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A TEST OF LIFESTYLE-EXPOSURE, ROUTINE ACTIVITIES AND
SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION THEORIES

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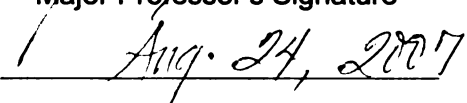
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**CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION IN THE PHILIPPINES:
A TEST OF LIFESTYLE-EXPOSURE, ROUTINE ACTIVITIES AND
SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION THEORIES**

By

Raymund Espinosa Narag

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ABSTRACT

CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION IN THE PHILIPPINES: A TEST OF LIFESTYLE-EXPOSURE, ROUTINE ACTIVITIES AND SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION THEORIES

By

Raymund Espinosa Narag

This research studies criminal victimization in the Philippines. Employing a 1995 multi-stage sampling data of 1200 households, this research analyzes different variables that are associated with property and violent victimization. Traditional Western theories, particularly lifestyle-exposure and routine activities theories emphasize individual level variables of guardianship, target attractiveness and proximity to potential offenders, while social disorganization theory emphasizes structural and neighborhood characteristics such as level of urbanization, population mobility, neighborhood cohesiveness, and public formal and informal controls, to be key determinants in criminal victimization. Using these Western models as guide, this research evaluates whether similar measures can be replicated in a non-western, developing society. Results show that Western theories can be successfully integrated in the local setting and that variables derived from these theories have the capacity to explain risk of victimization. Specifically, property crimes are related strongly to social disorganization variables and violent crimes to routine-lifestyle variables. However, there are variables that are associated with victimization in the opposite direction, indicating that some variables are context specific. Finally, the models explain a small portion of the total variation in victimization, indicating that other variables unique to the social, political and cultural milieu of the Philippines may need to be incorporated in the model.

DEDICATION

For Shella and our two angels: Ella and Angel, with whom I toiled hard for the completion of this task;

For my parents, Robert and Helming, and parents-in-law, Gabby and Ritchie, for loving their grandchildren unconditionally;

For my three sisters: Jen, Mads and Jane and sister-in-law, Dimple, for sharing all their joys to our family;

For my five “*brods*” (Dan, JV, Warren, Chris and Mike) who are unjustly put behind bars: may this work serve as an additional voice for their clamor for freedom.

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I

INTRODUCTION

Criminal victimization is a major concern of individuals in every society. Especially with the advent of the Internet and explosion of information technology, reports of crime occurrences easily spread among the population. As such, individuals may take precautions like buying sophisticated security paraphernalia to protect their houses from burglaries. They may also opt to lessen the risk by reducing the times they go out late at night or the frequency of visiting vulnerable places like bars and disco pubs. It may also affect their decisions on where to buy homes and where to work. As such, criminal victimization affects how ordinary citizens go on with their daily lives (Miethe, 1995; Sherman, Gartin and Buerger, 1989).

Governments, businesses and individuals benefit when they know what specific factors are related to criminal victimization. Crime control agencies, for example can design ways that will curb the occurrences of crimes in specific locales, as when they receive repeated calls of physical confrontations emanating from a tavern. Businesses may be able to reduce the occurrences of theft by identifying which objects are most prone to shoplifters. Additionally, individuals may reduce their risk by staying away from areas that will expose them to potential victimization.

The study of criminal victimization, however, has started fairly recently. The advent of the victimization surveys in the 1970's, which were initially developed as an alternative method of measuring crime, on top of the official crime rates reported by the police and other criminal justice agencies, paved the way for scholars to study the specific correlates of crime victimization (Smith and Jarjoura, 1989). Through the years,

a respectable pool of knowledge was generated which warranted the development of the area of victimology in the mainstream criminology (Smith and Jarjoura, 1989).

Generally, there have been three areas where scholars devote their study on victimization. These are the demographic characteristics of the individuals, the lifestyle and major daily routine activities the individuals undertake, and the contextual attributes of where the individuals live, work and spend their leisure activities (Meier and Miethe, 1993; Sampson and Wooldredge, 1987). In the late eighties to the present, there have been attempts to come up with a theory of victimization that accounts for these three major areas.

Most of the studies, however, are done in the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada and other developed countries. This is not surprising considering that victimization surveys usually entail massive financial expenditures, which most developing countries do not have the luxury to afford (Lee, 2000). As such, the factors that have been associated with criminal victimization in the western contexts have not been rigorously tested in other contexts. Given the differences in economic, social, political and cultural systems, it is interesting to know how Western theories of criminal victimization measure up across cultural settings and milieus.

CHAPTER II

WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION?

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

There are three main theories that have been offered to account for criminal victimization. These three theories have many overlapping concepts and measures, although in some instances, their predictions vary. The following section reviews the main propositions of the theories and the manner in which the variables are measured.

Demographic attributes and the lifestyle-exposure theory

It is a common finding in the Western criminal victimization literature that males, the young, the unmarried, and racial minorities have higher risk of becoming victims of crime than females, older people, married and Caucasians (Hindelang et al, 1978). This common finding is explained by the lifestyle-exposure theory, which posits that demographic attributes and ascribed status (gender, age, race, marital status, education, occupation and income) determine the role expectations society has on particular individuals (Hindelang et al, 1978). The demographic attributes and ascribed status also impose constraints on the actions of the individuals. In turn, role expectations and constraints determine how individuals adapt to their conditions and how they fashion out a lifestyle attuned to their situations (Hindelang et al, 1978; Maxfield, 1987). As explicated by Meier and Miethe, “both ascribed and achieved status characteristics are important correlates of predatory crime because this status attributes carry with them shared expectations about appropriate behavioral choices” (1993:446). These variances in lifestyles among individuals determine their differential exposure to dangerous places, times and situations in which there are high risk of victimization (Hindelang et al, 1978; Meier and Miethe, 1993). For example, females are thought to be less victimized than

males due to the fact that females spend a greater proportion of their time inside the home because, as “adolescents they are more closely supervised than males and as adults they are more likely to assume housekeeping and child rearing responsibilities” (Hindelang et al, 1978; Meier and Miethe, 1993: 446). Also, the married and older people are more focused on family activities compared to the unmarried and younger people, thus lowering their chances of victimization. As such, lifestyle-exposure theory incorporates individual-level variables in explaining target selection in criminal incidents and accounts for the differences in the criminal victimization among groups (Garofalo et al, 1987).

Predicates of crime and the routine activities theory

The lifestyle-exposure theory is enhanced by the introduction of the routine activities theory by Cohen and Felson in 1979. Routine activities are “the recurrent and prevalent vocational and leisure activities individuals undertake in a regular day-to-day basis, whatever their biological or cultural origins” (Cohen and Felson, 1979: 593). Routine activities occur at home, at jobs away from home, and other activities away from home.

Routine activities theory proposes that illegal and criminal acts feed on the daily activities of individuals. It posits that structural changes in routine activities affect crime rates through the convergence in time and space of three minimal elements of direct contact predatory violations: (1) motivated offender (2) suitable targets and (3) absence of a capable guardian against a violation (Cohen and Felson, 1979: 589). In here, Cohen and Felson use Glaser’s (1971:4) definition of predatory crime as “illegal behavior during which an individual takes or damages the property of another.” Targets could be a person, an object or a place. Cohen, Kluegel and Land (1981) further refined the concept

of target suitability in terms of visibility (that is, it has risk of discovery), inertia (that is, the target could be overcome, like weight for property targets), value (it has material and symbolic desirability) and accessibility (that is, it has site for entry as well as exit).

Capable guardian is defined as a person or an object whose mere presence could deter potential offenders from perpetrating an act. Lynch (1987) describes guardianship as to include professional guards, laymen with an interest in preventing victimization, alarms and the like. Cohen, Kluegel and Land (1981) extend the list to include persons such as law enforcement officers, housewives, neighbors, pedestrians and objects such as window bars and locks and closed circuit televisions. These examples can be grouped in three categories: formal social control, informal social control or target hardening activities (Lee, 2000).

The third component is proximity to a motivated offender. This entails the “physical distance between areas where potential targets of crime reside and areas where relatively large populations of potential offenders are found” (Cohen, Kluegel and Land, 1981: 507). This aspect emphasizes the spatial component in explaining criminal victimization. As Roncek and Maier (1991) note, routine activities theory stressed the importance of the environment as a necessary component of criminal interactions between potential offenders and victims.

Routine activities theory was proposed to account for the variations of crime rates through time, such as when traditional criminological theories cannot account for rising crime rates when variables believed to be related to crimes (disparities in poverty levels, employments, incomes and educational attainments) were decreasing (Cohen and Felson, 1979). The massive changes in the post-war American society, like the presence of

women in the labor force and in schools, the prevalence of transportation and out of home travel and the abundance of portable goods, were positively linked to increases in property and violent crimes (Cohen and Felson, 1979). This conformed to the prediction that the dispersion of activities away from households and families increases the opportunity for crime and thus generates higher crime rates. Thus, changes in routine activity patterns of everyday life can increase crime rates even if the social forces that enhance criminal inclinations remain constant (Cohen and Felson, 1979; Felson and Cohen, 1980). Rather than emphasizing the characteristics of offenders, routine activities theory concentrates upon the circumstances in which offenders carry out predatory criminal acts (Cohen and Felson, 1979; Maxfield, 1987).

Individual routine-lifestyle and the criminal opportunity theory

Lifestyle/exposure theory and routine activities theory had been integrated to form a “criminal opportunity” theory in explaining victimization. For example, the idea of “exposure” in lifestyle-exposure theory is conceptually linked to the idea of “proximity” in routine activities theory. Most scholars say that the differences between the two theories are simply in semantics (Eck, 1995; Maxfield, 1987). Also, lifestyle-exposure and routine activities theories are widely acknowledged as complementary in that they both begin with the assumption that crime and crime rates are products of non-random events in which victims unwittingly participate (Garofalo, 1987; Massey, et al, 1989).

With the integrated form of criminal opportunity theory, scholars had been able to account for different phenomena that increase the risk of criminal victimization. For example, the concept of “hot spots” and “deviant places” (Sherman, et al, 1989; Stark, 1987) like frequenting bars, disco pubs, public parks and adult stores, were proposed to

increase risk of victimization due to greater exposure to motivated offenders and lesser guardianship in these places. “Deviant lifestyles,” drug and alcohol use, and offending behaviors were likewise linked to criminal victimization (Sampson, 1985) on the ground that engaging these activities makes one proximate to potential offenders. Neighborhood daily activities were also conceptually linked to criminal victimization on the basis of social guardianship, that is, the capacity of neighbors to supervise and protect other neighbors and their properties (Lee, 2000). Family structures, household characteristics, whether homes are occupied or not, and dwelling types were also related to criminal victimization on their supposed varying degrees of guardianship (Kennedy and Forde, 1990; Massey et al, 1989; Sampson, 1987; Sampson and Lauritsen, 1990; Stahura and Sloan, 1988). Major daytime and nighttime activities, locus of residence, work and leisure, were theoretically connected to victimization on their differing effect on the level of exposure and proximity to motivated offenders (Cohen and Cantor, 1980; Massey et al, 1989; Miethe, et al, 1987; Miethe and McDowall, 1993). Likewise, ownership of portable items, spending patterns, wearing of jewelries and bringing cash, were conceived to impact risk of victimization on the account of their attractiveness to offenders (Cohen, 1980; Miethe and McDowall, 1993). Indeed, more specific and more refined measures are continually developed to capture the main concepts of the theory.

Contextual variables and social disorganization theory

Another theory that is proposed to account for the varying degrees of victimization is social disorganization theory. Initially conceptualized by Shaw and McKay (1942) to account for effects of social disorganization on youth delinquency, this theory has been reformulated by later scholars to account for victimization risk as well

(Bursik, 1988; Bursik and Grasmick, 1993; Kornhauser, 1978). This theory posits that communities characterized by high racial and ethnic heterogeneity, population turnover and mobility, and levels of economic disadvantage, such as unemployment, poverty and inequality, will have members that will experience more criminal victimization. This is because socially disorganized communities are “unable to realize the common values of their residents and maintain effective social controls” (Bursik, 1988:12; Kornhauser, 1978:120). For example, “high population turnover rate affects social integration by decreasing permanence and stability in personal relationships” (Sampson, 1987: 336; Veysey and Messner, 1999: 160). Population heterogeneity increases inter-group tensions and cultural conflict among the residents, while areas characterized by low economic opportunity have lesser capability to mobilize resources (Meier and Miethe, 1993; Sampson and Groves, 1989). On the other hand, areas with high levels of organization are able to take note of or question strangers, watch over property, supervise youth activities and intervene in local disturbances (Bursik, 1988: 541). Differences in the communities’ level of social controls account for intra-and inter-city variation in crime rates. More specifically, social disorganization theory is most applicable in explaining total crime rates (Sampson and Groves, 1989; Veysey and Messner, 1999).

Two other variables—level of family disruptions in the community and degree of urbanization were constructed to be facets of social disorganization. Family disruptions, measured in terms of the number of single-parent, female-headed and divorced or separated families in the community, were conjectured to be associated with victimization (Sampson, 1985). Two-parent and male-headed households are thought to provide increased supervision not only on their children and household property but also

for general activities in the community, like supervision of neighborhood youths and surveillance of suspicious persons in the community (Sampson, 1985; Sampson and Groves, 1989; Sampson and Wooldredge, 1987). Family disruption may also “increase victimization risk by decreasing a community’s informal social controls” (Sampson, 1987: 333). Urban communities, on the other hand, are construed to have a decreased capacity for social control, compared with suburban and rural areas. In particular, “urbanization may weaken local kinship and friendship networks and impede social participation in local affairs” (Sampson and Groves, 1989:782).

Further refinements to the social disorganization theory have been made by recent studies (Kubrin and Weitzer, 2003). The dynamics of social disorganization variables (population heterogeneity, residential turnover and mobility, economic disadvantages, family disruptions and level of urbanization) have been proposed to affect criminal victimization indirectly. Sampson and Groves (1989) contend that there are intervening dimensions, like organizational participation, social networks and supervision of youths that affect social disorganization. These variables are thought to influence levels of social cohesion, social capital and collective efficacy, which have direct effects to levels of criminal victimization (Kubrin and Weitzer, 2003). Social cohesion is conceived as the denseness and sparseness of ties, measured in terms of the number of people known in the neighborhood and memberships in clubs/organizations in the community (Kubrin and Weitzer, 2003; Sampson, et al, 1997). Social capital is conceived as the depth of resources community members can maximize in their areas (Kubrin and Weitzer, 2003). For example, poor communities are conceived to “lack money and resources and, therefore, have fewer organization opportunities for youths and adults” (Veysey and

Messner, 1999: 166). Collective efficacy is a further enrichment of social ties and social capital, where these two attributes are mobilized toward the control of crime (as opposed to a counter-tendency where highly-knit communities foster the development of crimes) (Patillo, 1998; Sampson, 1997; Sampson, et al, 1999). As Kubrin and Weitzer (2003: 377) explicate, “networks and resources may be necessary, but not sufficient for social control. What is missing is the key factor of purposive action, that is, how ties are activated and resources mobilized to enhance social control.”

Routine activities and social disorganization theories: Convergence and Divergence

Both routine activities and social disorganization theories emphasize the contextual nature of the occurrences of crimes. Both theories also use macro-sociological variables that explain risk of criminal victimization. However, their predictions using specific indicators may converge or diverge. For example, communities that have neighbors who help each other out are predicted by both theories to have a reduced risk of criminal victimization. Using routine activities perspective, neighbors helping each other out enhances guardianship, thus outsiders to the community are deterred from committing crimes (Lee, 2000). Using social disorganization perspective, this same measure manifests institutional control, thus effectively putting the neighborhood in direct command of their environment (Sampson, 1987). This notion of social guardianship is neatly integrated by Hunter’s (1985) concept of three levels of systemic control in a community (see also Bursik and Grasmick, 1993). *Private* social control corresponds to the guardianship by intimate members of the family and close friends, *parochial* social control pertains to the protection and supervision by neighbors and informal groups in the community and *public* social control refers to communities’ ability

to mobilize the formal guardianship of state authorities (Bursik and Grasmick, 1993; Hunter, 1985). Scholars have successfully linked communities' mobilization of public social control to levels of criminal victimization (Velez, 2001).

