

# Juvenile Delinquence Europe and Beyond

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Josine Junger-Tas · Ineke Haen Marshall  
Dirk Enzmann · Martin Killias  
Majone Steketee · Beata Gruszczynska  
Editors

# Juvenile Delinquency in Europe and Beyond

Results of the Second International  
Self-Report Delinquency Study

 Springer

*Editors*

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# Contents

<b>1 History and design of the ISRD Studies</b> .....	1
Josine Junger-Tas, Ineke Haen Marshall, Dirk Enzmann, Martin Killias, Majone Steketeer & Beata Gruszczynska	
<b>Western Europe</b>	
<b>2 The Netherlands</b> .....	13
Josine Junger-Tas, Majone Steketeer & Marit Moll	
<b>3 Belgium</b> .....	29
Nicole Vettenburg, Claire Gavray & Michel Born	
<b>4 Germany</b> .....	47
Dirk Enzmann	
<b>5 France</b> .....	65
Catherine Blaya	
<b>6 Switzerland</b> .....	79
Martin Killias, Marcelo F. Aebi, Leslie Herrmann, Carine Dilitz & Sonia Lucia	
<b>7 Austria</b> .....	97
Günter P. Stummvoll, Ingrid Kromer & Isabella Hager	
<b>Anglo-Saxon countries</b>	
<b>8 Ireland</b> .....	111
Jessica Breen, Ursula Manning, Ian O'Donnell, David O'Mahony & Mairead Seymour	
<b>9 Canada</b> .....	125
Josée Savoie	
<b>10 USA</b> .....	139
Ineke Haen Marshall & Ni He	

## Northern Europe

- 11 Finland** ..... 159  
Venla Salmi & Janne Kivivuori
- 12 Sweden** ..... 173  
Jonas Ring & Lina Andersson
- 13 Denmark** ..... 191  
David W.M. Sorensen & Nanna Gabrielsen

## Mediterranean countries

- 14 Portugal**..... 203  
Silvia M. Mendes & Susana Carvalho
- 15 Spain**..... 213  
Cristina Rechea Alberola & Raquel Bartolomé Gutiérrez
- 16 Italy**..... 227  
Uberto Gatti, Giovanni Fossa, Barbara Gualco,  
Fabrizio Caccavale, Adolfo Cerett , Rosagemma Ciliberti,  
Silvia Ciotti Galletti, Giovanni Ciraso, Anna Coluccia,  
Roberto Cornelli, Martina Focardi, Oronzo Greco,  
Elena Mazzeo, Carlo Alberto Romano,  
Gaetana Russo & Giovanni Battista Traverso
- 17 Cyprus**..... 245  
Andreas Kapardis

## Eastern and Central European countries

- 18 Estonia**..... 253  
Anna Markina & J ri Saar
- 19 Lithuania**..... 267  
Svetlana Justickaja, Vaidas Kalpokas & Laura  sel 
- 20 Poland**..... 279  
Jacek Czabański, Beata Gruszczyńska, Marek Marczewski & Andrzej  
Siemaszko
- 21 Czech Republic**..... 293  
Jiri Burianek & Zuzana Podana
- 22 Hungary** ..... 311  
Orsolya Bolyky, Csaba Gyory, Klara Kerezsi, Katalin Parti &  
Eszter Sarik
- 23 Slovenia** ..... 327  
Bojan Dekleva & Spela Razpotnik

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<b>24</b>	<b>Bosnia-Herzegovina</b> .....	341
	Muhamed Budimlić, Almir Maljević & Elmedin Muratbegović	
<b>25</b>	<b>Russia</b> .....	359
	Alexei Konnov, Alexander Makarov, Margarita Pozdnyakova, Rustem Safin & Alexander Salagaev	
<b>26</b>	<b>Armenia</b> .....	369
	Anna Margaryan & Ara Gabuzyan	
<b>Latin-American countries</b>		
<b>27</b>	<b>Venezuela</b> .....	383
	Christopher Birkbeck, Solbey Morillo & Freddy Crespo	
<b>28</b>	<b>Surinam</b> .....	399
	Frank Bovenkerk & Ton Wolf	
<b>29</b>	<b>The Netherlands Antilles and Aruba</b> .....	409
	Tim Boekhout van Solinge, Marije Wouters, Mirjam Siesling, Liza Chong & Mirjam Corsel	
<b>30</b>	<b>Synthesis and outlook</b> .....	423
	Josine Junger-Tas, Ineke Haen Marshall, Dirk Enzmann, Martin Killias, Majone Steketee & Beata Gruszczynska	
	<b>Index</b> .....	429

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# Chapter 1

## History and Design of the ISRD Studies

Josine Junger-Tas, Ineke Haen Marshall, Dirk Enzmann, Martin Killias, Majone Steketee, and Beata Gruszczynska

The present volume is the first official publication on the second *International Self-Report Delinquency Study* (ISRD-2), an international collaborative research enterprise with a cross-national description and explanation of juvenile delinquency as its main objective.

In general, the cross-national description of the prevalence and incidence of delinquent behaviour allows for the assessment of national crime rates by comparing them with the crime rates of other countries. The questions to be answered are: Is juvenile delinquency normal, ubiquitous and transitional? Is there a pattern of similarity in the offending behaviour of juveniles across countries or are there any important differences? Descriptive comparisons of crime rates will call for explanations, especially if differences are observed. What are the national socio-economic or cultural differences, or the characteristics of legal or criminal policies that can explain such differences? However, one should not forget that similarities call for explanations as well.

Another goal of cross-national criminological research is the explanation of delinquent and criminal behaviour or the falsification of criminological theories. To the extent that the findings related to different nations are similar, the confidence in existing theories is strengthened. Divergent results call for explanations that will modify and ultimately improve our theories under test.

Both of these major objectives of cross-national studies apply to the ISRD project. However, cross-national research is not an easy undertaking. In order to achieve valid and interpretable results, cross-national

standardization and comparability in the selection of samples, in the content and administration of questionnaires, and in the defining and coding of data, are vital. Only if the surveys are carried out with similar instrumentation, will they yield internationally comparable data on youth crime and victimization.

The ISRD project commenced in the early 1990s with ISRD-1. It began with a number of pilot studies, workshops and working papers exploring the possibility of conducting a truly standardized international self-report study of delinquency (Klein, 1989). The premises and results of the first “sweep”<sup>1</sup> of the ISRD study have been presented in great detail in previous publications (Junger-Tas et al., 1994, 2003), but some of its main results will be discussed briefly in the next section of this Introduction.

### 1.1 The First ISRD Study

The impetus for ISRD-1 was the conviction that research on the prevalence of juvenile delinquency would be highly relevant for criminal policy as well as for criminological theory. This expectation helped to start the project, in spite of the then unsolved methodological and organizational difficulties.

Thirteen countries, most of which belonged to the European Union, collaborated in the first study. They were Finland, Great Britain, The Netherlands, Germany, Belgium, Spain, Italy, Portugal, Switzerland, Northern Ireland, Greece, New Zealand and the US (Nebraska). The target age group for ISRD-1 was

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<sup>1</sup>We use the term “sweep” to indicate that we expect the ISRD study to continue in the future, following a comparable design and survey instrument, allowing for some adjustments.



