250 or 500 and I do that about twice a year (changing locks), it has happened that in the past I have lost my keys and then I become afraid (of a burglary) so I change them (the locks).

The fear of a future burglary led Luna to install many home precaution methods (and wishes for more). Importantly, Luna also works with her neighbors in an effort to secure each other's homes. The neighbors are warned whenever a home is going to be left alone and they also are vigilant over any strange occurrences. Due to heightened fear, Luna changes locks for all of her doors and security devices twice a year. These precautions came about after she was held at gunpoint while burglars took all of her belongings and “victimized” by the police who kept asking her money to investigate the burglary.

Although she employs many security measures, Luna does not feel safe or secure in her home. When asked if these precautions make her feel safer she explains:

A little bit, no? But *completely* safe, *completely* secure, no. Everywhere, not only at home in any place (she feels unsafe).

She later adds:

Truthfully, here in Lima we are not secure at all, *at all*. And it is scary to go out on the streets.

Much like Nina, Luna feels unsafe in and outside of home. Her experiences with crime may have created (or reinforced) negative sentiments about citizen insecurity in the city. She is afraid to go out of her home as she has been held up at gun point *in* her home and endured a robbery event outside her home. In other words, it is scary to go out because her house may get broken into and it is scary to stay in because she may be victimized again.

Mayra also endured several robberies and her home was broken into a few years ago. She has survived several robberies one of which was armed (and happened right at the door of her home) and one where she was dragged down the street from a moving moto-taxi. She has 7 home precautions related to her burglary experience. Mayra explains the aftermath of the burglary and robbery events:

The justice doesn't help much here... they left me very bad psychologically, in the verge of tears (victimization events).

Mayra feels psychologically damaged due to her various victimizations. Part of Mayra's resolve was to implement precautions, she does not leave her home alone, she moved to a different apartment, and has a steel door with double locks. She also lives in a building; having families in the third and fourth floor present at all times makes her feel safer. She explains that her precautions make her feel "80% safe" while she is at home.

Julian's home was broken into 10 years ago. All of his home appliances were taken during this burglary. Much like Mayra and Luna, Julian secured his home with many additional precautions following the burglary. He explains, "From that instance we

had to reinforce the doors,” However, many more precautions have happened since then, “We have reinforced doors, a dog, a guard for the block, and we leave the lights on and the radio on... There are also spikes on the roof of the house.” When asked if these precautions make him feel safer, he responds, “Eh, relatively, yes. Completely... no, there is no perfect system.” Julian explained that at the time of the burglary he made a police report as they “still had faith in the system” but nothing came from the report.

Much like Beatris and Mayra, Julian feels mostly secure at home; this differs greatly from the accounts of Luna and Nina who are afraid in and out of the home. While all these citizens have survived various victimizations and they recognize that insecurity is an issue in Lima they all do not feel about it the same way. Throughout various contexts and experiences the citizens vary on their how safe or unsafe their precautions make them feel. Most citizens explain that precautions are “better than nothing.”

Eighteen citizens implemented household precautions due to their experiences with property crimes (Appendix 7: Household Precautions Related to Burglaries). Unsurprisingly, the most common precaution is making sure that a family member is always home (who acts as a guardian for the property) (11). These citizens also installed gates around their property (8), spikes (4), barricade bolts (5) and reinforced locks (8) on their doors. A few installed alarms (2) and guard dogs to secure their homes (3). Two citizens built higher walls (2) where their properties connected with their neighbor’s properties and a citizen installed an electric fence (1). One citizen moved to a different district and another citizen put his home up for sale. These citizens hope that these precautions make these homes harder targets for property crimes.

Conclusion

This chapter noted the precautions implemented by citizens following their personal and property victimizations. It highlights the citizens with the greatest number of precautions due to victimization events. While all of these citizens endured victimization experiences and adapted multiple personal and situational crime prevention strategies to secure their homes, their views on safety and security vary greatly. Nina and Luna's experiences with crime left them very scared to be home and outside of their homes; they do not have a place where they feel completely secure. Meanwhile, Beatris and Mayra are very cautious when they are outside of the home but along with like Julian feel safer and more secure once they get back home (although not 100% secure). It is possible that having at least *one* place in your life where you feel safe and secure from crime and victimization (even if not completely safe) allows citizens to have more positive, pragmatic "problem-solving" and risk-prevention centered attitudes towards their daily safety routines (even if these routines to maintain safety are long and arduous). In other words, for those who feel safe at home, they have *one* place where they will be secure from victimizations; this is likely to help in their overall attitudes towards safety and neutralize the harms caused by their victimization events. The following chapter explores how victimization events in the citizen's neighborhoods also shape their construction of citizen security and how it is related to the routine precautions they adapted for safety.

Chapter 13: Neighborhood Crime and its Impact on Citizen Precautions

This chapter outlines the home and neighborhood precautions implemented by citizens due to neighborhood crimes. Unlike the citizens in the previous chapter, many of the citizens who installed home or neighborhood precautions were not crime survivors.

Home Precautions Related to Neighborhood Crimes

Sixteen citizens implemented home precautions due to crimes in their neighborhoods. Notably, seven of these citizens do not survive any crime victimizations (personal or property). Appendix 8 “Citizens Who Implemented House Precautions due to Crimes in the Neighborhood” lists these citizens and the number of their precautions.

The findings in this chapter are particularly interesting because they come from explanations citizens gave to unrelated questions. Citizens were asked if they feel safe in their homes and neighborhoods. When they explained why they did not feel safe they mentioned that “crimes in the neighborhood” made them feel unsafe and encouraged them to implement household precautions. Citizens were also asked where they got the idea to implement precautions and many explained that it was due to neighborhood crimes.

Several of these citizens did not experience any victimization events. Juan is 45 years old and he lives in San Juan de Lurigancho. He does not have experiences with crime personally but the high crime rates in his neighborhood encouraged him to secure his home. Eventually, his entire neighborhood got together to secure the area. He explains how he and his neighbors worked together to secure their homes and neighborhood:

Between our three families we pay 20 to 25 soles monthly (for a guard), and the other homes also pay. We have a door with a gate, and gates to get in, once you get past the gates there is another door for all three floors (three family home)...Due to the fact that year ago they were a lot of robberies (burglaries) they

would break into the homes and steal. Due to this motive at first they put a gate in front of the house. Then the robberies (burglaries) got closer and closer to us and they put a gate at the entrance of the human settlement.

Juan lives in a human settlement. It is likely that this neighborhood began as a group of homes created from simple building materials and scraps (plywood, cardboard) in occupied lands and with time it became a formal settlement. At first he secured his home with a gate. Once the robberies got closer to his neighborhood, he and his neighbors decided to invest in security for their homes and to enclose the entire neighborhood.

Sally also implemented household precautions due to a neighbor's burglary. She is 50 years old and lives in El Rimac, she does not have personal experiences with crime victimization. Much like Juan, she does not feel safe at home. She explains, "There is too much delinquency; you have to leave someone at home all the time because otherwise you won't find anything (when you return)." Sally makes sure that a household member is at home all of the time. When asked where she got the idea to use this precaution she explains, "due to the neighbors, they have complained that they were robbed, one has to have preventions as well."

The technology used by neighbors is also an incentivizing factor in the employment of household precautions. Ramona is a 27 year old female from San Juan de Miraflores. She explains that robberies in her neighborhood led to many neighbors installing electric fences in their homes. As the only home in the block without a fence, she was at a disadvantage:

The majority of my neighborhood has it (electric fences) due to the fact that there were many robberies. My parents put up the electric fence because the majority of the homes had them and we did not want to be the only home that did not have it. We wanted to be on par with everyone else so that we could be safer.

Ramona highlights the importance of measuring up to the security methods of your neighbors. Citizens without the same types of security measures are at a disadvantage and may become a target for crime. When asked if these precautions make her feel safer at home Ramona explains:

Tranquil, but to say that it makes me *feel* safer, no. Because the robbers they always find a way to get in, I don't know how... One is never safe.

Although she lives in a neighborhood where electric fences are common, Ramona does not feel safe. Asked if she feels safe at home at all she notes, "When my parents are home, yes... but when I am there alone, no." Despite her security measures, Ramona does not feel safe at home unless her family is there with her. For some citizens, technology and precaution methods are not the most important factor in feeling safe. However, being with trustworthy company can help.

At times, crimes that happen to family and friends in different neighborhoods motivate citizens to employ household precautions and increase their fears of crime.

Tommy lives in Comas and he is 43 year old. Much like Sally and Juan he has not experienced any burglaries or robberies. However, Tommy lives in constant fear of finding his home empty:

I live alone but with a lot of fear because delinquency (crime) has grown a lot in the past few years. And I always come home (*takes a moment to find the words*) with the fear that all the sudden they have emptied my house (*laughs*).

Tommy is fearful of a home burglary. He explains that many of his friends and family in his childhood neighborhood in Callao survived victimization events and many of these events were armed and violent. While Tommy's current home is far safer than his previous residence in Callao, he is still fearful of possible crimes. In order to prevent victimizations, Tommy and his neighbors in Comas implemented several precautions:

It is more or less safe (his home). Where I live currently, it is a passage. For a robber to come he has to go through the passage and there are various homes. The houses face each other. The homes that are at highest risk are those which are closest to the avenue. The criminals have to think twice because they know that a home is in front and that there is a neighbor on each side. It is a passageway and generally we are all known, the neighbors who transit there.

The physical structures of Tommy's home allow for the neighbors to serve as permanent guardians. The fact that citizens must go through a gate and guard to come inside the street adds additional security. When asked if his precautions make him feel safer he responds:

No, I repeat, the security is never absolute because sometimes they come (burglars) as if they are going to do home moving and translate items from one home to the next so that any neighbor may think that a family is moving or they (robbers) come in at night and hold you up at gun point and all the guard has is his nightstick. What is he going to do against a robber with a revolver?

When asked about the places he avoids for safety reasons he reiterates:

Look Antony, in reality there is no safe place in Lima. There is no place that is safe. Anything can happen. They can rob you, they can kidnap you, and they can stick their hands in your pocket in the bus and take out your wallet. There is no safe place in Lima. Now there is more insecurity compared to 5, 6, 7 years ago. My neighborhood is a testament to that, in El Callao, how I was telling you the young people they did not use revolvers (when he lived there), there was not that type of delinquency.

According to Tommy, there is no safe place in Lima and citizens are always at the mercy of criminals. Although he has not experienced any personal victimizations and he lives in a relatively secure place, Tommy continues to feel fearful of possible victimizations. He cites the armed robberies encountered by his family and friends in his old neighborhood as the evidence that Lima is unsafe and crime is unpredictable. Importantly, the experiences of his family and friends are enough for him to feel unsafe, afraid and insecure.

Oftentimes, home security measures arrange and organized the routines of citizens. Denise is 18 years old and lives in Ancon. While Denise has not experienced any victimization events, she notes how household crime prevention impacts her routine:

I do not leave the home alone. But if I have to go to the University, or go out I have to leave the TV on, close the doors safely because they have burglarized around my neighborhood. I leave for the University at 11 and my brother comes home from school at 1 so we take turns guarding the home. We tell the neighbor to take a look at the home (in the two hour interval they are absent).

Denise notes that the two hour interval in which her home is alone is a concern to her and her family. The recent bout of neighborhood robberies increased these risks. Denise also has two dogs which guard the home. Without irony she adds how her precautions are better than law enforcement:

The police department is two blocks from here (her home) but at my neighbor's home they have stolen and taken everything (laughs).

Unlike Tommy, Denise feels "a bit" safer due to her precautions. As her neighbor's home was emptied and it is located two blocks from the police department, and her household's lives are structured by their precautions, she does not have faith in the police as protectors against burglaries.

Although some citizens endured personal victimizations, the severity and violence of their neighbor's victimizations (and the response of the police to these crimes) were important in incentivizing household protections. Bobby endured a robbery and burglary in the past; it is understandable that he may feel unsafe at home. However, he does not credit his victimization events as the main reason for his precautions. Bobby decided to install more security in his Surco home due to a robbery/homicide at his neighbor's home. When asked if he feels safe at home he explains:

I do not feel very safe here because recently they went in (the house) to rob the neighbor in front and they killed a person who lived there. The police came very late. The robbery happened at 2 in the afternoon and the police did not come until late at night. The district attorney did not come until midnight. The body was there in the home and no one could move anything... In reality no place is safe.

Following this and other robberies in his neighborhood, Bobby changed his door locks and secured his doors. Asked if he feels safer with these precautions he adds, “Not so much safe but at least it will be a little bit more difficult for those who try to come in and steal.”

Juan, Sally, Ramona, Tommy, Denise and Bobby described how crime in their neighborhoods (and at times their family’s neighborhoods) makes them feel insecure and fearful. Feelings of insecurity are worsened by the police’s response (or failure to respond) to these crimes. By implementing various home precautions these citizens are able to mitigate some of their safety insecurities, even if they do not feel safe.

Appendix 8 “Home Precautions Related to Neighborhood Crimes” lists all of the precautions implemented due to crimes in the citizen’s neighborhoods by these 15 citizens. The most common security method is making sure that a family member is home at all times (9). Neighborhood crimes are directly related to the citizens’ decisions to install gates in their homes (6), installing electric fences (3) and buying guard dogs (2). A few citizens also reinforced their doors (2) and locks in their homes (2). These precautions provide guardianship and make these homes a more difficult target to criminals.