Another example where there is convergence in prediction is the family characteristic. Using routine activities theory, one-parent, female-headed and divorced or separated families decrease the guardianship over members and household properties thus foreseeing a higher risk of victimization (Kennedy and Forde, 1990; Massey et al, 1989; Meier and Miethe, 1993). On the other hand, this measure of family disruption is a form of social disorganization that hampers social control or lessens attachment to family values (Sampson, 1987).

However, there are also numerous indicators where the directions of prediction diverge. The first example is number of members in the household. Routine activities theory predicts that households with higher number of members enhance guardianship. However, social disorganization theory predicts the opposite on account of the criminogenic effect of household crowding (Meier and Miethe, 1993). Members of more crowded households compete for household resources and thus induce conflict. Another example is family income. From routine activities perspective, this represents attractiveness to burglars and thieves, thus a positive relationship is predicted (Meier and Miethe, 1993). However, in social disorganization perspective, this measure indicates greater resources, thus signifying greater social capital for the community and forecasting a negative relationship with victimization. Similarly, the measure "unemployed persons" may be construed to represent increases in guardianship on the household on the account that unemployed persons stay in the home, but in the social disorganization theory, this

variable may represent economic strains that will lead them to criminal acts and thus higher victimization rates (Meier and Miethe, 1993).

Integrating the demographic, routine-lifestyles and contextual variables

Attempts to reconcile the sometimes-differing predictions of the theories had been done by integrating the different variables in multivariate analysis (Meier and Miethe, 1993; Sampson and Wooldredge, 1987). Concentrating on the demographic and lifestyle variables without including the structural features and community processes may result in spurious relationships. Likewise, giving attention only to the spatial context may neglect the fact that some individual-level attributes may persist despite controlling for the community characteristics. For example, the positive relationship found between households occupied by primary individuals and victimization could be attributed to the fact that households occupied by single persons are more likely to be located in neighborhoods that are poorer, have larger concentrations of single-parent households, and are more racially heterogeneous (Sampson and Wooldredge, 1987; Smith and Jarjoura, 1989). Also, the differing effect of family income could be explained in the “differing levels of aggregation” (Smith and Jarjoura, 1989:622). At the individual level, household income is a measure of target attractiveness. Within neighborhoods, higher income households may have a higher probability of victimization because they “represent more attractive targets to potential burglars than lower income households” (Smith and Jarjoura, 1989:622). At the aggregate level, however, higher income households are more likely to be located in higher status areas, thus representing higher social capital and resources. Conceptual ambiguity could therefore be clarified by

acknowledging that the same indicator is measuring both an individual level process (target attractiveness) and an aggregate phenomenon (higher social control).

Results of empirical studies

Despite the theoretical clarity of the three theories, the empirical findings of extant research show that there are no variables (demographic, routine-lifestyles and contextual) that could consistently predict the occurrence of criminal victimization. The performance of the different exogenous variables is subject to crime type specifications, subject-domains and level of sophistication of the measures employed and use of controls (See also Land, McCall and Cohen, 1990). The relative strengths of the different variables to predict risk of victimization vary across studies.

Violent versus property crimes

One recurring finding is that correlates of victimization depend on the specific crimes (Cohen, Kluegel, and Land, 1981; Kennedy and Forde, 1990; Miethe and McDowall, 1993; Miethe, Stafford and Long, 1987; Sampson, 1987). This is especially true for differences between violent and property crimes. Miethe, Stafford and Long (1987) for example find that the variables measuring exposure (nighttime activity measured as number of times going out during the week) are positively associated with property crimes but have no effect on violent crimes. Miethe et al (1987) speculate that the opportunity structures for property crimes, where offenders may base their decisions to engage depending on the exposure of the target, is different from violent personal crimes which usually happen in non-premeditated, spontaneous manner. This is similar to the earlier finding by Cohen, Kluegel and Land (1981) which report that income (measured as household annual income) is negatively related to assault, positively related

to personal larceny and parabolically related to burglary. Kennedy and Forde (1990), using victimization survey data from Canadian cities report that the measure “percent divorced in the community” is positively related to breaking and entering (burglary) and vehicle theft but negatively related to assault and no significant relation to robbery. These studies show the need to disaggregate the different kinds of criminal victimization.

Domain specifications

Domain specifications also affect the capacity of the traditional variables to predict criminal victimization (Lynch, 1987; Mustaine and Tewksbury, 1998; Wooldredge, Cullen and Latessa, 1992). Domains of social life like school, work, home and leisure (Lynch, 1987) are found to have specific social and cultural patterns of victimization unique to their own environments. Specifically, Lynch shows that the characteristics of one’s job are important in predicting personal victimization. For example, the study by Wooldredge, Cullen and Latessa (1992) on the victimization risks among university professors reports that gender, age and race have no significant effect on property and personal victimization. Mustaine and Tewksbury (1998) report that for major theft victimization among college students, demographic variables like age, race and marital status do not matter. The poor performance of the demographic variables (which is contradictory to most findings) could be due to the level of domain specifications where a more particular subgroup of people is studied. In specific domains, the demographic differences may disappear and the recurrent work, school or leisure activities are dominant predictors of victimization. These studies show the need for further research in varied areas that looks unto different social and cultural context.

Detailed measurements

The performance of the concepts linked to criminal victimization depends also on how they are specifically measured (Lynch, 1987; Meier and Miethe, 1993; Miethe and McDowall, 1993; Massey et al, 1989; Mustaine and Tewksbury, 1998). For example, Cohen and Felson (1979) measured “exposure” in terms of activities away from the home and found positive correlation with victimization. However, Miethe et al (1987) find that some specific activities away from home, like going to school and work may in fact be related to higher guardianship offered by schoolmates and officemates. Similarly, Mustaine and Tewksbury (1998) find that it is more important to determine *where one goes* when individuals leave the home or *what activities* one is participating when one is out in the public, than using the general measure “out of home” (p. 851, italics original).

Depending on use of controls

The primary factor that yields contradicting results for the predictors of criminal victimization, however, is whether the studies used controls in multivariate analysis. Most of the demographic variables may lose explanatory power once specific measures of routine activities or contextual variables are included in the model. Also, routine activities variables may become insignificant once neighborhood characteristics are introduced. For example, Miethe and McDowall (1993) employing multivariate logistic analysis find that in violent crimes, age becomes insignificant once contextual variables are introduced, whereas in burglary, age has an independent effect. Also, Sampson (1987), employing multivariate logistic regression on the British Crime Survey data finds that the effects of lifestyles (frequency of going out at night) on stranger violence is explained away by community characteristics like family disruption and heterogeneity

but has a strong positive and independent effect on stranger theft. On the other hand, Smith and Jarjoura (1989) find that after controlling for a number of neighborhood variables, single-parent households still have significantly higher risk of victimization. These examples show the importance of introducing multivariate analysis.

CHAPTER III

THE CONTEXT OF STUDY SITE

As noted earlier, most of the research on criminal victimization is done in the United States, United Kingdom, Canada and other western industrialized context. Given the recurrent finding that various contexts and domains may result in different patterns of criminal victimization, there is little knowledge on whether the variables that had been used to account for criminal victimization in the western industrialized contexts also predict victimization in non-western, developing contexts. This is especially true since individual role expectations, family structures, daily routine activities, people's lifestyles, interactions among neighbors, social organization of communities, formation of urban areas and the relationship of public formal institutions to its citizens, are all products of unique social, political, economic, cultural and historical forces in a particular society.

The present study

This research aims to expand the inquiry on criminal victimization in the Philippine context. Given that no previous research on criminal victimization had been conducted in the Philippines, this research tests representative variables from lifestyle-exposure, routine activities and social disorganization theories and determine whether they are capable of explaining victimization in a different context. This research is also interested in establishing which among these alternative theories and specific measures have the strongest applications in the Philippines.

Socio-political and historical context

In order to contextualize the different demographic, routine activity and social disorganization variables that are included in this study, a brief description of the country's people, culture, history, politics and government is provided. Differences with

the western developed countries, especially the United States, are emphasized in order to highlight how these social forces affect the exogenous variables, which in turn, determine victimization risk. The predictions of the variables are guided by the theories but reformulated to reflect Philippine local conditions.

The Philippines is a developing nation of 85 million people and almost twice the geographic size of the state of Michigan. It is currently the 13th most populous country and its gross domestic product (GDP) is 56th in the world. It is located in Southeast Asia and shares many of the Asian values, like communalism, filial piety and respect to traditional authorities (Pe-pua and Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). However, western influences are also apparent— it is the only predominantly Christian nation and the oldest democracy in Asia and adopts English as its official and business language. It is composed of three major islands— Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao, with many islets totaling 7,107. There are eight major indigenous languages spoken in the different regions of the country, but linguistic variations in the provinces are also common with a total of 87 dialects. The original inhabitants of the Philippines are Malayo-Polynesian or “brown” people scattered in small disparate communities called barangays (originally balangay or “boat people”) (Agoncillo, 1960; Constantino, 1975; Jocano, 1998). These baranganic communities are close family-knit systems that laid the familial nature of Philippine polity.

Prior to the coming of the Spaniards in 1565, the small baranganic communities were slowly integrated to the Sultanate of Sulu, a powerful and busy center of Islamic trade with Malaysian and Indonesian archipelago (Constantino, 1975). This integration to the Islamic sphere of influence has taken its roots in many areas in Mindanao. Many

Philippine historiographers believe that this could have been the beginning of the formation of the Philippine state (Constantino, 1975).

This Islamic integration and state formation was cut short by Spanish colonization which lasted for 333 years. The Spanish colonizers super-imposed a centralized government co-managed by a civil-military and a frailocracy (or management by friars). Religion was both used as a tool of assimilation and control. An “encomienda” system, a feudal setup where large tract of lands were given to Spanish barons in exchange of their support to manage “Indio” areas, was established (Agoncillo, 1960). In order to facilitate the colonial regime, the heads of the baranganic familial structures were co-opted to become part of the lower rung of the colonial administration. This co-opted class, through intermarriages, become known as the “principalia”, and in the 19th century had become a distinct social and economic force in the colonial society (Agoncillo, 1960; Constantino, 1975). A divide and rule tactic was likewise employed where one ethnic group would be pitted against the other. For example, revolts among Tagalog of Southern Luzon would be quelled by reinforcements from Cebuano of the Visayas. More importantly, however, was the demonization of the “Moro” (Muslim) in the South which, for three hundred years, were not fully placed under Spanish control (Agoncillo, 1960; Constantino, 1975). Such demonization ingrained a cultural wedge between the Muslim Malays and Christian Malays, which, from time to time, erupt into open conflicts.

In the middle of the 19th century, the principalia class, now known as the “*illustado*” became conscious of their social, political and economic power in the colonial society (Agoncillo, 1960; Constantino, 1975). They were exposed to the ideas of European Enlightenment and called for reforms. Identifying with their Indio beginnings,

but wanting to maintain their social and economic privileges, they called for, among other things, equal treatment with the Spaniards, educational access to all inhabitants, separation of church and state, representation in the Spanish Cortez (legislature) and for the recognition of the Philippines as a province of Spain (Agoncillo, 1960; Constantino, 1975). The reform movement of the principalia class eventually failed but laid the foundation for the more aggressive revolution of the Indio masses which called for independence. This turn of the century (1898) revolution against Spain, the first indigenous revolution against a colonial European power in Asia, was believed by many Philippine historiographers to be the birth of the nation. This revolution bridged the gap between the Indio masses and the ilustrado class, the different ethnic groups, and for the first time, the term “Filipino” a term initially meant for Spaniards born in the Philippines, became a unifying word for inhabitants of the Philippine islands (Constantino, 1975).

The birth of the Philippine nation, however, was short lived. At the time Filipino revolutionaries declared their independence and promulgated their own constitution, the United States of America declared war with Spain. In the beginning, Filipino revolutionaries and the Americans were allies, but when Spain ceded the Philippines to the Americans, the Philippine-American War ensued which lasted for more than a decade (Constantino, 1975).

The American colonization lasted for nearly half a century and laid the foundation of the modern Philippine state. Due to the strong undercurrents of the Philippine revolution, especially among the Indio masses, American policy centered on incorporating the ilustrado to the colonial administration (Hutchcroft, 1998). As such, the American colonial policy reinstituted the same wedge that divided the Filipino elites

from Filipino masses. The Americans introduced the formal elements of democracy, like suffrage and representation, however, these were initially offered only to wealthy Filipinos (Agoncillo, 1960; Constantino, 1975). The Americans awarded large tracts of land formerly owned by the Spanish friars to local elites. The creation of the Philippine Assembly, where encomienderos or mestizo landholders from the provinces were integrated in national politics as members of the state legislature, ensured the creation of a socio-political power base independent of the national government (Hutchcroft, 1998; Sidel, 1999). This political feature is very important part of state transformation. Many historiographers credit this policy to the institutionalization of the “power of the strongman” or the predatory and particularistic power of national, regional, provincial or municipal elites over the funds, resources and spoils of a particular office of the government. This strongman phenomenon has been described by scholars as “bossism” (Sidel, 1999) “oligarchy” (Hutchcroft, 1998) and similar to the “cacique” democracy that characterized many of the Latin American countries.

The Philippines was formally granted political independence by the Americans in 1946, after the country was leveled off during World War II. Immediately after, Philippine elites embarked to industrialize the countryside. Many of the landed elites diversified their businesses to the manufacturing sectors (Rivera, 1994). Major cities like Manila, Cebu in the Visayas and Davao in Mindanao begun to swell in population. However, the rent-seeking behavior of the local elites, already well entrenched during this period, necessitated the need for control of the political system which made economic policy making highly politicized (Hutchcroft, 1998). Import substitution industrialization (ISI), for example, meant the protection by the government of local

industries against foreign competition to some favored elites (Rivera, 1994). While many countries in Asia developed in a fast pace during this period, the intra-elite struggles kept Philippine economy stagnant. As such, industrialization had taken roots only in few cities like Manila, Cebu and Davao and most of the countryside were still predominantly agrarian. Traditional agrarian culture, like emphasis on the role of extended families, filial piety, communal living and patriarchy (Pe-pua and Protacio-Marcelino, 2000) co-existed with modern lifestyles.

In the late 60's and early 70's, there were many disenfranchised sectors in the Philippines. Students were restive. They were questioning the elitist political and economic system, as manifested by wide socio-economic divide between the rich and the poor, and called for massive societal change. Students' ranks eventually populated two of the most enduring insurgencies in the world— the communist New People's Army and the Muslim separatists in Mindanao (De Quiros, 1997). The Philippine “strongman” Ferdinand Marcos tried to restore order and imposed Martial Law in 1972. He attempted to eliminate the political and economic power of the local oligarchy and instituted a strong control over the national and local affairs (De Quiros, 1997). This experimentation to authoritarianism proved damaging— it centralized governmental corruption, it undermined the legal foundations of the democratic polity and it destroyed the criminal justice processes (De Quiros, 1997). The prevalence of Marcos “cronies,” who took over the businesses of the oligarchs, coupled with an unsustainable debt-driven policy, kept the economy further down the drain (De Quiros, 1997).