12–18 years. Six of the countries used school-based samples, while the rest used samples based on population; some used city-based samples; others, national samples. Most countries used self-administered pencil-and-paper questionnaires; a few used personal interviews. Data were collected between 1989 and 1990; the first results, published in 1994 (Junger-Tas et al., 1994), were followed by an analysis of the merged data set in 2003 (Junger-Tas et al., 2003). The relatively slow pace at which the ISRD-1 data were processed, merged and analyzed was the consequence of limited manpower (there was no funded central research centre to take responsibility for this), as well as logistic and technical difficulties in creating a standardized merged data set. Fortunately enough for us, the results of ISRD-2 became available much sooner because of the tremendous progress made since the early 1990s in electronic communication and data merging procedures.

The ISRD-1 variables with theoretical significance were primarily those drawn from the social bonding theory (Hirschi, 1969), focusing on parents, school, friends, aspirations and leisure activities. In this manner, the analyses contributed to the testing of the applicability of social bonding theory across cultural contexts. The measures of delinquency involvement were quite similar to those used by the National Youth Survey (Huizinga and Elliott, 1984).

In view of the fact that all the ISRD-1 samples were drawn in relatively comparable, western, modern industrialized countries, the main working hypothesis was that youths would show more similarities than differences in their misbehaviour. A further expectation was that there would be relatively little variation between countries with regard to the importance of established correlates of delinquency, such as age (including age of onset) and gender. Since theoretical variables, primarily derived from social control theory (e.g. school involvement and attachment, parental attachment, family composition, involvement in work, leisure and the role of peers) have been shown to be fairly robust correlates of delinquency in many different contexts and cultures, the expectation was that these measures would also turn out to be related to delinquency in the ISRD sample. In addition to expected patterns of cross-national similarities, it was also hypothesized that several *differences* would exist between the different countries. The classification of countries according to their welfare regimes in terms of income transfer systems (de-commodification, see

Esping-Andersen, 1990; SCP, 2001) into three clusters (Southern Europe, Anglo-Saxon countries and North-western Europe) provided a most useful conceptual framework. Several tentative hypotheses were presented regarding national differences in the nature and extent of delinquency as well as its correlates. Encouraged by the interesting findings linking structural and legal indicators to variations in, for example, violence and drug use, the ISRD-2 study has considerably expanded the inclusion of national structural indicators as a complement to the individual survey data. In the ISRD-2 analyses, a similar (expanded) clustering of countries will be used based on the work of Saint-Arnaud and Bernard (2003) who expanded the original work of Esping-Andersen. We will explain more about this in the final Conclusions chapter.

### 1.1.1 Main ISRD-1 Results

What then were some of the main observations drawn from the ISRD-1 studies? First, comparing the *prevalence rates*, we found a remarkable degree of similarity between the countries, in particular when comparing the relative rank order of the self-reported offences. Generally, the most frequently reported misbehaviours involved property offences and vandalism. We also found – consistent with other studies – that about 10% of youths in Northwest and South European countries reported more serious and diverse delinquent involvement. With regard to (soft) drug use, we found that age of onset is much later than that of delinquent behaviour.

Second, the relationship between *age, gender and delinquency* in the three country clusters (Southern Europe, North-western Europe and the Anglo-Saxon countries) was explored. Specifically, age of onset for different types of offences (vandalism, property, violence, drugs and serious offences) was compared among the three country clusters. Those who reported having committed serious offences have a lower age of onset than those who did not report such offences. Girls' age of onset was higher than boys' with the exception of drug use. In all the country clusters, females had considerably lower levels of delinquency than males, in particular for violent offences, drug abuse and serious delinquent acts. The impact of father absence on delinquency was much stronger than that of mother absence, among both boys and girls in all country clusters.

Third, selected measures of *family and school-based social control* were employed to further explore the noted relationships between age, gender and delinquency, comparing Southern Europe, Anglo-Saxon countries and North-western Europe. As expected, in all country clusters, girls' socialization was characterized by more supervision and control than boys'; surprisingly, girls tend to get along less well with their parents than do boys. The relationship with parents was significantly associated with overall delinquency, vandalism and property offences (i.e. fairly non-serious delinquency), in all countries. However, with the exception of North-western Europe, this was not the case for serious offences and violent acts. In all countries, disliking school and playing truant were significant correlates of delinquent behaviour. In particular, school failure was related to serious and violent delinquency, but this was not the case with respect to non-serious offending. In all three country clusters, delinquent youths were more likely to spend time with friends, while non-delinquents spend more time with their family.

Fourth, the *role of peers and leisure activities* in delinquent behaviour in general, and group delinquency (co-offending), in particular, was examined. Several questions were addressed: (1) which variables determine belonging to a group of friends and the choice of leisure activities?; (2) is spending time in a large peer group typical for all youths or rather restricted to delinquent youths only?; (3) are youths whose social networks revolve around a large group of friends more likely to commit certain types of misbehaviour than youths who are less involved with peers? The analysis indicated that belonging to a large group of friends increases the probability of delinquency, confirming what we know from literature. However, we found that group membership did not result from a bad relationship with one's father, nor from being held back in school. It seems to increase with the number of friends and with being enrolled in school. Group membership is age-related and part of a social network created within a school setting. As such, it is unrelated to delinquency, since young people do a lot of things together with others without this leading necessarily to delinquent behaviour. For example, we found that in Southern Europe all leisure is normally spent in groups outside the home, without resulting in higher delinquency rates than in other countries. Whether a juvenile joins a delinquent group rather than a conventional one is to a large degree determined by his own functioning

in other conventional systems such as school. To the extent that he is marginalized, he will seek the company of other marginalized youths where alcohol and drug use are encouraged and delinquent behaviour is considered normal (Warr, 2002; Thornberry and Krohn, 2003).

Fifth, self-reported data on the use and sale of *soft and hard drug* and alcohol consumption were also analyzed. International comparisons were made with regard to the age of onset of use and the interrelationships between drug use (soft and hard), involvement in drug sales, and self-reported involvement in other delinquent activities. The results indicate that the pattern is almost the same in all 11 countries: the first psychotropic substance juveniles are taking is alcohol – between age 13 and 14 – followed by soft drugs and eventually by hard drugs. Interestingly, the findings suggest that in western youth populations soft drug use is hardly considered as deviant behaviour, let alone as criminal behaviour. Drug selling appears to be limited to drug users and particularly to hard drug users.

Sixth, cross-national differences and similarities in the *social response* to youthful misbehaviour were presented. Multivariate analyses focused on the issue of whether there are nation-specific differences in the likelihood that the self-reported misbehaviour was ever detected, and if so, by whom, with what consequence. Overall, we found that most misbehaviour went undetected and – when detected – had no consequences. Interesting was that in the Anglo-Saxon cluster, youthful misbehaviour was more likely met by formal social control (i.e. the police).

