



Hamburg Institute
of International
Economics

Database on Irregular Migration

Michael Jandl

A multiplier estimate of the illegally resident third-country national population in Austria based on crime suspect data

Hamburg Institute of International Economics. Database on Irregular Migration.
Working Paper No. 2/2009
<http://irregular-migration.hwwi.net>

Author contact: michael.jandl@net4you.at

Hamburgisches WeltWirtschaftsinstitut gGmbH (HWWI)
Hamburg Institute of International Economics
Heimhuder Str. 71
D-20148 Hamburg

Database on Irregular Migration (<http://irregular-migration.hwwi.net>)

Despite the political relevance of irregular migration, assessments of the size of the irregular migrant population are often vague and of unclear origin. This website aims at increasing transparency in this sensitive field. The database provides an inventory and a critical appraisal of data and estimates in the European Union and in selected member states. It contains estimates on the size of irregular migrant populations and indicators of their composition with regard to gender, age, nationality and sector of economic activity. The summarizing tables are designed to give users the best possible overview of quantitative data in the countries, in a simplified form. The researchers involved in the creation of this database are aware that irregular migration is a complex issue. Therefore, quantitative information is accompanied by substantial background materials, both on issues of general concern and on the situation in individual countries.

The database was created in the context of "CLANDESTINO: Counting the uncountable – data and trends across Europe", a project funded by the European Commission, DG Research, Sixth Framework Programme. CLANDESTINO started in September 2007 and will conclude in 2009 (<http://clandestino.eliamep.gr/>). The Hamburg Institute of International Economics (HWWI) hosts the database and aims at complementing and updating it in the coming years.

Working Paper Series

The working paper series aims at publishing papers supporting the aim of increasing transparency in the field of irregular migration. Particularly, it provides a format for documentation of new estimates which are not suitable for journal publication. If you want to propose a working paper, please go to

<http://irregular-migration.hwwi.net/Contact.6105.0.html>.

All Working Papers are available at

http://www.irregular-migration.hwwi.net/Working_papers.6066.0.html.



CLANDESTINO



Table of content

1	Introduction.....	4
2	Data adjustments.....	4
3	Defining a range of multipliers.....	7
4	Extrapolation of estimates to other years.....	9
5	Final observations.....	10
	References.....	12
	Annex.....	13

1 Introduction

Like other hidden populations, illegally resident foreigners in Austria cannot be directly counted but they leave behind traces of their presence in various statistics. One such statistical data source that has so far not received sufficient attention for estimation purposes is the police criminal statistics, which contains data on reported offences and suspects implicated in criminal acts (e.g. violence against persons, theft, burglary, sexual offences and others).

The database is published regularly (*Sicherheitsbericht* of various years and *Polizeiliche Kriminalitätsstatistik*) and contains data on criminal suspects by Austrian nationals and non-nationals. The latter are further disaggregated by residence status, including the status of illegal residence (*nicht rechtmäßiger Aufenthalt*), as well as by the category of crime suspected.

It should be emphasized that, while this is statistics on persons (as opposed to statistics on cases or offences) that is compiled after some initial investigations by the police before the prosecution stage (so-called output statistic), the data are difficult to interpret and cannot be compared with that of other countries for various reasons (differences in legal definitions, differences in counting rules).¹ Similarly, the ratio of suspects to total population cannot simply be compared for Austrian citizens and foreigners for a number of reasons. The most important of these are differential control rates because of police profiling, different socio-economic characteristics of the national and foreign populations (sex and age structure, urbanization, etc.), offence categories that mainly apply to foreigners (human smuggling, falsifications of travel documents, facilitation of fake marriages, etc.) and crime suspects which are not regular residents in Austria (so-called criminal tourists), which would make over-simplified comparisons misleading (cf. Pilgram 2007). Moreover, it should be kept in mind that the database refers to crime suspects and not to convicted offenders.

While the data therefore should *not* be used to draw conclusions on differences in actual crime levels committed by foreigners and nationals, the data can be usefully employed to produce a rough estimate of the illegally resident population over time. To do so, several adjustments to the data are necessary before a derived multiplier range can be applied. Applying a range of (minimum-maximum) multipliers explicitly acknowledges the uncertainties of the data base, while still being able to detect clear trends over the time period covered (2001 – 2008). The estimates are then based on crime suspect data by residence status, including illegal residence and excluding non-residents such as tourists. It is further argued that the ratio of crime suspects of illegal residents falls between those of natives and other foreigners. The raw data for these calculations are listed in Table 1 in the annex.