The formal elements of democracy were restored when Marcos' 20-year authoritarian rule finally ended through a “people power revolution.” However, the pre-

martial law economic and political set up was equally restored. The elites, who were disempowered during Marcos' reign, simply regained their old political and economic base. As such, the intra-elite struggles, the concentration of economic, political and social power to the hands of the few families, and the particularistic and predatory power of the national, regional, provincial and municipal elites over the organs of government, continue to define Philippine polity (Hutchcroft, 1998). For instance, the immediate past president was deposed from office through a people power revolt due to charges of corruption and the current President continues to face problems of legitimacy on charges of massive cheating in previous elections.

This brief historical sketch provides for a contextual background for many of the variables that are included in this study. It provides a meaningful point of departure on how the exogenous variables are affected by these societal and cultural forces.

The current state of Philippine neighborhoods

Local neighborhoods are characterized by a vibrant social relationship among the members. Strong kinship and friendship networks continue to supplant the weaknesses of the formal structures of the society. Informal sectors are prevalent in every sphere. For example, the unavailability and inaccessibility of government and private business financing necessitates the prevalence of depending on ones' friends and kin for loans, educational expenses, and medical care and old age security.

Local neighborhoods are also characterized physical concentration of political, economic and cultural activities. A "sentro" or center, where governmental and religious offices, businesses and other instrumentalities are located, continues the Spanish tradition of zoning for easy control (Jocano, 1975). Households located nearer the center usually

wield political, administrative and economic power in the community. Households and individuals located farther the center are usually the members of the less affluent groups. Contrary to the location of the poor, usually racial minorities, in the inner cities in the United States (Wilson, 1996), the poor and the disadvantaged in the Philippines are usually located in the outskirts of the cities.

Despite the weaknesses of governmental institutions, residents of local neighborhoods continue to depend on the services these institutions offer. Access to these services, however, is usually availed of by using personal connections in the particular offices. Business permits from the city government, for example, can be easily availed if one is well connected in the business permit offices. As such, residents in local neighborhoods are usually aligned in partisan groups designed to capture political power. Intra-neighborhood conflicts may arise in the conduct of these political exercises. Furthermore, life in the local neighborhoods is a combination of traditional agrarian culture and modern western lifestyles. “*Hilot*” or quack doctors, for example, work side by side with medical health professionals in the provision of basic services like child delivery. These traditional practices continue to persist because they serve as an alternative to the more expensive health services.

CHAPTER IV

DATA AND METHODS

The data used for this research was retrieved from the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research at the University of Michigan. The original owner of the data is the Social Weather Stations (SWS), a respectable independent polling agency in the Philippines. The SWS conducts quarterly surveys on Philippine economic and social conditions and had been consistent provider of information independent of governmental statistics. For this particular dataset, respondents were asked about perceptions of criminality, victimization experiences and feelings of safety. This survey was conducted in the fourth quarter of 1995 (from November 22 to December 22) and covers four major geographical areas (Metro Manila or the National Capital Region, Balance of Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao).

There were 1200 households randomly selected in this survey. In each household, three persons were interviewed face to face: the household head and two other adult members (more than 18 years of age) using the language/dialect that they understand. The household head was asked about household socio-demographic characteristics, the first adult was asked about experiences of household members on victimization and household activities and lifestyles, and the second adult was asked about the neighborhood and other socio-political issues. The answers of the respondents were combined. The unit of analysis therefore is the household. Though the survey provided demographic attributes for the three respondents, in the analysis, the demographic traits of the household head is employed since it is more theoretically relevant to the present study. Compared to other members, the demographic traits of the heads of the household

have more effect (guardianship and attractiveness) on the victimization risk of the household members.

Sampling Scheme

A multi-stage probability sampling was used in selecting the adult respondents: for Metro Manila, there were three stages; and for the rest of the major areas, there were five stages (see codebook for full description). For Metro Manila's first stage, using the latest list of electoral precincts as sampling frame, 60 precincts were allocated to the 17 component cities/municipalities in proportion to their population size. The precincts were selected randomly within each city/municipality. At the second stage, 5 households were chosen from each sample precinct by an interval sampling method that was based on a precinct map and guided by a right-coverage rule— streets, pathways, and households on the right take precedence. The head of the selected household constituted a sample unit of the population of household heads while all household members constituted the sample units of the general population. At the third stage, two adults (a male and a female) were taken in each household using separate random selection tables. One respondent (male for odd-numbered questionnaires; female for even-numbered ones) answers Questionnaire "A" and the other answers Questionnaire "B".

For the rest of the country, the provinces served as the common first stage unit. Using updated population figures, 10 provinces in Balance of Luzon and 5 each in Visayas and Mindanao were chosen with probability proportional to population size. For the second stage, three cities/municipalities were drawn within each sample province, with probability proportional to size. For the third stage, to get an urban sample, thirty sample precincts were allocated among the selected cities/ municipalities proportional to

their urban population. In each sample city/municipality, the allocated sample precincts were chosen by simple random sampling. To get a rural sample, 1 to 2 barangays (1 in Balance of Luzon and 2 each in Visayas and Mindanao) were selected in each sample city/ municipality by simple random sampling. If a city/municipality was entirely urban, another one with rural barangays was drawn with probability proportional to population size, and from this, the required number of barangays was drawn (See codebook for more complete discussion on methods).

Dependent Variables

Given past assertions that aggregating the victimization experience may mask variations among crimes (Miethe et al, 1987), this study differentiates between property and violent victimization. Property victimization includes incidents of house break-in, herein referred to as burglary, pickpocketing and carnapping (i.e., motor vehicle theft.)¹ Violent victimization includes incidents of assault and stabbing and usually involves physical disputes. As such, these two kinds of criminal victimization could provide us with an understanding of their unique opportunity structures.² Respondents were asked whether they or any member of their household experienced any of the crimes for the past 6 months prior to the survey. The variables were coded 1 for “YES”, 0 for “NO”, making dichotomous dependent variables.

Table 1 shows that overall criminal victimization is a rare event. This is similar to other studies that surveyed the respondents’ risk of criminal victimization (Miethe et al, 1987; Mustaine and Tewksbury, 1998; Sampson, 1987; Sampson and Wooldredge, 1987; Smith and Jarjoura, 1989; Velez, 2001). For this sample, property victimization occurred in almost one out of five or 18.7 percent of the sampled households. Violent

victimization is even a rarer event. Table 1 shows that 5.4 percent of the households report that one of their household members had been a victim violent physical victimization.³

Table 1: Variable Coding and Descriptive Statistics, SWS Survey 4th Quarter, 1995

		Variable Coding	Percentage
I.	Dependent Variables		
	a. Victim of property crime	0=no 1=yes	81.3 18.7
	b. Victim of physical violence	0=no 1=yes	94.6 5.4
II.	Independent Variables		
	Demographic Variables		
	a. Age of household head	Range = Mean = Standard Deviation=	18-95 47 14.8
		18-29= 30-54= 55-up=	11.7 56.6 31.7
	b. Sex of the household head	1=Female 0=Male	17.8 82.2
	c. Education level of household head	1= Some college 0= Less than college	27.7 72.3
	d. Level of affluence	0= Affluent 1= Poor 2=Very Poor	13.6 61.3 25.1
	e. Parental structure of the household	1=One parent 0=Two parent	22.2 77.8
	Routine and Lifestyles		
	f. Household composition	0=Two or less adults 1=Three to four adults 2=Five adults and more	54.1 30.9 15.0
	g. Work location	1= Working outside of home 0=Near or inside of home	29.5 70.5
	h. Spending pattern	1=Did spend 0=Did not spend	27.4 72.6
	i. Number of Portable items	Range= Mean= Standard Deviation= 1=3 or more appliances 0= 0-2 appliances	0-8 2.25 1.5 42.2 57.8
	j. Going out	Range= Mean= Standard Deviation= 0=Never 1=One 2=2-4 times	0-4 .88 .88 37.6 43.6 18.8

Table 1, (cont'd)

	Variable Coding	Percentage
k. Watch television	1=Light TV viewer 0=Heavy TV viewer	42.4 57.6
l. Perception of Criminality	Range= Mean= Standard Deviation 1= Crime rose 0= Fell; did not change	0-4 1.60 1.17 16.3 83.7
m. Overseas worker	1=With Overseas 0=Without Overseas	9.4 90.6
n. Homeownership	1=Homeowner 0= Non-homeowner	74.9 25.1
Contextual variables		
o. Locale	1=Urban 0= Rural	62.5 37.5
p. Regional Area	0=Metro Manila 1=Luzon 2=Visayas 3=Mindanao	25.0 25.0 25.0 25.0
q. Population mobility	1=High 0=Low	36.7 63.3
r. Social cohesiveness	Range= Mean= Standard Deviation= 1=High 0=Low	0-7 5.53 1.73 90.7 9.3
s. Barangay Justice	Range= Mean= Standard Deviation= 0= Low 1=Moderate 2=High	0-4 2.45 .88 18.2 20.6 61.2
t. Satisfaction to law enforcement	Range= Mean= Standard Deviation= 0=Low 1=Moderate 2=High	0-8 4.54 1.72 23.4 33.0 43.6

Independent variables and Hypotheses

Following the victimization literature, a set of demographic, lifestyles and routines and contextual variables are included in the analysis. There are five household demographic variables, nine lifestyle and routine variables and six contextual variables, for a total of 20 variables examined in this research (see Table 1 for list, recoding and summary statistics and Appendix 1 for listing of original items and definitions).

Demographic Variables

The first demographic variable is the age of the household head. This variable is measured on an interval-ratio scale by an item that asks the respondents their actual ages. Table 1 shows that for this sample, the age of the household head ranges from 18 to 95 and the average (mean) age is 47 years old. For cross-tabulations purposes, the actual ages were also categorized in three groups ⁴ (See table 1).

Most research finds negative relationship with age and victimization (Cohen et al, 1981; Cohen and Cantor, 1981; Hindelang, et al 1978; Kennedy and Forde, 1990; Lee, 2000; Sampson and Lauritsen, 1990; Smith and Jarjoura, 1989). This is so as older people may have a lifestyle that is more home-oriented and thus provide greater guardianship to family members and to household properties. By extension, Hindelang et al (1978) and Sampson and Wooldredge (1987) predict that households with older household heads will experience lesser risk of burglary. This prediction also conforms to the Filipino notion of the traditional respect for older people (Pe-pua and Protacio-Marcelino, 2000, Williams and Domingo, 1993) which may further the guardianship of households with older household heads. Thus, as the age of the household head increases, risk of property and violent crimes should both decrease.

The second demographic variable is sex of the household head. This is a dichotomous variable and male is coded “0” and female is “1”. Table 1 shows that female-headed households constitute 17.8 percent of the sample, slightly higher than the officially recorded 12.2 percent in the 2000 Philippine Census.

Male-headed or the traditional households are found to be less prone to victimization on account of the guardianship they provide to the household (Sampson, 1985). Social disorganization theory also predicts that male-headed households in the community provide stronger institutional control than female-headed households (Sampson, 1985). This same prediction is applicable to the Filipino context given the high regard given by Filipinos on traditional, usually male-headed, families (Alcantara, 1994). As such, male-headed households are expected to have a negative association with both property and violent crimes.

The third demographic variable is the education of the household head. This variable makes use of a single item that asks respondents their highest educational attainment. This item was dichotomized to “some college” as 1 and “less than college” as 0.⁵ Table 1 show that 27.7 percent of the sample of the household heads has at least “some college” education, reflective of the educational levels of the general Filipino adult population.

On an individual level, having some college education is negatively related to household theft, positively related to personal theft with contact and personal larceny with contact but not related to risk of burglary, after controlling for lifestyle and community characteristics (Sampson and Wooldredge, 1987). In a household level, education levels of the household heads may signify greater attractiveness for property

crimes. However, in violent physical victimization, the higher education for household heads may signify greater guardianship over the household members. This is especially true in the Philippine context where “college-educated” professionals may have greater capabilities to mobilize resources against people that may physically transgress their individual members. Thus, it is hypothesized that individuals from households where the head has higher levels of education will experience lesser risk of violent physical victimization.

The fourth demographic variable is the level of affluence of the household. This variable corresponds to a single item in the questionnaire where the interviewers designated a “socio-economic status” for the respondent (Class AB, C, D and E⁶) per interviewers’ observation.⁷ “Classes AB and C” were collapsed and designated as category 0 to indicate the “affluent households.” Class D is designated as category 1 for “poor households” and Class E is designated as category 2 indicating “very poor households.” Table 1 indicates that 25.1 percent and 61.3 percent of the sample are households considered by the interviewers as “very poor” and “poor” respectively, whereas, only 13.6 percent of the households are considered “affluent households.” This sample generally reflects the highly unequal distribution of wealth in the Philippine polity (Gerson, 1998).

The level of affluence of a household had been associated with victimization though in varying directions. Affluent households were positively related to burglary and vehicle theft (Kennedy and Forde, 1990) but negatively to assault and robbery (Kennedy and Forde, 1990; Miethe et al, 1991; Miethe et al, 1987). Other research using family

income as a measure of affluence finds that it has a parabolic relationship to burglary (Cohen and Cantor, 1981; Cohen, Kluegel and Land, 1981).

In the Philippine context, the predictions are crime specific: positive association is expected with property crimes on the account of greater attractiveness of the household and the household members. However for violent physical victimization, a negative relationship is predicted. Similar to the effect of “some college education,” more affluent households exhibit greater guardianship for their household members. Economically well-off families are more politically and socially integrated in the communities which provides them with capabilities to mobilize the particularistic powers of the state, like the police and the judiciary (Hutchcroft, 1998; Sidel, 1999) thus potentially giving their household members greater protection.

The fifth demographic variable is the parental structure of the household. This item asks whether the household head is single, married, separated, widowed or lives with a partner. Household heads, which designated themselves as “married or live in” are coded 0 to mean two-parent structure and “all others” are coded as 1 for one-parent structure. Two-parent households are predicted to provide greater guardianship compared to one-parent households.⁸ Table 1 shows that 77.8 percent of the sample is from a two-parent households, while 22.3 percent of the sample is from one-parent households.

Research conducted in United Kingdom by Sampson and Wooldredge (1987) reported that two-parent households are negatively related to risk of personal theft with contact, but no effect on risk of personal larceny after controlling for lifestyle and community variables. On the other hand, Kennedy and Forde (1991) report that in

Canadian cities, two-parent households are not related to burglary and vehicle theft but negatively related with assault and robbery. Finally, a research by Smith and Jarjoura (1989) in the United States report that after controlling for a number of neighborhood variables, one-parent households still have significantly higher risk of victimization. This suggests that role expectations on the parental structure vary in each country thus affecting levels of victimization. In the Philippines, given the traditional and religious⁹ emphasis given on “complete” families (that is, with husband and wife, non-divorced), it is expected that non two-parent structures will face greater economic and social constraints. Thus, a one-parent familial structure is expected to correlate with higher victimization.

Routine-lifestyle variables

For routine activities and lifestyle variables, this research employs seven items that are traditionally used as measures. Considering, however, the imperative to include refined measures that tap on the specific socio-cultural context, two additional variables are included. These variables are guided by the predictions of the theories.

The first traditional routine and lifestyle measure is household composition, which is defined as the number of adults in the household. For this item, households with “two or less adults” are designated as 0, households with “three to four adults” are designated as 1 and households with “five or more adults” are designated 2.¹⁰ From Table 1, we can see that 54.1 percent could be considered a “nuclear family” household; 30.9 percent could be considered “moderate-extended” household, while the remaining 15 percent of the sample has more than five adults in the household and could be

considered as “over-extended” families. The last two categories reveal the prevalence of the extended nature of Filipino families.

