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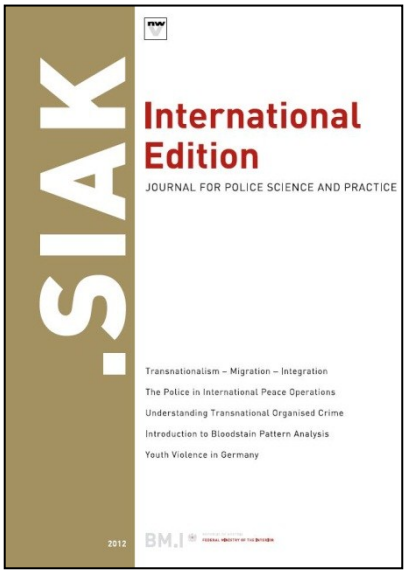

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Police Crime Statistics

In an Area of Tension Between Administrative Action and Evidence-Based Policymaking

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Police crime statistics provide the Federal Ministry of the Interior with a source of data that, while enabling us to analyze the effectiveness of security policy activities, is sometimes the object of vigorous political discourse. This is not a big surprise; when empirics or measured facts meet policies, immediate conclusions are drawn on the efficiency and effectiveness of public action performed by the state because the data create the impression that they allow the monitoring of state action. Especially in compiling and utilizing statistics generated by the authorities, fundamental progressive considerations are required as to what information is eventually needed (or can or should be used) for public policy planning and making, and what inputs and methods are required to collect such data. Meaningful content-related, practical analysis and discussion are only possible if the data required for this purpose can be collected on an ongoing basis and in a good quality, and in addition to the presentation of facts, the main causes and effects of the phenomena to be monitored are also examined. This requirement becomes tangible within the concept of evidence-based policymaking. The objective of evidence-based policymaking thus consists of the presentation of functional chains in order to ensure that causal effects are taken into account. This paper attempts to illustrate the concept of evidence-based policymaking through the example of police-generated crime statistics. It illustrates and raises basic issues of integrating empirical data into political governance, coming to the final conclusion that police-generated crime statistics may also be an excellent instrument of evidence-based policymaking. No rational, consequence-oriented crime and criminal law policy is possible without a sound empirical basis.[1]

INTRODUCTION[2]

It is a recurring fact that once the monthly statistical figures on reports to the police and the quota of cases clarified are released[3] by the Federal Office of Criminal Investigation, the results become the subject of public and political discussion. Even if these figures only allow a limited look at the security status of Austria, various actors try to arrive at their respective interpretation and conclusions on the basis of the figures in order to gain a dominance in mass media communicated discourses.[4] This tendency, therefore, constitutes a challenge for political PR work, because the publication of official data is not simply an instrument of politics but it is to be seen as "being political" in itself (Jarren 1998; Jarren/Donges 2006).

One of the popular objectives of the studies ordered for policy making is evidence basing. For this purpose, two questions are to be first answered:

1. what the term "evidence" means, and
2. to what extent politics and political governance can or should be reasonably conceptualized as being "evidence based".

This paper will look into the questions of which aspects are important for discussing crime statistics in classifying it within the scheme of knowledge-based policymaking, and how information can be communicated also to the public by means of a data source generated by public administration. However – and this point is elaborated in detail in the present paper – such figures should be interpreted with an amount of caution, for they neither provide comprehensive information on the actual incidence of crimes committed in Austria, nor can they be used to evaluate the work of those employed in the enforcement authorities. For this purpose, the claim for the validity of data-based conclusions must also be put at issue, especially if such data are used for policymaking.

When presenting this point, the author makes use of the principle of evidence-based policymaking[5]. "Evidence-based practice (EBP) is a process for making practice decisions in which practitioners integrate the best research evidence available with their practical expertise and with clients' attributes, values, preferences, and circumstances" (Rubin 2008, 17). Especially for the last few years, due mainly to existence in the multi-level system of the European Union, work with and at various indicator systems[6] of political governance has gained importance (Browne/Corbett 1997).

Evidence-based policymaking refers back to "reality", by exploring fields of political action with scientific methods[7] in order to be able to react as soon as possible to changes and transformations in certain fields of political activity. This insight enables politics to concentrate its action on causes and effect correlations in such a way as it appears in observation.