Neighborhood Precautions Related to Neighborhood Crimes

Neighborhood crime is a motivation for citizens to implement home precautions, and for neighbors to pay for and install neighborhood security measures. Appendix 9: “Citizens Who Implemented Neighborhood Precautions due to Crimes in Neighborhood” lists the residents who employ these precautions. Not unlike the citizens who installed home precautions, many of the citizens who implemented neighborhood precautions due to neighborhood crimes do not have personal experiences with crime. Out of the 16 citizens who helped implement neighborhood precautions due to neighborhood crimes, 7

did not have experiences with personal or property crimes. The average number of neighborhood precautions for the entire sample is 1.10, for these 16 citizens the average is 2.44 neighborhood precautions.

Patricia is 55 years old and she lives in El Cercado de Lima. She does not note any victimization events. In previous years, when a citizen would get off a bus in her neighborhood, men rob them. Safety in her neighborhood has improved due to gating of her neighborhood. She explains:

Before there were house robberies in the neighbor's homes. Seeing this, everything that has happened, we decided to put gates in the entrance of the avenue, among all of us neighbors... Only we have the keys, all the neighbors have keys to enter and exit at the time that we get here. We all help each other in matters of vigilance.

In response to these robberies, Patricia and her neighbors decided to work together and enclose the neighborhood. Although these are public streets, only she and her neighbors have keys to get in. When asked if these precautions make her feel safer she notes:

Partly, no? Because nowadays for the delinquents there is nothing really safe, there is nothing safe that we can have. They know practically everything, that a small negligence on our part they will always be attacking, that is how it is.

Although Patricia and her neighbors worked together to enclose their neighborhood, she does not feel safe. She notes that overlooking a small detail is enough of an invitation for a criminal to commit a crime (a sentiment often repeated by citizens).

Many residents described armed crimes as the reasons behind the neighborhood precautions. Damian is a 52 year old man from La Victoria. According to Damian, daily armed robberies in his neighborhood led to neighborhood precautions:

Well the entire zone by my house is gated because there were too many robberies; they robbed you in the day, at night. They robbed cell phones. You would get to the door of your house and you would get held up at gun point. So we decided among all the neighbors to put gates in all the entrances of the streets.

Damian and his neighbors enclosed their neighborhood to prevent further armed robberies.

Several citizens installed enclaves to limit vehicular traffic in their neighborhoods. Adrian is 37 years old and lives in Santa Anita. Adrian and his neighbors came together to secure their streets and limit outside traffic. He explains:

Last year, even during the daytime, the criminals were always robbing you. For the moment we have taken precautions, there are gates in each block and they have decided to not let vehicles enter freely, they have to ask for authorization from a neighbor and be someone who is known. Normally they (drivers asking to come in) are identified (by neighbors).

As Adrian notes, in his neighborhood the citizens decide which cars may or may not enter. In other words, the neighborhood has become a private gated neighborhood even though it was open to all citizens prior to the erection of informal enclaves.

Much like Patricia, Damian, and Adrian, Larry (who lives in Chorrillos) explains why his neighbors put up an electric fence around its perimeters to assist them in controlling the entry of citizens and cars:

About 10 year ago there were no gates in the neighborhood. At that time there was a lot delinquency inside the urbanization, they were robbing a lot and that is the reason they put up the electric fence... The whole urbanization is fenced in so that the entry into it is much more controlled.

As Adrian and Larry note, controlling who is able to enter the neighborhood (although these are open neighborhoods) is a tactic used for safety and security.

Javier is 23 years old and lives in Los Olivos. He explains that citizens are forced to employ these informal measures due to the insecurity in the city:

What happens is that the same insecurity obliges you to have things, to equip yourself. For example, the gates were put up because there were assaults. They would have robberies where they could and rob you from a car. Therefore they gated the place where I live so that it would be not be so easy for the robbers to get out. We hired security; we have a security system that tells us as well as the guard.

As Javier notes the gates around the neighborhood not only keep persons out but they also make it more difficult for robbers to get away if they are robbing citizens and driving off.

Javier explains that these precautions make him feel somewhat safe. He indicates:

In a sense, yes (feel safer). In as far as the surroundings, before there was very little security because we did not have gates, and when they were installed the gates we can say that the atmosphere calmed down. But there is always insecurity. Sometimes there are lookers who come to see (the homes)... In my case I feel safe (at home) but when I go out in the street there is insecurity.

While Javier feels safe at home he does not feel safe going out into the streets.

Importantly, he expressed that after the gates were installed in his neighborhood the crimes in the area began to decline but lurkers continued to monitor the neighborhood.

Thomas feels calm in his neighborhood but he recognizes that there is still a lot of insecurity in his neighborhood due to a new apartment building:

I know everyone here (in the neighborhood) and I feel calm but there is insecurity. They have built some condos nearby and we just had to gate the home in order to have more tranquility. They were robbing in the block of the street. They even gunned down a neighbor in order to rob him. There has been an increase in the population in that zone where they have made new buildings, before it was a factory that was converted into buildings. The people who have moved there are not known.

While Thomas experienced a burglary years ago, his concerns come from the new condos built nearby. According to Thomas the new neighbors in the area are strangers. His worries were heightened by the murder of a neighbor in connection to a robbery:

There were a lot of robberies and as I told you they killed a person in order to rob him. That is why the neighbors go together and said, "Not anymore, it stops now. We are going to gate everything; we are going to get guards." Everyone gave their part, about 400 for the gate construction, there are four gates, and in order to lock them we have keys. And now we are giving 40 soles each for the payment of the guards.

According to Thomas the neighbors got fed up with crime and decided to enclose themselves in their neighborhood in order to prevent robberies and violent crimes.

On the other hand, Ricky explains that having neighborhood enclaves and guards will not prevent all crimes. These preventative measures resulted in criminals finding new crime modalities:

In many districts of Lima they are enclosed and to get access to them you have to go through gates and a guard. But even so, at least around my home, there have been robberies. Even during the daytime there are burglaries. The moving trucks come, they drive up like anyone would if they were to go to work and what happens is that the neighbors see the truck and they say, “on they are moving” (the neighbors) and what happens is that the robbers have taken all of the belongings. Even cars they have taken (in this modality).

The “moving truck” scenario was described by several citizens; it appears to be a common modality for burglars to empty out homes without suspicion. As criminals can no longer rob persons and homes stealthily, they have to find ways carry crimes out in the open and in a manner that will not be questioned by guards and neighbors.

Appendix 9: “Neighborhood Precautions Related to Neighborhood Crimes” lists the neighborhood precautions implemented by these 16 citizens. The most common neighborhood precautions utilized by citizens are paid guards who are guards hired by the neighbors (14) and the erecting of informal enclaves to enclose their neighborhoods (12).

Although these citizens do not necessary feel safer due to these precautions, an important aspect of their implementation is that neighbors had to come together and work with a singular goal in mind. In comparison to the accounts of citizen apathy during robberies discussed in the survivor scripts, these neighbors worked together to create a safer neighborhood and are actively involved in their neighborhood’s security. This cooperation may come from the fact that it is mutually beneficial or because these citizens know each other and have long-lasting personal relationships.

Conclusion

This chapter notes how neighborhood crimes (robberies, burglaries and murders) are a motivating factor for citizens to implement home precautions and for neighbors to get together in an effort to secure their entire neighborhoods with guards and enclaves or “territorial” group strategies (Lavrakas et al., 1981). Few behaviors are as “territorial” as enclosing areas that are open to the public and keeping non-homeowners out. In some instances these precautions make the citizens feel safer; however most feel *only a bit* safer. In other instances these precautions do not help citizens feel safe or secure at all. These citizens express that victimization is imminent regardless of the precautions; it is only matter of *when* not *if*. Citizens explain that criminals find ways to outsmart their preventions and precautions. In order to understand the way that crime, safety, citizen insecurity and precautions shape the lives of citizens the next few chapters explore the components of the safety scripts of the citizens of Lima.

Chapter 14: “A Citizen Safety Script in Lima, Peru”

This chapter describes a general safety script of a Lima Resident. Utilizing the precautions most commonly mentioned by the citizens of Lima, this script highlights 4 general scenes (Preparation, Doing, Exit and Post-Exit) that explain 41 steps taken by the citizens of Lima to decrease their chances of victimization and to increase their security. In this “general” script, precautions taken by 10 or more citizens are included. The exact figure of persons who undertake the precautions are cited in parenthesis.

Table 6: General Safety Script of a Lima Resident (Preparation).

General Safety Script of a Lima Resident	
I Preparation	Home is secured with guardianship, target hardening and control access methods
	A- Citizens implement home guardianship in a variety of ways.
	1- Someone always stays home (62).
	2- Guard dog(s) (11).
	3- Guard inside building (for those living in apartments) (10).
	B- Citizens employ permanent target hardening techniques.
	4- Doors are locked (39).
	5- Reinforced locks in doors (19).
	6- Barricade bolt across door (12).
	C- Citizens limit the access of outsiders to their homes.
	7- There are gates around house (32).
	8- There are gates around building (10).
II Preparation	Neighborhood is also secured with guardianship and target hardening methods.
	A- Citizens pay to extend guardianship as formal guardianship is not often present.
	9- Guard(s) paid by neighbors (32).
	10- Serenasgo patrols neighborhood, albeit very rarely (25).
	B- Citizens come together and install (illegal) enclaves to control access to their neighborhoods.
	11- Enclave built by neighbors (25).
III Preparation	Citizens take note of places and situations they must consider prior to heading out.
	A- Citizens do not go to/avoid districts of Lima they deem dangerous.
	12- Does not go to/avoids going to "La Victoria" (19).
	13- Does not go to/avoids going to "El Callao" (18).
	14- Does not go to/avoids going to "El Centro de Lima" (15).
	B- Citizens do not go out if it is too late and choose their destination carefully.
	15- Does not go out at night/late at night (19).
	16- Avoids badly lit streets/places (11).
	17- Does not go out often/rarely goes out (10).

Preparation

The steps of “Preparation” are listed in Table 6: General Safety Script of a Lima Resident (Preparation). The general safety script of a Lima resident begins prior to stepping out of their home. Preparation for a daily routine is divided into three steps “preparations for the home”, “preparations for the neighborhood” and “preparations for the citizen”. Many of these precautions are organized and categorized according to principles of opportunity theories and situational crime prevention (Clarke, 1997).

I- Preparation (home is secured with guardianship, target hardening and control access methods).

While still at home, the citizens implement a variety of guardianship methods in order to secure their homes. The majority of citizens (62%) note that their homes are never left alone and a family member is always present in the premises at all times. For the 22 citizens who live in an apartment building, there are also guards in the premises (10%). Guardianship is heightened by the use of guard dogs (11%).

Aside from human and canine guardianship, citizens also employ permanent changes that make their homes a harder target for crime. Locking doors is a common method of protection for many citizens (39%). Citizens also installed reinforced locks in their doors (19%) and barricade bolts across the frames of their doors (12%).

Residents try to limit the access the public and potential robbers have to their properties. Many residents have gates around their homes (32%) and nearly half of those who live in apartments also have gates around the building (10%).

II- Preparation (Neighborhood is also secured with guardianship and target hardening methods).

In response to a lack of formal patrolling and guardianship provided by their district (and the city of Lima), many citizens got together with their neighbors and hired

guards to secure their neighborhoods (32%). A quarter of the residents explain that Serenasgo patrols their neighborhoods (although this happens only on rare occasions).

In addition to guards, a quarter of citizens have also gotten together with their neighbors and built informal enclaves that limit the access to outside citizens and unfamiliar cars into their neighborhoods (25%).

III- Preparation (Citizens take note of places and situations they must consider prior to heading out).

Before going out of their homes, citizens must also consider the geographical limitations of their daily routines. For many residents this means that specific districts and areas are to be avoided at all costs. Districts such as “La Victoria” (19%), the constitutional province of “El Callao” (18%), and the world heritage site of “El Centro De Lima” or the Center of Lima (15%) are the sites most commonly avoided. Citizens deem these places too dangerous and they believe that victimizations are more likely to happen if they frequent these places. Citizens also make arrangements to avoid these areas in the event that they need a good or service that is located within these perimeters.

Other considerations made prior to going out are the time of the day and atmosphere of place. Many citizens do not go out if it is nighttime (19%), they also avoid badly lit streets and places (11%). Others will not take their chances outside their homes and they do not go out at all or go out very rarely (10%).

Doing and Exit

The steps of the “doing” and “exit” scenes are listed in table 7: Doing and Exit.

III- Doing (Citizens implement a number of precautions while doing errands, heading to work and/or school).

Residents employ precaution methods throughout their day in order to maintain safety. Citizens are always aware, vigilant and alert of their surroundings (38%); thereby

acting as their personal guardians as they transit through the city of Lima. Nevertheless, it is important that citizens do not appear to look too “cautious”, “paranoid” or “careful” as anything out of the ordinary may bring even more attention to yourself and make you a target. It is therefore important to act nonchalant (18%) and as if everything is normal even if a citizen is being cautious or feels afraid. It is also important to be perceived as an ordinary person who blends in; wearing fancy or expensive clothes make you a target for crime. As such, many residents choose to dress down when heading out (18%). Likewise, it is important to shift or modify your precautions to the place which you visit (16%). For example, there would be a greater number of precautions for a “dangerous” place like the Center of Lima while in a safe place like Miraflores a citizen would not have to dress down and may use their phones in public. Likewise, when choosing a place to visit or transit through, it is important to go where there are multitudes of people (10%).