As noted earlier, the number of adults in the household has been predicted in the western context in conflicting directions: routine activities theory employs this as a measure of guardianship, while household crowding is used as a measure of family disorganization. Smith and Jarjoura (1989) find that different forms of criminal victimization increase with the number of adults living in a household, whereas Massey et al (1989) find that the increase in the number of adults in the household is not related to property victimization. In the Philippines, the number of adults in a household maybe related to greater guardianship. Two or more households usually combine resources in order to mitigate household expenses. Family members or kinfolks from the rural areas usually stay with relatives in the urban areas while looking for work. Also, it is common for households from the more affluent classes to employ household helpers like family drivers, gardeners and housemaids (Domingo and Asis, 1995). All these factors contribute to greater guardianship in the household, thus predicting lesser victimization risk for the household properties and its members. However, due to effects of household crowding, it is argued that the guardianship capacity of adults in the household may diminish when reaching a certain number and that “over extended households” may experience higher risk of victimization (Meier and Miethe, 1993).

The second variable is the work location of the household head. This variable is defined whether the household head is working or staying “near or inside the home” coded 0 or “working outside of home” coded 1. Household heads that are working in “government” and “private companies” are assumed to be working outside of home,

whereas those who are “self-employed,” “working in the informal sector,” “paid family worker” or “currently not working” are assumed to be working or staying at or near the home. From Table 1, we can see that 29.5 percent of the sample is from households where the head is working outside of the home. The prevalence of “non-working,” “self-employed” and “employed in informal sectors” among the household heads is indicative of the constraints in Philippine economy in 1995.

The locus of work is a traditional measure of exposure and guardianship. For example, in the original formulation by Cohen and Felson (1979), they found that increases in the prevalence of household heads working or staying out of home in post World War II America were related to increases in different victimization. Also, Massey et al (1989) report that having a job outside the home is significantly related to household theft, while Kennedy and Forde (1990) find “fulltime work in the outside” is significantly related to burglary and vehicle theft. In the Philippines, working or staying near or at the home will be related to lower victimization on account of the visibility of “istambay” (from the word standby or unemployed) in providing guardianship to the household and its members.

The third variable is the spending patterns of the household. This variable includes an item that asks the spending pattern of the household for the past three months. It asks respondents whether the household spent for new appliances, for improvements of the physical structures of the house and for investment in business ventures. Coding for this variable is 0 for households that “did not spend” on any of the three items and 1 for household that “spent” for any of the items. Table 1 show that only little more than a quarter (27.4 percent) of the households was able to spend money on any of the items for

the past three months, again an indication of the trying times for the Filipino households in 1995.

Spending patterns are traditional measure of attractiveness especially among burglars (Miethe et al, 1987). It is expected that households that spent on the items from the list have higher risk of property victimization. This same prediction applies to the Philippine context.

The fourth variable is the number of appliances in the household. This item asks whether the household owns appliances from the list. The list includes radios, television sets, cellular phones, refrigerators, washing machines, microwave ovens, pagers/beepers, and personal computers. Table 1 show that ownership of the appliances ranges from 0 to 8 with a mean ownership of 2.25 appliances. An alternative coding mechanism for cross tabulation purposes also show that 57.8 percent of the households have no more than two of the above listed items and 42.3 percent of the households have more than 3 of the items (see Table 1).

The number of appliances has been used as a measure of attractiveness of the household to potential burglars (Cohen, 1980). Lightweight durable goods had been associated with property crimes (Cohen, 1980) while expensive goods in the household is related to burglary independent of contextual factors (Miethe and McDowall, 1993). However, Sampson and Wooldredge (1987), using the British Crime Survey data, report that number of appliances is not related to household burglary and household theft. In the Philippines, ownership of appliances is usually associated with material wealth and social affluence. Households that own many appliances could therefore be viewed as socially and politically integrated to the community. As such, though their properties could be

attractive targets for burglars and thieves, the household members could be more protected against physical violations.

The fifth variable is the frequency of going to busy places. This asks the respondents if they and other members of the household engaged themselves in the following activities for the past six months: watching a movie, attending concerts, and going to parks and festivals. These activities entail going to busy commercial areas. Going to these activities is coded 1, while not attending is coded 0 having an aggregate range of 0 to 4. Table 1 show that average (mean) attendance to any of these activities is less than 1. Recoding of the variables shows that 37.6 percent of the household have “never” engaged in the in any of the activities, 43.6 percent of the households have gone to only “one” of these activities and 18.8 percent of the households have gone to “two or more” of the said activities.

“Going to busy places” is traditionally construed as a measure of exposure to potential offenders, however with mixed results. Miethe and McDowall (1993) report that going to busy places is positively related to violent criminal victimization but not significantly related to burglary and property victimization. For this research, it is expected that going to busy places increase risk of violent criminal victimization.

The sixth variable is the household activity. This item asks respondents how much time family members spend watching television. As Messner and Blau (1987) argued, television viewing is predominantly a household activity. This variable shall be coded as 1 “Light TV viewers” for households that spend less than one hour of TV watching a day and those households without television sets and 0 “Heavy TV viewers”

for households that spend more than an hour a day. Table 1 shows that TV viewing is almost split into half.

Heavy television viewing, as a household activity, is hypothesized to result to lesser exposure to crime for household members. Households with heavy TV viewing hours usually have members that stay at home thus limiting the risk of being exposed to motivated offenders. It also increases guardianship to household properties. As such heavy TV viewing activity among households is expected to be related to lower risk of pickpocketing, break-in of houses and violent physical victimization. Same predictions will be observed in the Philippine context.

The seventh variable is perception of criminality in the neighborhood. This variable uses two items that asked the respondents about their perceptions on present conditions of criminality and whether criminality will rise in the future or not. These two items were aggregated (alpha reliability is .6478) to construct the perception of crime index that range from 0 to 4, with higher scores signifying more perceived criminality in the neighborhood. Table 1 shows that the mean perception of criminality is 1.60. For cross-tabulation purposes, the crime perception index were dichotomized where 1 indicates that “crime rose/crime will rise” and 0 as either “crime fell/will fall and be the same”¹¹. Table 1 indicates that less than one/fifths or 16.3 percent of the respondents think that criminality rose or will rise in their neighborhood.

Massey et al (1989), Sampson and Lauritsen (1990) and Wooldredge et al (1992) used perception of safety as a measure of proximity to potential offenders, however with differing results.¹² Massey et al (1989) find that “sense of proximity to potential offenders” have no significant effect on property victimization, while Wooldredge et al

(1992) find that “generally feel safe” is negatively related to property and physical crimes. On the other hand, Sampson and Lauritsen (199) report that areas that respondents feel have high crime rates are positively related to total victimization. The same prediction will also be applied in the Philippine context.

As stated earlier, there is a need to incorporate specific measures that capture the unique socio-cultural conditions of the research area. For this reason, the following variables are included— overseas worker in the household and homeownership. Overseas worker in the household as a variable is included because of the current social phenomenon of “Filipino Diaspora” (Gonzalez, 1998). Almost 10 million Filipinos or more than 10 percent of the total population are working abroad. This phenomenon keeps the country’s economy afloat, yet had been speculated to have damaging social consequences. It is thought to disrupt the family, making the children left behind as “orphans”, thus potentially increasing levels of juvenile delinquency and crime (Asis et al, 2004). For this research, “overseas working” will be related to criminal victimization in two ways. One, it is a measure of less guardianship. Filipinos who go abroad are usually adults, particularly mothers (Asis et al, 2004). As such, it is predicted to result in higher risk of physical violent victimization for household members. Secondly, “overseas working” can be construed as a measure of more attractiveness. Families with overseas workers are usually characterized with material affluence, that is, more appliances, bigger houses, nicer clothes and more travel (Bryant, 2005). Thus, it is hypothesized that households with family members working abroad are attractive targets for property offenders. Households “with overseas” members will be coded as 1, 0 for

“without overseas”. Table 1 indicates that 9.4 percent of the households currently have a member or members who are working abroad, which is reflective of the general trend.

One of the pressing problems in Philippine society is homelessness. It is estimated that around 60 percent of the total population do not own their own homes, especially in the urban areas (National Statistical Coordination Board, 2000). Homeless households tend to squat in government and private lands and construct makeshift dwellings in close proximity to other homeless households. Arguably, Filipinos who do not own their own houses have diminished capacity over their household properties.¹³ Home ownership could therefore be related to criminal victimization through less guardianship. This is conceptually similar to the measure of “type of dwelling” (single detached, duplex or multiple housing) used in the western context. More crowded dwelling type is significantly related to property victimization (Kennedy and Forde, 1990; Massey et al, 1989; Stahura and Sloan, 1988). Households that are “homeowners” are coded 1 and “non-homeowners” are coded 0. Table 1 shows that in this sample, 74.9 percent of the households own their homes, whereas only 25.1 percent do not.¹⁴

Contextual variables

Following social disorganization theory, the succeeding contextual and neighborhood variables are included. First is the locale, which measures whether the household is located in “urban area” coded as 1 or “rural area”, coded as 0 (for detailed definition of “urban” and “rural” areas as conceptualized in the Philippine context, see Appendix 1). Table 1 shows that in this sample, 62.5 percent of the households are located in the urban areas.

Social disorganization theory predicts that urban areas have reduced capacities to control their communities due to greater anonymity, thus making them more prone to victimization. Urban areas are also characterized by higher population density (Kennedy and Forde, 1990), housing density (Sampson and Wooldredge, 1987) and cultural heterogeneity (Sampson, 1987), factors that decrease the communities' informal and formal controls. Lee (2000) for example finds that cities with bigger populations have more assault victimization than cities with lower populations. Central city residents are also found to experience greater risk of burglary victimization (Cohen and Cantor, 1981). In the Philippines, the same predictions will be applied. However, one must note that the formation of urban centers is a product of push and pull factors (push because of rural poverty and pull because of opportunities offered by urban areas) (Murakami et al, 2005). Also, the de-urbanization phenomena, where businesses are transferring from urban to suburban or rural areas, have not occurred in the Philippines (Murakami et al, 2005). As such, in the Philippines, the urban poor tend to be located in the peripheries of the urban areas.

The second social disorganization variable is the regional area location of the household. In the Philippines, there are three major islands (Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao), which have unique histories of state formations (Constantino, 1975) and religious assimilations (Vitug and Gloria, 2000). Mindanao, for example, has some provinces where Muslims comprise a sizeable minority of the population. Cultural and religious heterogeneity may induce conflict among the residents in a community as manifested by decades of tensions in Muslim-Christian affairs. The National Capital Region (NCR) or Metro Manila is a small and high-density region that is considered as

the political, economic and cultural center of the country. It has a population of 12 million people, which comprises 13 percent of the national population. It is a melting pot of the different ethnic groups who come to the region for employment and other opportunities.

This regional variation is introduced to account for differing levels of social organization. The Metro Manila area, being the country's melting pot, and Mindanao, due to cultural and religious heterogeneity, may experience more strains in achieving social harmony. The Balance of Luzon and Visayas, due to their relative religious and cultural homogeneity, may experience improved mechanisms to attain common community goals. This mechanism propels the prediction that incidents of crime victimization will be higher in the Metro Manila and Mindanao compared to Balance of Luzon and Visayas. Table 1 show that each regional grouping has 25 percent of the sample.¹⁵

The third social disorganization variable is population mobility. This item asks where respondents spent most of their childhood and has four response options ("in this town or city" "in a different town or city" "in a different province" and "outside the Philippines").¹⁶ The answers will be coded "0" for in "in this town or city" and "1" for all others. A higher score therefore means more mobility. Table 1 reveals that 63.3 percent of the respondents have been staying in the same town or city since their childhood years.

It is hypothesized that lower mobility is related to less crime victimization on the account that people who stay in their area develop social ties and supervise the person and property of each other. Miethe et al (1991) using a longitudinal study, report that

cities with higher initial rates of mobility has larger net increases in robbery and burglary rates, while Sampson (1985) reports that higher mobility has positive association with violent crime rates. The Philippines tend to be characterized by generation of families located in the same town or city. The constraints in transportation, due to deficiencies of a national highway system and the island nature of the country, prohibit the geographical mobility among the population. This population stability facilitates the familiarization and trusts among community members. Respondents that report to have stayed in the same area since childhood will therefore be negatively related to risk of property and violent victimization.

The fourth social disorganization variable is social cohesiveness. This variable includes two items on the questionnaire, which asks the respondents “how close they are to other people in their village/neighborhood and their town/city.”¹⁷ The response options are “very close” “close” “not very close” and “not close at all.” The two items are aggregated to form the social cohesiveness index that ranges from 0 to 8 and a mean score of 5.53. Higher scores will therefore mean that household members are more socially attached to their communities. For cross-tabulation purposes, the social cohesiveness scale was dichotomized where scores ranging from “0 to 2” was designated as “low cohesiveness” (0) and scores ranging from “3 to 8” was designated as “high cohesiveness” (1). Table 1 shows that 90.7 percent of the sample household members consider themselves to be socially “close” to their neighborhoods.

Socially cohesive neighborhoods are theorized to have lower crime victimization (Lee, 2000; Smith and Jarjoura 1989). However, as noted earlier, an ethnographic study had shown that socially cohesive and integrated communities may also foster the

development of crimes by giving support to local criminals who are part of the communities' social structures, like family networks (Patillo, 1998). In the Philippines, given the extended nature of Filipino families and the premium given to particularistic interests, social cohesiveness may work on both ways— one, as a form of social guardianship to households and their members, and two, as a safe haven for offenders who are pursued by state authorities and hide under the community's social and family networks.

The fifth social disorganization variable is barangay justice efficacy. This variable includes an item that measures the satisfaction levels of the respondents on their "barangay justice system." The response options on the barangay justice item are "very satisfied/satisfied" coded 2, "maybe satisfied/maybe not satisfied" coded 1, "not satisfied/not at all satisfied" coded 0. Higher scores will mean more satisfaction on the performance of the barangay system. Table 1 show that the mean score is 2.45 and majority of the household respondents (61.3%) express satisfaction to the workings of the barangay in their communities.

As introduced earlier, the barangay is the smallest political, social, religious and cultural unit in the Philippines. The barangay has a "Lupon ng Tagapayapa" or a peace and order council that mediates conflicts among neighbors, settles minor disputes and imposes community sanctions on erring members (Silliman, 1985). The barangay likewise maintains cleanliness on the surroundings like garbage collections and beautifications. These informal social control capabilities of the barangays conform to the parochial component of the systemic approach of social disorganization theory

(Bursik and Grasmick, 1993). Barangays that have capabilities to solve their own problems are thought to have reduced incidences of criminal victimization.

The last social disorganization variable is satisfaction to law enforcement. This variable aggregates two items that asks the respondents on their satisfaction rating on the police and military¹⁸ in their respective places (alpha reliability is .6656). Table 1 show that the average rating for law enforcement is 4.54 and that majority of the respondents express average (33.0 percent) and high (43.6 percent) satisfaction to the police and the military.

Satisfaction rating to the law enforcement indicates level of respondents' approval to the public formal control over their communities (Velez, 2001). In the systemic formulation of the social disorganization theory, public formal control institutions like the police and other criminal justice agencies, affect levels of criminal victimization through mechanisms of social guardianship (Bursik and Grasmick, 1993; Hunter, 1985). Residents who perceive that their law enforcement is effective may be deterred from committing crimes and thus lowering levels of criminal victimization.

Method of Analysis

This study examines the variables that predict property and violent victimization in the Philippines based upon western traditional theories (lifestyle-exposure, routine activities and social disorganization). This research paper also examines the independent effects of each of the variables. For example, will the effects of demographic variables remain when routine activity variables are introduced? Also, will routine activity variables remain significantly related to property and violent victimization when

contextual variables are controlled? Finally, this research paper examines whether the effects of predictors are crime-specific or not.