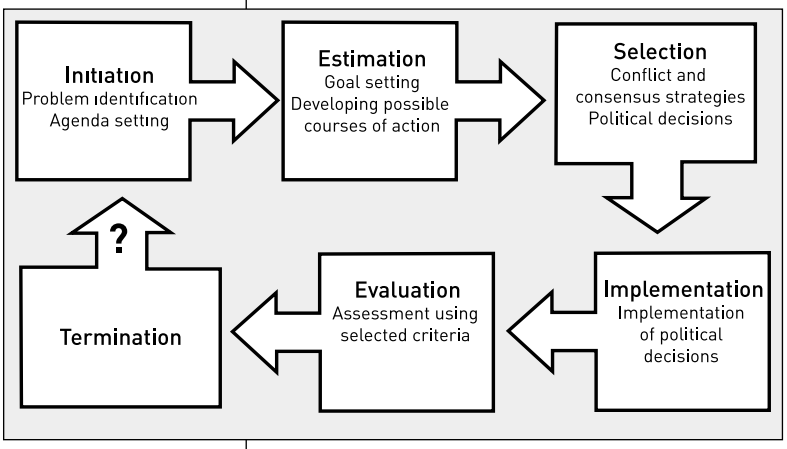
In the first part of this paper, the theoretical bases and assumptions of knowledge-based policymaking are illustrated in order to discuss in light of this background the individual aspects of police-generated crime statistics, in particular by using scientific theory assumptions and method assumptions. The paper concludes by highlighting some approaches that may (might) enable us to further improve and develop crime statistics towards evidence basing.

WHAT DOES EVIDENCE-BASED POLICYMAKING MEAN?

The complexity of national and European policy processes is structured in a similar manner through the so-called policy cycle, i.e. the cycle of policymaking. The policy cycle is based on an immanent top-down "legislator perspective", resulting in policy being conceived as a hierarchic control of higher-ranking authorities, focusing on "individual" schemes and decisions, as well as on their implementation (cf. Jann/Wegrich 2003, 95). However, one can say that the phase character of the policy cycle results in a differentiated understanding of the dynamics, character, and reasons of the specific and complex processes of policymaking (cf. Behrens 2003, Heritier 1993, Mayntz 1983, 14 ff). In political science and public administration research, the decision cycle is a very central analytic and heuristic instrument of describing policymaking. Policymaking "describes a term which comprises the sequential processes of formulating and implementing policy contents" (Heritier 1993, Jann/Wegrich 2003, 72; Schubert 1991; Wollmann 2003).

Interweaving scientific expertise with governance processes results in a new focus for political action with a view to shaping things. The objective of political action should be to render intervention, policy, or governance as effective as possible. It is

Source: Schubert 1991



Phases of a policy circle

assumed that this effectiveness (and also efficiency) can be achieved through knowledge-based action.[8]

In the European Union, this trend has been pressed ahead first of all by issuing the White Paper on European Governance[9] and the conclusions of the Laeken European Council (December 2001). In June 2002, the European Commission published the Action Plan for Better Regulation[10]. The Action Plan on the Simplification and Improvement of the Regulatory Environment[11] raises the necessity of assessing the economic, ecological, and social consequences of political governance, also defining by which social dimensions this is to take place.[12] Through such initiatives, the European Commission attempts to monitor the appropriate use of its restricted funds by a so-called "impact assessment" and to make it a regular part of the decision making cycle within the European Commission.

Knowledge-based policymaking or "evidence-based policymaking" is a concept derived from health policy making in the 1980s. Since that time, the concept has been further developed and transferred to other areas as well.

The term "evidence-based practice" is firmly rooted in health policy. It combines two basic perspectives:

1. EBP "is a process that includes locating and appraising credible evidence as a part of practice decisions".
2. EBP "is a way to designate certain interventions as empirically supported under certain conditions" (Rubin 2008, 6).

This definition can be further specified and transferred to other regulatory processes: "EBP is a process for making practice decisions in which practitioners[13] integrate the best research evidence available with their practice expertise and with client attributes, values, preferences, and circumstances. When those provisions involve selecting an intervention to provide, practitioners will attempt to maximize the likelihood that their clients will receive the most effective intervention possible (…)" (Rubin 2008, 7).[14]

Taking into account their contextual knowledge, policymakers thus obtain a basis for decision making and can alternatively use in each case other stocks of knowledge as well in order to have a final basis for decision making regarding a particular policy. To describe it in another way: The policymakers can opt for a particular intervention/step and then clockwise assess the chart of these interventions as to their practicability.