### 1.1.2 Lessons Learned From ISRD-1

ISRD-1 showed the feasibility of quantitative, cross-national comparative self-report studies that can yield important results relevant for theory and criminal policy. The study also contributed to the improvement of comparative self-report methodology. In spite of its success, ISRD-1 points to the need for improvement of the organization of international studies and of the research methodology. For example, drawing a national random sample of individual juveniles turned out to be more difficult than expected because of the problem to reach juveniles of the lower class or of ethnic minorities. This made comparative analyses of the relationship

between social disadvantage or ethnicity and the prevalence of delinquency difficult or impossible. Another problem was that the participating countries took many liberties to modify and adapt the “standardized” questionnaire. The biggest problem concerned the measurement of delinquent behaviour: Some countries used quasi-objective categories such as “once”, “two to five times”, and “more than five times”, and some countries used subjective categories such as “rarely”, “sometimes”, and “often”, making comparisons difficult or questionable.<sup>2</sup>

An important lesson learned was that much firmer organizational leadership is necessary to achieve the necessary standardization of the methodology, including regular workshops with all participants. The organizational as well as the methodology of the ISRD-2 project has been changed accordingly, including a constant monitoring of the research process.

## 1.2 The Present Study

As is to be expected, the objectives of the second ISRD study were more ambitious than those of ISRD-1:

1. To describe the prevalence and incidence of offending and victimization among youths between the ages 12 and 15 (corresponding to grades 7–9 or the first, second and third class in secondary schools in most participating countries)
2. To obtain measures of the relative rank ordering of prevalence of different types of youthful misbehaviour and victimization
3. To examine cross-national variability in patterns of correlates of self-reported delinquent behaviour
4. To describe cross-national differences in the importance of minority status with respect to self-reported offending and victimization patterns in this age group
5. To learn more about correlates of criminal behaviour in this age group and to test different explanations of crime, such as social control, self control, social disorganization and life style theory
6. To examine the importance of the school and neighbourhood context of this age group’s misbehaviour

7. To describe the aspects of delinquent trajectories among this age group in participating countries, such as age of onset, frequency and versatility
8. To describe the reactions of official authorities and those of other agents, such as parents, teachers or shopkeepers, to juvenile delinquency in this age group
9. To study the importance of micro-level (individual), meso-level (school and neighbourhood), and macro-level (city and country) variables for self-reported delinquency in this age group in participating countries
10. To advance knowledge of the methodological issues involved in conducting cross-national survey research
11. To contribute to the development of repeat studies to measure trends in youth delinquency over time in a number of (primarily) European and North American cities and countries

One important goal not listed above was to expand the number of countries participating in the study.

### 1.2.1 Methodological Standardization: with Some Flexibility

The ISRD-2 design is a major improvement over ISRD-1, in particular with respect to focusing on the importance of developing and enforcing a research protocol that was to be followed by all participants. Borrowing from the real-estate agent’s emphasis on “location, location, location”, our mantra became: “standardization, standardization, standardization!” Indeed, from its very inception, ISRD-2’s explicitly comparative design intends to minimize the confounding impact of possible cross-national differences in study design and implementation on noted cross-national differences and similarities, through standardization: Of survey instruments, sampling plan, and standardized data entry method (the latter was made possible by using the free EpiData software: Lauritsen, 2006). We feel confident that we have mostly succeeded in achieving a truly standardized comparative research design – albeit with the expected challenges and modifications. Nonetheless, as will be further discussed in the concluding chapter of this volume, it may be more realistic and true to the quirky nature of cross-national research to aspire to “flexible standardization”.

<sup>2</sup>For additional discussion of some of the methodological and logistic challenges of ISRD-1, see Junger-Tas et al. (2003).

The ISRD-2 design attempts to build in a certain degree of flexibility through its *modular* design. Countries differ in many respects, such as their administrative structure, geography, size of population, degree of urbanization and culture. Countries also differ in research resources, which is why we developed a research design that is scientifically as rigorous as possible, while still flexible, realistic and pragmatic. One way to accommodate national differences is to follow a modular approach to the questionnaire construction as well as allowing some flexibility of the sampling design. In a modular design, a distinction is made between a *core* part (of the instrument and the sample), which every participant has to include in order to be part of the ISRD-2 study, as well as additional (*optional*) modules, which may be included by those participants who have the funds and the interest to do so. Additional modules ideally should also be standardized in order to allow comparisons among subsets of countries. This approach provides flexibility, while ensuring a basic level of standardization and comparability.

### 1.2.2 Thirty-One Countries

One major challenge in comparative research is the small  $N$  problem (Ragin, 1987); typically, studies include only a handful of countries. There is no doubt that there are great advantages to having a larger (rather than a smaller) number of countries involved, not only from a purely methodological perspective but also because of the potential theoretical and policy implications. So, naturally, we wanted to expand our geographical coverage; we especially were keen to include countries from Central and Eastern Europe. At the same time, we were also concerned with keeping the project manageable by maintaining the main focus on Europe.<sup>3</sup> While ISRD-1 involved 13 mostly European countries, we were able to more than double that number for the ISRD-2 - to a total of 31.<sup>4</sup> Figure 1.1 below provides a bird's eye overview of the ISRD-2 countries.

<sup>3</sup>We intend to expand our geographic coverage to other continents in the third sweep.

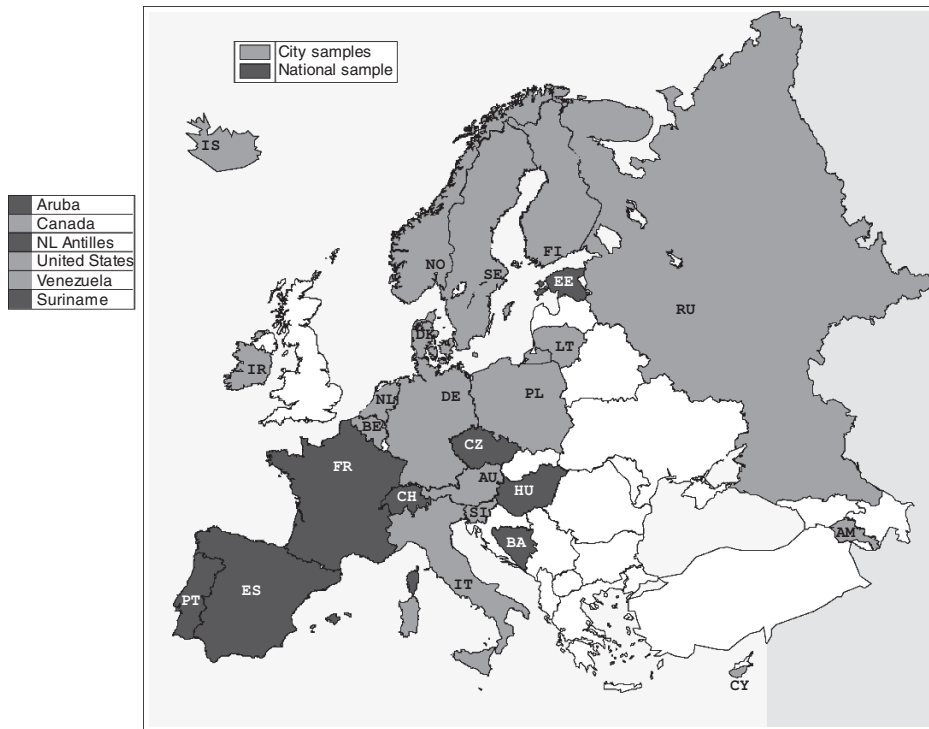
<sup>4</sup>Note that Norway and Iceland participated but did not write a chapter. Canada contributed a chapter but will not be part of the merged data set.