Toward this end, there are two levels of analysis conducted in this research. First, a bivariate analysis using cross-tabulations was performed for both dependent variables with all the independent variables. The Pearson Chi Square Test of Independence was used to determine whether two pairs of variables were significantly related or not. To determine the strength of association, the Phi output (for two-level categorization) or Cramer's V output (for more than two-level categorization) was reported (Bachman and Paternoster, 2004). An analysis of variance (ANOVA), using proportion (risk of victimization), was also performed to determine whether the differences among groups are significant.

Second, multivariate analyses using logistic regressions were performed on each of the dependent variables. Correlations among the independent variables are low thus precluding a problem on multicollinearity (See appendix 3). The multivariate logistic regression analysis is specifically designed for dichotomous dependent variables with the possibility of skewed frequency distributions (Kennedy and Forde, 1999; Lee, 2000; Miethe et al, 1987; Sampson and Wooldredge, 1987, Wooldredge et al, 1992). In each of the dependent variable, three models were estimated. In the first model, only the demographic variables were used to predict the occurrence of the dependent variable. On the second model, routine-lifestyle variables were included, controlling for the demographic variables. On the third model, the social disorganization variables were included on top of the other set of variables.¹⁹ The logistic regression coefficient (*b*), the Standard Errors (*SE*) and the Exponentiated Beta (*Exp b*) values were all shown to

compare the direction and strength of the relationships among the variables. Additional information about Wald values was included when warranted. Also, in each of the models, the amount and significance level of the log likelihood output were presented to show the improvements of the model from the previous models. Following Miethe et al (1987), Lee (2000) and other scholars on criminal victimization, this paper reports values where the $p < .10$. Finally, Pseudo R, using the Nagelkerke value was presented to show how much of the variation is explained by the models (Bachman and Paternoster, 2004).²⁰

CHAPTER V RESULTS

Tables 2 and 3 present the summary statistics of the bivariate relationships of the dependent variables on property victimization and violent victimization, respectively. Presented are percentages of victimization in each category. These percentages are also called “risk of occurrence” when presented in the form of proportions (Bachman and Paternoster, 2004).

Variables associated with Property Victimization

Table 2 shows that certain types of households are more at risk of property victimization than others. Affluent households have significantly higher risk of property victimization compared poor and very poor households. This is most especially true for motor vehicle thefts, where the risk experienced by affluent households is more than eight times greater than the risk faced by the less affluent groups. Also, households where the head have some college education face a risk of property victimization that is 60 percent more compared to households where the head has less than college education. Both variables were consistent with the predictions of traditional Western theories.

However, age and sex of the household head and the parental structure of the household did not perform as expected. Household members whose heads are older are more prone to property victimization than from households whose heads are younger. Household members from female-headed families also have a lesser risk of property victimization compared to their counterparts. Though the differences are not statistically significant, the direction is opposite what is predicted from traditional theories.

**Table 2 Percent of Property Victimization by
Demographic, Routine-lifestyle and Contextual Characteristics**

Variables		Number of Cases 1200	Percent Victimized 18.7
<i>Demographic Variables</i>			
Age of the Household Head	All Cases		
	18-29	140	15.7
	30-54	678	17.8
	55-up	382	21.2
	Chi square(Cramer's V)		2.724 (.048)
Sex of the household head	Female	214	18.2
	Male	986	18.8
	Chi square (Phi)		.034 (.005)
Education of the Household head	Some College	332	25.6
	Less than College	868	16.0
	Chi square (Phi)		14.543*** (.110)
Affluence of the Household	Affluent	163	35.0
	Poor	736	16.2
	Very Poor	301	15.9
	Chi square(Cramer's V)		33.026*** (.166)
Parental Structure of the Household	One parent structure	267	19.5
	Two parent Structure	933	18.4
	Chi square (Phi)		.148 (.011)
<i>Routine-Lifestyle Variables</i>			
Household Composition	Two or less adults	649	16.6
	Three to four adults	371	18.6
	Five adults or more	180	26.1
	Chi square(Cramer's V)		8.326** (.083)
Work Location of the Household Head	Outside of home	354	20.6
	Near or inside the home	846	17.8
	Chi square (Phi)		1.264 (.032)
Spending pattern	Household Spend	871	18.0
	Not Spend	329	20.4
	Chi square (Phi)		.861 (.027)
Number of Appliances	0-2 appliances	693	14.3
	3- more appliances	507	24.7
	Chi square (Phi)		20.735*** (.131)
Going out to busy places	Never	451	15.3
	Once	523	18.9
	2-more	226	24.8
	Chi square(Cramer's V)		8.953** (.086)

Table 2 (cont'd)

Variables		Number of Cases	Percent Victimized
	All Cases	1200	18.7
Television Watching	Light TV viewer	509	15.3
	Heavy TV viewer	691	21.1
	Chi square (Phi)		6.505** (.074)
Perception of Criminality	Crime fell; no change	1004	16.4
	Crime rose	196	30.1
	Chi square (Phi)		20.178*** (.130)
Overseas Worker	With Overseas	113	25.7
	Without Overseas	1087	17.9
	Chi square (Phi)		4.023** (.058)
Homeownership	Homeowner	899	16.8
	Non-homeowner	301	24.3
	Chi square (Phi)		8.257*** (.083)
Contextual Variables			
Locale	Urban	750	25.2
	Rural	450	7.8
	Chi square (Phi)		56.230*** (.216)
Regional Area	Metro Manila	300	30.3
	Balance of Luzon	300	13.0
	Visayas	300	12.7
	Mindanao	300	18.7
	Chi square(Cramer's V)		40.354*** (.183)
Population Mobility	Low Mobility	760	15.7
	High Mobility	440	23.9
	Chi square (Phi)		12.359*** (.101)
Social Cohesiveness	Low Cohesiveness	112	22.3
	High Cohesiveness	1088	18.3
	Chi square (Phi)		1.087 (.030)
Barangay Justice	Low Efficacy	218	22.9
	Average Efficacy	247	23.9
	High Efficacy	735	15.6
	Chi square(Cramer's V)		12.318*** (.101)
Satisfaction with Law Enforcement	Low Satisfaction	281	26.7
	Average Satisfaction	396	22.0
	High Satisfaction	523	11.9
	Chi square(Cramer's V)		30.746*** (.160)

Phi or Cramer's V Values are in parenthesis for the strength of association

***p< .01

**p < .05

* p< .10

Among the routine-lifestyle variables, ownership of household appliances and perception of crime in the neighborhood have the strongest associations with property victimization. Households which own three or more appliances, experience one and half times greater risk than households which own two or fewer appliances. Household members who perceive that criminality rose or will rise in their neighborhood also report greater risk of property victimization. Going to busy places, overseas working and homeownership are also significantly related to property victimization, though the strengths of associations are weaker. All these variables are associated with property victimization in the expected directions.

Two routine-lifestyle variables are associated with property victimization but in the opposite direction. Contrary to the guardianship claims of TV watching (Messner and Blau, 1987), households that engaged in heavy TV watching hours face a one and a half times the risk of property victimization compared to households that are light TV viewers. However, scrutinizing the specific significance of television ownership explains this discrepancy. In the Philippines, TV ownership is associated with ownership of other household appliances. As such, it is TV ownership, not TV watching per se, that makes the household attractive targets for burglars and thieves.

Household composition performed in the opposite direction. The risk of property victimization for households with two-or-less-adults (the nuclear families) is almost identical to the risk faced by three-to-four-adult household (the moderately extended families). This generally conforms to guardianship effects of having “moderate” number of adults in the household. However, the risk of property victimization significantly increases for households that have more-than-five adults. This suggests that the

guardianship accorded by the number of adults in a household pertains only to households that are not “overly extended”. Property victimization risk increases dramatically for households with five or more adults, perhaps on account of the criminogenic effect of household crowding (Miethe et al, 1987). More than five adults in the household may result in the invitation of more people to come inside the house, thus providing potential burglars and thieves cues on the attractiveness of the household and its properties. Finally, there is very slight variation between risk of property victimization and work location of the household head and spending patterns of the household. Though the difference is toward the prediction of the routine activities theory, the differences are not statistically significant.

More significant variations in property victimizations were recorded for social disorganization attributes of the households. Households located in the Metro Manila regional area appear most at risk. Slightly more than 30 percent of these households had been a victim either of a burglary, a pickpocketing or a motor vehicle theft during the past six months. Metro Manila households experience more than twice the risk of property victimization compared to the risk faced by households located in the Balance of Luzon and Visayas regional areas. The households in the Mindanao regional area also experience a higher risk of property victimization compared to Visayas and Balance of Luzon.²¹

Of all the variables, locale has the strongest association with the risk of property victimization (See Table 2). Households in the urban areas experience more than three times the risk of property victimization compared to households in the rural areas. Households which are less mobile, situated in efficient barangays and which have higher

satisfaction to law enforcement in their areas, also face lesser risk of property victimization compared to their counterparts. All these conform to the traditional expectations of the social disorganization variables.

However, social cohesion is not significantly associated with property victimization. Households that report to be closely attached to people in their neighborhoods share equal risk levels to households that report otherwise. This is contrary to traditional predictions that households in socially cohesive neighborhoods should have lower risk of property victimization. In fact, an opposite direction, though non-significant, is observed in the occurrence of household burglary. This pattern conforms to an ethnographic study in a Chicago neighborhood where the denseness of social ties among community members may promote, and not stifle, the violation of official laws as long as it will advance the parochial needs of the members (Patillo, 1998).

Variables associated with Violent Victimization

Table 3 shows that, when compared to property victimization, fewer variables predict violent victimization of household members. None of the demographic variables are significantly related and only seven out of the remaining 15 variables are associated with violent victimization of household members. For routine-lifestyle variables, only three are significantly related to risk of violent victimization. Households whose members perceived that criminality rose or will rise in the future in their neighborhoods reported a 250 percent increase in the risk of violent victimization than households whose members reported that criminality declined or stayed the same in their neighborhoods. Households that have a member who works abroad also experience greater risk than

**Table 3 Percent of Violent Victimization by
Demographic, Routine-lifestyle and Contextual Characteristics**

Variables		Number of Cases 1200	Percent Victimized 5.4
<i>Demographic Variables</i>			
Age of the Household Head	All Cases		
	18-29	140	5.0
	30-54	678	5.5
	55-up	382	5.5
	Chi square(Cramer's V)		.054 (.007)
Sex of the household head	Female	214	7.5
	Male	986	5.0
	Chi square (Phi)		2.157 (.042)
Education of the Household head	Some College	332	5.7
	Less than College	868	5.3
	Chi square (Phi)		.084 (.008)
Affluence of the Household	Affluent	163	6.7
	Poor	736	4.5
	Very Poor	301	7.0
	Chi square(Cramer's V)		3.245 (.052)
Parental Structure of the Household	One parent structure	267	7.1
	Two parent Structure	933	4.9
	Chi square (Phi)		1.936 (.164)
<i>Routine-Lifestyle Variables</i>			
Household Composition	Two or less adults	649	5.1
	Three to four adults	371	5.9
	Five adults or more	180	5.6
	Chi square(Cramer's V)		.337 (.017)
Work Location of the Household Head	Outside of home	354	6.8
	Near or inside the home	846	4.8
	Chi square (Phi)		1.821 (.039)
Spending pattern	Household Spend	871	5.3
	Not Spend	329	5.8
	Chi square (Phi)		.114 (.010)
Number of Appliances	0-2 appliances	693	4.8
	3- more appliances	507	6.3
	Chi square (Phi)		1.373 (.241)
Going out to busy places	Never	451	6.2
	Once	523	4.8
	2-more	226	5.3
	Chi square(Cramer's V)		.971 (.028)

Table 3 (cont'd)

Variables		Number of Cases	Percent Victimized
	All Cases	1200	5.4
Television Watching	Light TV viewer	509	3.3
	Heavy TV viewer	691	6.9
	Chi square (Phi)		7.441*** (.079)
Perception of Criminality	Crime fell; no change	1004	4.4
	Crime rose	196	10.7
	Chi square (Phi)		12.833***(.103)
Overseas Worker	With Overseas	113	8.8
	Without Overseas	1087	5.1
	Chi square (Phi)		2.869** (.049)
Homeownership	Homeowner	899	5.5
	Non-homeowner	301	5.3
	Chi square (Phi)		.008 (.003)
Contextual Variables			
Locale	Urban	750	7.3
	Rural	450	2.2
	Chi square (Phi)		14.341*** (.109)
Regional Area	Metro Manila	300	9.7
	Balance of Luzon	300	3.3
	Visayas	300	3.7
	Mindanao	300	5.0
	Chi square(Cramer's V)		15.013*** (.112)
Population Mobility	Low Mobility	760	4.6
	High Mobility	440	6.8
	Chi square (Phi)		2.664* (.047)
Social Cohesiveness	Low Cohesiveness	112	8.0
	High Cohesiveness	1088	5.1
	Chi square (Phi)		1.654 (.037)
Barangay Justice	Low Efficacy	218	5.0
	Average Efficacy	247	7.3
	High Efficacy	735	4.9
	Chi square(Cramer's V)		2.594 (.046)
Satisfaction with Law Enforcement	Low Satisfaction	281	8.9
	Average Satisfaction	396	6.6
	High Satisfaction	523	2.7
	Chi square(Cramer's V)		15.326*** (.113)

Phi or Cramer's V Values are in parenthesis for the strength of association

***p< .01

**p < .05

* p< .10

households that do not have an overseas worker. Both variables are associated with violent victimization in the expected direction of routine activities theory.

Similar to property victimization, TV watching is associated with violent victimization but in the opposite direction. Households, which spend longer TV viewing hours, experience twice the risk of victimization than households that spend less TV viewing hours. This is in contrast to the less exposure claims of TV watching. This finding seems to suggest that given the nature of television viewing to be primarily a household activity (Messner and Blau, 1987), longer television viewing is associated with the risk of having a household member being violently victimized but in the home domain. Finally, there is little variation between risk of violent victimization and household composition, work location of the household head, spending patterns of the household, number of appliances, going out to busy places, and homeownership.

Similar to property victimization, households located in the Metro Manila regional area appear most at risk of violent victimization. Nearly 10 percent of these households reported that a household member had been a victim of assault, stabbing or other forms of physical violence in the past six months. Metro Manila households experience almost thrice the risk of violent victimization compared to households located in the Balance of Luzon and Visayas regional areas and one a half times the risk compared to households located in Mindanao regional area.

Locale is also strongly associated with the risk of violent victimization. Households in the urban areas experience almost four times the risk of violent victimization compared to households in the rural areas. Households which are less mobile and have higher satisfaction with law enforcement in their areas also face lesser

risk of violent victimization compared to their counterparts. All these conform to the traditional expectations of the social disorganization theory. However, social cohesion and barangay justice efficacy of the neighborhood are not significantly associated with violent victimization.

Summary of the Bivariate Relationships

The results of bivariate relationships answer some of the key issues that are of interest to this research. First, it is clear that some of the western traditional variables have the potential to explain victimization risk even in a non-western developing country setting. This is especially true for the social disorganization variables. On a bivariate level of analysis, 14 and 7 out of the 20 variables tested were significantly related with property victimization and violent victimization, respectively. Second, the difference between the opportunity structures of property and violent victimization, as reported in the western literature, is also manifested in this research.

However, the bivariate analysis also indicates that many of the western traditional variables were not associated with criminal victimization in the Philippine context. This is especially true for violent victimization. Finally, as can be seen by the Phi and Cramer's V values, the associations of all the independent to the dependent variables are weak. Locale stood as the strongest among the predictors yet its Phi value of .216 is conventionally regarded a "weak" association (Bachman and Paternoster, 2004).

