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What we say – what we do ...

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dr. Jan J.M. van Dijk  
dr. Nicolette Neijenhuis

MINISTRY of JUSTICE  
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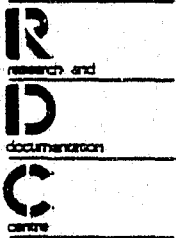
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dr. Jan J.M. van Dijk  
dr. Nicolette Neijenhuis



MINISTRY of JUSTICE  
The Hague - Netherlands  
1985

## WHAT WE SAY - WHAT WE DO

A study of the correspondence between verbal attitudes and actual behaviour in anxiety feelings as regards criminality

dr. Jan J.M. van Dijk \*  
dr. Nicolette Nijenhuis

### Introduction

The growing interest in the theoretical and practical relevance of the fear of crime is accompanied logically by an increased attention to the validity of the available instruments with which to measure the relevant phenomena (Hindelang et al, 1977, Gubbels et al 1978, Young Refai, 1979). This attention directed itself first and foremost to conceptualising such abstractions as "feelings of disquiet", "fear of crime" etc. For example mention was made of the need to distinguish between concern about criminality as a social problem and the more personalised fear of fear of crime (Fürstenberg, 1974; Cozijn and Van Dijk, 1976; Fiselier, 1978). This leads one to suggest that the fear of criminality can be divided into cognitive, judgemental, subjective and behavioural aspects (Schwind, 1978; Van Dijk, 1978). So far the operationalisation of these different aspects of fear of crime has consisted entirely of the formulation of questionnaires. Certain questionnaires for national victim studies carried out in the United States are referred to in almost all studies. Hence one may conclude that these questionnaires have a high degree of face validity. Researchers in this field are clearly unanimous that these questions measure a certain aspect of the fear of crime and that it may be added that the answers to these questions often correlate strongly. The research by Cozijn and Van Dijk, for example, demonstrated that the variable (to be dealt with later) "reaction to

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\*Both employed at the Ministry of Justice's Research and Documentation Centre (WODC).

strangers calling" bore a statistically significant connection with the variables "experiencing fear when alone in the house in the evening" (.32), "avoiding places in the locality because of fear of crime" (.25), "the frequency with which one imagines the possibility of becoming the victim of a crime (.10) and "the estimation of the likelihood of becoming a victim oneself (.009). Such correlations form an empirical indication of the construct validity of the operationalisation used. Not opening the door to strangers in fact corresponds to the expectation that it is above all a custom of people who experience feelings of a fear of crime and often think about such things. It is clear that a great deal of improvement can be made in the choice of modes of operation and to calibration. However, perfecting the measuring instrument in this way ignores the much more fundamental question of whether answers to questionnaires really do reflect the actual ideas, emotions and intentions of people.

According to some critics, questionnaires do not study the real intentions or emotions of people but only their "verbal attitudes". So far no attempt has been made to test the validity of the questionnaires used against data from sources other than questionnaires. For such a testing of an external criterion in test psychology one uses the concept of predictive validity. The sociologist Deutscher (1973) introduced the concept of convergent validity, which we will use here too, for the testing of questionnaire results against other types of information, e.g. observation of actual behaviour or the measurement of psychophysiological factors. In the research reported here an attempt has been made to test for convergent validity a much used questionnaire item about the behavioural aspect of fear of crime. Specifically it is the question of whether the people who reply that they never/ always open the door to strangers calling at 10 p.m. in actual fact match up to their negative or positive verbal attitudes.

The extent to which which the answer to the survey's question about the behavioural aspect of an attitude is of predictive value for actual behaviour in a relevant situation

is naturally dependent on the validity of the question concerned (i.e. does it measure the relevant aspect?). The degree of correspondence between the verbal attitude and the actual behaviour is actually dependent on whether the attitude concerned is really determining for mode of behaviour in question. In general this second condition is not taken into account in sociological questionnaires (Deutscher 1973). The consequence of this is that convergent validity by means of observation of the actual behaviour of those surveyed is generally of little use for the demonstrably slight correspondence between attitude and behaviour does not mean that the attitude concerned has not been adequately measured.