EBP, however, pursues a policymaking approach in which empirical bases and scientific analysis are preferred to, or at least put on an even footing with, the judgment of single cases of governance. Transferring the concept of "evidence-based practice" to policymaking processes follows the normative concept that the regulatory activities of an administrative unit should improve in quality. "Government acts and policies are to contribute to solving or at least processing societal problem situations" (Jann/Wegrich 2003, 92).[15]

While in particular in the highly bureaucratic countries of Western Europe, an authority-based practice model is still

used, the approach of knowledge-based policymaking attempts to establish the sustainability of political decisions on the basis of options to decide and to act.[16] "Doing so means being vigilant in trying to recognize testimonials and traditions that are based on unfounded beliefs and assumptions – no matter how prestigious the source of such testimonials and no matter how long the traditions have been in vogue in a practice setting" (Rubin 2008, 12).

Reality-structured knowledge can be obtained in different ways. In addition to scientific research, statistical analysis and forecasts, procedures with the participation of stakeholders, public hearings or polls[17] are also possible sources for information or clues on the effect of political governance and for the development of further policies. "Policies are based on a sound and comprehensive understanding of the evidence available at the time; and developing a strategy to maintain, and update as necessary, the evidence base for future strategy and policy".[18] For a policy process, such evidence can be made tangible on acquisition by being analyzed in its specific context and out of this context. As already established, tying political governance to empirical facts may contribute towards political governance becoming, on the whole, more accurately targeted.

Evidence is, however, much more than mere knowledge, especially because the term "knowledge" is differentiated today in multiple ways.[19] Evidence is theoretically motivated and derived, creating a bridge to the facts observed; it is, therefore, an empirically established set of facts. "Truth" is another term not left unchallenged, which circumstance leads to an implied assumption of verifiability or at least a practical effectiveness of conclusions. "In these variations, knowledge can be produced in different areas in different ways. An important differentiation is between traditional academically produced and warranted knowledge (Mode 1) and the many forms of knowledge derived from practical contexts outside the actual system of science, which are warranted by their practical effectiveness and acceptance but not proved in academic terms (Mode 2)" (Lassnigg 2009, 6).

By that, theory can be classified in between knowing and not knowing. It thus acts as a mechanism helping to transform not knowing into knowing. This transformation takes place by subjecting the assumed correlations (not knowing) to the test of reality. This procedure implies putting empirical representation and assumption into a direct correlation, thus creating a basis for decision-making and action. Lassnigg further says, "This highlights the crucial importance of scientific research on methods of producing data, facts and evidence" (Lassnigg 2009, 7).

Under the popular catchword "knowledge basing", there are a lot of information and facts subsummed today that are very often not plain facts in terms of statistical information.

Reverting to the above quoted differentiation of knowledge, an increasing role is assumed in the field of political governance by Mode 1 evidence, i.e. academically produced knowledge, which is however not verified as to its practical effectiveness.[20] This is in part due to the fact that actual verification pursuant to Mode 2 requires a very high degree of methodical penetration and the also highly charged theoretical problem of assumptions. The more complex phenomena and the fewer possibilities for direct observation are available, the more complex the methodological deliberations for looking into or observing these phenomena are. This very simple conclusion is too often neglected in the so-called science-based consultation process.

This approach is also aimed at problem analysis and invites to identify the priorities of policy making or to verify established policies as to their effectiveness and the causality therein assumed. This mediating function is complied with, on the one hand, by a theoretical basis and, on the other hand, by an instrument of collection, enabling us to arrive at an assessment of the effectiveness and the way of functioning of a policy and problem identification for developing a new policy.

POLICE CRIME STATISTICS

The term "statistics" originates from administrative action by the state, for it describes all facts that "a statesman or stateswoman needs to know about his or her country" (Lorenz 2009). Starting out from science-based discussion around statistical data, the nature of statistics[21] can be characterized by three pivotal features.

1. Statistics depend on theory, because the arbitrary collection of data is not scientific;
2. Data have an empirical character, because they result from real life;
3. Data are objective, because collection processes must be factually and traceably explainable (cf. among others Jahn 2006; Wagschal 1999, 12).