Table 2: Doing and Exit

II Doing	Citizens implement a number of precautions while doing errands, heading to work and/or school.
	<p>A- Citizens employ precaution methods to maintain safety throughout their daily routines.</p> <p>18- Always aware/vigilant/alert of surroundings (38).</p> <p>19- Acts nonchalant (18).</p> <p>20- Dresses down (18).</p> <p>21- Precautions vary depending on area/district (16).</p> <p>22- Frequents places with lots of people (10).</p> <p>B- Citizens do not take desirable objects with them and carry the bare minimum in order to remove crime targets and avoid crime events.</p> <p>23- Carries very little money/necessary amount (25).</p> <p>24- Carries no money (18).</p> <p>25- Only carries necessary Items (17).</p> <p>26- Does not carry valuable/expensive items (16).</p> <p>27- Carries enough money for bus/taxi fare only (12).</p> <p>28- Does not carry cell phone (10).</p> <p>C- Citizens conceal their personal belongings in order to avoid being targets of crime.</p> <p>29- Hides/secures cell phone carefully (14).</p> <p>30- Does not pull out cell phone in public (12).</p> <p>31- Hides/secures personal belongings carefully (12).</p> <p>32- Does not pull out valuables/personal belongings in public (10).</p>
IV Exit	Citizens return home.
	<p>A- Citizens return home and home is secured prior to family going to bed.</p>

Residents not only take precautions about how they choose places and the way they behave, it is also important to be meticulous about what they carry. Citizens do not carry craved objects (items can be stolen and re-sell) or carry the bare minimum in order to remove attractive crime targets from themselves and avoid victimization. Many citizens carry very little money with them and only take what is necessary for their daily routines (enough for a bottle of water, bus fare, perhaps to pay for a service) (25%). Some residents decide to take no money at all (18%), while others measure the necessary amount for their taxi and bus fare (12%). Several citizens only take necessary items when heading out (such as government ID which is mandatory and bus fare) (17%). Others indicate that personal belongings which are valuable or expensive are never taken out and they are kept at home for safety (16%). While cell phones may be necessary, several residents decide to leave their cell phones at home so that they will not be taken in the event of a robbery (10%).

Although citizens choose to leave their valuables at home, many others choose to take them along and employ many extra precautions to conceal them in their clothes and bags. Several citizens hide their phones carefully so that a robber would not be able to find it if searched (14%), the same is true with any personal belonging that is easy to carry and hide (12%). Many citizens do not pull out their phones in public (12%) or any valuables or personal belongings (10%).

IV- Exit:

After employing all of these precautions prior to heading out, while out in the streets and on their commute back, the citizens return home. Upon returning home they make sure that their home is secure and head to bed. A cycle of precautions and preventions await them the following day.

Post- Exit

Many citizens explain that their daily routines are based on maintaining their safety and avoiding victimization. On the post- exit the citizens explain how to improve citizen security around the city of Lima (Table 8: Post – Exit).

Table 3: Post- Exit

V Post- Exit	Citizens express a number of wishes that would make their daily routines easier and improve upon their safety.
	A- Citizens note that an improvement in the number and professionalism of guardianship would improve their security.
	33- More security/ improve security (37).
	34- More police presence (30).
	35- More police professionalism (21).
	36- Increase Serenasgo (17).
	37- End corruption (12).
	38- Government work to improve security (10).
	B- Citizens explain that harsher sentences and educational avenues for delinquents is also necessary.
	39- Harsher punishments for criminals (25).
	40- Educational/vocational work for delinquents (23).
	C- Citizens note that strengthening formal surveillance with cameras is needed.
	41- More cameras (15).

V- Post- Exit (Citizens express a number of wishes that would make their daily routines easier and improve upon their safety).

Citizens' scripts would be shortened if there was an improvement in the number of police, municipal security and in their professionalism. Many citizens would like to see more and improved security (37%) in their districts and throughout the city. They would like to see an increase in the presence of police (30%) and for the police to be more professional (21%) (as they are seen as corrupt). There should also be an increase in district security or Serenasgo (17%). It is important to end corruption among these entities (12%) and for the government to work in order to improve security (10%). Citizens also explain that in their opinions sentences for crime are too soft and they would like to see harsher punishments for criminals (25%). However, many state that it is important for

those involved with crime to find legitimate financial support outside of crime. Education or vocational training (23%) is necessary in order to avoid reentry into crime. In order improve security citizens would also like more security cameras (15%).

Conclusion

This chapter details a general safety script for a resident of the city of Lima. As a city with some of the highest rates of victimization in Latin America, many of the steps carried out by citizens are aimed at removing targets of crime (removing items that may be stolen and securing citizens from threats or danger). As described in the previous chapters, many of these behaviors, routines or precautions come from each citizen's own experiences with crime and victimization in their homes and neighborhoods. These are some of the main precautions carried out by citizens. A longer and detailed list of precautions is listed in the following chapter.

Chapter 15: Exploring the Safety Precautions of Lima Citizens

This chapter is an in-depth look at all the home, neighborhood and personal precautions the citizens of Lima employ in order to feel safer from crime. The first part of the chapter notes the *home precautions* taken by citizens; it is followed by the *neighborhood precautions* and ends with the *personal precautions* taken when stepping out of the home. The various precautions listed in this chapter are loosely organized using 25 Techniques for Crime Prevention (Clarke, 1997, Cornish and Clarke, 2003) (in addition other categories). As noted throughout this analysis, each citizen's safety script includes precautions that are very common and very specific to the individual life experiences.

Home Precautions

There are total of 71 different home precautions employed by the 100 citizens interviewed in this study. These precautions are divided into 9 different categories:

- 1- Target Hardening Techniques (24)
- 2- Extend Guardianship Techniques (20)
- 3- Strengthen Formal Surveillance Techniques (13)
- 4- Control Access Home Techniques (6)
- 5- Assist Natural Surveillance Techniques (4)
- 6- Utilize Place Managers Techniques (2)
- 7- Remove Targets Techniques (2).
- 8- Reduce Anonymity Techniques (2)
- 9- Conceal Targets Techniques (1)

1- Target Hardening Techniques (24)

Twenty-four target hardening techniques to protect households are described 122 different times by citizens of this study (Appendix 10: Citizen Home Precautions (Target Hardening Techniques)). These techniques make breaking into a home more difficult. The most common technique is *locking doors* (39%), followed by *reinforced locks* (19%) and *barricade bolts* across the doors (12%). Several citizens also installed *bars* in their

windows (7%) and *gates* to protect the front of their doors (6%). Residents also installed *spikes* around the perimeter of their houses (6%). A few citizens employ a few uncommon techniques to secure their homes, these include *replacing the door locks continuously* (2%), *locking each door inside the house* (2%), installing an *electric bolt* in a door which can only be opened from the inside (1%), and having *two doors* (3%) and up to *three doors* (1%) to get inside the residence. Many of these target hardening techniques may be considered to be signs of a “fortress mentality” among these citizens, wherein citizens lock themselves inside their homes in order to prevent victimizations. However, to the citizens of Lima they are ordinary precautions.

2- Extend Guardianship Techniques (20)

The citizens of Lima also employ a variety of precautions aimed at extending guardianship of their homes (Appendix 11: Citizen Home Precautions (Extend Guardianship Techniques)). The most common technique is making sure that *someone always stays home* (62 %) or having *someone stay home the majority of the time* 8%. The majority of citizens explain that they will not go out of their homes unless someone is home at all times. Many citizens also make arrangements when they do have to step out such as *asking neighbors to look over their homes* (8%) and making weekly schedules among family members to *arrange for someone to stay home* (7%).

3-Strengthen Formal Surveillance Techniques (13)

Several citizens utilize various techniques to strengthen formal surveillance of their homes (Appendix 11: Citizen Home Precautions (Strengthen Formal Surveillance Techniques)). The most common technique for citizens living in buildings is having a *guard inside the building* (10%) and *living on a high floor in the building* (5%). A few

citizens also have an *alarm* (3%) or *more than one alarm* in their house (3%). Other citizens have *cameras in their homes* (2%), *buildings* (2%) and on their *doorbells* (1%).

4- Control Access Home Techniques (6)

Many residents employ techniques aimed at controlling the access of the public and robbers to their homes (Appendix 12: Citizen Home Precautions (Control Access Home Techniques)). In this sample nearly 50 % of respondents have a form of a *gate or fence* around their homes (*home gates* (32%), *building gates* (10%) & *electric fence* (7%)). These structures make it difficult for robbers to access to the citizen's homes. In two occasion citizens built *higher walls* in their properties in order to keep burglars out.

5- Assist Natural Surveillance Techniques (4)

A few citizens employ techniques to assist the natural surveillance of their homes (Appendix 12: Citizen Home Precautions (Assist Natural Surveillance Techniques)). Citizens leave *their lights* (3%), *radio* (2%) and *television* on (1%). One citizen has surveillance due to his home being directly in front of another home.

6- Utilize Place Managers Techniques (2)

A few residents in apartment buildings utilize place managers for additional security (Appendix 12: Citizen Home Precautions (Utilize Place Managers Techniques)). Doormen help maintain security (5%) and screen of guests to the building (1%).

7- Remove Targets Techniques (2)

Some residents employ techniques to remove targets, including themselves (Appendix 12: Citizen Home Precautions (Remove Targets Techniques)). Three citizens *moved to a different district* (3%). One was due to a burglary, one due to an armed robbery

and a final instance was due to a robbery of a sibling (the sibling was assaulted with a knife and hospitalized). One citizen is trying to sell his home after a burglary (1%).

8- Reduce Anonymity Techniques (2)

Techniques to reduce anonymity were implemented by one resident (Appendix 12: Citizen Home Precautions (Reduce Anonymity Techniques)). These techniques include asking for *documentation prior to renting a room* (1%) and only *allowing single* persons to rent rooms (1%) (This citizen rents rooms in her home).

9- Conceal Targets Techniques (1)

One citizen employs a technique to conceal targets at home and hides her computer in her room (Appendix 12: Home Precautions (Conceal Targets Techniques)).

Conclusion

These 74 home precautions exemplify how the citizens of Lima secure their homes and maintain the safety of their families. Some of these precautions are relatively inexpensive (locking doors), some are costly (electric fences) and others cannot be given a price (scheduling a family member to stay). These techniques are a routine part of the lives of residents throughout the city, along with neighborhood and personal precautions.

Neighborhood Precautions

There are 20 different neighborhood precautions employed by the 100 citizens interviewed in this study. These precautions are divided into 5 different categories:

- 1- Strengthen Formal Surveillance Techniques (12)
- 2- Control Access Techniques (5)
- 3- Assist Natural Surveillance Technique (1)
- 4- Deflect Offenders Technique (1)
- 5- Reduce Anonymity Technique (1)

1- Strengthen Formal Surveillance Techniques (12)

Several citizens employ techniques to strength the formal surveillance of their neighborhoods (Appendix 13: Citizen Neighborhood Precautions (Strength Formal Surveillance Techniques)). The most common technique is *hiring guards* who are paid by the neighborhood (32%). Citizens also explain that municipal security or *Serenasgo patrols* their neighborhood (25%). Several citizens are *vigilant of security* of their neighborhoods (6%). Three citizens explain that there are *cameras* (3%) around their neighborhoods and two explain that the police patrol the areas (2%).

2- Control Access Techniques (5)

Residents employ techniques to control the access of the general public and criminals have to their neighborhood (Appendix 13: Citizen Neighborhood Precautions (Control Access Techniques)). A quarter of the citizens built *informal enclaves* (25%). One resident explains has *two enclaves* around her home. While citizens do not necessarily feel safer with the enclaves, they note that it is safer to have one than not.

3- Assist Natural Surveillance Technique (1)

A citizen explained a technique to assist the natural surveillance of her neighborhood. Due to a new department store nearby, the entire area has much *improved lighting* (Appendix 13: Citizen Neighborhood Precautions (Assist Natural Surveillance)).

4- Deflect Offenders Technique (1)

One citizen explained a technique to deflect offenders (Appendix 13: Citizen Neighborhood Precautions (Deflect Offenders Technique)). In order to stop robbers from speeding after a crime, the neighborhood installed *speed bumps*.

5- Reduce Anonymity Technique (1)

One citizen employs technique to reduce anonymity (Appendix 13: Citizen Neighborhood Precautions (Reduce Anonymity Technique)). *Drivers are screened* by guards who were hired by the neighbors.

Conclusion:

These 20 techniques employed by the citizens of Lima aim to secure their and their neighbors' and homes from possible victimizations. While these techniques may not stop all crimes (and some citizens may not feel safer); they exemplify how the citizens take neighborhood security into their own hands.