Convergent validity of attitudinal survey questions by means of observations of behaviour only seems to be of use when it is predictably likely that the attitude in question has a determining influence on one or more specific behavioural patterns. A number of conditions to which attitudes and actual behaviour must conform if we are to expect a high degree of congruity between them are set out in the literature (La Pierre, 1934; de Fleur, 1958; Ehrlich, 1969). An essential condition is first of all that not too many other attitudes or social norms have an effect on the actual behaviour. In the present case it is a question of whether other attitudes and social norms play a part in the reaction to a stranger calling late at night. A well-known Santa Claus song supposes that the average Dutchman in such a situation would assume that it was someone who had lost his way. Indeed, particularly in rural areas, many people would suppose that the person concerned was looking for a certain address or had lost his way. Next they would think of house-to-house collections or something similar. Finally many people would probably imagine that the caller might have come to bring a message or was an acquaintance of one or other members of the household. The situation thus interpreted appeals to the sense of curiosity of the residents and at the same time reflects a social norm (neighbourly politeness). For the average Dutchman the set

outlined of ideas  $\wedge$  would be a compelling reason to open the door. The main reason which someone may have not to open the door to a stranger seems to be a feeling of insecurity, coupled with the feeling that one might not be able to defend oneself adequately against a possible attack. People who are afraid to open the door will not pay much heed to the demand for politeness since the action is not taking place in public.

People who have no fear of crime would, we suppose, generally open the door but those who feel themselves threatened would as a rule, not do so. The chosen object of study seems to meet the main conditions stated by Ehrlich et al. Of the other conditions stated by him the experience which people have with the mode of behaviour in question seems to be of particular importance. Someone who has had little or no experience of a specific situation does not know how he would react to it. In the present case, however, this is no problem as most residents occasionally encounter strangers who ring the doorbell late at night and they will therefore be aware of what they would be apt to do in such a situation. This condition also seems to have been met.

Although the convergent validity of questionnaire answers by means of observations of actual behaviour is, in general, of little use, it seems to be worth trying in relation to a question about the reactions to strangers calling at night. Where a high degree of correspondence can be seen between the attitude shown by the survey answers and the actual behaviour, it not only shows that this behaviour, as expected, is strongly determined by the relevant attitude, but also that the attitude in question has been adequately measured. When there is little or no correspondence between attitude and behaviour a study of the incongruities is needed to reveal if perhaps certain intervening variables can be made responsible for this. When this does not turn out to be so - for example when the incongruities in all the

designated subgroups are equally large - it must be concluded that the attitude in question has probably not been adequately measured.

### Structure of the research

The research consisted of three parts. In the first the appropriate verbal attitudes "I never/always open the door" were measured by means of a questionnaire. In the second part the actual reaction by those who answered the questionnaire was observed six months later when a stranger rang the doorbell at about 10 p.m. The third part of the study consisted of an oral interview with those who opened the door and an interview by telephone with those who did not do so after three attempts.

### The questionnaire

Questionnaires about reactions to an evening visitor have been used in the Netherlands by the Statistics Association 1975, the Institute for Public Opinion and Market Research (NIPO), 1975, Conijn and Van Dijk, 1976 and Fiselier, 1978. In Cozuijn and Van Dijk's study the question was "Imagine yourself alone in the house at about 10 p.m. when someone unexpectedly rings the doorbell. What would you do?" There were four alternative answers: "I would just open the door"; "I would only open the door once I had seen that it was someone I knew"; "I would open the door if I knew the person or if I could hear or see that the person ringing the bell was someone who seemed trustworthy" and "I would let them ring and not open the door".