Table 1 (annex): Crime suspects reported by the police by residence status in Austria.

2 Data adjustments

The first adjustment required to arrive at the relevant statistical base is due to the fact that a relatively high share of illegally resident suspects falls in the crime categories 1) other criminal acts in the penal law ("*sonstige strafbare Handlungen nach StGB*") and 2) criminal acts in subsidiary criminal laws ("*strafbare Handlungen nach strafrechtlichen Nebengesetzen*"). While these suspects cannot be in the crime statistics for simply violating residency laws (e.g. illegal entry or residence) as this by itself does not constitute a criminal

¹ In the Austrian crime statistics, tables list each suspect per offence type but exclude double counting if the same person is suspected of more than one offence type (which means that offences cannot simply be added to arrive at the total). Serial offences are counted only once within the same offence category, offences by more than one person for each person separately (see Aromaa & Heiskanen 2008).

act in Austria², other criminal acts within categories 1) and 2) apply disproportionately or exclusively to illegally resident foreigners (such as falsifying documents, the mediation of fake marriages for gaining a residence permit, human smuggling). This is clearly reflected in the data, where a rough calculation³ indicates that between 2004 and 2007, the share of crime suspects that fell in categories 1) and 2) was 17% for Austrian nationals, between 17% and 20% for all foreign suspects together but between 46% and 55% for illegally resident suspects (see annexed Table 2a and 2b for aggregates and Table 2c for shares).

The second adjustment to the data that needs to be made concerns the category “unknown” status. This is a default category that contains suspects from a wide number of countries, suspected of various crime types. As nothing can be said of why suspects have been placed into this category other than that the residence status of the persons was not certain (e.g. whether the person was a “tourist”, “with no employment” or with no legal residence status or else), it is appropriate to distribute the suspects of this category evenly among the other residence categories for foreigners according to their shares in the total.⁴ This results in adjusted numbers of estimated illegally resident suspects and total resident foreign suspects (last two columns in Table 2a).

The third adjustment that needs to be made in our calculations stems from the fact that we want to estimate only the number of illegally resident third-country nationals (TCNs) and not the number of all illegally resident foreigners including EU citizens. However, the latter are also among the suspected illegally resident foreigners when they already received a residence ban from previous encounters with the system of criminal justice or foreigners police in Austria (e.g. for a crime conviction). Statistically, this was not a problem before 2004, when the EU comprised only 15 countries, but the number of EU citizens among the illegally resident suspects increased with the EU enlargement in 2004 and 2007 and for consistency should therefore be subtracted in all years. The data for illegally resident suspects by nationality are only available for all crime types together, so a direct subtraction of EU-nationals from the adjusted figures of estimated illegally resident suspects (Table 2a) would be misleading. However, we can calculate the shares of EU nationals within all illegally resident suspects, as shown in Table 3 below.

Table 3 Share of illegal resident suspects from EU-15, EU-25 or EU-27

Year	Total foreigners	of which: EU citizens	share of EU-citizens
2001	4.940	50	1%
2002	3.703	50	1%
2003	3.612	50	1%
2004	4.061	51	1%
2005	3.381	262	8%
2006	2.820	261	9%
2007	2.870	562	20%
2008	2.378	562	24%

Source: Polizeiliche Kriminalstatistik, various years

Note: values for 2001-2003 and for 2008 are estimates, value for 2004 counts only EU-15 citizens

² This is different from Germany and, since mid-2009, Italy.

³ The calculation can only be approximate as the data contain some limited double counting of suspects, who have been registered for more than one crime category.

⁴ An proportional distribution is also supported by the share of various crime types encountered within this category (between 17% and 22% for “other crimes), which is close to the share in the overall foreign suspect population.

It should be noted that in this calculation, 2004 has been used as the year before the EU enlarged from EU-15 to EU-25, thus only citizens of the EU-15 have been subtracted that year, while in 2005 and 2006 citizens from the EU-25 have been subtracted and in 2007 all citizens from the EU-27 have been excluded from the data. The above shares of EU citizens are now applied to the adjusted figures on illegally resident crime suspects (excluding the categories 1) and 2) for “other” crimes and excluding tourists), to produce the adjusted number of illegally resident TCN crime suspects (Table 4).