Starting out from these basic assumptions for statistics, official statistics can be considered an unalienable component of the information system of a democratic society. It makes data on the economic, demographic, social, and environmental situation available and relates some of them to state governance, societal trends and economic developments. Crime statistics can be regarded as decentralized primary statistics, which means data compiled directly by government institutions to describe their own work.[22] It is, moreover, a complete survey, because all (known) cases enter the data base. There is a basic differentiation between official statistics and non-official statistics. While official statistics are collected by authorities on a statutory basis[23], non-official statistics are not based on statutory instructions or a direct statutory basis and are collected by various institutes on the basis of various interests and principle.

Police-generated crime statistics classify the "offenses (reports made) pursuant to the articles of the Criminal Code and the ancillary crime legislation, listing different categories of offenses (shoplifting, relationship offenses within families etc.). Moreover, for this purpose, data are also available on the suspects ascertained and the victims of criminal offenses" (Statistik Austria 2008, 9). The results of police crime statistics constitute an important input for the monthly crime report.

Last but not least, due to key date rules for the consolidation and transfer of data, minor inconsistencies may arise in respect of the period under review (cf. Statistik Austria 2008). At the same time, a special feature of the official statistics is relevant also for crime statistics. In contrast to non-official statistics, it will comprise all events possible, including those that occur only on rare occasions or in not particularly high numbers. This results in a special problem. Official statistics measure[24] only those cases that have become known. The so-called dark area, that is, the unreported cases, cannot be represented in the statistics. At this point, the question arises as to whether this dark area can really be reduced to a minimum by further polls, the reliability of which would then depend on different complex conditions and procedures. Moreover, there is a further deficiency in crime statistics: "So, crime statistics are only of limited informative value as far as actual reality in an organized society is concerned. It does not say anything about the causes of crime" (Seiden-Pielen/Farin 1994, 55).[25]

Regardless of the causes of crime, in respect of some forms of crime, the reporting pattern and the awareness of the population is stronger or at least more pronounced, and it is from time to time subject to fluctuations.[26]

This is, however, a big dilemma concerning official statistics because it is precisely this interface between the possibility to record certain occurrences statistically and the presentation of the security situation where those involved in political discourse can gain a toehold. Any small gap, any lack of plausibility, any calculated ratio and average figure and any non-transparent classification results in challenging the whole data basis of police crime statistics.

The actors of mass media communicated discourses, just like government ministers, politicians, civil society actors and even "experts of social sciences and economics tend to expect that official statistics can – from their perspective – ideally meet all data needs" (Wagner 2007, 3). This remark by Wagner prompts two conclusions: Not every single piece of information proposed by scientists as a result of their expertise on improvement is suitable for official statistics because it may not be target-oriented and may not specifically serve the improvement of administrative action. At the same time, there is a need for factual considerations as to which gaps are caused in the reporting process by the way the data were collected, i.e. through either insufficient data entry or deficient data collecting instruments.

Irrespective of the fact that every method of data collection has its specific advantages and disadvantages in representing the reality (Opp 2005, 232 ff; Seipel/ Rieker 2003, 135 ff), the question is, in particular for official statistics, to what extent plausibility checks are possible for certain data sets and how such data are arrived at, influenced by systemic errors, such as unclear classification, or by non-systemic errors, such as the employment of an insufficiently trained data entry staff.

For the results – and not the process of collecting or processing the data – of official statistics to be able to support and influence decision making, the results must be based on scientific methods and comprehensively documented in order to meet the principles of objectivity (= transparency), which – in addition to reliability, validity and representativeness – constitute the quality criteria for measuring methods.[27]

SCIENTIFIC REFLECTION ON PUBLIC STATISTICS?

The results of research in the service of evidence-based policy making very much depend on the accurateness of the data collected and are always influenced by the methods used. There is increased pressure for justifying the use of a particular method in times of scarce resources. However, it is in the first place the research query – i.e. the question derived from the existing political governance – that outlines the objective of the project and, at the same time, defines the framework for the research objective. "Methodical criticism should start at the point when the results appear not directly comprehensible if they are in contradiction to the results of other research, or if the false results may have fatal consequences" (Behnke et al. 2006, 19).