Multivariate Analysis

The data presented from Tables 2 and 3 show that victimization risk for households and its members vary with demographic characteristics of the household head and the lifestyles and routines of the household members. Victimization risk also varies

with the neighborhood context in which the households are embedded. While many of the bivariate patterns of association are consistent with the proposed expectations of western theories, a multivariate method is necessary to identify which variables are related to victimization once other characteristics of the household or neighborhoods are controlled (Smith and Jarjoura, 1989).

Property Victimization

Tables 4- A, 4- B and 4- C present three models predicting property victimization. Model 1 (Table 4-A) shows only the effects of demographic characteristics. Model 2 (Table 4-B) shows the effect of routine-lifestyle variables while controlling for demographic variables and Model 3 (Table 4-C) shows the effect of contextual variables while controlling for demographic and routine-lifestyle variables.

Overall, Model 1 predicts about 4.5% of the variation in property victimization, as indicated by the Nagelkerke Pseudo R value. It is also an improvement of fit compared to the model with the intercept only, as shown by the Model Chi Square value. This indicates that demographic variables, as proposed by Hindelang et al (1978) explain a small proportion of the variation in property victimization.

From the logistic regression coefficients (*b*) of each variable in Model 1, we can see that age and sex of the household head and the parental structure of the household are not statistically significant predictors of property victimization when other demographic variables are controlled. This is similar to results reported in the bivariate levels. Educational level of the household head and the level of affluence of the household remained significantly related to property victimization even when other demographic variables are controlled. The odds of victimization faced by households where the head

have some college education increased by 42% compared to households whose head have less than college education. The odds of property victimization for poor and very poor households are significantly lower (about half) than the odds of property victimization faced by affluent households (reference category).

Table 4-A Logistic Regression Model of Property Victimization			
	Model 1		
Independent Variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Exp(b)</i>
Demographic Variables			
Age of Household Head			
Female (Ref category: Male)			
Some College (Ref category: Less Than College)	.352**	.176	1.422
Affluence of the Household	***		
(Poor)	-.815***	.258	.442
(Very Poor)	-.891***	.206	.410
(Ref category: Affluent)			
One Parent (Ref category: Two parent)			
Constant	-1.346***	.448	.260
	Model 1		
-2 Log Likelihood	1121.098		
Model Chi Square	34.15***		
Pseudo R Square (Nagelkerke)	.045		

** p<.05 ***p<.01

Model 2 of Table 4-B shows the effect of routine-lifestyle variables, while controlling for the demographic variables. Model 2 is a significant improvement from Model 1, as shown by the reduction in the log likelihood ratio by 36.909. Furthermore, Model 2 was able to explain 9.3% of the variation in the property victimization as shown by the Pseudo R value. This indicates that household members' routines and lifestyles affect property victimization independent of the demographic variables.

Moreover, the independent effects of the demographic variables are reduced when routine-lifestyle variables are controlled. It is noticeable that the effect of education of the household head is not significant in this model. This indicates that the routine-lifestyles of households where the head had some college education, not college education per se, that make the household prone to property victimization.

The contribution of the affluence of the household is also reduced to more than half, as indicated by the Wald values. After controlling for routine-lifestyle variables, there is no longer a significant difference between the odds of property victimization between the more affluent and poor households, though the very poor households are still significantly less victimized compared to the affluent households.

The logistic regression coefficients indicate that four of the routine-lifestyle variables predict property victimization, controlling for other measures. A unit increase in the perception of the residents that crime rose or will rise in the future in their neighborhood translates to 27% increase in the odds of property victimization occurring. Homeowners, on the other hand, have reduced odds of property victimization by more than half compared to their non-homeowner counterparts. An increase in the number of adults in the household and frequency of going to busy places likewise translated to increased odds of property victimization.

Three of the routine-lifestyle variables lost significance in the multivariate analysis. Household appliances, television watching and overseas working, are all associated with property victimization in the bivariate levels, but are no longer predictive in a multivariate level. Additionally, work location of the household head and spending

patterns are not predictive of the odds of property victimization. These are similar to the bivariate results shown earlier.

Table 4-B Logistic Regression Model of Property Victimization			
	Model 2		
Independent Variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Exp (b)</i>
Demographic Variables			
Age of Household Head			
Female (Ref category: Male)			
Some College (Ref category: Less Than College)			
Affluence of the Household	**		
(Poor)			
(Very Poor)	-.637***	.242	.529
(Ref category: Affluent)			
One Parent (Ref category: Two parent)			
Routine-lifestyle Variables			
Composition	.037*	.021	1.038
Work Outside of Home (Ref category: Near or Inside)			
Family spent (Ref category: Family did not)			
Appliances			
Going out to Busy places	.162*	.084	1.176
Light TV watching (Ref category: Heavy TV Watching)			
Perception of Criminality	.238***	.067	1.269
With Overseas (Ref category: W/O Overseas)			
Homeowner (Ref category: Non-Homeowner)	-.467***	.177	.627
Constant	-2.569***	.572	.077
	Model 2		
-2 Log Likelihood	1084.189		
Model Chi Square	36.909***		
Pseudo R Square (Nagelkerke)	.093		

**** p<.05 ***p<.01**

Model 3 in Table 4- C shows the effects of contextual variables in the predictors of property victimization while simultaneously controlling for demographic and routine-lifestyle variables. As can be seen by the reduction in the log likelihood ratio by 44.545, Model 3 is a further improvement of fit than the previous two models. This generally conforms to the notion that neighborhood characteristics where households are embedded independently affect property victimization. The Model Chi Square value also indicates, that taken together, social disorganization variables have the greatest potency in explaining property victimization in this data set. As such, inclusion of these variables was able to explain 14.9% of the variations in property victimization.

The logistic regression coefficients indicate that locale, population mobility, barangay justice efficacy and satisfaction with law enforcement significantly affect property victimization, over and above some of the effects of demographic, routine-lifestyles and other contextual variables. Households located in urban areas have more than twice the odds ($Exp B = 2.653$) of being a property victim compared to households located in rural areas. Households whose members are relatively new to the neighborhoods have one and half times odds of being a victim of burglary, pickpocketing or car theft than household members who report to be staying in the same neighborhood since childhood. Also, one unit increase in barangay justice efficacy index translates in the reduction of the odds of property victimization by 20%. An increase in the satisfaction of the respondents on the local enforcement in their area translates to a reduction of the odds of property victimization by almost 10%. These suggest that structural factors like urbanization and population mobility and community processes like barangay justice efficacy and public formal controls both have direct effects on property

victimization. Moreover, affluence of the household and perception of criminality still remain significant even when contextual variables are introduced, indicating that these variables have strong independent effect. However, regional area and social cohesiveness are not related to odds of property victimization when other variables are controlled.

In summary, households which have the following characteristics are significantly more prone to property victimization— those that are affluent, those which perceived that crime rose or will rise in the future, those located in an urban area, those that have high mobility, those that have low satisfaction with their barangay justice and those that have low satisfaction with their law enforcement. Among all these, location in an urban area stands as the strongest single predictor of property victimization.

Table 4-C Logistic Regression Model of Property Victimization

	Model 3		
Independent Variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Exp (b)</i>
Demographic Variables			
Age of Household Head			
Female (Ref category: Male)			
Some College (Ref category: Less Than College)			
Affluence of the Household	*		
(Poor)	-.592*	.322	.553
(Very Poor)	-.588**	.247	.555
(Ref category: Affluent)			
One Parent (Ref category: Two parent)			
Routine-lifestyle Variables			
Composition			
Work Outside of Home (Ref category: Near or Inside)			
Family spent (Ref category: Family did not)			
Appliances			
Going out to Busy places			
Light TV watching (Ref category: Heavy TV Watching)			
Perception of Criminality	.234***	.069	1.264
With Overseas (Ref category: W/O Overseas)			
Homeowner (Ref category: Non-Homeowner)			
Contextual Variables			
Urban (Ref category: Rural)	.976***	.240	2.653
Regional Area			
(Balance of Luzon)			
(Visayas)			
(Mindanao)			
(Ref category: Metro Manila)			
High Mobility (Ref category: Low Mobility)	.337**	.162	1.400
Cohesiveness			
Barangay Justice efficacy	-.219**	.089	.803
Law enforcement	-.088*	.045	.916
Constant	-2.067***	.725	.127
	Model 3		
-2 Log Likelihood	1039.644		
Model Chi Square	44.545***		
Pseudo R Square (Nagelkerke)	.149		

** p<.05 ***p<.01

Violent Victimization

Tables 5-A, 5-B and 5-C present the three models predicting violent victimization, in similar fashion as Table 4. Model 1 (Table 5-A) shows only the effects of demographic characteristics. Overall, Model 1 predicts only 1.4% of the variation in violent victimization, as indicated by the Nagelkerke Pseudo R. It is not an improvement of fit when compared to the model with the intercept only, as shown by the very low Model Chi Square value. This indicates that, in this data set, demographic variables like— age, sex and educational levels of the household head, and the affluence and parental structure of the household— are not significantly related to violent victimization of household members.

Table 5-A Logistic Regression Model of Violent Victimization			
Independent Variables	Model 1		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Exp (b)</i>
I. Demographic Variables			
Age of Household Head			
Female (Ref category: Male)			
Some College (Ref category: Less Than College)			
Affluence of the Household			
(Poor)			
(Very Poor)			
(Ref category: Affluent)			
One Parent (Ref category: Two parent)			
Constant	-2.569***	11.347	.077
Model 1			
-2 Log Likelihood	499.727		
Model Chi Square	5.727		
Pseudo R Square (Nagelkerke)	.014		

** p<.05 ***p<.01

Model 2 of Table 5-B shows the effect of routine activities variables, while controlling for the demographic variables. Model 2 is a significant improvement from Model 1, as shown by the reduction in the log likelihood ratio by 25.088. Furthermore, Model 2 explains 7.4% of the variation in violent victimization as shown by the Pseudo R value. This indicates that household members' routines and lifestyles affect the odds of violent victimization, independently and more strongly than the demographic variables.

The logistic regression coefficients indicate however that only two of the routine-lifestyle variables predict violent victimization, all other things being equal. A unit increase in the perception of the residents that crime rose or will rise in the future in their neighborhood translates to 38% increase in the odds of violent victimization occurring. Meanwhile, the odds that a violent victimization occurs are more than twice for heavy TV viewers than light TV viewers. As proposed earlier, this indicates that violent crimes may be happening in the home domain.

Overseas working, which is significant in a bivariate level, is reduced to non-significance when other routine-lifestyle variables are introduced. This indicates that it is the routine-lifestyles of households with overseas workers that make them prone to violent victimization, and not overseas working per se. Finally, the affluence of the household becomes significant when routine-lifestyle variables are introduced, indicating that routine-lifestyle variables specify the impact of household affluence on violent victimization. Members of more affluent households are more prone to violent victimization than members of less affluent households who engage in similar routines and lifestyles.

Table 5-B Logistic Regression Model of Violent Victimization			
	Model 2		
Independent Variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Exp (b)</i>
Demographic Variables			
Age of Household Head			
Female (Ref category: Male)			
Some College (Ref category: Less Than College)			
Affluence of the Household	***		
(Poor)	.856	.541	2.354
(Very Poor)	.022	.444	1.022
(Ref category: Affluent)			
One Parent (Ref category: Two parent)			
Routine-Lifestyle Variables			
Composition			
Work Outside of Home (Ref category: Near or Inside)			
Family spent (Ref category: Family did not)			
Appliances			
Going out to Busy places			
Light TV watching (Ref category: Heavy TV Watching)	.771**	.307	2.161
Perception of Criminality	.324***	.110	1.383
With Overseas (Ref category: W/O Overseas)			
Homeowner (Ref category: Non-Homeowner)			
Constant	-4.681***	1.006	.009
	Model 2		
-2 Log Likelihood	474.639		
Model Chi Square	25.088***		
Pseudo R Square (Nagelkerke)	.074		

** p<.05 ***p<.01

Model 3 in Table 5- C shows the effects of contextual variables in the predictors of violent victimization while simultaneously controlling for demographic and routine-lifestyle variables. As can be seen by the reduction in the log likelihood ratio by 19.048, Model 3 is a further improvement of fit than the previous two models. This generally conforms to the notion that neighborhood characteristics where households are embedded independently affect violent victimization. However, the Model Chi value indicates that

taken together, social disorganization variables have lesser potency in explaining violent victimization, compared to routine-lifestyle variables. Still, the inclusion of these social disorganization variables resulted to an increase in the explanatory power of the whole model (Pseudo R= .118 or 11.8%).

The logistic regression coefficients indicate that only locale and satisfaction to law enforcement significantly affect violent victimization, after controlling for different demographic, routine-lifestyles and other contextual variables. Household members located in urban areas have twice the odds (*Exp B*= 2.159) of being assaulted or stabbed compared to household members located in rural areas. An increase in the perceived satisfaction of the respondents with the local enforcement in their area translates to a reduction of the odds of property victimization by almost 16%.

Population mobility, social cohesiveness and barangay justice efficacy are not related to violent victimization, though the directions of their relationships are toward what is predicted. This suggests that community processes may have little capability to explain violent victimization in the Philippine context. Similar to property victimization, regional area is also not a predictor of violent victimization in the full model, despite being a very strong predictor in the bivariate level. Finally, households that are heavy TV viewers and in close proximity to potential offenders still face significantly greater odds of property victimization, even when contextual variables are controlled.

In summary, households which have the following characteristics have members who are more prone to violent victimization— those that perceived crime increased or will increase in the future in their neighborhood, those that are heavy TV viewers, those that are located in an urban area and those that have low satisfaction with their law

enforcement. Among all these, perception of criminality stands to be strongest single predictor of violent victimization.²²

Table 5-C Logistic Regression Model of Violent Victimization			
	Model 3		
Independent Variables	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Exp (b)</i>
Demographic Variables			
Age of Household Head			
Female (Ref category: Male)			
Some College (Ref category: Less Than College)			
Affluence of the Household			
(Poor)			
(Very Poor)			
(Ref category: Affluent)			
One Parent (Ref category: Two parent)			
Routine-lifestyle Variables			
Composition			
Work Outside of Home (Ref category: Near or Inside)			
Family spent (Ref category: Family did not)			
Appliances			
Going out to Busy places			
Light TV watching (Ref category: Heavy TV Watching)	.553*	.315	1.738
Perception of Criminality	.278**	.114	1.320
With Overseas (Ref category: W/O Overseas)			
Homeowner (Ref category: Non-Homeowner)			
Contextual Variables			
Urban (Ref category: Rural)	.770*	.427	2.159
Regional Area			
(Balance of Luzon)			
(Visayas)			
(Mindanao)			
(Ref category: Metro Manila)			
High Mobility (Ref category: Low Mobility)			
Cohesiveness			
Barangay Justice Efficacy			
Law enforcement	-.173*	.076	.841
Constant	-3.135***	1.248	.044
	Model 3		
-2 Log Likelihood		455.591	
Model Chi Square		19.048**	
Pseudo R Square (Nagelkerke)		.118	

** p<.05 ***p<.01

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

This study examines whether western traditional theories of criminal victimization have the potency to explain the same phenomenon in a different social, political, cultural and historical context. Seventeen representative variables that have been found to be robust predictors of criminal victimization in the western societies were selected for this study. In addition, three variables (overseas working, homeownership and regional area) were included to represent the unique context of the study site. All these 20 exogenous variables were guided by the predictions of lifestyle-exposure, routine activities and social disorganization theories.

From the analyses that were conducted, the following themes emerged. First, the different theories can be successfully operationalized in the Philippine context. For example, overseas working is a phenomenon unique in the Philippines. It affects the role expectations for parents in the households (Asis et al, 2004). As such, its potential contribution to victimization experience can be properly integrated through the guardianship and attractiveness thesis of the routine activity theory. Similarly, regional area, a major survey categorization in the Philippines, can be used to account for victimization based on the cultural heterogeneity thesis of the social disorganization theory.