Table 4 Adjustment of illegally resident suspect figures for EU citizens

Year	Adjusted illegally resident crime suspects	share of EU- citizens	Adjusted illegal resident TCN crime suspects
2001	n.a.	1%	n.a.
2002	n.a.	1%	n.a.
2003	n.a.	1%	n.a.
2004	1.982	1%	1.957
2005	1.576	8%	1.454
2006	1.457	9%	1.323
2007	1.613	20%	1.297
2008	n.a.	24%	n.a.

Source: Polizeiliche Kriminalstatistik, various years

Note: values for 2001-2003 and for 2008 are estimates, value for 2004 counts only EU-15 citizens

3 Defining a range of multipliers

Having calculated an appropriate base figure, we can now calculate a range of multipliers. To do so we need to relate the adjusted figures on crime suspects to the relevant population figures (Table 5).

Table 5 Austrian residence population

YEAR	Total	Nationals	Foreign residents
2001	8.043.046	7.324.787	718.259
2002	8.083.797	7.340.542	743.255
2003	8.117.754	7.358.178	759.576
2004	8.174.733	7.398.586	776.147
2005	8.233.306	7.431.685	801.621
2006	8.281.948	7.464.412	817.536
2007	8.315.379	7.475.132	840.247
2008*	8.331.930	7.477.178	854.752

Source: Statistik Austria

* 1.1.2008

To calculate an upper limit for the share of crime suspects among the illegally resident population in Austria, we divide the figure on adjusted foreign resident suspects from Table 2a (excluding tourists and illegal resident suspects, who are also not in the registered resident population⁵ and also excluding all other crimes in categories 1) and 2) above) by the registered foreign resident population. To calculate a lower limit we divide the equivalent figures from Table 2a for the population of Austrian nationals (Table 6).

Table 6 Crime suspects relative to resident population

YEAR	Total	Nationals	Adjusted foreign residents
2001	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
2002	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
2003	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
2004	2,61%	2,06%	6,33%
2005	2,48%	1,97%	5,78%
2006	2,45%	1,95%	5,77%
2007	2,54%	2,04%	5,64%
2008	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

Source: Statistik Austria, Sicherheitsberichte various years, own calculations

There are good reasons to expect the relative share of illegally resident crime suspects to fall between the two extremes of the foreign and national resident populations. From Table 1 we can see that there are some categories of foreigners by residence status that have a relatively high count of crime suspects (asylum-seekers and those with “no employment”) compared to other groups of long-time foreign residents (employed foreigners have a ratio of suspects that is roughly equal to that of natives). The category “no employment” is likely to include a growing number of persons from the new EU-10 and EU-2 member states, who pursue irregular employment in Austria but there is no reference population to relate the figures to.

⁵ Asylum-seekers are included among the foreign resident population following major changes to the population register that were implemented in 2001/2002. Persons with “no employment” are also likely to be included in the registered population as a declaration of this ‘status’ is often used by a foreigner as the means by which s/he demonstrates legal residence in Austria.

Suspects listed as asylum-seekers are a special case with very elevated crime suspect counts, which cannot be discussed here in detail, but there is also no definite reference population to relate it to (the inflow of new asylum-seekers is not clearly related to the stock). Illegally resident foreigners are very likely to have a much lower ratio of crime suspects than either of these two high-risk groups. For one thing, it is widely argued that illegal residents generally avoid behaviour that endangers their clandestine status and residence in the country and tend to live as inconspicuous as possible. Second, it is likely that the group includes a relatively high proportion of females (cf. Jandl et al. 2008), whereas the group of asylum-seekers includes a majority of males. However, males are known to commit more crimes and to have a much higher share in crime suspects (around 80% of all crime suspects in Austria in 2007). Thus, groups with a higher proportion of males (like asylum-seekers) are also likely to have higher rates of crime suspects, which is not the case for illegal residents.

Third, there is some direct evidence from international research studies that corroborates the argument for relatively low ratios of recorded crime suspects among illegal residents. For one thing, the types of crimes committed by this group may be mainly those with low rates of registration of suspects, such as petty thefts etc. In a recent study on persons without legal residence status in Belgium (van Meeteren et. al. 2007), the authors calculate a “crime rate” of roughly 2.5% among 120 illegally resident foreigners interviewed for their study. In doing so, the authors adjust the periodicity of the data to the average length of stay of their respondents.⁶

On the other hand, it is unlikely that the rate of crime suspects is significantly lower as that of natives or long-time integrated (employed) foreigners. For one thing, socio-economic circumstances and the precarious living conditions of many illegal residents argue for a higher rate of petty crimes (theft, burglary) than for settled populations. The types of crimes recorded are also easier to detect than others more likely to be committed by natives (fraud, white-collar crime, etc.). Second, the likely age structure of illegal residents (predominantly young) argues for a higher rate recorded than that of natives or long-time foreign residents, which includes a large share of children and older persons. In sum, it is likely that the ratio of crime suspects falls somewhere in between those of natives and (the adjusted figures on) foreign residents recorded in Table 6, with a possible inclination to the lower end of the range.