Depending on the method used, the observations can differ from reality, without the researchers or the policy makers knowing whether reality has been captured as there is one reality only, or whether the image resulting from the data is influenced by the procedural method. Not even science has direct access to reality. Thus, it is not possible to deliver a true image of reality or to judge which procedure is the right one – it is deemed a unitarian concept of

reality (Behnke et al. 2006, 22 ff). This does not mean that truth should fundamentally be assumed as a pluralistic concept, but that temporary contradictions are produced which, however, result from the way they came into being, i.e. from the use of different methods. Methods are simply discovery procedures aimed at generating arguments for one or the other item. This basic understanding must result in a guideline for action that requires methods to be made explicit in their application in order to reflect their respective basic assumptions, weaknesses and restrictions and to make the conclusions "objectively", i.e. inter-subjectively, accessible.[28] It is thus the interpretation of results and not the use of methods that contains subjective elements and is to be scrutinized. Consequently, there may be interpretations of reality that are right or wrong. A scientific procedure can therefore initially provide only different starting points for an actual assessment of the security and crime situation.

Rational and knowledge-based security policy attempts to relate statistically available data volumes to an overall picture, thus taking into consideration, in addition to the statistics on suspect cases, also all possible further information available at a given point in time and to resort to differing sources of knowledge.[29] Without verified knowledge, every conclusion remains vague as there is no reliable and verified knowledge on what problem actually exists, what tools are necessary or available to solve it and how possible ancillary effects are avoided or how alternatives may be used. "Registered data[30] are of high quality only if they directly serve for the performance of administration. Only in such cases do the administrative units and the persons involved make sure that the data are free of errors. If characteristics of a purely 'statistical' nature are included in administrative blank forms (e.g. police statistics), this is often a nuisance for the officials and those in charge, and there is no person actually affected to make sure that the data are correct (a relevant example is the supply of educational level information in social security insurance reports)" (Wagner 2007, 4).

The complexity and the dynamics of modern societies equally prevent and favor precise data collection (detailed introduction in Jahn 2006). The more precise and accurate the collection and evaluation of data that are effectuated are, the more precise they are for the conclusions and options necessary for action.

SUMMARY: FROM RECORDING TO UTILIZATION

It is popular today to use comparisons of statistical data for the assessment of performance, i.e. for evaluating the efficiency and effectiveness of policies pursued by the authorities, in particular through the progress of the integration process achieved within the European Union. Crime statistics, however, should always be used by taking into consideration the known or suspected limiting conditions as well. Crime, and in particular simple and less serious offences, is subject to distortions the causality chains of which are not always easily traceable.

State governance approaches are faced with the challenge of having to reach a maximum objective with a limited budget. In order to be able to cope with this requirement, a balance is to be found between efficiency ("doing things the right way") and effectiveness ("doing the right things").[31] This is the only way in which policies can automatically create more policy innovation and thus new room for creativity. For this purpose, however, clearly and precisely defined and measurable objectives are needed which prevent that wrong things

are done even if, formally, the persons involved do act in accordance with the preset rules (Gerber/Teske 2000).

The central issues of policy analysis – giving policy advice – are more or less explicitly oriented by the heuristic classification of the policy cycle. When this is done, it is always the actual effect of political intervention and the conclusions to be drawn therefrom for the further process of policymaking (termination or modified problem perception) that are the focus of consideration (Jann/Wegrich 2003, 98; see, among others, Wollmann 1986).[32] In the EBP process, different forms of political learning may occur – with different retroactions on the perception of problems and the resulting policy cycle. Such a process may result in policy termination.

The objective of structured observation, for example by monitoring, is to provide the public sector with important information on the actual condition of society and thus to render policy making better targeted and more efficient. However, for this purpose, the impact chains must be analyzed and politics must not content itself, in terms of evidence basing, with producing knowledge brought to an academic level. In this respect, the compiling, monitoring or collecting of empirical facts must be theoretically warranted, and they must lead to causal-analytical conclusions. Therefore, the actual effect of any policy measure can only be explored in time comparison.

In order to interpret such evidence in a way meaningful for a policy process, it is necessary to place it into its specific policy governance context already in the stage of data collection and then also during evaluation and interpretation. "Policies are based on a sound and comprehensive understanding of the evidence available at the time; and developing a strategy to maintain, and update as necessary, the evidence base for future strategy and policy."[33]

As in particular the interpretation of any kind of data depends on particular theoretical as well as practical knowledge of context, it is indispensable to take into consideration the political, administrative and societal context in order to reach the widest possible basis for interpreting and working out policies and to avoid wrong conclusions.