Thus, ISRD-2 was conducted in 15 western European countries, 12 of which are EU member states: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, The Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Iceland, Norway and Switzerland. In addition, ten countries in the eastern part of Europe did participate, of which six new EU member states were funded by the European commission (one EU member state joined the study after the application was introduced), and three non-EU members were funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation: Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Slovenia, Armenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Russia. Furthermore, Canada and the United States represented by four states (Illinois, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Texas) were part of the study, and finally for the first time some countries outside Europe and North America did participate: Aruba together with the Netherlands Antilles, Suriname and Venezuela. Figure 1.1 also shows which countries used a city-based sample or a national sample.

It probably goes without saying that the inclusion of particular countries in our study was not based on any kind of random sampling (from among the sampling frame of some 200 countries); rather, we tried to invite as many participants as possible. Since we lacked a central funding agency, it was quite a challenge to get researchers (either from universities, research institutes, or government agencies) aboard our project in a timely manner. As Fig. 1.1 shows, ISRD-2 still misses a number of Eastern and Central European countries, as well as the UK, among others.

### 1.2.3 National and City-Based Sampling Designs

Large scale criminological survey research predominantly investigates victimizations. The aim of crime victimization studies is to estimate the amount of crime for a certain time period and region as precisely as possible. Therefore, great efforts are made to achieve results that are nationally representative. This holds likewise for national studies (e.g. the US Crime Victimization Survey or the British Crime Survey, see Rennison and Rand, 2007; Hough et al., 2007) and for international studies (e.g. the International Crime Victimization Studies, van Dijk et al., 2008).



**Fig. 1.1** ISRD-2 samples of 25 European and 6 American countries. *Notes:* total  $n = 71,400$ ; number of large or medium-sized cities = 62; number of small town clusters of 2–9 towns = 16 (excluding Canada)

In so far as studies of self-reported delinquency also aim at *describing the amount of crime* in a certain time period and region, the gold standard likewise is nationally representative samples. However, the description of the prevalence of delinquent behaviour is but one objective of the ISRD-2 study. For the *explanation* of crime rates and of the criminal behaviour of offenders, the representativeness of the sample is less important than the precise measurement of relevant covariates on the individual as well as on the meso- and macro-level. To explain observable differences in prevalence rates across countries and to test criminological theories, not only individual level data but also data on the local or macro level are needed. City-based samples offer the possibility to measure these variables that differ locally more precisely. Therefore, in the ISRD-2 study city-based random sampling is preferred to national random sampling.

Altogether, the following are reasons to prefer city-based samples:

- There is a significant methodological advantage to using structurally similar sampling units, such as

cities. The structural characteristics may be used to assess the comparability of cities, as well as the extent to which these variables play a role in the nature and extent of juvenile delinquency. Cities may be better directly comparable than countries. It also deals with the small  $N$  problem inherent to country-level analysis, simply stated: there are many more cities than countries.

- A city-based sampling design allows for multi-level (hierarchical linear modelling, HLM) analyses (Raudenbush and Bryk, 2002). Thus, one of the real benefits of this approach is the study's ability to use city-level contextual information that may be used in an HLM design. The possibility of simultaneous multi-level analyses creates a new feature to the ISRD-2 design. In addition to city information, we did collect some school-based information, which adds an additional level of analysis across countries. Thus, the city-based option has the very important advantage that multi-level statistical analyses may be conducted (country level, city level, school level, as well as individual level). In this context, be it noted that we have collected a large number of local



and national structural indicators which will allow the triangulation of data (i.e. combine individual survey results with aggregate indicators at the city, regional and national level) in future analyses.

- The major purpose of the ISRD-2 study is to examine correlates of juvenile delinquency and victimization derived from criminological theories, which makes the representativeness of the sample of secondary importance (Maxfield and Babbie, 2001). City-based samples of our target group (12- through 15-year-old secondary school students) do permit the evaluation of international similarities and differences of *correlates* of delinquency. Estimates of prevalence and incidence of offending still may be made, albeit at the city-level rather than for the entire nation.
- It is very costly and time-consuming (if not impossible) to draw a nationally representative random sample of youths, particularly in large countries (such as Russia, Canada or the US). Drawing samples from a (small) number of cities requires considerably less resources. An important additional advantage is that our design allows for the inclusion of more than the minimum number of five cities and towns per country. City samples have an additional advantage in that some cities may be eager to participate in a “benchmark” study, such as the ISRD-2.
- The effects of policies are easier evaluated at the city-level than at the country-level. In a city-based design, structurally equivalent units are compared and accordingly, the impact of specific (crime) policies will be better assessable.
- Since cross-national comparisons of rates based on *trends* have higher validity and reliability than simple comparisons of rates, the same cities which participated in ISRD-2 might participate in successive ISRD waves. This may be a more attainable goal at the city level, rather than at the level of nation-based samples.

One has to recognize, however, that even if the city-based samples are representative for the cities selected, the collection of city-samples of a nation will, in general, *not* be *nationally* representative. Therefore, the analyses of the merged ISRD-2 data set in Volume 2 will predominantly be based on representative samples of *cities* of all countries, not on national samples.

The individual objectives of the participants of the ISRD-2 study are heterogeneous. Those whose major objective was to use the ISRD-2 data to describe the

amount of crime in their country or who live in a small country rather preferred national random sampling, whereas those whose research interests were more focused on explaining local differences and testing criminological theories or who live in a large country rather preferred city-based sampling (see Fig. 1.1). With the exception of Spain, the participants who opted for a national sample oversampled at least one large city to make analyses on the level of cities possible for all countries.

### 1.2.3.1 Step 1: Selection of Cities

The ISRD-2 is a school-based study with school classes as primary sampling units; the aim was to have about 2,100 youths per participating country. The sampling process involved two stages: (1) selection of cities/towns; and (2) drawing a random sample of classrooms from the 7th, 8th and 9th grades (i.e. of classes of 12/13 to 14/15 year old students) in these cities and towns.

The first sampling decision was to decide which cities or towns to include. The city-based sampling design was based on a minimum of five cities or towns per country, the main selection criteria being size, degree of urbanization and demographic and economic variables. The aim was to obtain three sub-samples, including a metropolitan area (defined as one of the main economic centres of a country with a population between 500,000 and one million inhabitants) a medium-sized city (of size 120,000 ± 20% inhabitants) and three small rural towns (10,000–75,000 inhabitants). The design allowed for optional additional samples for those who wished to enlarge the scope of their sample, for example, adding specific, significant cities, in terms of geographic or economic criteria and differential crime rates. An excellent example is Italy (see Chap. 16), which has a total of 15 cities and towns and covers the whole country.