Applying the minimum and maximum ratios thus derived to the adjusted number of illegally resident TCN crime suspects in Table 4 results in a minimum and maximum estimate of the illegally resident TCN population in Austria in various years. A central estimate is given by the mid-point of these two extremes.

⁶ From a (non-random) interview sample a total of 10 persons out of 120 had admitted to implication in criminal acts in the Netherlands. The average duration of (illegal) residence in the Netherlands of all respondents was 3.3 years (van Meeteren et. al. 2007, p.280). Thus, we get $10/120 = 0.083/3.3 = 2.53\%$ for a rough “crime rate”, which is of about the same magnitude as the ratio of suspects among natives.

Table 7 Multiplier estimates of the illegally resident TCN population in Austria

YEAR	Max.	Min.	Central
2001	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
2002	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
2003	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
2004	95.027	30.934	62.980
2005	73.838	25.174	49.506
2006	67.978	22.905	45.442
2007	63.504	22.981	43.243
2008	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

Source: own calculations

4 Extrapolation of estimates to other years

Finally, as no detailed crime suspects data for the years 2001-2003 and for 2008 were available at the time of writing, it is reasonable to extend the above estimates to these years by simple extrapolation with the calculated multipliers, using the available data on the total number of illegally resident crime suspects. To do so, the above estimates for the years 2004 to 2007 are divided by the available total number of illegally resident crime suspects (not adjusted) to produce a series of multipliers. These are then averaged for minimum, maximum and central estimates and inserted into Table 8.

Table 8 Estimation of missing multipliers

YEAR	Total illegal resident suspects	Max. estimate	Min. estimate	Central estimate	Max. ratio	Min. ratio	Central ratio
2001	4.515	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
2002	3.394	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
2003	3.311	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
2004	3.632	95.027	30.934	62.980	26,16	8,52	17,34
2005	3.035	73.838	25.174	49.506	24,33	8,29	16,31
2006	2.518	67.978	22.905	45.442	27,00	9,10	18,05
2007	2.540	63.504	22.981	43.243	25,00	9,05	17,02
2008	2.110	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Estimated multipliers for missing years' values					25,62	8,74	17,18

Note: value for 2004 reflects pre-EU-Enlargement

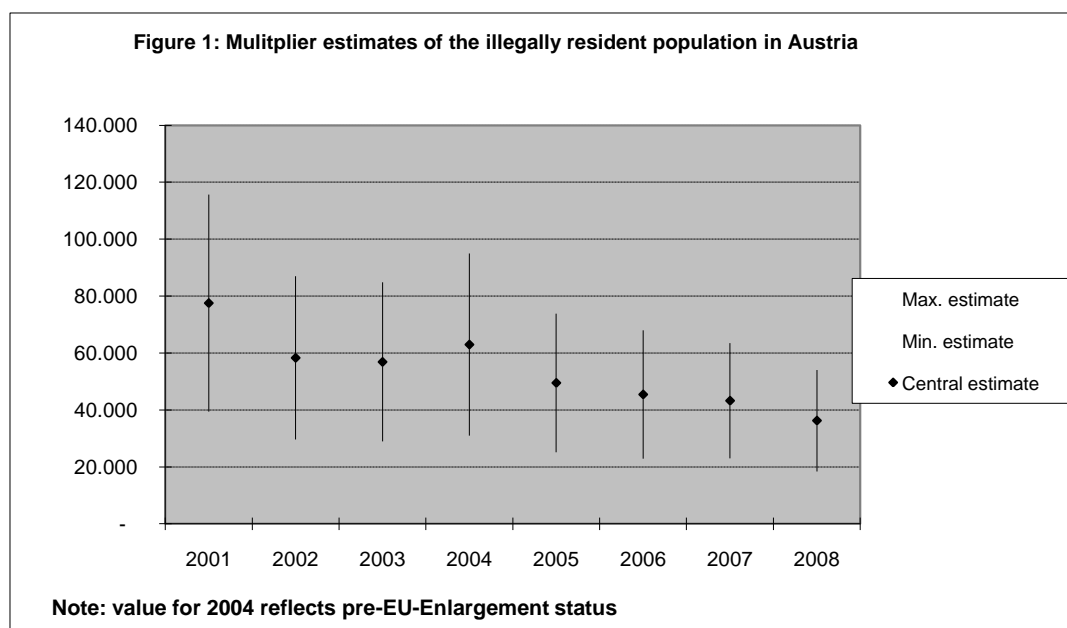
Finally, the missing values are re-calculated with the above multipliers (Table 9).