While police-generated crime statistics are at present hardly suitable for more than purely descriptive conclusions, it is still possible by monitoring over a certain time period to identify development trends that may vary greatly with different groups and areas.

This approach can also be applied to police crime statistics as they actually serve to prevent and fight crime. The knowledge-based approach aims at analyzing problems and invites to identify policymaking priorities and verify established policies as to their effectiveness that are of interest also from a science theory point of view. Starting with the interpretation and presentation of data, it is then possible to work out strategically operative policy communication vehicles for a general presentation of the future tasks of the security forces and the government department in charge. In this regard, it is, however, hardly possible to separate policy PR work from non-policy PR work or from policy activities without a dominant communication character. "Political PR work is the communication management of the relationship of political organizations with their target groups" (Schulz 2008, 307).

A meaningful interpretation of police crime statistics in terms of evidence-based policymaking must collect information that results not only in identifying trends, but also in clarifying the effectiveness of political governance, because not every trend can be directly metered and not all information that can be directly metered is already a trend.

Taking into consideration empirically checked theoretical knowledge also for a subsequent publication strategy can relativize, or even eliminate, the overvaluation of individual cases communicated by discourse and, on the basis of objectifiable data, it can unmask misleading opinions already published. At the same time, the interpretation and discussion of the results presented usually follows another logic, i.e. that of media publicity. As from a purely scientific point of view it can be safely assumed that PR work can help influence public discourses in particular as to their themes and timing[34], the presentation of the current "as-is" situation of crime should be linked to the presentation of solution approaches generated on the basis of evidence in order to arrive at meaningful conclusions.

[1] *Federal Office of Criminal Investigation 2006, 3.*

[2] *The author appreciates the constructive feedback and the information obtained from Maxi Nachtigall, M.A. (Joint Programme Secretariat Northern Periphery Programme, Copenhagen) and Mag.a Martina Zandonella (SORA).*

[3] *Can be downloaded from http://www.bmi.gv.at/cms/BK/publikationen/krim_statistik/start.aspx.*

[4] *At this point, an exemplary, very drastically worded release: http://www.ots.at/presseaussendung/OTS_20090508_OTS0230.*

[5] *In this paper, the concept of "evidence-based policy making" is also used in the same meaning as the terms "evidence-based practice" (abbreviated as EBP) and "science-based policymaking" since they describe the same concept. The concept originates from health research (used there as "evidence-based practice") and has meanwhile been transferred to other fields of research, such as scientific administration or political sciences. Cf., among others, http://www. odi.org.uk/RAPID/Bibliographies/EBP/docs/EBP_lit_review_web.pdf, retrieved on 20/12/2008, or also Muir Gray (Muir Gray 2001).*

[6] *An indicator may consist of one variable as well as of a whole set of variables. It can be either elaborated on the basis of qualitative information, or compiled by numerical data collection. As it is not always possible to describe reality unambiguously with qualitative and quantitative processes, it does not make sense to rely only on quantitative or qualitative data collection. The access to reality constitutes the biggest obstacle not only for the method of data generating but it must also be taken into account when structuring the random sample.*

[7] *They are derived from sociological, economic, or ethnological theories and compared with the definitive gauge – the development of reality.*

[8] *Even though EBP became established first of all in health policy (cf. also Muir Gray 2001), this approach can be applied to any form of public intervention, administrative processes or state governance action.*

[9] *Pivotal objectives of this white paper were a) introduction of the appraisal of consequences, b) development of public consultations and c) simplification of legislation in order to reduce the costs of bureaucracy (Commission of the European Communities 2001).*

[10] *Commission of the European Communities 2002a; Commission of the European Communities 2002b.*

[11] *Commission of the European Communities 2002a.*

[12] *European Commission 2005.*

[13] *The term "practitioners" will mean here actors who can perform regulatory or innovative acts in order to intervene in the life of another person or a group of persons, i.e. clients.*

[14] *Even if for the sake of clarity, the various steps are presented here separate from one another, they are very tightly interwoven and illustrate the special relationship of clients, experts and scientists who, within their respective positions and expertise, influence the overall EBP process.*

[15] *As action is not free of the political contexts in which it is performed, one can say that governance is often guided by political ideas rather than by clear/real ideas of objectives. In order to face an argument right here, it is to be established that the definition of a particular objective of some action is a normative process. At the same time, all political governance is based on a certain stock of knowledge. This fact raises the question of whether such knowledge is part of a process that*

pursues a certain (political) objective and thus shows sufficient quality of justification. Political decisions are influenced by a large number of factors, and it is necessary to create a basis of knowledge wide enough to come up with a bundle of options for action. These options then serve as a basis for decisions that take into account future scenarios of sustainability and are subject to effectiveness – for they are to achieve a certain objective by a precise input of resources.