Personal Precautions

There are a total of 215 different personal precautions employed by the citizens of this study. As previously mentioned, many of these precautions were implemented due to victimization events. These precautions are divided into 13 different categories:

- 1- Concealing Targets (Desirable Objects) Techniques (23)
- 2- Place Avoidance Techniques: Districts/ Streets of Lima (36)
- 3- Place Avoidance Techniques (16)
- 4- Place Selection Techniques (10)
- 5- Remove Targets Techniques (30)
- 6- Routine Precaution (Behaviors) Techniques (26)
- 7- Routine Precaution (Beliefs) Techniques (5)
- 8- Routine Precaution (Life Events) Techniques (2)
- 9- Travelling Precaution (Time Restrictions) Techniques (11)
- 10- Travelling Precaution Techniques (29)
- 11- Establishment Avoidance Techniques (5)
- 12- Routine Precaution (Communication) Techniques (6)
- 13- Extend Guardianship Techniques (15)

1- Concealing Targets (Desirable Objects) Techniques (23)

Many citizens conceal their valuables (which are seen as targets of crime) in order to avoid victimization events and so that these items will not be taken (in the event they are robbed) (Appendix 14: Personal Precautions Concealing Targets Techniques).

Citizens *hide their cell phones* (14%), *personal belongings* (12%), *money* (8%) and *wallets* (3%) securely when they step out into the streets. Residents also do not pull out *phones* (12%) and other *personal belongings* out in public (10%) as many feel this makes them vulnerable to victimizations. Many of the choices citizens make about what and how to take these items centers on how they are stored, carried, hidden or placed within their persons or in the backpacks or wallets. Many citizens are preparing for an inevitable robbery and when this happens they hope to be prepared by making sure that their most vital and valuable possession (phones, wallets, money, credit cards and ID's) are not taken during the victimization.

2- Place Avoidance Techniques: Districts/Streets of Lima (36)

As noted in Appendix 15: Personal Precautions Place Avoidance Techniques (Districts/Streets), there are many districts and areas that are avoided by citizens during their daily commutes and at their leisure times. Many of the places highlighted as dangerous are the districts where a large number of the study's subjects reside: *La Victoria* (19%), *El Callao* (18%) and *el Centro de Lima* (15%). There are several notable destinations known for informal shopping such as *Gamarra* (7%) (Several citizens were robbed here), *Abancai* (2%), *La Parada* (2%) and *Polvos Azules* (2%). Counterfeit and stolen goods are bought and sold in these locations, including the items stolen from citizens. These districts and shopping areas are notorious for being dangerous.

3- Place Avoidance Techniques (16)

Citizens note that there environments and places that should be avoided in order prevent victimization events (Appendix 16: Personal Precautions Place Avoidance Techniques). Several citizens *avoid any notoriously dangerous zones, places or districts*

throughout their routines (30%). Some residents also have to avoid *dangerous parts of their own neighborhoods* (9%). In order to remain safe and to decrease their chances of victimization, residents avoid *poorly illuminated streets* (10%), *empty streets* (8%), *alleys/passageways* (6%) and *small streets* (1%). Citizens do not go to places that *are far away from their home* (9%), *places that are unfamiliar* (7%) or where they *do not know people* (2%). Several citizens avoid *places without security present* (8%).

4- Place Selection Techniques (10)

The citizens of Lima make careful selections about their destinations (Appendix 16: Personal Precaution Place Selection Techniques). Citizens prefer to frequent *places with lots of people* (10%) and where there is *visible security present* (8%). They also *walk in main streets and avenues* (6%) and spend time in *open spaces* instead of enclosed establishments (4%).

5- Remove Targets Techniques (30)

Many citizens prepare themselves with the expectation to be robbed. As listed in Appendix 17: Personal Precautions (Remove Targets Techniques), citizens employ 30 different techniques centered on removing items desirable to robbers. One of the main concerns for residents is the safety of their money. Some decide to *carry very little money* (25%), others *carry enough money for the bus and taxi fares* (12%), while others carry *absolutely no money when they step out* (18%). Some use *credit cards rather than cash* (8%) as these cannot be used with picture ID or pins.

Many residents *only carry necessary items* (17%) with them when they step out such as their *ID* (7%), *keys* (3%) or *school supplies* (1%). Several residents leave *valuable and expensive items at home* (16%); such as *cell phones* (10%), *purses* (4%), *wallets* (4%),

watches (4%), *laptops* (1%), *jewelry* (1%) or *brand name clothes* (1%). For some individuals it is important to not call attention to yourself and your expensive belongings or “no hacer luz” and *show off your items* (3%).

6- Routine Precaution (Behaviors) Techniques (26)

There are a lot of behaviors that residents must consider within different settings and contexts in the city of Lima. Appendix 18: Personal Precautions Routine Precautions (Behaviors) lists the routine behaviors that citizens must decide on each day throughout Lima. The most common behavior is to *act nonchalant* (18%) or to act as “normal”. Acting nervous or afraid is believed to be an invitation for victimization. Other behaviors center on how the citizen wants to be perceived by the general public and potential criminals. These behaviors involve *dressing down* (18%) on a regular basis; *dressing down in notoriously dangerous places* (6%), if they are *travelling with money* (3%), or are going *shopping* (2%). Many of these precautions *vary on the place and district* where the citizen is going (16%), on the *time of day* (6%) and the *purpose of the visit* (2%). Some residents employ more precautions in *unfamiliar places* (4%), in the *center of Lima* (4%) or when *they carry expensive items* (2%).

Residents also avoid environments and people altogether. Some citizens *do not go out of their homes* or go out very rarely (11%). A few are *distrustful of people* in general (2%), *look out for suspicious looking people* (3%), *do not socialize* with strangers (1%) and act *cold and curt with other citizens* (1%). These behaviors explain that Lima citizens have a lengthy set of socially accepted behaviors that are carried out on a regular basis in order to maintain safety in a city.

7- Routine Precaution (Beliefs) Techniques (5)

Several citizens try to travel through the city with confidence and peace, even if they believe that victimizations are eminent (Appendix 18: Personal Precautions Routine Precaution (Beliefs). Several citizens *pray* and commend themselves to God (8%) prior to stepping out. Others opt to *not think negatively* when they are out (6%). Citizens explain plainly that they leave their homes *expecting to be robbed* (2%). While only a few explain to be awaiting victimization, the majority of the citizens (if not all the citizens) acts and behave in this way through their precautions.

8- Routine Precaution (Life Events) Techniques (2)

A few citizens made major changes in their lives in order to prevent victimizations (Appendix 18: Personal Precautions Routine Precautions (Life Events). Some *moved to different districts* in order to feel safer in their neighborhoods and at home (3%). One resident changed jobs in order to avoid the dangers that commuting as a salesman brought to him (he endured a robbery due to his travelling).

9- Travelling Precaution (Time Restrictions) Techniques (11)

Many citizens impose time frames on commuting as a way to keep themselves safe from victimizations (Appendix 19: Personal Precautions Travelling Precaution (Time Restriction)). Many residents do not go out at night at all (19%). Others only leave their homes during the day (7%). Several citizens are also mindful of the appropriate time frames to travel and *avoid going out early in the morning* (1%), are cautious of the time *when they leave* (1%) and *return home* (1%). A couple of citizens *change their daily routes* (2%), *times* (2%) and traveling patterns on a regular basis.

10- Travelling Precaution Techniques (29)

Several residents note the complexities of traveling and commuting through the city (Appendix 19: Personal Precautions Travelling Precaution Techniques). Citizens are very careful and cautions *when they walk* (6%), while others *do not walk much at all* (2%). Several citizens employ various precautions when travelling in buses, they *observe suspicious people getting on and off the buses* (4%), *take note of where there are sitting or standing* in buses (3%), they may *ride buses rather than taxis* (2%) as having more people around make them feel safer.

While riding the bus, citizens have several issues to consider, such as making sure *they lock doors and windows* (1%) and noting that their *items are stored carefully* (1%). Others *avoid riding buses in favor of taxis* (2%). There are many considerations while riding taxis, such as *not riding taxis alone* (3%), only riding in taxis *that are secure and from trustworthy companies* (2%), *looking into a driver's face* so that he may know you are able to recognize him (1%) and *calling in to family members to let them know the license plate number* of the taxi (1%).

11- Establishment Avoidance Techniques (5)

A few citizens avoid establishments they see as dangerous (Appendix 20: Personal Precautions Establishment Avoidance). These citizens *avoid clubs, bars and parties* (4%) and *places where there are drugs or alcohol* (2%). Residents also avoid *public places such as cafes, restaurants and shopping centers*.

12- Routine Precaution (Communication) Techniques (6)

Part of the routine precautions for a few citizens center on having open communication with their families and being aware of current events (Appendix 20:

Personal Precaution (Communication) Techniques). A few citizens are in *constant communication with their families* letting know where they are (3%), *when they are stepping out* (1%) and *when they are coming back* (2%). A few citizens also like to be *informed about citizen insecurity in news* (2%) and about *unfamiliar places* (1%).

13- Extend Guardianship Techniques (15)

Lastly, many citizens expand their personal guardianship while they are out and about (Appendix 20 Personal Precaution Extend Guardianship Techniques). Residents are *aware, vigilant and alert of their surroundings* (38%). Some make sure to *go out with company* in general (8%), if they are going *out at night or travelling to a dangerous area* (7%). Several citizens *carry their cell phones* in the event of an emergency (7%). Citizens also *observe the persons around them* (7%), they make sure to *look behind as they walk* to make sure they are not followed (6%) and *look out for suspicious cars or motorcycles* (2%). Residents also *lookout for persons* around them (7%), they *look into people's faces* to make sure that they know they are recognizable (2%) and *observe people prior to going in and out of home* (1%) and *work* (1%). Only a few citizens carry items such as *pepper spray* (2%) or a *gun* (1%) as a defense mechanism (although 5 citizens carried pepper spray (4) and a knife (1) in the past).

Conclusion

Through these daily precautions we learn that the safety scripts of the citizens of Lima are interspersed with many behaviors, tactics, and beliefs which aim to deter or prevent victimizations. These precautions are also aimed at neutralizing the losses that may come from a robbery or any crime, (in the event that citizens are victimized).

Chapter 16: How to Improve Citizen Security in the City of Lima

This analysis outlined the choices made by citizens during victimization events and links between victimizations, feelings of citizen insecurity (fear and risk of crime), and precautions to maintain safety. It explained a long list of behaviors, choices and actions analyzed daily by citizens within the context of their homes, neighborhoods and a myriad of environments and scenarios they experience throughout Lima. Many suggestions to improve insecurity could be described from the aforementioned findings. However, the citizens were also asked their thoughts on what could be done to improve citizen security. The policy recommendations listed in this chapter are framed along the residents' personal accounts and suggestions. There are 3 areas of particular concern for the citizens: *policing*, *citizen security* and *government reforms*.

Experiences and Concerns about the Police

Nearly a third of the citizens want to see greater police presence in their districts and neighborhoods. Residents note that patrolling in their neighborhoods is an anomaly, if it even happens. The majority of residents who had an experience with the police expressed negative accounts. These accounts range from the police officers being dismissive of their complaints, refusing to take in their statements and reports about the victimizations and asking for money in order to carry out an investigation.

Several citizens note that officers work with criminals. One citizen describes that he would like for the police and government in Lima to stop taking bribes:

I would like for the city to stop taking bribes... the police is at times working with the criminals so that they (the police) allow them to commit their crimes in various zones.

Likewise, another citizen notes that she would like more police, but that these officers must have conscience and professionalism:

I would like more police officers but officers with conscience. Because the same officers look the other way when they rob you. The worst is when they catch the criminals and the police let them off free. In other words they pay off a bribe and they are left free. Then once again the same thing. That is why it is preferable to have police but with conscience.

Yet another citizen expresses similar sentiments about police selection based on her experience watching police take bribes:

They have to make a different selection, because I have seen, I have been witness to the bribes (taken by police). It is like one cannot have security within themselves or the police. Before I used to remember that when I was a girl they would tell you that if you get lost, you go to a police officer. Now it is not like that, now if you get lost be careful and go with a woman officer, I don't know. It seems sexist but it is not. You cannot trust in anyone.

This citizen describes that the police, and in particular male police officers, are untrustworthy and incapable of providing security. While citizens would like to see an increase in police visibility (in addition to the municipal security of Serenasgo) they repeatedly mention that these officers should be more professional, conscious and better trained. In fact, several residents would like to see officers do investigative work and “follow up” on reports rather than just taking statements. Citizens would like for the police to “step in and act” when they see crimes happen rather than just “stand around” while citizens are victimized. Only a couple citizens spoke about police stepping in and helping after the victimizations; a greater number of citizens discussed how police and Serenasgo were around at the time they were victimized and did not step in to help. As corruption is said to be rampant, a few citizens would like for police and Serenasgo to be “paid better” so that they will stop taking bribes and working with criminals for additional income.

A large number of citizens have very negative opinions of the police due to personal experiences; many residents explained proclaimed them to be “worthless”. This analysis concludes that the police have very little legitimacy among this sample of citizens. To these citizens, the functions and responsibilities of law enforcement also have little legitimacy. Out of all the victimization events described in this analysis (a total of 129) there were only 34 police reports made. Otherwise stated, 26 people of the 67 who endured a victimization event (or various events) reported one or more of their experiences to the police. Ten of these reports were related to burglaries and the rest were connected to robberies and one instance of identity theft. Importantly, the reports connected to robberies are not reports of the actual victimization events (with 3 exceptions); instead they are lost item reports (necessary to replace ID’s and credit cards).