The original question seemed in one respect not suitable for a validity test by means of observations. The particular circumstance of being alone in the house would only rarely be encountered in the case of people who live with their families. In this group of people surveyed, moreover, the door would often be opened by a member of the household of the person who had filled in the questionnaire. In order not to limit the questionnaire to single people the following wording was used: "Imagine that someone rings your doorbell after 10 p.m. You are



not expecting anyone. What would you usually do?" The above alternative answers were put to single people. Those living with their families could choose from the same answers in the first person plural ("We would just open the door" etc). This enabled us to investigate the degree of correspondence between attitudes and behaviour among single people and those living with their families.

The question thus formulated was added as a concluding question to an existing postal questionnaire consisting of eight short questions sent to residents of The Hague about the victims of traffic accidents, accidents in the home or at work, crimes of violence etc, which was carried out for other purposes.

The random selection for the questionnaire was taken from the telephone directory for The Hague.<sup>3</sup>

From those who replied, those were chosen who had given one of the two extreme answers to the additional question, i.e. "We would just open the door" (irrespective of who it was) or "We would let them ring and certainly not open the door". 236 people gave one of these possible answers, divided into the following categories: "I would just open it" (23); "I would certainly not open it" (43); "We would just open it" (53) and "We would certainly not open it" (17). In order to get a more evenly balanced research group for the observations only 1 in 4 of the category "We would just open the door" were finally selected. Some of the people selected were found to have moved house in the meantime. Finally 119 persons were available for the observation phase: "I would just open the door" (19); "I would certainly not open it" (42); "We would just open it" (41); "We would certainly not open it" (17).

#### The observations and the related interviews

The observation of the actual reactions could take place in the present study in an authentic, non-experimental situation since the observers could ring without being recognised as such and the reactions noted. The only problem in this connection was the explanation which would have to be given to the persons who opened the door.

The solution was obvious: the observer could claim to be a market researcher who had come to put further questions in connection with the postal questionnaires returned six months earlier. The additional advantage of this solution was that it could be ascertained in a natural way if the person who opened the door was the one who had filled in the questionnaire. It was also decided to find out in the interview if anything serious had happened to the person concerned in the months following the questionnaire. This question followed on naturally from the earlier postal questionnaire. There then followed by way of changing the subject the question of whether people ever went out alone at night in the neighbourhood. Finally the crucial question was put about the significance of the doorbell being rung at about 10 p.m. for the person concerned. "When you heard the bell just now, what did you think/" The last question was put with the intention of finding out more about the motives of the "door-openers". The interest here was focused particularly on the motives of those who had behaved in contradiction to their verbal response. Perhaps these persons would state a reason which would indicate that they had opened the door for some exceptional reason. It was agreed that the observers would not mention the real topic of the study, in order not to cause any unnecessary confusion. A complete explanation would only be given to those who asked further questions or made comments - for example because they recalled the question about opening the door. This was not necessary with any of the respondents.

The observations were carried out by ten male students, who were instructed not to wear conspicuous clothing. The observations took place from Monday 11 December to Friday 15 December 1978 between 9.30 and 10.30 p.m., i.e. six months since the questionnaire had been completed. The possibility of the answer to the question affecting the actual reaction seems remarkably slight.

The observers were instructed that they must only ring the bell when they had a definite indication that the

occupant was at home (e.g. a light burning or the television on). The bell was always rung in the case of blocks of flats with a central hall. The observers had to introduce themselves through the entryphone as researchers from the WODC. In order to be able to check from the results if this particular situation would influence the correspondence between attitude and behaviour, the type of accommodation was also recorded. When the door was not opened after ringing twice, without for example a refusal to open being made over the entryphone, a second and if necessary third attempt had to be made on the following evenings at a slightly earlier time. Naturally fresh attempts had to be made on the following evenings at addresses at which no-one appeared to be present.

The observers were given a registration form on which they could enter the answers to the questions in the interview when the door was opened to them. In all attempts in which the door was not opened it was necessary to record if there was a light on, if someone had peeped through a window or if the occupant had replied by the entryphone or from behind a locked door.