According to the agreed upon sample selection criteria, the three sub-sample groups would be equally represented in the final sample: a metropolitan sub-sample with 700 students, a mid-size city sub-sample with 700 students, and a small town cluster sub-sample with 700 students (combined from three small towns). Ideally, each country attempted to select cities, which are considered typical for the country. The selected cities were as comparable as possible to other cities/towns of the same size. Although not selected randomly and

limited in numbers (and in the potential to generalize), the cities that were used provide a reasonable representation of participating countries. They also provide good contrast to each other (geographic, economic and ethnic composition) and they present a diversified social climate in which youth crime and misbehaviour can be studied.

Our decision to use mainly a city-based sampling plan turned out to be a good choice, both for pragmatic as well as for theoretical reasons. From a *practical* perspective, most participating countries had no problems selecting one large city, one medium-sized city and three small towns from which to draw the sample of classes. In retrospect, the boundaries we set for city size need to be slightly revised in order to adjust for the relative differences between countries with respect to what is considered a big or small city.<sup>5</sup> Overall, we were successful in collecting samples in 31 large and 31 medium-sized cities and 61 small towns. Most countries selected their research sites based on regional representation and/or accessibility and convenience (e.g. France, USA). In the end, we have a total of 62 large and medium-size cities and 16 clusters of 2–9 small towns (see Fig. 1.1).<sup>6</sup>

Eleven of the countries (see Fig. 1.1) opted for a national sample for a variety of reasons: Availability of national classroom sampling frames, smaller country size, or the desire to have data at the national level. Fortunately, with the exception of one country all researchers were able to oversample at least one large city in these national samples, which allows us to maintain the advantage of a city-based approach even within the national samples. These over-sampled (regional) samples can be weighted down in order to make the overall sample nationally representative.

### 1.2.3.2 Step 2: Classroom-Based Selection of Respondents

The second stage of the sample selection was random. The individual chapters report in some detail about the actual sampling procedure used to select the student

respondents in each county. For most countries, this information is also available in more detail in technical reports at web site of the book (see below). The sampling plan asked for a random selection of 7th, 8th and 9th grade classrooms in the selected cities (representing 700 students each, 2,100 total). All samples were stratified according grade level (7th, 8th and 9th grade), some additionally to school type (academic, technical or vocational). The minimum core sample was randomly selected from among the 7th, 8th and 9th grade classrooms at the schools in the selected cities/towns or nations. A stratified multi-stage sampling procedure was used. First, a listing of all secondary educational schools of the selected cities was created. This included public and private schools, vocational, technical and academic schools. Then, a listing of all 7th, 8th and 9th grade classrooms in these institutions was constructed. By selecting classes randomly from these listings, the number of students drawn was proportional to the proportion of students in each school type.<sup>7</sup> Selecting students by grade level rather than by age facilitated the practical management of respondent selection as well as a greater level of comparability. In addition, because in nearly all countries school is compulsory for grade 7–9 students, the selection of classes allowed having a greater representation of lower class respondents and of ethnic minorities (Oberwittler and Naplava, 2002).

We decided to sample classes at compulsory school age to obtain a more representative sample with cross-national comparability. In retrospect, this choice turned out to be a somewhat mixed blessing, primarily because of problems with the comparability of the different national school systems. There are differences in the age of compulsory education (e.g. Belgium 18, Italy 15, although Italian kids are obliged to follow some form of education – be it an apprenticeship – until age 18), major differences in number and types of secondary education (general, versus technical vs. vocational), national differences in grade repetition policy (e.g. in Belgium, repeating a grade is much more common than in the US), national – and local – differences in the actual organization of secondary education (e.g. not all students belong to a particular “classroom”;

<sup>5</sup>Cities with 300,000 inhabitants and more are defined as large, cities with 100,000 to less than 300,000 inhabitants as medium sized, and towns with 10,000 to less than 100,000 as small towns.

<sup>6</sup>Canada will not be merged to the ISRD-2 data set and Spain did not oversample large cities.

<sup>7</sup>To standardize the sampling procedure participants could make use of the “Survey Manager”, an Excel program especially written for the ISRD-2 study to manage the list of schools and classes, to draw random samples of classes, and to manage the survey administration.

a “classroom” often is an artificial category) and national differences in how special educational needs are met – to mention but a few of the most obvious obstacles.

Apart from the lack of comparability of school systems, there were other realities which challenged the actual implementation of the classroom-based design encountered in individual countries, such as: (1) lack of availability of sampling frame (i.e. listing of individual 7th, 8th and 9th grade class rooms); (2) lack of cooperation of selected schools; (3) obstacles provided by requirement of having active parental consent (e.g. USA); (4) ambiguity about definition of 7th, 8th and 9th grade (resulting in disproportionate age groups in some countries). Further details can be found in the individual chapters and the technical reports.

In view of all these obstacles, it is little wonder that the original goal of strictly random sampling of classrooms was not fully realized in all countries. That is the bad news. The good news is that there was a low level of refusal among students who were contacted (discounting the refusal at the levels of schools and parents). Last but not least, for most countries, we have a rather detailed accounting of exactly how the sample was obtained. This was achieved by employing standardized “Administrator Forms” by which all participants could keep track of response and refusal rates. Thus, each country has maintained a careful accounting of the exact procedures used in the sampling process, often coupled with attempts to assess the degree of representativeness of the achieved sample by making comparisons with other available data.

The achieved sample size of the merged ISRD-2 data set is 71,400 cases. Although this is an impressive number, more important is the fact that the data were obtained in a standardized manner that allows to obtain comparable and fairly reliable estimates of the incidence and prevalence of juvenile delinquency.

### 1.2.4 The Survey Instrument

In addition to a flexible sampling design, ISRD-2 opted for a modular construction of the questionnaire, including a core module with one or more optional modules of variables. This design allows participants with specific theoretical or policy interests to develop such additional modules. The core ISRD-2 instrument is modelled after the ISRD-1 questionnaire. Since we

wish to achieve comparisons between and within countries as well as consider trends in juvenile delinquency over time, we maintained a number of the original ISRD-1 questions. Moreover, these questions are commonly used items which have proven their reliability and validity over the years.

First, this is the case for all questions on specific delinquent acts as well as *lifetime prevalence* (did you ever commit...), *current prevalence* (did you do this last year), *frequency* (how many times did you do this), the *age of onset*, the *circumstances of the act* (did you do this on your own, or where did you do this) and *social reactions to the offence* (who detected the offence and what was the reaction). Second, this refers to some *social demographic variables* including age, gender, family composition, socio-economic status and education level. Third, we maintained a small number of *theoretical variables*, mainly related to social control theory, including relationship with parents, parental supervision, and attachment to school, commitment to school, truancy and peers. However, we included a great number of additional correlates and theoretical, explanatory variables, such as *victimization* (have you ever been the victim of extortion, physical violence, theft and bullying) and *reporting to the police*, *lifestyle variables* (leisure occupations, friends of different religion or ethnic group, number of delinquent friends), *attitudes towards violence*, a shortened version of the *Grasmick self-control scale* (including items on impulsivity, risk seeking, self-centredness, temper), *school context* (what does school offer?; what does school mean to you?; do stealing, fighting, vandalism and drug use happen in school?), *life events* (death or serious illness of parent/family member, parental conflicts, separation/divorce) and information on *neighbourhood* (attachment, cohesion and disorganization). The ISRD-2 questionnaire can be found on the web-site of this book (see below).