Table 9 Extrapolation of estimate by simple multiplier

YEAR	Max. estimate	Min. estimate	Central estimate
2001	115.687	39.456	77.572
2002	86.964	29.660	58.312
2003	84.837	28.934	56.886
2004	95.027	30.934	62.980
2005	73.838	25.174	49.506
2006	67.978	22.905	45.442
2007	63.504	22.981	43.243
2008	54.064	18.439	36.252

Note: value for 2004 reflects pre-EU-Enlargement

It should be emphasised that the above calculations are within a broad range and the central estimate is only a rough approximation of the likely value. Still, displaying also a central estimate provides a straightforward way of emphasizing the overall trend of the size of the phenomenon to be measured. This is also displayed in Figure 1.



5 Final observations

One big advantage of explicitly deriving the multipliers used for the estimation of illegal TCN residents from annual data on crime suspects is that the method corrects for variations in the intensity of law enforcement efforts over time. While the control intensity is likely to be higher for foreigners in general (due to a higher control intensity of foreigners with different external appearances or “profiling”), this is unlikely to be the case between foreigners with a legal and foreigners with an illegal resident status (i.e. the police cannot *a priori* differentiate among the two). Moreover, changes in control intensities (e.g. due to higher police efforts, improved tactics or technology) and registration procedures (e.g. due to better recording) are automatically corrected in the estimate as – *ceteris paribus* – a higher (lower) control intensity results simultaneously in a higher (lower) number of illegally resident crime suspects and a

higher (lower) ratio of foreign (and national crime) suspects and thus a lower (higher) implied multiplier.

The results of the detailed estimation are also plausible from a qualitative point of view and fit well with other observations about the nature and extent of irregular migration in Austria (cf. Kraler et al. 2008, Jandl et al. 2008).⁷ According to these observations, irregular migration has become more multi-faceted, with an expanding role of “grey” and “quasi-legal” statuses and a diminishing role of illegal residence as such. This trend has been heightened by the progressive enlargement of the EU-15 to the EU-25 and EU-27 and is also reflected in the data on crime suspects. As new EU citizens have come to enjoy free residence rights in Austria in 2004 (for EU-10) and 2007 (for EU-2), crime suspects from these countries normally do not fall into the category of “illegal residence” any longer. Instead, more suspects from these countries are recorded in the category “no employment” (Table 1). The remaining suspects from EU countries in the category “illegal residence” have been subtracted to obtain an estimate of TCN only (Tables 3 and 4).

Overall, this new estimation for the years 2001 – 2008 indicates a clear downward trend in the number of illegally resident TCNs⁸ in Austria with an updated 2008 estimate that is less than half the estimated 2001 stock.

⁷ The range of estimates referring to the years 2001 – 2003 also corresponds with previous estimates on the extent of illegal residence at that time (cf. Jandl 2003).

⁸ Moreover, the reduction is only partly due to the quasi-legalization of new EU citizens previously illegally resident in Austria, though for a precise estimate of this share more detailed data on 2001-2003 would be needed.