In order to exclude the possibility of the observers in any way either consciously or unconsciously being able to influence the reaction of an interviewee in the direction of his/her verbal attitude given in the questionnaire, the observers were not told which answer the person had given in the questionnaire. Thus the observers did not know whether the person who opened the door had reacted in accordance with his/her verbal attitude or not.

The respondents who had not opened the door even after three times or had not replied by entryphone or in any other way were contacted by telephone on Monday 18 December. In this conversation it was explained to them that one of the WODC's researchers had reported that he had rung unsuccessfully several times at night in the preceding week. The respondents were then asked if this were the case and then if they were often absent in the evening or if it was possible

that they had not heard the bell or that perhaps they had not wanted to open the door. The aim of this interview by telephone was to find out about the motives of those who had not reacted to the doorbell. The interest here rested primarily on those people who had stated in the questionnaire that they always just opened the door. If for example this group reported that they had not been at home in the evenings then the resulting dissimilarity between attitude and behaviour was put down to an error of measurement in the observation. Those who conducted the telephone interviews were also unaware of the earlier answers to the questionnaire.

#### Results of the observations

Of the 119 respondents, nine proved to be no longer present at the address in question at the time of observation for various reasons. No observations could be carried out with this group. Of the remaining 110 persons it was either noted that at that address the door was opened in response to one of the observers ringing or that it was not opened after three attempts. Table 1 shows how these observations of actual behaviour relate to the answers to the questionnaire about whether or not one would open the door to strangers at night.

TABLE 1 The degree of correspondence between the answer to a question in a postal questionnaire as to whether or not people would open the door when a stranger rings at 10 p.m. and the actual reaction to such a situation 6 months later

	did open		did not open			
Said they would open the door	43	78.2	12	21.8	55	100.0
" " " not " " "	16	29.1	39	70.9	55	100.0
	59	53.6	51	46.4	110	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 26.66; df = 1; p = < 0.001; r = +.49$$

The table shows that the actual behaviour corresponds to the answer given on the questionnaire in three quarters of the respondents. 32 of the 110 respondents acted in accordance with their replies to the questionnaire. The chance of this degree of correspondence being coincidental

is virtually nil. The calculated levels of association turned out to be significant at a very high level ( $p < 0.001$ ). The strength of the discovered connection is, as far as we can judge, such that the results can be seen as a proof of the convergent validity of the question used. On the basis of this it can be concluded that the attitude measured by this question dominates actual behaviour. From Table 1 it is also clear that the congruity of persons who said that they would open the door is about as great as in those who said that they would not open it.

A few differentiations may be made within the data collected. For instance, a distinction may be made between the persons who lived with their families and those who lived alone. In setting up this research it was realised that in the case of persons who lived with their families the door could be opened by one of his/her family. This category would therefore only show a high degree of congruency between attitude and behaviour if the attitude in question belonged to "family custom". At several of the addresses classified as "door-openers" where families and the like lived the door was in fact opened by occupants who had not themselves filled in the questionnaire.<sup>6</sup> In Table 2 the degree of congruity between attitude and behaviour for single people and families is shown separately.

**TABLE 2** The degree of congruity between attitude and behaviour in single people and families

	did open		did not open			
singles I open the door	11	57.9	8	42.1	19	100.0
I do not open the door	10	25.6	29	74.4	39	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 5.8; df = 1; p < 0.001$					
families we open the door	32	88.9	4	11.4	36	100.0
we do not open the door	6	37.5	10	62.5	16	100.0
	59	53.6	51	46.4	110	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 14.9; df = 1; p < 0.001$					

behaviour both among those living with their families and single people is statistically significant. This indicates that respondents are capable of indicating how the members of their households would react in such a situation. In relation to opening or not opening the door to strangers many families seem to have "house rules", as it were.