A main concern was to create an instrument which was approved of by all participating researchers. Although a few countries added some questions, with the exception of Canada and Ireland the sequence of questions, their phrasing, the answer formats and thus the integrity of the survey instrument was preserved by all participants. Most of the surveys were conducted in a classroom setting, and self-administered (pencil-and-paper) by the students (generally, with supervision by researchers; in some cases, with supervision by teachers). In a few countries, the administration of the question-



naires was computerized (Switzerland, Denmark and Finland). A randomized controlled experiment conducted before the start of the ISRD-2 showed that both ways of administration produce very similar responses (Lucia et al., 2007). Although great care was taken in maintaining comparability between countries, unavoidably, some unanticipated problems emerged. Some of these problems are common to any survey research endeavour (such as those reflecting lack of care in formulating particular questions, e.g. double negation in a question related to neighbourhood; or the question on downloading which fails to make the distinction between legal and illegal downloading) while others are peculiar to the comparative nature of the ISRD-2. For instance, we encountered different translations of particular offences, such as robbery/extortion, and purse snatching, reflecting different legal interpretations and systems.

A major threat to international comparability of survey data – even if the questions are the same – is lack of standardization in definition and coding of variable values. In the ISRD-2, there was virtually no deviation from the pre-coded answer categories (which had caused much trouble in ISRD-1), because we used EpiData (Lauritsen, 2006) to create standardized data entry masks defining data formats and rules for data entry. This data entry method forces uniformity in coding of similar questions across different languages. Although the adaptation of data entry masks to small deviations of questionnaires for each country proved to be a rather labour intensive endeavour, this was greatly outweighed by the resulting standardization and reliability of the coded data. For those countries that employed computerized administration of the questionnaires, the data files produced were individually adapted to the common format. This allowed a comparatively smooth merging of the data sets of the 30 countries. It should be noted that the current chapters are based on separate data files of the individual countries. Because a second, common data-cleaning procedure was applied to the merged data set, it is possible that slightly different results may be produced in Volume 2.

### 1.3 This Volume

The present volume includes 28 national summary chapters out of a total of 31 participating countries: 13 chapters of western European countries (11 are EU

member states), 10 chapters of eastern European countries (7 are EU member states), furthermore, chapters of Canada, the United States, Venezuela and Surinam as well as one chapter combining results of Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles. Norway and Iceland did not write a separate chapter, although their data are part of the international merged data base (see Volume 2).

As an organizing framework, we employ the country clusters suggested by Saint-Arnaud and Bernard (2003), which is an elaboration of Esping-Andersen's work (Esping-Andersen, 1990). Saint-Arnaud and Bernard's clustering groups the countries according to different welfare policies. We expand the clusters identified by Saint-Arnaud and Bernard by adding an Eastern/Central European and a Latin American cluster, thus grouping the countries into six clusters (at the same time, defining the sequence of chapters that follow):

- Western European countries (The Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, France, Switzerland and Austria)
- Anglo-Saxon countries (Ireland, Canada, USA)
- Northern European countries (Finland, Sweden, Denmark)
- Mediterranean countries (Portugal, Spain, Italy, Cyprus)
- Eastern and Central European countries (Estonia, Lithuania, Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Russia and Armenia)
- Latin America (Venezuela, Surinam, Aruba and The Netherlands Antilles)

Because we have found this clustering scheme to be robust and useful, we will also employ this country clustering in our subsequent analyses of the merged data set (Volume 2).

What makes the book particularly interesting is this great diversity of participating countries, giving a first impression of the degree to which delinquency is a reflection of the specific make up of a society. Each chapter has been written by the original research partners in the ISRD-2 project, and – although each chapter tried to follow some minimum guidelines as to content and structure (i.e. including life-time and last year prevalence tables of offences) – it is a definitive plus that each contribution was thus able to capture the unique national style and particular concerns with problems related to its youth. We thought it helpful, however, to conclude the book with a summarizing chapter. In this final chapter, we provide a brief discussion of the main findings of the ISRD-2 study, as well

as a preview of the next steps that we are taking in order to fully explore the very rich ISRD-2 data set comprised of more than 71,000 individual interviews representing some 30 countries, over 60 cities and a number of small town clusters.

As will become clear in this and subsequent publications, the ISRD study moves us a step forward in understanding the parameters of youth crime cross-nationally and the variances attributable to national differences, and in discovering patterns of theoretical correlates of delinquency, alcohol and drug use, and victimization. Given that the study is one of the first attempts to collect comparative survey data on the topic of youthful misbehaviour in an internationally collaborative fashion, it undoubtedly will further contribute to the development of comparative survey methodology.

Additional background information, including more detailed technical reports and the ISRD-2 survey instruments of participating countries, is available on the web-site of this book at <http://webapp5.rz.uni-hamburg.de/ISRD/JDEB/>.

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# Western Europe

## Chapter 2

# The Netherlands

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### 2.1 Introduction

The Netherlands is a small country in northwest Europe, lying on the border of the North Sea and facing England. Although its land area may be compared to that of countries such as Belgium and Switzerland, the country has a relatively large population of 16 million inhabitants, making the Netherlands the most densely populated country of the European Union. Ten per cent of the population belongs to an ethnic minority, with Surinam, Turkey and Morocco being the minority origins most represented. Other growing groups include people from Asia (China, Afghanistan, Iraq), Africa (Ghana, Somalia) and the former Yugoslavia. Most of them live in one of the four large cities; consequently, half of the people below age 15 belong to a minority group within those cities. The Dutch population is somewhat younger than those in the rest of the European Union, with the exception of Ireland. This statistic can be attributed to the high birth rate, which has resulted in a population growth of 6.4% since 1990, with a substantial percentage (19%) of that population being under the age of 15. This percentage is surpassed only by Ireland, where 23% of the population is below the age of 15 (Social and Cultural Planning Office, 2001). However, the youth population is declining: 1.5 million were aged 12–18 in 1980, while only about 1.1 million fell into this category in 2000.

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### 2.2 The Sample

The sampling procedure is based on a representative selection of three city levels: a large metropolitan area (population  $\pm$  1,150,000), a few mid-sized cities (pop.  $\pm$  120,000) and some small cities (pop.  $\pm$  10,000–70,000), combined with a random selection of 7th, 8th and 9th degree school classes,<sup>1</sup> covering roughly the age group 12–15. We had some problems achieving a large, representative sample of schools, as schools have recently developed into enormous “school communities” including all types of education, instead of being limited to “primary” or “secondary” schools. The result of this scholastic consolidation is that some small cities chosen for the study had no secondary school at all. However, since schools have a number of “sub-divisions” based on education type, we considered these as independent schools. A second problem was that many schools refused to cooperate in the study because they felt overburdened by the many school studies they had been asked to participate in. As a result, only 17.5% of the schools we approached finally agreed to participate in the study. Although this response rate was low, we were fortunate to be able to draw a sample of classes that was representative of the different education types in the Netherlands. Moreover, only seven of the 2,302 students refused to fill in the survey, and the 7.5% of students who were absent for the initial administration of the survey were surveyed at a later date. All of these students combined brought the number of final respondents to 2,295 or 99.8% of those approached. The sample was reasonably representative of the national school population;

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<sup>1</sup>In the Netherlands these are first, second and third school classes in secondary schools.

so, even though there was a low response rate from schools, the response rate of the students from the schools that were surveyed was very high.