Second, from this successful operationalization, western traditional theories have some potency in explaining victimization in the Philippine context. In fact, the recurring finding in the Western literature regarding the difference of the opportunity structures of property and violent victimization are replicated in this study. Specifically, this study finds that in property victimization, social disorganization variables are the most potent

predictors, though demographic (household affluence) and routine-lifestyles (exposure to potential offenders) also affect property victimization. On the other hand, in violent victimization, routine-lifestyle variables are the strongest predictors, with some contributions from social disorganization variables (locale and public formal control) and little effect from demographic variables. In simple terms, the results show that property victimization in the Philippines can be determined by where Filipino households live, while violent victimization are determined by what Filipino households do.

Third, similar to the concerns raised by many scholars (Miethe et al, 1987; Sampson and Wooldredge, 1987; Smith and Jarjoura, 1989), there is a need to investigate the variables in a multivariate analysis. In this study, many of the demographic and routine-lifestyle variables are significant in the bivariate levels; yet lose their explanatory power once contextual variables are introduced in the model. For example, the concern raised by many Filipino scholars about the devastating effects of overseas working, where children left behind are supposed to suffer on account of becoming “emotional orphans” (Asis, 2004) are not supported, when all other variables are included. These findings suggest that it is the daily routines and lifestyles of members in the household where there is an overseas worker; not overseas working per se, that makes the household and its members prone to victimization. Without the multivariate analysis, therefore, the relationships among the variables would be spurious. Similarly, the strong bivariate effects of regional area, where Metro Manila households are found to be more at risk than households in the three other regions in both property and violent victimization, are not statistically significant once other demographic and routine-lifestyle variables are controlled. This suggests that the effect of regional area is rather spurious. Metro Manila

households tend to be more mobile, more affluent, more educated and have more appliances than their regional counterparts, which account for their various victimizations.²³

Fourth, the concern raised by some scholars on domain specifications (Maxfield, 1987) is very relevant, especially when testing a theory outside the area of its conception. This is emphasized by the opposite direction of the performance of TV watching. In the United States, due to the prevalence of television sets in every household, it is almost natural to conceive of TV watching *purely* on its effect on household guardianship (that is, members stay longer at home) (Messner and Blau, 1987). In the Philippines, however, many homes still do not have TV sets. TV ownership *also* signifies material prosperity, thus making the household attractive to burglars and thieves. Therefore, it is the TV ownership, not longer TV viewing per se, that is associated with higher property victimization.²⁴

Finally, despite the numerous variables used to explain variations in victimization risk, the Pseudo R values of the full models indicate that there are still much to be accounted for. This is particularly true for violent victimization where only 11.8% of the variation was explained. This could be due to four factors. One, there are still many other variables that were not included in the models. For example, Sampson and Lauritsen (1990) find that deviant and offending behaviors are intimately linked to victimization risk. However, due to the limitations of the dataset, these variables were not included.

Two, many variables used in this research are indirect measures of the concepts that were originally proffered. Household affluence, usually measured in terms of annual

family income, was substituted by using the interviewers' assessment of the respondent's dwelling. This indirect measure may explain the weak performance of household affluence in violent victimization of household members.

Three, in this research, the dependent variables are not fully specified. For example, studies done in the western context have subcategorized stranger/non-stranger violence (Sampson, 1987) and home, office, school, leisure or other domains (Maxfield, 1987). These specifications are necessary because each kind of victimization has unique opportunity structures that could be masked when they are aggregated. In this research, however, the dependent variables are not sub-categorized due to data limitations, thus possibly hiding the effects of the predictor variables.

Four, the unit of analysis used in this research is the household. Most researches done in the western hemisphere is individual victimization. The demographic traits of the household head may have little capability in explaining the victimization risks of household members. This is because victimization is usually an individual affront (except in cases of burglary and other household crimes). This could possibly explain why the demographic variables used in this research, such as age and sex, did not perform as predicted.

However, the weak performance of the predictor variables, especially on violent victimization, may also be attributed to the unique social, economic, political and cultural dynamics of the Philippines. For example, in the United States, United Kingdom and Canada, households headed by younger people, females and single-parents are vulnerable to different forms of victimization (Sampson and Wooldredge, 1987; Smith and Jarjoura, 1989). In the Philippines, as this data set had shown, these demographic variables (age of

household heads, sex of household heads and parental structure of the household) are not significant predictors of property and violent victimization of the household and its members.

This could be possibly explained by the differences in how households are organized. In the Philippines, there is a prevalence of extended family membership where household help is readily available. The prevalence of household help may attenuate the deficiencies faced by households headed by younger people, females and single-parents. It is culturally encouraged, for example, that grandparents usually stay with single-parent, female-headed and newly starting households. The lifestyles of these supposedly vulnerable groups are attenuated thus making these kinds of households not particularly susceptible to victimization.

Also, the contrary finding could be explained by the differing socio-economic characteristics of female-headed households in the Philippines. Female-headed households in the Philippines are not as vulnerable as their counterparts in the United States. In the United States, female-headed households are strongly associated with economic and social disadvantages like lower family incomes, dependency on social welfare and having more dependent children (Wilson, 1996), which possibly explains their higher risks of victimization. In the Philippines, female-headed households tend to be smaller, (with an average of four members) and have higher family incomes compared to male-headed households (National Council on the Role of the Filipino Women, 2005).

Similarly, the weak performance of social cohesion emphasizes the importance of culture in the study of criminal victimization. In this data set, household members who report to be closely attached to people in their neighborhoods and villages share equal

risk levels to household members who report otherwise (See Table 2). This is contrary to predictions that households in socially cohesive neighborhoods should have lower risk of criminal victimization. In fact, an opposite direction, though non-significant, is observed in the occurrence of household burglary.²⁵ This pattern conforms to an ethnographic study in a Chicago neighborhood where the denseness of social ties among community members may promote, and not stifle, the violation of official laws as long as it will advance the parochial needs of the members (Patillo, 1998). In the Philippines, while many household members claim to be close to other residents in their neighborhood on account of extended kinship, this strong social cohesion fails to influence levels of victimization. While social cohesion may increase guardianship, it may likewise provide a venue for networking of potential criminals, thus negating its positive benefits.

These suggest that other forms of conceptualization may be formulated to account for victimization in the Philippine context. While western theories are rich in their predictions, they do not fully explain the phenomenon in a different setting. The cultural uniqueness in family organization, the differing level of maturity of formal public institutions, the prevalence of elitism and particularistic interests in political life, the differing economic responses to urban situations (like absence of de-urbanization) and the diverging meaning attached to particular symbols (like TV ownership) must be incorporated in any attempt of conceptualizing criminal victimization in the Philippines.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

This research is the first empirical study on criminal victimization in the Philippines. It provides preliminary findings on what predict victimization in a non-

western developing society. It tailor fits the predictions of western theories in the local Philippine context.

However, these findings are tentative and should be taken with caution. One, this study makes use of a secondary data set, which was gathered not for the primary purpose of studying victimization risk. As such, many of the items in the survey were indirect measures and were not originally conceptualized to gauge the ideas propounded in the western traditional theories. Future research may therefore improve immensely if the data gathered are guided by more direct measures of the concepts. For example, in this research, social cohesion is measured by how close the respondents are to other members of the neighborhood. It is anchored on the respondent's feelings. While this may be a plausible measure of attachment to a certain neighborhood, this is rather arbitrary. Other researchers captured social cohesion in practical and easy to verify acts, like the number of times neighbors exchange food items, look out at each other's house and supervise each other's children (Villarreal and Silva, 2006).

Second, future research may also benefit by specifying clearly the different dependent variables. For example, determining the specific correlates of stranger-violence or school-domain violence may further the understanding of criminal victimization in the Philippines. In this research, the domain of the victimization is not fully specified, thus possibly confounding the specific effect of predictor variables. Furthermore, focus on individual victimization, in contrast to household victimization, would clarify whether demographic variables, such as age and sex, are indeed weak predictors of violent crimes in the Philippine context.

Third, better measures of the contextual variables where the geographical/spatial characteristics of the neighborhood should be included in succeeding researches. Instead of simply aggregating the similar-characteristic neighborhoods (as what has been done here), scholars should be able to incorporate neighborhood traits that may be independent of the individual traits by members of the neighborhood.

Fourth, an improvement of the methodology used in this study should be in order. Due to the highly skewed nature of the data, simple logistic regressions were used. Though appropriate in this kind of analysis, this methodology fails to incorporate the specific context where the individual respondents are nested. Identifying the attributes of individuals in a particular neighborhood provides a clearer delineation of the contributions of individual-level and neighborhood-level effects. More advanced methodological tools, like Hierarchical Linear Modeling, which takes into consideration the individual-neighborhood interactions, had been found to yield more powerful results (Roundtree et al, 1994).

Finally, the western theories that predict criminal victimization needs to be re-conceptualized when used to explain the same phenomenon in a different setting. Though some variables are universal in application, the unique organizational, political and familial culture of a particular study site may render some variables impotent. Concepts from other academic disciplines may be integrated to the criminological theories. In the field of political science, for example, the unequal development of the state organs vis-à-vis other competing interests resulted in the popularization of the “soft state” concept (Lipset, 1960). This concept characterizes most developing countries; the Philippines included (Hutchcroft, 1998). This alternative form of state formation, contrary to the

mature and established democracies of the western industrialized countries, may necessitate the inclusion of variables not included in the study. In particular, variables like personal connections to key people in government, number of friends and relatives working in the criminal justice agencies, quality and breadth of contacts, etc— variables that capture mechanisms that increase ones' access to the dispersers of political power—are variables that may explain the variations in the victimization experiences.

NOTES

¹ I initially intended to analyze these three property crimes separately. However due to the skewed distribution of the data, some analyses are not very meaningful. An example is motor vehicle theft that occurred in only 1.3% of the sample. Thus, I aggregated the three incidents together. However, to answer the concerns raised by previous scholars that aggregation may mask the unique opportunity structure of each crime type, I performed concurrent analyses where burglary and pickpocketing were disaggregated. Generally, the results are similar; otherwise, their differences will be noted in the text. Finally, given the assertions that social disorganization theory is best in describing total crimes (Veysey and Messner, 1999), I further aggregated property and violent victimization. The results generally reflect the results in the property victimization, considering that most crimes recorded in the dataset are property crimes. Thus, reference to the total crimes will be made only when warranted.

² As a further check, I also tried the alternative notion that carjacking involves forcible taking of one's car and it may involve physical violence. This implies that it is better to consider it as a violent crime. When aggregated, however, the results are not consistent when taking violent physical victimization alone, suggesting differences in opportunity structures.

³ The occurrence of property and violent crimes is somewhat higher compared to what is commonly reported in the international and cross-country literature. As such, I tried to cross-validate this data by official measures from the Philippine National Police. The Philippine National Police reports that in 1995, there is a total of "112.8 crimes per 100,000 population" (National Statistical Coordination Board, 2002) which (surprisingly) is one of the lowest not only in Asia but the world as well. This wide discrepancy could be attributed to the differences in reporting mechanisms. As such, I culled additional victimization data from different data sets of the Social Weather Stations for the first and second quarter of 1995 (and is

also retrievable from the ICPSR.) Risks of victimization based on surveys are consistent with the ones reported here.

⁴ Some of the independent variables are categorized to illustrate their bivariate relationship with the dependent variables. In the multivariate analysis, however, their original metric was used.

⁵ I also recoded education by designating “finish college” and “post-baccalaureate” as category 1 and “some college” and lower levels of educational attainment as category 0. The result is basically the same. I chose to use “some college, finish college and post baccalaureate” as a distinct group considering that these levels all indicate that they finish High School. In the Philippines, most companies require at least some college (72 credits) to be admitted for a job, thus theoretically meeting the requirement that the category should express similar traits. Statistically, this grouping is better considering that it increases the observed frequency in one of the categories.

⁶ As used in this survey, class categorization is based on the type of dwelling of the respondents. Respondents residing fully furnished homes and located in more affluent neighborhoods are considered either class A, B or C. Respondents residing in more decrepit areas and with houses not fully furnished are considered either class D or E.

⁷ I initially intended to measure affluence of the household using two items in the questionnaire: an item determining the economic class of the household and an item that asks the “self rated poverty” of the respondents. However, the reliability analysis shows an alpha of .4299 indicating that the two items are measuring two different things. As such, I dropped the “self rated poverty” and used the economic class of the household instead. I believe that this is a more objective measure of level of affluence considering that it is the trained interviewers that classified the class of the respondents. Compared to “self rated poverty” this measure is prone to problems associated with social desirability, where rich respondents may “humbly” declare that they are poor. This is consistent with the Filipino cultural mentality that disdains “yabang” or bragging and promotes “pagpapakumbaba” or humility especially when asked about economic conditions of the household (Enriquez, 1975).

⁸ Sampson and Wooldredge (1987) raise some concerns on where to categorize “widow.” For though “widows” may share the one-parent structure of “separated” “divorced” and “single” households, they may not share its vulnerabilities. Following the theoretical emphasis of two-parent guardianship however, I categorized “widow” in the one-parent structure.

⁹ The Philippines is one of the few countries in the world that do not allow a divorce. This is due to the strong opposition of the Catholic Church against any bill in Congress proposing to legalize it.

¹⁰ Three items and different coding variations were tested before I finally settled to use this coding mechanism. First, I used the item “resident family size” (range 1 to 14) of the household were helpers, family drivers and gardeners were included and categorized it into three groups (1-3 “small household size”; 4-6 “average household size” and more than 6 as “above average household size”). Second, I made use of the item “actual number of household members” where all household members like transients (that is, relatives who temporarily stay) are included (range from 1 to 32) and categorized in two (1-6 “not so crowded”; 7 and up “crowded”). I settled in using the third item where the “number of adults in the household” was identified for two reasons: one, it is theoretically more consistent to the idea of guardianship, and two, it more specifies the relationship among household members, that is, an adult transient is different from a young transient. In any case, the results reported herein are similar to the results of other items.

¹¹ I also used three-group categorization (0-1 as fell/will fall=0; 2 as did not change =1; 3-4 a rose/will rise=2). Initial results show similarity when two-group categorization was used. To increase observed cell frequencies, I used the two-group categorization.

¹² Scholars generally raise concern on the validity of using this measure (Wooldredge et al, 1992). It is possible that crime perception increased as a result of victimization experience. Given the cross-sectional nature of the data, one cannot ascertain which of the variable cause the other. As such, I performed a separate multivariate analysis without the perception of crime index. It did not dramatically change the statistical significance levels of the remaining variables in the model. This same approach was taken by Wooldredge et al (1992).

¹³ It is noted that in the Philippines, there are households which squat in private or public lands and perceive that they rightfully own their houses. While this is very plausible, what I am currently interested in evaluating is the home ownership structure of the household. This is with the assumption that similar home ownership structure will be in close proximity of each other (that is, owners will be in close proximity with other owners, squatters with other squatters, etc).

¹⁴ The over-representation of household owners versus renters and other arrangements could be explained by two factors. First, the question distinguishes between house owners and lot owners and one therefore could be a house owner but a lot renter. Lots are usually more expensive, as manifested by the fact that only 47 percent of the households in this same sample own their lots. Second, there is a difficulty in surveying squatters and other illegal settlers, which could possibly explain why non-home owners are under-represented.

¹⁵ Due to the nature of the sampling, Metro Manila is over-sampled and Balance of Luzon is under-sampled. The current population distribution is: Metro Manila is 13%, Balance of Luzon is 44%, Visayas is 20.3% and Mindanao is 23% (Census on Population and Housing, 2000).