Table 2 also shows that the percentage of respondents who in contrast to their positive attitude did not open the door was significantly greater among single people (42%) than families (11%;  $X^2=7.0$ ). The tendency not to open the door is clearly somewhat greater among single people, even when they have a positive attitude.<sup>7</sup>

Further analysis of the results investigated whether perhaps there were other subcategories in which the degree of congruity diverged from the average. The factors of age and sex proved to bear no relation to the degree of congruity between attitude and behaviour. There were, however, as is seen in Table 3, indications that the type of dwelling did influence the congruity between attitude and behaviour.<sup>7</sup>

**TABLE 3** The degree of similarity between attitude and behaviour in occupants of flats and other types of housing

<b>FLATS</b>	did open		did not open			
Said they would open the door	8	53.3	7	46.7	15	100.0
Said they would not open	4	16.7	20	83.3	24	100.0
<b>OTHER TYPES OF HOUSING</b>						
Said they would open	33	86.8	5	13.2	38	100.0
Said they would not open	12	44.4	15	55.6	27	100.0
	45	69.2	20	30.8	65*	100.0

\* The type of housing was not noted in 6 cases

Table 3 shows that people who live in flats did not open the door relatively often, in contrast to their positive verbal attitude (47%). The occupants of other types of housing, however, relatively frequently opened the door, in contrast to their negative verbal attitude (44%). The explanation for this incongruity among those living in flats seems in part to lie in the use of the entryphone. Those living in flats who did not open the door often knew that the caller was a market researcher. This means that their decision not to open the door does not necessarily imply a general mistrust of strangers. A proportion of them probably just did not feel like answering a questionnaire. As regards those living in flats who had not opened the

door in contrast to their positive verbal attitude, it cannot simply be concluded that they had acted inconsistently.

Both from the results of the questionnaire and those of the observations it was clear that those who lived in flats were much more inclined than others not to open the door to strangers. The opportunity to question callers by the entryphone probably works in favour of this tendency.

As yet no explanation can be given for the behaviour of occupants of low-rise housing who opened the door in contrast to their negative verbal attitude. Perhaps curiosity got the better of mistrust. We shall return to this in the discussion.

#### The results of the interviews

So far only those results which related to the congruity between attitudes and behaviour have been discussed. As part of the study, however, data were also collected about the motives for opening or not opening the door. These data form an important addition to those relating to actual behaviour in validating the questionnaire replies. In this, various possibilities arise. The motives stated for congruent behaviour may derive from the supposed attitude, they may have a neutral character or they may be at odds with it. In the first case the data reinforce the validity of the results of the questionnaire. In the third case the observations have no validating significance. The motives stated for incongruent behaviour may reveal that the persons concerned acted exceptionally. Data of this kind constitute an additional argument for the validity of the questionnaire for a proportion of those persons who acted in an incongruent manner also turned out still to hold the attitude supposed on the basis of the questionnaire. The motives of persons acting incongruently may show explicitly that the supposed attitude was indeed not present. All persons who opened the door were asked what their thoughts were when they decided to open it. The answers to this question are given in Table 4, related to the attitudes elicited by the postal questionnaire.

**TABLE 4** The answers to the question about what one was thinking when one went to open the door, related to the answers given in the questionnaire

	thought: nothing special	thought: have a look first/is it all right?	had a particular reason to open	thought: never actually open the door				
I/we open	18 42.9	14 33.3	9 21.4	1 2.4	42	100.0		
I/we do not open	3 18.8	7 42.7	2 12.5	4 25.0	16	100.0		

From Table 4 it may be seen that most of those who acted in a congruent manner stated a motive that seemed to stem from the supposed attitude or at least was not in conflict with it. Only one person who had acted in a congruent manner stated a motive which did not fit in with the supposed positive attitude. Three of those who acted incongruently gave a motive which implied that the supposed negative attitude did indeed not appear to have been present. Six respondents, however, gave motives which indicated that the supposed attitude was actually present (but by way of exception not "acted upon"). On balance, the data on the motives for opening the door seem to support the conclusion we had previously reached as to the observed degree of similarity between attitude and behaviour, namely that the appropriate question about behaviour in such situations has a high degree of validity. The majority of test persons who opened the door in fact gave a motive which was in accord with the attitude which came to light in the questionnaire. Motives which were in conflict with this attitude were only stated in a very small minority of cases (i.e. 4).