When asked if they decided to report the crime, the majority note that it is a “waste of time”. Due to experiences and/or knowledge that police are unresponsive to street crimes and that police is inefficient, corrupt and uninterested in stepping if they witness a crime in progress; the majority of residents opt against reporting their crimes (even when they were hurt and their lives were threatened with a firearm). Another issue related to this problem is that some criminals are known to the neighborhood (including the police) and the residents fear retributions if they speak up. This factor supports the citizens’ beliefs that police work with criminals; noting that even well-known criminals can keep attacking citizens without repercussions, or that they are up in jail “only for one day” and after a bribe, get out. Therefore, the processes that citizens undergo to report crimes and the attitudes of the police about crime reporting need to change in order to encourage citizens to go to the police for help during or after victimizations.

The purpose of this study was never to highlight the impact of police conduct (or misconduct) as a factor related to citizen insecurity and precautions to curtail victimizations. The residents brought this topic to the front repeatedly without being asked about it directly. One of the reasons why citizens are so adamant in their daily methods to avoid victimization is that the police have failed them in their general function to protect and give them security. Otherwise stated, in the absence of power that protects the population, the population found ways to protect itself.

What can be done?

Explaining the various ways in which policing needs to be changed; if not overhauled, is better served by a proper evaluation of its components processes, training methods and the attitudes among the men and women of its ranks (in addition to studies about police-citizen interactions). Nevertheless, the findings of this study outline several factors in need of improvement.

1- Law enforcement needs legitimacy in order to protect and serve this population properly. This may be accomplished with more professionalism among officers, better attitudes towards serving the population, and proper accountability among those who break rules and engage in kickbacks and corruption.

2- Part of a more professional police includes a better trained, equipped and apt force that is willing to step in and help citizens and to investigate crimes.

3- The processes and forms that citizens must go through in order to make reports of their victimizations or complaints about other quality of life matters should be citizen friendly and streamlined in order to meet the needs of a population. These needs may

include: work-related time constraints, intimidation or afraid to report crimes and inability to understand legal processes.

While this is not a study of police-citizen interactions and their outcomes, it is logical to highlight that citizens would feel better protected, safer and more secure if they felt the police would help them in the event of victimization.

Concerns about Citizen Security

In close connection to concerns about policing; citizen are also worried about general safety or as it is commonly described in *citizen insecurity*. The majority of citizens would like to see an improvement in security in “all districts”. The setting of the interviews served as a comparison point for many residents, they point out that “here you see security but in other places there is none.” Many residents described that there is police presence, Serenasgo and cameras in touristy parks and in exclusive districts like Miraflores and Barranco; whereas in parks and open spaces in poor districts; there are few (if any) forms of security. Many residents see this disparity as class issue. These security differences between districts (and the preferences of the city to employ its forces into particular districts) showcase disparity of safety; wherein the only the wealthy zones are afforded public resources for the security of residents. This disparity is another factor that creates citizen distrust of government and further alienates them from a participating in formal processes.

What can be done?

Residents would like to see an “increase of security in *all* districts”, rather than the ones which are already safer than the rest. It is noted that areas with higher indices of crime are often the most forgotten; an increase in efforts should be made to make these

areas secure for residents through the use of patrolling, cameras, the improvement of illumination and collective efficacy among residents. Although many residents work together with their neighbors in order to secure their neighborhoods, there is an absence of efficacy among citizens who are strangers. Many residents described being victimized with many people present in their surroundings and that oftentimes no one would step in and try to help. While the work among neighbors is encouraging, work among citizens in general needs to improve.

With all of these factors into consideration, several ideas for improvement in general security are advised:

1- Greater efforts should be made to increase visible and professional security in zones and sectors that lack protection. This may be done through the work of police and Serenasgo and the implementation of security posts, cameras and better illumination.

2- It is also important to raise awareness among the population and incentivize them to *safely* aid fellow citizens when they witness a crime. As residents explain, something as simple as calling for help from Serenasgo or the police, making noise or letting security personnel know a crime is happening would be more than welcome.

3- As suggested by several citizens; campaigns that highlight how to act in the event of a crime, how to maintain safety and the help those in need of aid are necessary in order to inform and empower citizens. As more studies about crime and safety take place in Peru; residents would also like to hear about crime research in the city and the country.

Government Reforms

For many residents, the issues related to crime insecurity, safety and policing are closely related to the actions of the governments (including the governments of districts,

cities and the nation). Citizens state that “it all starts at the head” and the constant and numerous scandals related to government corruption (at each rung of government) destroy citizen trust in government and formal processes. Without any trust in police and government it is easy to understand why so many citizens provide their own safety and security. Greater accountability among all factions of the government in cases of corruption is direly needed.

Several residents express that laws are too lenient on criminals and criminals are out in the streets within a few hours of being caught. While it may be true that criminals can be out within a few hours of being caught, it is difficult to know *why* (if this is factual or opinion of these citizens). It is also difficult to know if laws are lenient if the police, prosecutors and judges do not follow the law appropriately in these processes. Otherwise stated, the criminal justice processes in Lima would need to be carried out without corruption or informalities in order to know whether problems in the system are an issue of the policy and laws in book, or actual practice by the actors involved. Greater efforts to evaluate these processes at length are necessary before concrete suggestions can be made about changing laws or making punishments harsher. However, we can encourage work amongst municipalities and government in an effort to build plans for the improvement of citizen security.

Many residents note that the criminals who robbed them were young teens. Citizens would like to see these young men become gainfully employed citizens who no longer make a living from crime and violence. More than a third of the surveyed residents advocate for educational and vocation programs for delinquents and social programs aimed at education, reform and the rehabilitation of youths. Residents believe that

educational programs for young parents and youths would be helpful in making sure that disadvantaged youths have better access to tools for success and away from crime.

Conclusion

The residents of Lima have number suggestions including police, government and social reforms for the improvement of safety and security in the city. As citizens already work very each and every day to maintain their safety, it is now up to law enforcement and government entities to do their part and meet them half way. With mutual cooperation, safety in the city can be improved.

Chapter 17: “Summing up the Survival and Safety Scripts of the Citizens of Lima”

A convenient way to summarize the findings of this study is to list the research questions and state the various ways that these questions were answered throughout the analysis. This chapter ends with a suggestion of following steps in this line of inquiry.

Research Questions

1- What kinds of “survivor scripts” can we identify?

As described in chapters 8, 9, 10 and 11 this study found 129 different victimization events among 67 citizens. These 129 events were categorized into 14 different survivor scripts including: 1 script for robberies, 1 script for larceny-thefts, 2 scripts for extortions, 1 script for kidnapping, 1 script for gang violence, 1 script for assault, 1 script for threats, 1 script for identity theft and 5 scripts for burglaries.

Various factors were described in these scripts including: the number of persons victimizing the citizen, the type of instruments used (weapons, telephones, cars, motorcycles) in order to get compliance from the victim, and the citizen’s location (indoors, outside walking, travelling in a car or bus).

The decisions made by the citizens at each scene of the scripts are informed by their precautions, personal beliefs about citizen insecurity, their feelings about what is most important for them to guard at the time of crime, the environmental constraints of the scene and the people around them. These scripts note important factor related to the victimization events such as:

- 1- The manner in which citizens were victimized;
- 2- Citizen reactions following the victimization;
- 3- Citizen decisions to report the crime; and
- 4- How citizen routines and lives changed following the attack.

These factors help us understand why and how the citizens changed due to victimizations:

- 1- By implementing new routine precautions (Felson and Clarke, 2010) (which includes the creation of complex mental maps (Lupton, 1999)), “territorial” neighborhood strategies (Lavarkas, et al., 1981) and household situational crime prevention methods (Clarke, 1997);
- 2- Their thoughts of the risks of crime across Lima (including new threats of victimization (Rader et al., 2007)); and
- 3- Their thoughts of police and law enforcement.

2- What kinds of “safety scripts” can we identify?

Each citizen employs a personal safety script daily. This analysis describes a general safety script for all the citizens of this sample using the most common precautions employed by Lima residents (listed in Chapter 14). This general safety script highlights the most common precautions employed by citizens throughout the daily routines in their efforts to maintain safety. This script describes 42 different steps divided into 5 scenes.

For the most part, personal safety scripts vary among the sexes. Women employ more precautions on average (13.09) than men (12.24) and therefore have longer daily safety scripts. The citizens with the most precautions spread across their homes, neighborhoods and on their persons are for women who have experienced both personal crimes and property crimes (19.75) (in comparison to men with personal crimes and property crimes (13.67). This finding may be influenced by gender norms wherein women are more open to speaking about their fears, risks and precautions in comparison to men who may put up a “fearless male” persona (Goodey, 1997; Brownlow, 2005).

There are some precautions that are very common, such as staying home all the time and being vigilant of the surroundings. There are some precautions that are very specific, such as calling home to tell the family that you are in a taxi and reciting the taxi cab license plate. Therefore, safety scripts employed by citizens are personalized and vary

depending on each resident's personal experiences, opinions about safety, the places regularly visited by the citizen, their feelings of safety at home and in their neighborhoods. Persons who endure victimizations have far more specific precautions related to that victimization in comparison to those who are not crime survivors.

3- What kinds of routine precautions to crime can we observe in survivor and safety scripts?

In as far as survivor and safety scripts and their relationship with precautions we learn that many of these behaviors are utilized before the victimization and after, that is to say, precautions were not only used by those who endured a victimization. A lengthy list of personal and home precautions related to victimization events are listed in Chapter 12.

In survivor scripts we learn that every single citizen carries out precautions daily. Several of these precautions (hiding money, not carrying valuables) may have prevented some robberies from being complete. Following victimization events we learn that many citizens became much more cautious of their personal belongings (primarily cell phones), some changed their daily pattern, and others stopped taking taxis and changed their preferred methods of public transportation.

An unexpected finding comes from the fact that many home and neighborhood precautions adapted by citizens are related to crimes in their neighborhoods rather than personal or property crimes; these are listed in Chapter 13. These findings suggest that precautions and ideas about general safety are informed by personal experiences and by experiences of those around the citizens.

Exploring the precautions in safety scripts we learn that there are many types and categories of behaviors, tactics and techniques employed by these citizens on a daily basis. There are a total of 71 different home precautions organized in 9 different categories.

There are a total of 20 different neighborhood precautions divided into 5 different categories. Finally, there are a total of 215 different personal precautions divided into 13 categories. These precautions are listed in Chapter 14. As previously mentioned, some of these precautions are very general (avoiding the Center of Lima) while some are very specific (writing down the license plate number of a taxi).

4- How do concepts of citizen insecurity (risk and fear of crime) and opportunity theories explain these crime precautions?

Throughout the analysis survivor scripts and safety scripts we learn that many of these precautions are aimed at *preventing* the likelihood of victimization and at *decreasing the harms or losses* related to victimization (otherwise stated as neutralizing the losses of victimizations (Agnew, 1985; Winkel, 1998). According to citizens, victimization may be prevented by avoiding dangerous places, by increasing the security measures at their home or neighborhood, and being alert and vigilant of their safety at all times. However, many residents expect victimization to occur and thereby decrease the worries about being victimized (the physical harm, fear, and loss in losing a valued item) by preparing for an inevitable victimization event. They prepare for these events by not carrying any belongings which are desirable by robbers (expensive items such as phones and computers), by only buying items which are inexpensive and by dressing down so as to not make themselves a target. As stated repeatedly, while they may not feel safe due to their precautions citizens feel better knowing that if they are robbed, “nothing much” can be taken and therefore the victimization event will not be as traumatic or serious.

While several citizens express to feel fearful due to their previous experiences with victimization events (or in general), a more pragmatic approach is taken by the majority of the citizens. Rather than express fear at every turn, citizens relate their

precautions and experiences in terms of ordinary risks that they have to confront in order to carry on with their lives. Risks are then seen through a cognitive calculations that result in behaviors (precautions) are that are seen as pragmatic (rather than fear laden) to reduce the likelihood of victimizations and harms during a crime. These feelings of fear and risk work together and vary based on context, experiences and beliefs of each citizen. The more apt term is *citizen insecurity* which combines risk, fear, pragmatism, experiences, biases and expectations about safety, crime and victimization. By building “mental maps” (Lupton, 1999) that dictate where residents can go, how they can go to these places and what items they may carry to minimize the “threats of victimization” (Rader et al., 2007).

Citizen insecurity is closely related to the citizen’s precautions (as citizens take many steps to improve their security daily). However, most citizens continue to feel unsafe throughout various contexts (even if they are not fearful) there is only so much they can do in to feel secure when they do not feel protected by law enforcement.

5- What do these precautions mean within the cultural context of crime in the city of Lima?

The citizens of Lima adapted to a political, social and economic environment where the economy has boomed steadily over the past decade which resulted in a greater acquisition of home and portable goods that are craved by robbers and citizens at black-market prices. Plainly stated these behaviors are seen as normal by citizens.

Otherwise exemplified, as high-tech cell phones became readily available through calling plan subsidies created by phone companies, affordable through credit and other forms of payment, so have their availability and price points in black markets. This creates a demand for stolen goods for persons who cannot afford to pay for these goods at full prices. This demand is met by the thousands of phones which are stolen from citizens

and resold in (informal and formal) markets throughout the city. In response to this problem, many of the precautions taken by citizens center on the protection of their phones; whether these are protected by being hidden in their clothing and bags, leaving them home, using headphones when answering calls, by making sure they are only taken out of the home when extremely necessary, or purchasing old models (which citizens would not mind getting stolen). As a valuable and portable item readily available to most citizens across socioeconomic backgrounds, a citizen's steps to protect their cell phone are a social equalizer in Lima's contemporary urban landscape; much like gates are collectively acceptable forms of house security; or illegal enclaves are normal forms of neighborhood security.