¹⁶ Another item used in the questionnaire is the respondent's length of residence in the present town and is answerable by "less than a year" or "one year or more." This item is more commonly used in the studies in the western context. However, considering the nature of Filipino households to stay in the same locality for long period of time, for example, in this survey only 2.2 percent of the total respondents answered to have stayed in the present neighborhood for less than a year, the independent variable becomes highly skewed and precludes making any meaningful analysis. As such, I opted to use a more strict definition of population stability, that is, the respondent should be staying in the same locality since childhood. Thus, in this research, older respondents who may have stayed in the same locality for the past 20 years or so, as long as they spent their childhood in a different town, are considered more mobile than those who stayed in the same neighborhood since childhood.

¹⁷ Other items in the questionnaire include questions on how close the respondents are to people in the province and to the country. I declined to include these items on the analysis for the reason that closeness to the province and country are theoretically different to the closeness to village and towns, which may dilute the community processes emphasized by the social disorganization theory. The alpha reliability of the two items is .5720.

¹⁸ In the Philippines, the military has a supportive police functions. The military is involved in the general peace and order, anti-insurgency, and counter-criminal measures like kidnappings and drugs. (Filler, 2002) As such, the Philippine Military is directly involved in the communities' formal public control.

¹⁹ Separate analyses (not reported) were also conducted where routine-lifestyle variables and contextual variables were introduced first.

²⁰ A more powerful tool, the hierarchical linear modeling (HLM), is more desirable in multivariate researches. However, a major limitation of the dataset, where very few individuals are nested in the same neighborhood, precludes the use of HLM.

²¹ To verify mean differences among the four regions, I performed an analysis of variance specifically for burglary. The results are similar. See table below.

Cross-tabulation of Burglary victimization by Regional Area

Regional Area	Non-victim	Victim
Metro Manila	271(90.3%)	29(9.7%)
Balance of Luzon	289(96.3%)	11(3.7%)
Visayas	286(95.3%)	14(4.7%)
Mindanao	264(88.0%)	36(12.0%)
Total	1110(92.5%)	90(7.5%)

Chi Square is 20.613*** *** p<.01

²² This finding should be taken with caution. As explained earlier, higher perception of criminality may be a direct result of a previous criminal victimization experience. A longitudinal study would clarify more specifically the effects of negative crime perceptions.

²³ I performed a cross-tabulation of regional area with the variables that are significantly related to victimization. Results show that Metro Manila residents are more mobile, more affluent, more educated and have more household appliances than their regional counterparts.

²⁴ To verify this, I made a cross-tabulation of TV viewing and household appliance. Results shows that the two are variables are associated (Chi Square is 96.452***; p<.01).

²⁵ This data was disaggregated from the total property crimes.

APPENDIX 1 LIST OF VARIABLES AND ORIGINAL CODINGS

DEPENDENT VARIABLES:

Now, we would also like to know your experiences and that of your immediate family members regarding crime. In the past six months, have you or any member of your family been a victim of _____? (Answerable by “Yes” or “No”)

1. PANDURUKOT O PAGNANAKAW NG PANSARILING KAGAMITAN (Pick-pocketing/theft of personal property).
2. PAGPASOK O BREAK-IN SA TAHANAN (Break-in at respondent’s residence)
3. PAGNANAKAW NG KOTSE O SASAKYAN (Automobile theft)
4. PAMBUGBOG, PANANAKSAK O IBA PANG KARAHASAN (Assault, Stabbing and other Physical violence)
5. Total number respondent’s family was victimized

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES:

1. Age of the head of the households (interval level measure).
2. Sex (“Male” or “Female”)
3. Educational Attainment of the Household Head

Frequency distribution of Educational Attainment

	Frequency	Percent
1 No formal education	28	2.3
2 Some elementary	195	16.3
3 Completed elementary	200	16.7
4 Some high school	166	13.8
5 Completed high school	216	18.0
6 Some vocational	26	2.2
7 Completed vocational	37	3.1
8 Some college	127	10.6
9 Completed college	188	15.7
10 Post college	17	1.4
Total	1200	100.0

4. Affluence of the household (Class of dwelling).

Frequency distribution of Class of dwelling

	Frequency	Percent
1 AB	33	2.8
2 C	130	10.8
3 D	736	61.3
4 E	301	25.1
Total	1200	100.0

5. Parental structure of the household (Civil Status of Household head)

Frequency distribution of the Civil Status of the Household head

	Frequency	Percent
1 Single	70	5.8
2 Married	916	76.3
3 Widow/widower	183	15.3
4 Separated	14	1.2
5 Living-in as married	17	1.4
Total	1200	100.0

6. Household composition (This variable is constructed by counting the total number of adults in the household).

Frequency distribution of the number of adults in the household

	Frequency	Percent
1 Single	22	1.8
2 One adult/one child	14	1.2
3 One adult/two children	14	1.2
4 One adult/three or more children	13	1.1
5 Two adults	90	7.5
6 Two adults/one child	117	9.8
7 Two adults/two child	130	10.8
8 Two adults/three or more	249	20.8
9 Three adults	62	5.2
10 Three adults with children	148	12.3
11 Four adults	41	3.4
12 Four adults with children	120	10.0
13 Five adults	27	2.3
14 Five adults with children	61	5.1
15 Six adults	13	1.1
16 Six adults with children	32	2.7
17 Seven adults	9	.8
18 Seven adults with children	16	1.3
19 Eight adults	2	.2
20 Eight adults with children	8	.7
21 Nine adults	2	.2
22 Nine adults with children	5	.4
24 Ten adults with children	3	.3
25 11 adults	2	.2
Total	1200	100.0

7. Work location of household head. This variable is constructed from an item that asks respondents of their working status: working in government; working in the private sector; self-employed/informal sector; unpaid family worker; not working; never worked before. Working in "Government" and in "Private" form one category, the rest, another category.

Frequency distribution of the working location of the household head

	Frequency	Percent
Government	98	8.1
Private	256	21.3
Self-employed/informal sector	592	49.3
Unpaid family worker	2	.01
Not working	237	19.7
Never worked before	15	1.2
Total	1200	100.00

8. Spending patterns. This variable is constructed by adding three items that asks: Which of the following did your family do in the past three months and answerable by 1=yes; 0=no.
 - a. Bought a major home appliance worth no less than Php 1,000.00.
 - b. Repaired/ Remodeled the house for worth no less than Php 1,000,00.
 - c. Invested or increased investment in any income-generating venture for not less than Php 1,000.00.

9. Number of portable items in the household. This variable is constructed by adding the items that the household has (cellular phones, black and white TV, colored TV, personal computers, pager/beepers/microwave ovens)

10. Going out. This variable is constructed by adding the responses on the question: Which of the following activities have you done in the past 6 months which is answerable by yes or no.
 - a. Watched a movie
 - b. Watched a concert or recital
 - c. Watched a festival show
 - d. Went to a park

11. Television Watching. This variable uses a single item that asks respondents "In an ordinary day, how much time do respondents spend watching television?"

Frequency distribution of the television watching

	Frequency	Percent
1 Have no TV	251	20.9
2 Have TV but no time	63	5.3
3 Less than 1 hour	195	16.3
4 1-2 hours	366	30.5
5 3 or more hours	325	27.1
Total	1200	100.0

12. Perception of criminality. This variable is constructed by adding the scores of two items that ask respondents about perceptions of criminality in the neighborhood:

- a. In the past year, did criminality in your neighborhood_____?
Answerable by: "rise" "did not change" "fall" "not know" "none".
- b. In the coming year, will criminality in your neighbor_____?
Answerable by: "will rise" "will not change" "will fall" "not know" "none".

"Not know" and "none" were considered in the neutral category and assigned with the same value as "will not change".¹

Frequency distribution of the perception about criminality in the past year

	Frequency	Percent
1 Rose	178	14.8
2 Fell	427	35.6
3 Did not change	581	48.4
4 Not know	13	1.1
5 None	1	.1
Total	1200	100.0

Frequency distribution of the perception about criminality in the future

	Frequency	Percent
1 Will rise	165	13.8
2 Will fall	385	32.1
3 Will not change	599	49.9
4 Not know	50	4.2
5 None	1	.1
Total	1200	100.0

13. Overseas worker in the household. This item asks respondents whether there are overseas contract workers in the family and answerable by: "currently" "previously" and "never". "Previously and "never" were collapsed into one category.

Frequency distribution of overseas working

	Frequency	Percent
1 Currently	113	9.4
2 Previously	104	8.7
3 Never	983	81.9
Total	1200	100.0

14. Homeownership. This variable includes two items that ask whether respondents own their house and their lots with answers: “own” “renting” “neither own nor rent” “owned by relatives” “owned by employer” “other”).

Frequency distribution of homeownership

	Frequency	Percent
1 Own house	899	74.9
2 Renting	163	13.6
3 Neither own nor rent	138	11.5
Total	1200	100.0

15. Locale. This item determines whether respondents live in a “rural” or “urban” area. Interviewers were guided by the definition used by the National Statistical Coordination Board, the Philippines’ policy making and coordinating body on statistical matters. “Urban” areas fall under the following categories:
- a. In their entirety, all municipal jurisdictions which, whether designated chartered cities, provincial capital or not, have a population density of at least 1,000 persons per square kilometer;
 - b. all barangays, poblaciones or central districts of municipalities and cities which have a population density of at least 500 persons square kilometer;
 - c. Poblaciones or central districts not included in (1) and (2) regardless of the population size which have the following:
 - i. street pattern or network of streets in either parallel or right angel orientation;
 - ii. at least six establishments (commercial, manufacturing, recreational and/or personal services);
 - iii. at least three of the following:
 1. a town hall, church or chapel with religious service at least once a month;
 2. a public plaza, park or cemetery;
 3. a market place, or building, where trading activities are carried on at least once a week;
 4. a public building, like a school, hospital, puericulture and health center or library.
 - d. Barangays having at least 1,000 inhabitants which meet the conditions set forth in (3) above and where the occupation of the inhabitants is predominantly non-farming or fishing.

“Rural” areas are all poblaciones or central districts and all barrios that do not meet the requirements for classification of urban.

16. Regional Area (Metro Manila, Balance of Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao)

17. Population Mobility. This item asks respondents “where did you spend most of your childhood” and answerable by: in “this town or city”, “in a different town” “in a different province” and “outside the Philippines”.

Frequency distribution of where respondents spent most of their childhood

	Frequency	Percent
1 In this town/city	760	63.3
2 In a different town	203	16.9
3 In a different province	235	19.6
4 Outside the Philippines	2	.2
Total	1200	100.0

18. Social cohesiveness. This variable makes use of two items measuring how closely the respondents feel to the neighborhood (village and town) that they come from. The answers are: “very close” “close” “not very close” “not close at all” and “Can’t choose.” “Can’t choose” was assigned a middle value.²

Frequency distribution of the closeness to neighborhood/village

	Frequency	Percent
1 Very close	333	27.8
2 Close	695	57.9
3 Not very close	151	12.6
4 Not close at all	19	1.6
5 Cant choose	2	.2
Total	1200	100.0

Frequency distribution of the closeness to own town or city

	Frequency	Percent
1 Very close	179	14.9
2 Close	681	56.8
3 Not very close	278	23.2
4 Not close at all	47	3.9
5 Cant choose	15	1.3
Total	1200	100.0

19. Barangay Justice. This variable includes an item that measures the perceptions of respondents on the efficacy of the barangay in the delivery of justice services answerable by “very satisfied” “satisfied” “maybe satisfied/maybe not satisfied” “not satisfied” “not satisfied at all” and “not know”. “Not know” was assigned a middle value.³

Frequency distribution of the satisfaction rating on barangay justice efficacy

	Frequency	Percent
1 Very satisfied	50	4.2
2 Satisfied	685	57.1
3 Maybe satisfied/maybe not	244	20.3
4 Not satisfied	191	15.9
5 Not at all satisfied	27	2.3
6 Not know	3	.3
Total	1200	100.0

20. Satisfaction to Law enforcement. This variable combines two items about satisfaction about police and military performance in the locality. "Not Know" and "Not Aware" are given middle values.⁴

Frequency distribution of the satisfaction rating with the military

	Frequency	Percent
1 Very satisfied	33	2.8
2 Satisfied	595	49.6
3 Maybe satisfied/maybe not	255	21.3
4 Not satisfied	210	17.5
5 Not at all satisfied	52	4.3
6 Not know	18	1.5
8 Not aware	37	3.1
Total	1200	100.0

Frequency distribution of the satisfaction rating with the police

	Frequency	Percent
1 Very satisfied	36	3.0
2 Satisfied	590	49.2
3 Maybe satisfied/maybe not	256	21.3
4 Not satisfied	230	19.2
5 Not at all satisfied	64	5.3
6 Not know	16	1.3
8 Not aware	8	.7
Total	1200	100.0

NOTES TO APPENDIX 1

¹ I also assigned missing values to "Not know" and "none." The bivariate and multivariate results were not substantially altered.

² "Can't choose" was also assigned a missing value. The results are also not substantially altered.

³ "Not know" was also assigned a missing value. The results are also basically the same.

⁴ "Not know" and "not aware" were also designated as missing. The results are not substantially altered.

APPENDIX 2: CORRELATIONS OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

	AGE	SEX	EDU	AFF	PS	HHC	WL	SPE	POR	OUT	TV	CRI	OFW	HOM	LOC	REG	MOB	COH	BJ
SEX	-.240																		
EDUC	.060	-.001																	
AFF	-.201	.081	.366																
PS	-.134	-.116	-.100	.035															
HHC	.355	-.095	-.010	-.127	.035														
WL	.237	-.130	.168	-.043	-.018	.083													
SPE	-.094	.013	-.209	-.125	.062	-.008	-.057												
POR	.118	-.086	-.418	-.597	.024	.165	-.046	.193											
OUT	-.076	-.024	-.166	-.120	.096	.070	-.069	.126	.168										
TV	.011	-.078	-.161	-.233	.012	.101	-.052	.074	.331	.113									
CRI	.046	.029	-.073	-.111	-.020	.021	-.018	-.080	.119	.045	.002								
OFW	.083	-.126	-.049	-.154	.017	.041	.027	.128	.186	.022	.092	.005							
HOM	.233	-.059	.111	.008	-.036	.082	.216	.015	-.062	-.116	-.073	-.060	.042						
LOC	-.042	.109	.306	.237	-.068	-.178	.158	-.090	-.492	-.204	-.359	-.088	-.091	.234					
REG	-.099	.004	.160	.334	.025	-.062	.003	-.079	-.428	-.025	-.207	-.142	-.124	.126	.346				
MOB	-.027	.061	-.051	-.033	-.005	-.035	-.077	.021	.080	.028	.055	.016	.015	-.090	-.175	-.045			
COH	-.001	.054	.075	.055	-.042	-.059	-.032	-.049	-.092	-.003	-.013	-.056	-.023	.051	.145	.034	-.039		
BJ	.023	.055	.112	.026	-.030	-.036	.025	-.070	-.086	-.049	-.025	.032	-.016	.038	.121	.028	.033	.220	
LAW	-.017	.056	.150	.124	-.018	-.069	.023	-.075	-.231	-.103	-.122	-.102	-.070	.089	.242	.187	-.102	.048	.028

EDU=education of household head
 AFF=level of affluence of the household
 PS=parental structure of the household
 HHC= household composition
 WL= work location of the household head
 SP=spending patterns of the household
 POR=portable items in the household
 OUT= number of time going out
 TV=TV watching
 CRI= perception of crime in the neighborhood

OFW= overseas Filipino worker
 HOM=homeowner
 LOC= locale
 REG=regional area
 MOB= population mobility
 COH=Cohesiveness
 BJ= Barangay Justice
 LAW= Law Enforcement

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