Data were also collected about the persons who did not open the door. 19 of them made it known by the entryphone or a spyhole in the front door that they did not want to open the door after the observer had made himself known as a market researcher. It was decided not to bother this group with a telephone call about their motives, in order to avoid possible annoyance. Thirty of the remaining:



32 who did not open the door were able to be interviewed by telephone. They were asked if it was possible that the market researcher could have rung three times unsuccessfully at about 10 p.m. at their house during the previous week. The responses to this question by the persons who acted incongruently are given in Table 5.

**TABLE 5** The responses to the question to those who did not open the door if it was possible that a market researcher had rung their doorbell several times unsuccessfully at about 10 p.m., related to earlier answers to a questionnaire into the usual reaction to such a situation

	Yes, I never open the door at night	Yes, was away/ didn't hear the bell/was already in bed	Total
I/we open the door	0 0.0	9 100.0	9 100.0
I/we do not open the door	10 48.0	11 52.0	21 100.0

Table 5 shows that not one person mentioned a motive that did not fit in with the attitude given in the questionnaire. On the other hand all those who had acted incongruently gave a motive which indicated that they would have liked to open the door but had not been in a position to do so.

The interviews by telephone with those who had not opened the door therefore illustrate the validity of the questionnaire item. The data received by telephone also indicate that a large proportion of those who had acted incongruently in not opening the door cannot in fact be counted as such because they were probably not in a position to act congruently.

#### Discussion

The present study investigated a sample of 110 persons as to whether, and to what extent, their actual reaction to a stranger ringing the doorbell at about 10 p.m. corresponds to the answer they had given in a survey six months earlier

asking how they would normally react in such a situation. Approximately 75% of the 55 respondents with a positive attitude ("I would just open the door") and the 55 respondents with a negative attitude ("I definitely wouldn't open the door") acted in a manner that corresponded to their attitude ( $X^2=27.66$ ;  $p<0.001$ ). The motives which the persons questioned gave for their action were also overwhelmingly in conformity with the attitudes expressed in the questionnaire. In the case of those who did not open the door in spite of their positive attitudes, it was likely that they had a particular reason for not doing so or they were not in a position to do so. In the first instance, for example, they had gathered by means of the entryphone that it was a survey and they did not want to take part or had already gone to bed. In the second they were, for example, out on the night in question. Real inconsistencies between attitude and behaviour seem to occur in only approx. 10% of the respondents, mainly people who did in fact open the door in spite of their negative attitude.<sup>7</sup>

The results summarised here constitute a strong argument for the external or convergent validity of the answers to this questionnaire. Respondents who reply to a questionnaire that they would "just open the door" or "definitely not open it" when a stranger rings the bell at about 10 p.m. do in fact act in this way, witness their manifest behaviour in such situations and the motives given.

The close correlation between attitude and behaviour also shows that the reaction to a stranger ringing the doorbell at about 10 p.m. is closely governed by a fairly constant attitude with regard to this situation. Most members of the public have encountered such a situation sufficiently frequently to have evolved their own interpretations and rules of conduct. The high level of congruity between attitude and behaviour encountered at addresses where other persons live in addition to the respondent indicates that there are "house rules" to which all members of the family conform.

As we noted, about 10% acted inconsistently with their attitude, mainly people who opened the door contrary to their negative attitude. Further analysis showed that hardly any of these were people living in flats. This could indicate that people who question visitors by entryphone every day have more clear-cut attitudes about strangers than others. The attitudes of people living in other types of housing is perhaps somewhat more vague. Another factor in the case of those with a negative attitude who did open the door is that one is perhaps willing to do so if the stranger looks trustworthy. This is in line with factors which La Pierre (1935) and others identify as causing low correlation between racial prejudices and discriminatory behaviour. However it only applies if the residents can see the caller, which may explain why this inconsistency was rarely observed among flat dwellers.