Lima is living through a *culture of insecurity* (with a specific set of beliefs, behaviors and rules related citizen insecurity) which the citizens of Lima adapt to with formal and informal methods of personal and communal security. Breaking the rules of this culture (such as carrying money, pulling out a phone in public, leaving a household without guardianship or walking through a dangerous district) can result in victimizations. This culture of insecurity is continuously shifting due to new crime modalities and adapting newer precautions to prevent victimizations. Even when citizens follow all the rules and procedures accepted by this culture, they may still become victimized by innovative offenders who can bypass the citizens' precautions. Unfortunately, these precautions shape, shift, order and arrange the lives of the citizens of Lima. As ritualized behaviors, oftentimes the citizens no longer notice the multiple steps they take all throughout their days in order to prevent victimization. This *culture of insecurity* requires

citizens to structure their lives in preparation for an eventual victimization and to overcome its consequences.

Following Steps

More research is necessary to fully understand the complexities of Lima's culture of insecurity and crime precautions. Shortly stated, research in every aspect of crime, criminality, victimization, precautions, policing and its connection with culture are paramount to the creation of sustainable solutions that improve the quality of life of citizen create a safer and more enjoyable city for every citizen. This dissertation is an initial step at looking into these various concepts and learning from the citizens' personal accounts of the problem.

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Appendixes

Appendix 1: IRB Approval Form

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY
Office of Research and Sponsored Programs
ASB III, 3 Rutgers Plaza, Cook Campus
New Brunswick, NJ 08901

July 18, 2013

P.I. Name: Leberatto
Protocol #: E14-009

Antony C. Leberatto
School of Criminal Justice
123 Washington Street
Center for Law & Justice
Newark Campus

Dear Antony Leberatto:

Notice of Exemption from IRB Review

Protocol Title: "Routine Precautions in Peru"

The project identified above has been approved for exemption under one of the six categories noted in 45 CFR 46, and as noted below:

Exemption Date: 7/16/2013 **Exempt Category:** 2

This exemption is based on the following assumptions:

- **This Approval** - The research will be conducted according to the most recent version of the protocol that was submitted.
- **Reporting** - ORSP must be immediately informed of any injuries to subjects that occur and/or problems that arise, in the course of your research;
- **Modifications** - Any proposed changes MUST be submitted to the IRB as an amendment for review and approval prior to implementation;
- **Consent Form (s)** - Each person who signs a consent document will be given a copy of that document, if you are using such documents in your research. The Principal Investigator must retain all signed documents for at least three years after the conclusion of the research;

Additional Notes: None

Failure to comply with these conditions will result in withdrawal of this approval.

The Federalwide Assurance (FWA) number for Rutgers University IRB is FWA00003913; this number may be requested on funding applications or by collaborators.

Sincerely yours,



Acting For--
Dr. Beverly Tepper, Ph.D.
Professor
Chair, Rutgers University Institutional Review Board

cc: Dr. Ronald V. Clarke

Appendix 2: Consent Forms

Attachment 4 – Informed Consent Form

You are invited to participate in a research study titled “*Routine Precautions in Peru*”. The purpose of this research is to understand how citizens protect themselves and their homes routinely against crime and their opinions about these behaviors. I will interview about 100 persons. If you decide to participate, you will be asked to partake in an interview about your experiences and opinions as a citizen of Lima who is 18 year of age or older. The interview will last from 10 to 20 minutes approximately. Please be advised that all interviews will remain confidential and your identity will not be revealed in any report or study. I would like to record the interview so that I may quote your answers without missing any information. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary; you may decline to participate without any negative consequences. If you decide to participate, you do not have to answer any questions you do not want to answer and you may withdraw from the study at any time. Benefits of the study are that it may help us better understand how the citizens of Lima protect themselves against crime and what this means in a cultural context. There are minimal risks in the study as we will only talk about things that most citizens do every day. The results of this study may be presented in reports, at academic conferences, and/or academic journals. Please keep this sheet with information in the event that you have any further questions. If you have any questions about this research you may contact Antony Leberatto or the study supervisor, Dr. Ronald V. Clarke at the contact information below.

Antony Leberatto – antonyl@pegasus.rutgers.edu Phone number: 908-247-1140
Dr. Ronald V. Clarke – rclarke@rutgers.newark.edu Phone number: 973-353-1154

If you have any questions about your right as a research subject, you may contact the IRB Administrator at Rutgers University at:

*Rutgers University Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects
Office of Research and Sponsored Programs
3 Rutgers Plaza
New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8559
Tel: 848 932-4058
Email: humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu*

I have read the above statement of informed consent and I agree to the terms and conditions therein.

Participant Signature: _____ Date: _____

Researcher Signature: _____ Date: _____

I agree to have this interview recorded and I am aware the recording will be destroyed once the interview is transcribed.

Participant Signature: _____ Date: _____

Researcher Signature: _____ Date: _____

APPROVED

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JUL 16 2013

Print Date: 7/9/2013
Version 6.08

Approved by the
Rutgers IRB

Informed Consent Formt (Spanish)

Usted está invitado a participar en un estudio de investigación titulado "Precauciones de rutina en el Perú". El propósito de esta investigación es de entender cómo los ciudadanos se protegen y a sus hogares de forma rutinaria contra la delincuencia y sus opiniones acerca de estos comportamientos. Voy a entrevistar a unas 100 personas. Si decide participar, se le tomará una entrevista sobre sus experiencias y opiniones como ciudadano de Lima, a personas que son de 18 años de edad o más. La entrevista tendrá una duración de 10 a 20 minutos aproximadamente. Por favor, tenga en cuenta que todas las entrevistas serán confidenciales y su identidad no será revelada en ningún informe o estudio. Me gustaría grabar la entrevista para que pueda citar a sus respuestas sin perder ninguna información. Su participación en este estudio es completamente voluntaria, usted puede negarse a participar sin ningún tipo de consecuencias negativas. Si decide participar, usted no tiene que contestar ninguna pregunta que no quiera contestar y puede retirarse del estudio en cualquier momento. Los beneficios del estudio son que puede ayudarnos a entender mejor cómo los ciudadanos de Lima se protegen contra la delincuencia y lo que esto significa en un contexto cultural. Hay riesgos mínimos en el estudio, ya que sólo hablaremos de las cosas que la mayoría de los ciudadanos hacen todos los días. Los resultados de este estudio se pueden presentar en los informes, en conferencias académicas y / o publicaciones académicas. Por favor, mantenga esta hoja de información en el caso de que tenga alguna duda. Si usted tiene alguna pregunta acerca de esta investigación, puede ponerse en contacto con Antony C. Leberatto o el supervisor del estudio, el Dr. Ronald V. Clarke en la información de contacto más abajo.

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He leído la declaración anterior del consentimiento informado y acepto los términos y condiciones de los mismos.

Firma del participante: _____ Fecha: _____

Firma del Investigador: _____ Date: _____

Acepto que esta entrevista grabada y soy consciente de la grabación será destruido una vez que la entrevista se transcribe.

Firma del participante de: _____ Date: _____

Firma del Investigador: _____ Date: _____

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Appendix 3: Interview Protocol

The following questions are about your life here in Lima.

1. How long have you lived in the city of Lima?
2. In which part of Lima do you live in?
3. Do you live in an apartment, residential home, or condo? For how long have you lived here?
4. Do you feel safe in your city? Neighborhood? Home? Why or why not?
5. Do you leave your house without anyone watching it?
6. What do you do to feel safer in your home? (Example: install alarms, build gates, hire guards, etc).
7. Can you estimate how much time (daily routine of locking doors, windows, etc) and money you've spent in securing your home?
8. How did you learn how to install or use these methods of protection (From family, television, neighbors, etc.)?
9. Do these precautions make you feel safer? Why or why not?
10. How normal are these precautions in your neighborhood/city?

The following questions ask about your precautions when going out.

11. What places do you frequent when you go out?
12. How do you prepare for going out? Do you wear specific clothes to specific places? Do you ever leave valuables at home?
13. Do you avoid specific areas or places when you go out?
14. Do you carry any items to protect yourself in the event of a crime (example: whistles, list of emergency phone numbers, etc)?
15. Do your preparations for going out make you feel safer? Why or why not?

The following questions are about your opinions about crime in Lima.

16. In the past 6 months have you been a victim of a crime (such as theft, robbery, burglary, etc)?
17. In the past year (up to 5 years past) have you (or a member of your family) been a victim of a crime (such as theft, robbery, burglary, etc)?
18. If so, what was your response to the crime (example: report to authorities, become more vigilant, stop frequenting the place where the crime happened, etc).
19. Do you feel safe in the city of Lima after the crime happened? Why or why not?
20. What changes would like to see so secure the safety of citizens in the future?

Thank you for participating in the interview.

Las siguientes preguntas son acerca de su vida aquí en Lima.

1. ¿Cuánto tiempo ha vivido en la ciudad de Lima?
2. ¿En qué parte de Lima vive usted?
3. ¿Vive en un apartamento, residencia o condominio? ¿Por cuánto tiempo ha vivido aquí?
4. ¿Se sientes seguro en su ciudad? Barrio? Casa? ¿Por qué o por qué no?
5. ¿Deja su casa sin que nadie la este viendo?
6. ¿Qué hace para sentirse más seguro en su casa? (Por ejemplo: instalación de alarmas, construcción portones, contrata guardias, etc.)
7. ¿Se puede estimar la cantidad de tiempo (día a día de bloqueo de las puertas, ventanas, etc) y el dinero que ha gastado en la seguridad de su hogar?
8. ¿Cómo aprendió cómo instalar o utilizar estos métodos de protección (de su familia, la televisión, los vecinos, etc)?
9. ¿Estas precauciones hace que se sienta más seguro? ¿Por qué o por qué no?
10. ¿Que tal normal son estas precauciones en su vecindario / ciudad?

Las siguientes preguntas se refieren a sus precauciones al salir.

11. ¿Qué lugares frecuenta cuando sale a la calle?
12. ¿Cómo te preparas para salir? ¿Usa prendas específicas para lugares específicos?
- ¿Alguna vez dejar objetos de valor en su casa?
13. ¿Evita áreas o lugares específicos cuando sale?
14. ¿Lleva algún producto para protegerse en caso de un delito (por ejemplo: silbidos, lista de números telefónicos de emergencia, etc)?
15. Sus preparativos para salir hacen que se sienta más seguro? ¿Por qué o por qué no?

Las siguientes preguntas son acerca de sus opiniones sobre la delincuencia en Lima.

16. En los últimos 6 meses ha sido (o alguien de su familia) víctima de un delito (por ejemplo, robo, hurto, robo, etc)?
17. En el último año (hasta 5 años atrás) ¿ha sido usted víctima de un delito (por ejemplo, robo, hurto, robo, etc)?
18. Si es así, ¿cuál fue su respuesta a la delincuencia (ejemplo: reporte a las autoridades, a ser más vigilantes, dejo de frecuentar el lugar donde ocurrió el crimen, etc).
19. ¿Se siente seguro en la ciudad de Lima después de el crimen que ocurrió ? ¿Por qué o por qué no?
20. ¿Qué cambios le gustaría ver para garantizar la seguridad de los ciudadanos en el futuro?

Gracias por participar en la entrevista.