Going by the national data on gender, the ratio of males to females in the study suggests that both sexes were adequately represented by the sample. When the age of the respondents is considered, some concentration in the age range of 14–15 does exist; however, the mean age of the respondents was 13 years and 10 months (see Table 2.1 below).

About one-fifth of the youth population in the Netherlands belongs to an ethnic minority group. Owing to the fact that the sample is predominantly urban, it includes an overrepresentation of ethnic minorities. Nationally, 22% of the sampled age group belongs to an ethnic minority, while in the sampled population 35% of the respondents belongs to ethnic minority. This ethnic diversity of the sample allows us to conduct a more in-depth analysis of ethnicity in relation to delinquent behaviour than has been typically undertaken in most prior studies. In addition, most of these youths are second generation and have been educated in the Dutch school system. The countries of origin of the largest minority groups came from

the Dutch ex-colony Surinam, the Antilles, Turkey and Morocco. Lately, a number of juveniles have come from Africa, Asia, the Middle East and from Central European countries. These pupils are on average somewhat older than their Dutch peers, a difference that may be related to language problems or educational difficulties.

Fifteen per cent of the families of students surveyed receive unemployment benefits, a percentage more than twice the national average of 6.3%. The difference can again be explained by the urban nature of the sample, as the level of unemployment is higher in the larger cities than in the countryside (Steketee et al., 2007). When the rate of unemployment in Dutch-born families is compared with that of the first and second generation immigrant families, Dutch-born families report a rate of 7.7% unemployment while second generation immigrant families report a rate of 25%, and first generation immigrant families a rate of 46%.

Most children surveyed live in a two-parent family (75%). The remaining children live in a reconstituted family (4%), or with one parent, in most cases the mother (11%).

The Dutch education system is extremely varied and offers many possibilities of combining studies. However, a rough distinction relevant for this age group is one between practice-oriented vocational training schools and schools that offer more theoretical training that leads to higher education and more prestigious professions. About two-thirds of the youth population attends some type of practical training school, while one-third attends schools that prepare the students for higher education. However, the orientation toward practical or theoretical schools varies significantly with ethnicity. There is no difference between Dutch and Western pupils, 53% of which attend theoretically oriented schools; however, only 28% of non-western immigrants are set on the theoretical track to higher education and 72% are instead oriented towards more practical training ( $p < 0.001$ ) (Table 2.2).

**Table 2.1** Sample characteristics compared to national data in 12–16 age group (%)

	<i>n</i> = 2,295 (%)	<i>n</i> = 1,006, 500 (%)
<i>Age</i>		
12	9	20
13	29	20
14	31	20
15	25	20
16	6	20
17	1	
<i>Gender</i>		
Males	51	51
Female	49	49
<i>Ethnicity</i>		
Dutch	65	78
Western countries	7	7
Turkey	6	4
Morocco	5	3
Surinam	6	3
Netherlands Antilles	2	1
Other non Western countries	9	5
<i>Immigrant generation</i>		
First generation immigrants	8	6
Second generation immigrants	27	16
Dutch	65	78

**Table 2.2** Education type by generation immigrants (in %)

	Dutch/Western pupils ( <i>n</i> = 1,489)	2nd generation ( <i>n</i> = 707)	1st generation ( <i>n</i> = 84)
School type			
Practical orientation	47	66	71
Theoretical orientation	53	34	29

Note:  $p < 0.001$

Differentiating between newcomers and those (immigrants) born in this country, the latter show an increase in the proportion of high streamers to 34%, although this is still far less than Dutch pupils.

### 2.3 Delinquent Behaviour: Prevalence and Frequency

Table 2.3 demonstrates the prevalence of the 15 delinquent acts that were reported by the young people in the sample. These acts are comprised of responses to the question “did you ‘ever’ commit such acts” and to the question “have you done so during the ‘last year’ prior to the administration of the survey”. We also looked at missing answers because a high number of missing values may be an indication of possible underreporting of certain acts. It should be observed that all the prevalences presented in this chapter are based on valid cases. Although the number of missing answers remains in most cases low (1.5–2.4), car theft (4.7) and

robbery/extortion (6.6) have higher number of missing answers suggesting indeed some underreporting for these serious delinquent acts.

In total, 45% of the sample reported having “ever” committed one or more of the 15 offences, while 29.5% reported that they had done so in the “last year”. This is not to say that these percentages present a correct picture of the volume of juvenile delinquency in the Netherlands. Self-report rates have many drawbacks, but so do police figures and even victimization surveys. In fact, no measure of delinquency is perfect, and if we wish to get a more complete picture, we should use all the three sources. However, self-reports provide considerably more information than police records, especially in terms of the unique characteristics of the offender. All things considered, self-reports present a reasonably valid approximation of youth delinquency (Junger-Tas and Haen Marshall, 1999). Moreover, comparing correlates of official delinquency with those of self-reports yield similar results (Hindelang et al., 1979).

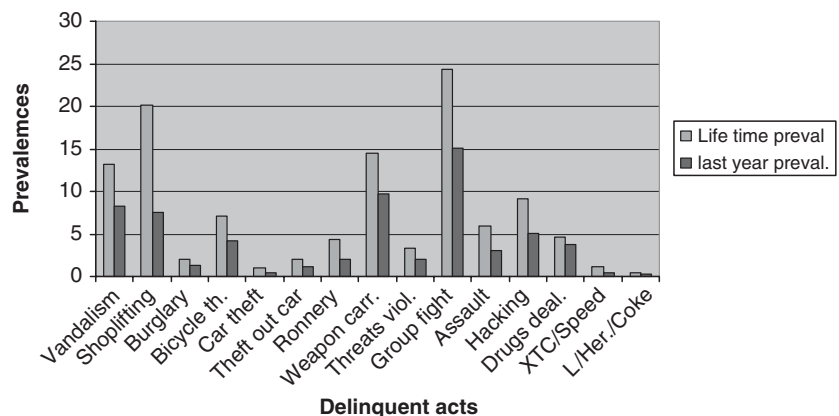
It is clear from Fig. 2.1 that most of the young offenders committed offences of a non-serious nature,