As with the case of earlier research, the answers to the question as to the customary reaction to a stranger at the door show a significant connection with answers which are operationalisations of other aspects of the fear of crime.<sup>1</sup> This study therefore also increases the likelihood of the convergent validity of these other operationalisations, which together produce a scale for measuring fear of crime. There would appear to be a definite likelihood that people with a high score on this scale will tend to refuse to open the door to strangers calling at night more frequently than those with low scores. This conclusion could be tested empirically in any replication of the validity study described here.

Criticism of the structure of questionnaires has often referred to the low external validity of the operationalisations used (Deutscher, 1973; Phillips, 1972). This cannot be sustained of course when the external validity can be demonstrated empirically, as in the present case. The advantages of questionnaires as a research tool are clearly illustrated when it is possible to validate an item by means of direct observation of behaviour. A postal survey is a fairly cheap way of collecting data about theoretically relevant behaviour patterns of populations

distributed over a wide geographical area. The spread of these patterns within a population can then be compared with various other characteristics obtained by the same questionnaire. In the present case this means that future research to test hypotheses about fear of criminality can confidently use structured questionnaires.

### Notes

- ① One factor analysis carried out on the five items mentioned elicited two clearly distinct dimensions. The item "reaction to strangers at the door" has a high weighting in the "subjective/behavioural" dimensions, together with "feelings of disquiet" and "avoidance of places in the locality". The other two items have a high weighting in the "cognitive/judgemental" dimensions.
- ② For the results of this study, see J.J.M. van Dijk, A Mail Screening Pilot Study in the Netherlands, WODC, 1978.  
The questions were drawn up by a working party of criminologists from various OECD countries and was tried out in the USA, Finland and the Netherlands.
- ③ This implies that people in the lowest income groups, young people and married women were somewhat underrepresented. To select the respondents, the first private subscriber on each page and the last private subscriber on every tenth page were chosen. This produced a sample of 999 persons. The questionnaire was sent out on 10 June 1978. After one reminder had been sent, 705 people had returned the questionnaire by 1 August 1978, a response of over 70%. This exceptionally high percentage was probably due to the fact that most people felt an involvement in questions about accidents and mishaps.
- ④ The WODC study into feelings of anxiety divided the replies into two. The answer "I would just open the door" was distinguished from the other three as these were held to indicate feelings of insecurity.
- ⑤ It should be noted that firms undertaking national surveys are having increasing problems in doing surveys at night

in large cities as respondents will not open the door (or the researchers feel threatened). The use of telephone interviews in the USA is partly a reaction to these problems. The documentation held by market research companies on these problems would be interesting source material for criminologists.

⑥ Eight respondents said they had not filled in the questionnaire. Seven of these lived with their families and the eighth in a bed-sit.

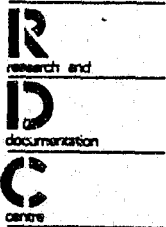
⑦ A paper presented by David Raden to the American Sociological Annual Meeting, Boston, 27-31 August, 1979, showed by means of a secondary analysis of the results of eight relevant studies that the attitude/behaviour congruities are greatest when attitudes reflect the actual behaviour of the majority. Our results do not show this regularity over the whole population as congruity is almost as great for negative as for positive attitudes. It should be noted, however, that the motives analysis shows that the incongruities in the positive attitude are partly the results of measuring faults in the observations. Seen in this light, our results bear out Raden's pattern of a relatively high percentage of congruity for the attitude that reflects majority behaviour. In the case of the single people/families and flat/low-rise residents samples the congruity percentage was very clearly highest in the case of the attitude that is in line with the behaviour of the majority. We believe that the regularity noted by Raden should be interpreted as follows: the practical and social factors which are partly responsible for the majority behaviour make it difficult for individuals with a minority attitude to act consistently with their attitude, whereas these factors reinforce attitude-consistent behaviour in the other group.

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