Appendix 4: Citizen Personal Precautions Related to Personal Crimes

Citizen Personal Precautions Related to Personal Crimes (Robberies, Thefts and Kidnapping)							
	Sex	Age	Name	District	# of victimization Events	# of Precautions Related to Personal Crimes	Total # of Personal Precautions
1	Male	54	Thomas	Callao	2	2	12
2	Female	19	Amanda	San Juan de Lurigancho	2	7	7
3	Male	19	Ernesto	Carabayllo	2	2	6
4	Female	19	Paloma	La Victoria	1	2	12
5	Female	22	Sussy	San Juan de Lurigancho	3	3	10
6	Female	24	Beatris	San Juan de Lurigancho	1	12	12
7	Male	18	Otto	Pueblo Libre	1	1	7
8	Male	29	Aldo	San Miguel	1	3	6
9	Female	22	Tina	Los Olivos	6	4	4
10	Female	25	Dona	Pueblo Libre	1	1	12
11	Male	20	Manny	Chorrillos	1	3	5
12	Female	19	Christina	Comas	3	2	6
13	Female	21	Lana	San Miguel	1	3	11
14	Female	21	Anita	Miraflores	2	5	9
15	Male	24	Jimmy	San Juan de Lurigancho	3	6	6
16	Female	28	Mayra	Reinoso	3	5	8
17	Male	22	Simon	Independencia	1	3	7
18	Female	25	Marta	Lurigancho	1	7	11
19	Male	21	Gino	San Juan de Miraflores	2	4	8
20	Female	38	Ruby	Miraflores	1	3	16
21	Female	21	Diana	Villa Maria del Triunfo	2	7	10
22	Female	22	Ursula	La Victoria	5	2	3
23	Male	20	Julian	Pueblo Libre	1	10	13
24	Female	35	Nina	Villa Maria del Triunfo	4	15	23
25	Male	27	Ricky	Rimac	6	4	11
26	Female	23	Gloria	San Martin de Porres	2	2	22
27	Female	25	Elena	Surco	1	6	12
28	Female	27	Ramona	San Juan de Miraflores	2	3	8
Total					61	127	277
Average					2.18	4.54	9.89

Appendix 5 Personal Precautions Related to Personal Crimes: Robberies, Thefts and Kidnappings

Personal Precautions Related to Personal Crimes: Robberies Thefts and Kidnappings (28 Citizens)		
1	Is always aware/vigilant/alert of surroundings	12
2	Does not pull out cell phone in public	6
3	Hides/secures cell phone carefully	6
4	Carries very little money/necessary amount	4
5	Does not carry valuable/expensive items	4
6	Does not pull out valuables/personal belongings in public	4
7	Hides money in different parts of clothing/body	4
8	Hides/secures personal belongings carefully	4
9	Carries no money	3
10	Does not carry cell phone	3
11	Does not go out at night/late at night	3
12	Dresses down	3
13	Looks behind while walking/makes sure he/she is not followed	3
14	Observes suspicious persons getting on/off bus	3
15	Acts nonchalant	2
16	Avoids/does not walk through notoriously dangerous avenues/streets	2
17	Does not carry a purse	2
18	Does not own an expensive cell phone/has simple cell phone	2
19	Does not place valuables in bag/purse	2
20	Goes out with company at night/if in dangerous area	2
21	Hides/secures wallet carefully	2
22	Is careful/cautious when walking	2
23	Precautions vary depending on area/district	2
24	Uses credit cards instead of cash	2
25	Uses headphone to answer/talk on phone	2
26	Avoids badly lit streets/places	1
27	Avoids empty streets/desolate places	1
28	Avoids notoriously dangerous zones/places/districts	1
29	Calls family to inform she is taxi and the taxi number	1
30	Carries cell phone	1
31	Carries enough money for bus/taxi fare only	1
32	Carries purse with long strap so it can be carried in front of body	1
33	Carries purse/backpack in front of body	1
34	Carries purse/backpack securely	1
35	Carries purse/backpack securely when riding bus	1
36	Carries valuables in front of body	1
37	Carries wallet in front pocket	1
38	Changed jobs	1
39	Changes route daily commute	1
40	Changes time of daily commute	1

Personal Precautions Related to Personal Crimes: Robberies Thefts and Kidnappings (28 Citizens) (Continued)		
41	Does not carry a bag/backpack	1
42	Does not carry personal belongings	1
43	Does not go to places where he/she does not know people	1
44	Does not go to/avoids going to "Gamarra"	1
45	Does not go to/avoids going to "San Juan de Lurigancho"	1
46	Does not go to/avoids going to "San Juan de Miraflores"	1
47	Does not purchase fashionable items	1
48	Does not put himself/herself in dangerous situations	1
49	Does not ride taxis	1
50	Does not ride taxis alone	1
51	Dresses down when going shopping	1
52	Dresses down when travelling with money/valuables	1
53	Frequents places with lots of people	1
54	Goes out with company	1
55	Hides items in side bag when riding bus	1
56	Locks doors/windows when getting bus/taxi	1
57	Looks around as knocks on door	1
58	Looks out for suspicious cars/motorcycles	1
59	Looks out for/avoids persons who look suspicious	1
60	Moved to different district for security	1
61	Observes people around prior to entering home	1
62	Observes people around prior to entering work	1
63	Observes persons around him/her	1
64	Only carries necessary Items	1
65	Only heads out during the day	1
66	Rides busses/rather than taxis	1
67	Rides taxis/secure taxis	1
68	Tries to avoid riding busses	1
Total		127

Appendix 6: Persons Installed Household Precautions Related to Property Crimes

Household Precautions Related to Property Crimes (Burglaries and Gang Violence)							
	Sex	Age	Name	District	Total # of Crime Events	# Precautions Related to Property Crimes	Total # Home Precautions
1	Male	54	Thomas	Callao	2	6	6
2	Female	54	Gracia	Los Olivos	1	3	3
3	Female	56	Luna	Los Olivos	2	12	12
4	Male	26	Roberto	San Juan de Lurigancho	1	3	3
5	Female	24	Mariela	San Juan de Miraflores	1	4	4
6	Male	37	Bobby	Surco	2	2	2
7	Male	25	Johan	Callao	3	3	4
8	Female	27	Katia	San Juan de Miraflores	1	6	6
9	Female	28	Ariana	Villa Maria de Triunfo	1	2	4
10	Female	28	Mayra	Reinoso	3	7	7
11	Male	40	Javi	La Victoria	2	3	3
12	Male	52	Damian	La Victoria	1	3	3
13	Male	45	Nino	Surco	8	4	4
14	Male	25	Arturo	Ate Vitarte	1	7	7
15	Male	21	Paolo	Villa el Salvador	1	5	5
16	Male	27	Ricky	Rimac	6	2	2
17	Female	23	Gloria	San Martin de Porres	2	2	2
18	Male	23	Donny	San Juan de Miraflores	1	2	2
Total					39	76	79
Average					2.17	4.22	4.39

Appendix 7: Household Precautions Related to Property Crimes

Household Precautions Related to Property Crimes (18 Citizens)		
1	Someone always stays home	11
2	Locks doors	9
3	Reinforced Locks in door	8
4	Gates around house	7
5	Barricade Bolt across door	5
6	Spikes around house	4
7	Dog(s)	3
8	Alarm	2
9	Built higher wall against neighbors property	2
10	Door locks replaced continuously	2
11	Iron door	2
12	Several locks per door	2
13	Double doors to get in	1
14	Electric fence	1
15	Family calls to check up on house	1
16	Family monitors home from outside	1
17	Gates around building	1
18	Iron hinges	1
19	Lights left on	1
20	Metal door protectors	1
21	Metal window protectors	1
22	Moved to different apt	1
23	Neighbors warned whenever someone is heading out	1
24	Neighbors warned whenever they see something strange	1
25	Neighbors watch over house	1
26	Radio left on	1
27	Reinforced doors	1
28	Residents in various levels	1
29	Schedule family member to stay home	1
30	Trying to sell house	1
31	Window bars	1
Total		76

Appendix 8: Citizens Who Implemented Home Precautions Due to Crimes in Neighborhood and Home Precautions Related to Neighborhood Crimes

Citizens Who Implemented House Precautions Due to Crimes in Neighborhood							
	Sex	Age	District	Name	Victimization Event?	House Precautions Related to Neighborhood Crimes	Total House Precautions
1	Male	45	San Juan de Lurigancho	Juan	0	2	5
2	Female	50	Rimac	Sally	0	2	2
3	Female	24	San Juan de Miraflores	Mariela*	1	4	4
4	Male	37	Surco	Bobby*	2	2	2
5	Female	28	Villa Maria de Triunfo	Ariana	1	2	4
6	Male	20	Comas	Renzo	1	1	2
7	Male	34	Brena	Mauro	0	4	4
8	Female	19	Chorrillos	Ivette	7	1	2
9	Male	52	La Victoria	Damian*	1	3	3
10	Female	26	Chorrillos	Estrella	0	3	3
11	Male	43	Comas	Tommy	0	2	3
12	Male	21	Chorrillos	Larry	1	1	2
13	Male	27	Rimac	Ricky*	6	2	2
14	Female	18	Ancon	Denise	0	6	6
15	Female	27	San Juan de Miraflores	Ramona	2	3	3
Total					22	38	47
Average					1.47	2.53	3.13
* indicates citizens who implemented precautions due to burglaries and crimes in neighborhood.							

Home Precautions Related to Neighborhood Crimes (15 Citizens)		
1	Someone always stays home	9
2	Gates around house	6
3	Locks doors	4
4	Electric fence	3
5	Dog(s)	2
6	Gated door	2
7	Reinforced Locks in door	2
8	Alarms	1
9	Asks neighbor to look over house	1
10	Barricade bolt across door	1
11	Gates in passage way	1
12	Locks each door of house	1
13	Metal door protectors	1
14	Metal window protectors	1
15	Schedule family member to stay home	1
16	Several locks per door	1
17	TV left on	1
Total		38

Appendix 9: Citizens Who Implemented Neighborhood Precautions due to Crimes in Neighborhood and Neighborhood Precautions Implemented to due to Neighborhood Crimes

Citizens Who Implemented Neighborhood Precautions Due to Crimes in Neighborhood						
	Sex	Age	District	Name	Victimization Event?	House Precautions Related to Neighborhood Crime
1	Female	55	Cercado	Patricia	0	4
2	Male	45	San Juan de Lurigancho	Juan	0	3
3	Male	37	Santa Anita	Adrian	0	4
4	Male	54	Callao	Thomas	2	3
5	Male	23	Los Olivos	Javier	0	2
6	Female	24	San Juan de Lurigancho	Beatris	1	3
7	Male	43	Ate Vitarte	Juan Jose	0	3
8	Female	28	Villa Maria del Triunfo	Ariana	1	1
9	Male	34	Brena	Maura	0	1
10	Male	52	La Victoria	Damian	1	2
11	Male	25	Lurigancho	Marta	1	2
12	Male	43	Comas	Tommy	0	1
13	Male	21	Chorrillos	Larry	1	2
14	Male	27	Rimac	Ricky	6	2
15	Female	24	Cercado	Yolanda	2	1
16	Female	27	San Juan de Miraflores	Ramona	2	3
Total					17	37
Average					1.06	2.31

Neighborhood Precautions Implemented due to Neighborhood Crimes (16 Citizens)		
1	Guard(s) paid by neighbors	14
2	Enclave built by neighbors	12
3	Neighbors vigilant of neighborhood security	3
4	Drivers screened by guards	1
5	Enclave gates locked at night	1
6	Keys to enclave only possessed by neighbors	1
7	Many neighbors always around	1
8	Police patrols neighborhood	1
9	Serenasgo patrols neighborhood	1
10	Solicits Serenasgo to patrol	1
11	Two enclave gates to get into neighborhood	1
Total		37

Appendix 10: Citizen Home Precautions (Target Hardening Techniques)

Citizen Home Precautions		
	Target Hardening Techniques	# Citizens
1	Locks doors	39
2	Reinforced locks in door	19
3	Barricade bolt across door	12
4	Window bars	7
5	Gated door	6
6	Spikes around house	6
7	Several locks per door	4
8	Double doors to get in	3
9	Large gated door	3
10	Locks gates	3
11	Locks up prior to going to sleep	3
12	Door locks replaced continuously	2
13	Iron door	2
14	Locks each door of house	2
15	Locks windows	2
16	Different key for each door	1
17	Electric bolt in door	1
18	Iron hinges	1
19	Keys can not be replicated	1
20	Leave keys behind door	1
21	Metal door protectors	1
22	Metal window protectors	1
23	Reinforced doors	1
24	Three doors to get inside	1
Total		122

**Appendix 11: Citizen Home Precautions (Extend Guardianship Techniques)
& Extend Formal Surveillance Techniques**

Citizen Home Precautions		
	Extend Guardianship Techniques	# Citizens
25	Someone always stays home	62
26	Dog(s)	11
27	Someone home majority of the time	8
28	Asks neighbor to look over house	7
29	Schedule family member to stay home	7
30	Family monitors home from outside	2
31	Relatives asked to look over home	2
32	Residents in various levels	2
33	Safer with family members are home	2
34	Contact numbers left with neighbors	1
35	Does not leave home unless a family member is there	1
36	Family vigilant of home due to being primarily women	1
37	Military members on building	1
38	Neighbors are trustworthy	1
39	Neighbors warned whenever someone is heading out.	1
40	Neighbors warned whenever they see something strange	1
41	Neighbors watch over house	1
42	Owner of property present always	1
43	Relative asked to look over home instead of neighbors.	1
44	Relatives live next door	1
Total		114

Citizen Home Precautions		
	Strengthen Formal Surveillance Techniques	Citizens
45	Guard inside building	10
46	Lives on high floor in building	5
47	Alarm	3
48	Alarms	3
49	Family calls to check up on house	3
50	Cameras	2
51	Cameras around building	2
52	Camera on door bell	1
53	House keys left for neighbors	1
54	Intercom	1
55	Many people in premises	1
56	Noise making device	1
57	Security system	1
Total		34

Appendix 12: Citizen Home Precautions (Control Access), (Assist Natural Surveillance), (Utilize Place Managers), (Remove Targets) & (Reduce Anonymity) Techniques

Citizen Home Precautions		
Control Access Home Techniques		# Citizens
58	Gates around house	32
59	Gates around building	10
60	Electric fence	7
61	Built higher wall against neighbors property	2
62	Gates in passage way	1
63	House in dead end street.	1
Total		53

Citizen Home Precautions		
Assist Natural Surveillance Techniques		# Citizens
64	Lights left on	3
65	Radio left on	2
66	Houses face each other in alley	1
67	TV left on	1
Total		7

Citizen Home Precautions		
Utilize Place Managers Techniques		# Citizens
68	Doorman in building	5
69	Doorman screens guests	1
Total		6

Citizen Home Precautions		
Removed Targets Techniques		# Citizens
70	Moved to different apartment	3
71	Trying to sell house	1
Total		4

Citizen Home Precautions		
Reduce Anonymity Techniques		# Citizens
72	Asks for documentation of rent applicants	1
73	Only rents to single persons	1
Total		2