[16] *Also, in Austria, empirical evidence is regularly used to check and further develop policy making for example in the case of the consumer barometer of the Federal Ministry for Work, Social Matters and Consumer Protection or the various studies, such as PIRLS, TIMMS or PISA, carried out by the Federal Institute for Education Research, Innovation & Development of the Austrian School System (BIFIE) for the Federal Ministry for Education, Art and Culture.*

[17] *Depending on the quality of data collection.*

[18] *Quoted from http://www.defra.gov.uk/ science/ how/evidence.htm am 21/12/2008.*

[19] *For example, in everyday knowledge and special professional expertise, from informal through explicit to latent knowledge.*

[20] *As far as the segment of education and training is concerned, see Lassnigg 2009.*

[21] *Statistics is the essence of theory-based, empirical and objectifiable data (Menges 1982, 19).*

[22] *Centralized statistics are data collected, processed and made available to the public by statistical offices. In addition to primary statistics, there are also secondary statistics presenting only evaluations based on data already collected.*

[23] *Federal Act on Statistics 2000 – Federal Law Gazette (BGBI) I No. 163/1999 (as originally adopted) and Federal Law Gazette I No. 136/2001, Federal Law Gazette I No. 71/2003 and Federal Law Gazette I No. 92/2007 (as amended).*

[24] *Measuring is the systematic allocation of a number of figures or symbols to the expressions a variable, thus also to the objects (Friedrichs 1973, 97). A variable is for this purpose a variable characteristic in which the object carrying the characteristic may assume at least two characteristic expressions. Since then, not at least due to methodical and scientific theoretical discussions, the term "measuring" has been defined more precisely as follows: Measuring presupposes the existence of an at least unequivocal expression between an empirical and a numerical relation (e.g. in Behnke et al. 2006).*

[25] *This quotation has been chosen on purpose to illustrate a special aspect of the discussion around the illustration of security-relevant problem perception. Crime statistics are, for example, perpetrator and offence-oriented, and this fact increases the number of perpetrators in a number of groups, even if such a group may be the group comprising the largest number of victims.*

[26] *Police crime statistics provide information on the types and frequency of the offences reported to and handled by the police and on the suspects identified. However, the cases reported to the police must initially be handled as suspicions, so crime statistics are actually "suspicion" statistics.*

[27] *Objectivity is in this regard a necessary but insufficient condition for reliability, while reliability is a necessary but insufficient condition for validity.*

[28] *In Karl Popper's critical rationalism, distinction is made between discovery context (how to arrive at a theory), justification context (how to verify a theory) and utilization context (how to make use of the results). This differentiation has an effect on the assumption of objectivity as well, for it applies not to the complete research process but only to the methodologically rule-guided justification context for which the demand for freedom from value judgment is also raised. This dictum is, erroneously, too often assumed for the discovery and the utilization contexts as well. At the same time, the theoretical bases of a project, the interpretation of results, and contextualization are strongly guided by value and attitude in Popper's theory as well (see among others Seipel/Rieker 2003, 39; 46 ff).*

[29] *Thus, in addition to data on the prosecution of crime and enforcement of sentences, also causal research for certain forms of crime can be included in the evaluation of the security situation.*

[30] *Note: equivalent to official statistics.*

[31] *Caught in the efficiency trap, one then does the wrong things right and, in doing so, blocks better solutions.*

[32] *With the heuristic character of the policy cycle, no comprehensive explanation can be deduced from the analysis of individual phases or on the basis of specific perspectives.*

[33] *Quoted from http://www.defra.gov.uk/science/how/evidence.htm am 21/12/2008.*

[34] *However, different studies show that the assumption of direct influence cannot always be effectively proved in all cases.*

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