References

- Aromaa, K. and Heiskanen, M. (eds.) (2008): *Crime and Criminal Justice Systems in Europe and North America 1995-2004*, HEUNI, Helsinki 2008.
- Jandl, M. (2003): *Schätzung illegaler Migration: Methoden und Ergebnisse*, Presentation, Working Group on Social and Economic Statistics, Austrian Statistical Society, 26 June 2003.
- Jandl, M., Hollomey, C., Gendera, S., Stepien A. and Bilger, V. (2008): *Migration and Irregular Work in Austria. A Case Study of the Structure and Dynamics of Irregular Foreign Employment in Europe at the Beginning of the 21st Century*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Kraler, A., Reichel, D. and Hollomey, C. (2008): *Undocumented Migration: Counting the Uncountable. Data and Trends across Europe*. Austrian Country Report for CLANDESTINO, December 2008, available at: <http://irregular-migration.hwwi.net/>.
- Pilgram, A. (2007): *Migration und Innere Sicherheit*, in: Fassmann H. (ed.), (2007), 2. Österreichischer Migrations- und Integrationsbericht. 2001-2006. Rechtliche Rahmenbedingungen, demographische Entwicklungen, sozioökonomische Strukturen, Klagenfurt: Drava Verlag, pp. 284 – 289.
- BMI and BMJ (various years): *Sicherheitsbericht (Security Report)*, available at: <http://www.parlament.gv.at/PD/HP/show.psp>.
- Van Meeteren, M., van San, M. and Engbersen G. (2007): *Irreguliere immigranten in België. Inbedding, uitsluiting en criminaliteit*, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam, July 2007.

Annex

Table 1 Crime suspects reported by the police by residence status in Austria

Year	Total	Nationals	Total		of which:							
			Nationals	Foreigners	Employed	Self-employed	Students	Family members	Tourists	Asylum-seekers	No employment	Illegal residence
2001	203.422	155.965	47.457	15.667	1.635	3.257	n.a.	8.336	2.799	6.780	4.515	4.468
2002	210.713	159.265	51.448	15.071	1.709	3.036	1.450	10.014	4.635	7.456	3.394	4.683
2003	229.143	169.665	59.478	15.560	1.890	3.331	1.659	10.900	7.719	9.702	3.311	5.406
2004	247.425	175.947	71.478	15.440	2.397	3.278	1.721	10.830	12.733	12.998	3.632	8.449
2005	243.493	173.154	70.339	15.213	2.414	3.397	1.650	11.110	12.496	13.007	3.035	8.017
2006	238.111	170.692	67.419	14.770	2.272	3.285	1.733	9.654	13.295	11.813	2.518	8.079
2007	247.021	178.080	68.941	15.920	2.446	3.538	2.052	10.479	10.602	12.401	2.540	8.963
2008	240.554	175.238	65.316	15.921	2.248	4.050	1.957	9.965	9.877	10.905	2.110	8.283

Source: Polizeiliche Kriminalstatistik, various years

Table 2a Crime suspects excluding “other” criminal acts by residence status

Year	Total	Nationals	Total Foreigners	of which:			share of unknown	Adjusted illegal residence	Adjusted foreign residents
				Tourists	Illegal residence	unknown			
2001	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	
2002	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	
2003	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	
2004	213.078	152.352	60.726	9.647	1.771	7.224	211	1.982	49.097
2005	204.017	146.338	57.679	9.804	1.414	6.612	162	1.576	46.299
2006	202.675	145.226	57.449	8.785	1.303	6.811	154	1.457	47.207
2007	211.166	152.688	58.478	9.438	1.436	7.207	177	1.613	47.427
2008	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

Source: BMI and BMJ, Sicherheitsberichte, various years

Table 2b Crime suspects of “other” criminal acts by residence status

Year	Total	Nationals	Total Foreigners	of which:			Adjusted illegal residence	Adjusted foreign residents	
				Tourists	Illegal residence	unknown			
2001	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	
2002	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	
2003	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	
2004	46.816	31.776	15.040	1.707	2.108	1.715	240	2.348	10.985
2005	45.669	31.036	14.633	1.515	1.744	1.571	187	1.931	11.187
2006	42.004	30.081	11.923	1.049	1.319	1.430	158	1.477	9.397
2007	44.338	30.810	13.528	1.298	1.243	2.035	187	1.430	10.800
2008	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

Source: BMI and BMJ, Sicherheitsberichte, various years

Table 2c Share of Crime suspects of “other” criminal acts in total by residence status

Year	Total	Nationals	Total Foreigners	of which:			Adjusted illegal residence	Adjusted foreign residents	
				Tourists	Illegal residence	unknown			
2001	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	
2002	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	
2003	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	
2004	18%	17%	20%	15%	54%	19%	53%	54%	18%
2005	18%	17%	20%	13%	55%	19%	54%	55%	19%
2006	17%	17%	17%	11%	50%	17%	51%	50%	17%
2007	17%	17%	19%	12%	46%	22%	51%	47%	19%
2008	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

Source: BMI and BMJ, Sicherheitsberichte, various years