Citizen Home Precautions		
Conceal Targets Techniques		# Citizens
74	Hides computer in room	1
Total		1

Appendix 13: Citizen Neighborhood Precautions (Strengthen Formal Surveillance, Control Access, Assist Natural Surveillance, Deflect Offenders and Reduce Anonymity)

Citizen Neighborhood Precautions		
Strengthen Formal Surveillance Techniques		# Citizens
1	Guard(s) paid by neighbors	32
2	Serenasgo patrols neighborhood	25
3	Neighbors vigilant of neighborhood security	6
4	Cameras around neighborhood	3
5	Many neighbors always around	2
6	Police patrols neighborhood	2
7	Serenasgo module near by	2
8	Guards trustworthy	1
9	Live in military village neighborhood	1
10	Live next to police school	1
11	Neighbors trustworthy	1
12	Demands police to patrol	1
Total		77

Citizen Neighborhood Precautions		
Control Access Techniques		# Citizens
13	Enclave built by neighbors	25
14	Enclave gates locked at night	2
15	Keys to enclave only possessed by neighbors	1
16	Metal gate bought and installed by neighbors of building	1
17	Two enclave gates to get into neighborhood	1
Total		30

Citizen Neighborhood Precautions		
Assist Natural Surveillance Technique		# Citizens
18	Improved lighting	1
Total		1

Citizen Neighborhood Precautions		
Deflect Offenders Technique		# Citizens
19	Speed bumps installed by neighbors	1
Total		1

Citizen Neighborhood Precautions		
Reduce Anonymity Technique		# Citizens
20	Drivers screened by guards	1
Total		1

Appendix 14: Personal Precautions (Concealing Targets (Desirable Objects) Techniques)

Personal Precautions		
	Concealing Targets (Desirable Objects) Techniques	# Citizens
1	Hides/secures cell phone carefully	14
2	Does not pull out cell phone in public	12
3	Hides/secures personal belongings carefully	12
4	Does not pull out valuables/personal belongings in public	10
5	Hides money in different parts of clothing/body	8
6	Does not place valuables in bag/purse	5
7	Carries purse/backpack in front of body	4
8	Carries purse/backpack securely	3
9	Hides/secures wallet carefully	3
10	Carries a small/simple bag	2
11	Carries purse/backpack tightly when carrying valuables	2
12	Carries wallet in front pocket	2
13	Uses headphone to answer/talk on phone	2
14	Carries cell phone in front pocket	1
15	Carries cell phone in hand	1
16	Carries cell phone only when necessary	1
17	Carries purse with long strap so it can be carried in front of body	1
18	Carries valuables in front of body	1
19	Does not place money in purse	1
20	Does not put cell phone on jacket pocket	1
21	Hides/secures camera	1
22	If carrying expensive belongings puts them in a tattered back pack	1
23	If carrying expensive belongings puts them in simple purse	1
Total		89

Appendix 15: Personal Precautions (Place Avoidance Techniques: Districts/Streets)

Personal Precautions		
	Place Avoidance Techniques: Districts/Streets of Lima	# Citizens
24	Does not go to/avoids going to "La Victoria"	19
25	Does not go to/avoids going to "El Callao"	18
26	Does not go to/avoids going to "El Centro de Lima"	15
27	Does not go to/avoids going to "Los Conos"	8
28	Does not go to/avoids going to "Barrios Altos"	7
29	Does not go to/avoids going to "Gamarra"	7
30	Does not go to/avoids going to "San Juan de Lurigancho"	6
31	Does not go to/avoids going to "El Agustino"	5
32	Does not go to/avoids going to "El Rimac"	5
33	Does not go to/avoids going to "Comas"	4
34	Does not go to/avoids going to "El Cono Norte"	3
35	Does not go to/avoids going to "Villa el Salvador"	3
36	Does not go to/avoids going to "Abancai"	2
37	Does not go to/avoids going to "Ate Vitarte"	2
38	Does not go to/avoids going to "Barranco"	2
39	Does not go to/avoids going to "La Parada"	2
40	Does not go to/avoids going to "Las Malvinas"	2
41	Does not go to/avoids going to "Plaza/Jiron de la Union"	2
42	Does not go to/avoids going to "Polvos Azules"	2
43	Does not go to/avoids going to "San Juan de Miraflores"	2
44	Does not go to/avoids going to "Villa Maria del Triunfo"	2
45	Does not go to/avoids going to "Alfonso Ugarte"	1
46	Does not go to/avoids going to "Ancash"	1
47	Does not go to/avoids going to "Carabaya"	1
48	Does not go to/avoids going to "Castilla"	1
49	Does not go to/avoids going to "Jiron canete"	1
50	Does not go to/avoids going to "los Ceros"	1
51	Does not go to/avoids going to "Manco Pacac"	1
52	Does not go to/avoids going to "northern Lima"	1
53	Does not go to/avoids going to "Parque Alto"	1
54	Does not go to/avoids going to "Parque Bajo"	1
55	Does not go to/avoids going to "Plaza San Martin"	1
56	Does not go to/avoids going to "San Martin de Porres"	1
57	Does not go to/avoids going to "Sangaro"	1
58	Does not go to/avoids going to "Surquillo"	1
59	Does not go to/avoids going to "Avenida Pizzaro"	1
Total		133

Appendix 16: Personal Precautions (Place Avoidance & Place Selection Techniques)

Personal Precautions		
Place Avoidance Techniques		# Citizens
60	Avoids notoriously dangerous zones/places/districts	30
61	Avoids badly lit streets/places	10
62	Avoids dangerous parts of his/her neighborhood	9
63	Does not frequent places that are far away	9
64	Avoids empty streets/desolate places	8
65	Does not go to places without security	8
66	Does not go to places that are unfamiliar	7
67	Does not walk through alleys/passageways	6
68	Avoids/does not walk through notoriously dangerous avenues/streets	5
69	Avoids places known for housing criminals	2
70	Avoids places with multitudes of people	2
71	Does not go to places where he/she does not know people	2
72	Avoids dangerous areas when travelling with family	1
73	Avoids small streets	1
74	Does not go to places where there is vehicular traffic	1
75	Does not stay in same public place for too long	1
Total		102

Personal Precautions		
Place Selection Techniques		# Citizens
76	Frequents places with lots of people	10
77	Frequents places with visible security	8
78	Walks in main avenues	6
79	Frequents public places/open areas	6
80	Frequents familiar places only	4
81	Frequents safe areas	3
82	Frequents well lit areas/places	3
83	Only goes out to shopping establishments	1
84	Only goes out to work establishment	1
85	Shops in supermarkets and department stores rather than open air markets	1
Total		43

Appendix 17: Personal Precautions (Remove Target Techniques)

Personal Precautions		
	Remove Targets Techniques	# Citizens
86	Only carries very little money/necessary amount	25
87	Does not carry money	18
88	Only carries necessary Items	17
89	Does not carry valuable/expensive items	16
90	Only carries enough money for bus/taxi fare only	12
91	Does not carry cell phone	10
92	Uses credit cards instead of cash	8
93	Only carries ID	7
94	Does not own an expensive cell phone/has simple cell phone	6
95	Does not carry personal belongings	5
96	Does not carry a purse	4
97	Does not carry a wallet	4
98	Does not wear a watch	4
99	Does not show off expensive clothing/valuables "no hacer luz"	3
100	Only carries keys	3
101	Does not carry a bag/backpack	2
102	Does not carry credit cards	2
103	Only carries inexpensive items	1
104	Does not carry a laptop	1
105	Does not carry cameras	1
106	Does not carry cell phone in dangerous areas	1
107	Does not carry items people may steal	1
108	Does not carry packages	1
109	Does not carry the same items every day	1
110	Does not purchase fashionable items	1
111	Does not wear brand name clothes	1
112	Does not wear items with gold	1
113	Does not wear jewelry	1
114	Does not carry money if in dangerous place	1
115	Only carries school supplies	1
Total		159

Appendix 18: Personal Precautions Routine Precautions (behaviors, beliefs & life events) Techniques

Personal Precautions		
	Routine Precaution (Behaviors) Techniques	# Citizens
116	Acts nonchalant	18
117	Dresses down	18
118	Precautions vary depending on area/district	16
119	Does not go out often/rarely goes out	11
120	Precautions vary depending on time of day	6
121	Dresses down when going to notoriously dangerous places	6
122	Dresses normally	6
123	Employs extra precautions in dangerous/unfamiliar places	4
124	Employs extra precautions in the "El Centro de Lima"	4
125	Looks out for/avoids persons who look suspicious	3
126	Dresses down when travelling with money/valuables	3
127	Precautions vary depending on purpose of visit	2
128	Dresses down when going shopping	2
129	Employs extra precautions when carrying laptop	2
130	Employs fewer precautions in safe areas	2
131	Is distrustful of people around	2
132	Does not socialize with persons	1
133	Does not go out when it rains	1
134	Does not bother/harm people	1
135	Does not put himself/herself in dangerous situations	1
136	Employs extra precautions when traveling with family	1
137	Is confrontational rather than passive in altercations	1
138	Is curt/cold with people	1
139	Is mindful of the persons around work	1
140	Self protection training by Israeli army	1
141	Tries to be in control of environment	1
Total		115

Personal Precautions		
	Routine Precaution (Beliefs) Techniques	# Citizens
142	Prays/ commends self to God	8
143	Is optimistic/does not think negatively	6
144	Heads out with the expectation of being robbed	2
145	Carries garlic to keep criminals away	1
146	Is tall/height makes him feel secure	1
Total		18

Personal Precautions		
	Routine Precaution (Life Events) Techniques	# Citizens
147	Moved to different district for security	3
148	Changed jobs	1
Total		4

Appendix 19: Personal Precautions Travelling Precaution (Time Restriction)

Personal Precautions		
	Travelling Precaution (Time Restriction) Techniques	# Citizens
149	Does not go out at night/late	19
150	Only heads out during the day	7
151	Changes route for daily commute	2
152	Is mindful of appropriate time of day to go travel	2
153	Does not go out too early in morning	1
154	Changes time of daily commute	1
155	Family members are home by 9 p.m.	1
156	Goes to unfamiliar places during the day	1
157	If going to a party stays all night rather than commute	1
158	Is careful of time of day when leaving home	1
159	Is careful of time of day when returning home	1
Total		37

Personal Precautions		
	Travelling Precaution Techniques	# Citizens
160	Is careful/cautious when walking	6
161	Observes suspicious persons getting on/off bus	4
162	Does not ride busses/micro busses	3
163	Does not ride taxis alone	3
164	Observes where he/she sits/stands when riding on bus/taxi	3
165	Does not walk often	2
166	Commutes as swiftly as possible	2
167	Drives car/motorcycle	2
168	Rides busses/rather than taxis	2
169	Rides taxi when traveling late at night	2
170	Rides taxis/secure taxis	2
171	Carries purse/backpack securely when riding bus	1
172	Hides items in side bag when riding bus	1
173	Hides/secures personal belongings carefully when travelling at night/seeing groups of people	1
174	Commutes with friend when carrying expensive items	1
175	If travelling alone carries weapon	1
176	Is more cautious/fearful when travelling in group	1
177	Locks doors/windows when getting bus/taxi	1
178	Does not transit through areas where men are vulgar	1
179	Does not ride taxis	1
180	Refuses to travel to dangerous places if sent from work	1
181	Calls family to inform she is taxi and the taxi number	1
182	Looks at taxi driver's face when getting on taxi	1
183	Commutes from home to school only	1
184	Chooses destination carefully	1
185	Does not get distracted while on daily commute	1
186	Does not sit by window in bus	1
187	Rides direct busses to work and home	1
188	Rides taxi when carrying expensive belongings	1
Total		49

Appendix 20: Personal Precautions: (Establishment Avoidance, Communication & Extend Guardianship) Techniques

Personal Precautions		
	Establishment Avoidance Techniques	# Citizens
189	Does not go to clubs/bars/parties	4
190	Avoids establishment/places notorious for alcohol/drugs	2
191	Does not frequent cafes/restaurants	1
192	Does not go to places where stolen/counterfeit items are sold	1
193	Does not go to shopping centers	1
Total		9

Personal Precautions		
	Routine Precaution (Communication) Techniques	# Citizens
194	Informs family of whereabouts	3
195	Actively informed about citizen insecurity	2
196	Informs family of estimated time of arrival	2
197	Asks friends about unfamiliar places before visiting them	1
198	Informs family prior to heading out	1
199	Is aware of the persons he travels with	1
Total		10

Personal Precautions		
	Extend Guardianship Techniques	# Citizens
200	Is always aware/vigilant/alert of surroundings	38
201	Goes out with company	8
202	Carries cell phone in case of emergency	7
203	Goes out with company at night/if in dangerous area	7
204	Observes persons around him/her	7
205	Looks behind while walking/makes sure he/she is not followed	6
206	Carries pepper spray	2
207	Looks into people's faces	2
208	Looks out for suspicious cars/motorcycles	2
209	Carries a revolver	1
210	Goes out with a male	1
211	Walks in front of brother/girlfriend if suspicious person is around	1
212	Looks around as knocks on house door to make sure no one is there	1
213	Gets to know people in dangerous neighborhood	1
214	Observes people around prior to entering home	1
215	Observes people around prior to entering work	1
Total		86