**Table 2.3** “Life-time” delinquency prevalence by city size (in %)

	Large city (n = 628)		Medium cities (n = 847)		Small cities (n = 820)		p
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	
Vandalism	13.1	1.6	14.4	1.4	11.9	3.8	0.340
Shoplifting	23.1	0.6	21.8	0.8	16.2	2.8	<u>0.002</u>
Burglary	2.1	2.1	2.7	2.6	1.5	4.5	0.290
Bicycle theft	9.0	1.0	7.0	0.8	5.6	2.7	<u>0.050</u>
Car theft	1.6	<u>3.3</u>	0.5	<u>4.6</u>	0.6	<u>5.7</u>	<u>0.050</u>
Hacking	9.8	1.3	8.2	2.2	9.4	3.5	0.530
Car break	1.9	0.6	2.5	0.9	1.8	2.9	0.550
Robbery/extortion	4.4	<u>5.1</u>	4.9	<u>6.1</u>	3.6	<u>8.2</u>	0.480
Weapons	16.2	0.8	16.0	0.9	11.6	2.9	0.010
Threats w. violence	4.2	2.4	3.0	3.0	3.2	4.5	0.420
Group fights	25.7	0.8	24.5	1.2	23.3	2.4	0.570
Assault	7.9	1.0	6.0	1.1	4.4	2.8	<u>0.020</u>
Drug dealing	5.8	0.8	5.4	0.9	3.0	2.7	<u>0.020</u>
XTC	1.1 <sup>a</sup>	1.4	1.3 <sup>a</sup>	2.8	1.0 <sup>a</sup>	4.3	0.840
L/H/C	0.5 <sup>a</sup>	1.0	0.2 <sup>a</sup>	1.3	0.8 <sup>a</sup>	3.2	0.330

<sup>a</sup>Last 4 weeks

**Fig. 2.1** Life-time and last-year delinquency prevalence percentages (\*for drug-use, the reference was to “last month”)





such as vandalism and shoplifting, while all of them, including females, fight often at school. There also seems to be an increasing trend in carrying some sort of weapon, often a knife, when they are going out. When asked why they do so in a similar study among 4,500 Rotterdam school youth aged 15, the answer was that “they needed to protect themselves” (Junger-Tas et al., 2003).

Figure 2.1 shows that the rank ordering of the most frequently committed delinquent acts is the same whether one considers “ever” or “last year” committed acts. Looking at the frequency figures, we find that the high prevalence of minor offences goes together with high frequencies.

Serious offences generally have a greater saliency and thus will rarely be forgotten. However, since some offenders may not want to disclose the truth about the commission of more serious offences, they may not answer the questions referring to serious acts for fear of consequences, embarrassment, shame, or other reasons. The highest percentage of missing answers is for car theft and robbery/extortion, both of which are rather serious offences.

## 2.4 City Size and Delinquency Prevalence

In terms of lifetime delinquency prevalence, there are few significant differences between the large and

medium-sized cities, but several between the large and the smallest cities. Young people in small cities do not shoplift as much as those in larger cities, which may be related to a lower presence of supermarkets and department stores. Young people in smaller cities are less likely to steal bicycles and cars (Table 2.4).

More young people in large cities carry weapons and commit assaults than in small cities, suggesting more violent behaviour in the former than in the latter. Dealing drugs is also more frequent in the large cities than in the small cities.

However, considering “last year” prevalence, the only significant differences that remain are those related to violence, such as carrying a weapon, group fights and assault and drug dealing. Both violence and drug dealing may be related to the higher level of immigration in large cities as opposed to small ones, a topic we will turn to in later analyses.

## 2.5 Summary Measures of Delinquent Behaviour

In order to conduct in-depth analyses, we developed some summary measures of delinquency that are described below.

The first was a separation of offences into categories of non-serious and serious. This was based on

**Table 2.4** “Last year” delinquency prevalence by city size (%)

	Large city ( <i>n</i> = 628)		Medium cities ( <i>n</i> = 847)		Small cities ( <i>n</i> = 820)		<i>p</i>
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	
Vandalism	8.3	1.6	9.0	1.9	7.5	4.0	0.540
Shoplifting	7.5	0.6	8.2	0.9	6.1	2.8	0.260
Burglary	1.5	2.1	1.6	2.6	0.8	4.5	0.300
Bicycle theft	5.1	1.0	3.9	0.8	3.8	2.8	0.390
Car theft	0.8	3.3	0.1	4.6	0.4	5.7	0.130
Hacking	4.8	1.4	4.3	2.2	5.7	3.5	0.450
Car break	1.0	0.6	1.7	0.9	0.9	2.9	0.280
Robbery/extortion	1.5	5.1	2.4	6.1	2.1	8.2	0.510
Weapons	10.1	0.8	11.3	1.1	7.6	3.2	<u>0.030</u>
Threats w. violence	2.6	2.4	1.9	3.1	1.9	2.6	0.610
Group fights	17.7	0.8	14.9	1.5	13.3	2.4	<u>0.070</u>
Assault	4.0	1.0	2.9	1.1	2.0	2.8	<u>0.080</u>
Drug dealing	4.2	0.8	4.5	0.9	2.4	2.7	<u>0.050</u>
XTC	0.2 <sup>a</sup>	1.6	0.4 <sup>a</sup>	2.8	0.8 <sup>a</sup>	4.3	0.220
L/H/C	0.3 <sup>a</sup>	1.0	0.1 <sup>a</sup>	1.3	0.5 <sup>a</sup>	3.2	0.380

<sup>a</sup>Last 4 weeks

prior research on penal sentencing classifications as well as on the relevant literature. Accordingly, vandalism, shoplifting, carrying a weapon, hacking and participation in a group fight were defined as non-serious offences, while burglary, bicycle theft, car theft, theft out of car, threatening with violence, assault and drug dealing were defined as serious acts.

Applying these definitions to the “last year” committed offences ( $n = 646$ , 29.5%), “last year” prevalence of non-serious offences is 18.5; 2.5% committed serious offences and 8% a combination of serious and non-serious. Of all non-serious offenders, 30% also reported a serious offence, while of those who reported serious offences, 80% reported also non-serious offences.

Adding “last year” frequency, 58% of youngsters who committed exclusively a non-serious offence and 75% of those committing a serious offence did this only 1–2 times. However, of those committing a combination of offences two-third of them did this five times or more (Table 2.5).

There are two conclusions that we can draw from these data. First, many more young people commit non-serious offences than serious offences and they commit these only once or twice. Second, while most offenders exclusively commit non-serious delinquent acts, a small group of about 8% commits both serious and non-serious offences, committing a greater variety of offences and with a considerably higher frequency. This is clearly the most serious delinquent group. Although it is not known whether these youngsters will continue offending in the future, a proportion of 8% of serious offenders reported in prior longitudinal studies does seem a reasonably accurate figure in view of the 6% chronic offenders (Farrington, 2003; Tracy et al., 1990).

A second method of developing a summary measure of delinquent behaviour is to look at different categories of delinquent acts, distinguishing them according to nature and seriousness.

Table 2.6 demonstrates that the highest delinquency prevalence is for non-serious violence, particularly group fights. In addition, more young people seem to commit serious property offences than serious violent offences.

A third measure that was constructed is a diversity or versatility measure. This measure was created by simply adding the number of different offences committed by respondents. For example,

**Table 2.5** “Last year” prevalence and frequency by seriousness of offences

Offences	Prevalence (%)		Frequency (%)			$\chi^2$
	$n = 2,295$		1–2	3–4	5+	
Non-serious	18.2		57.5	21.0	21.5	$p < 0.001$
Serious	2.3		75.0	10.0	7.5	
Combination	7.7		10.8	22.3	66.9	

**Table 2.6** “Last year” delinquency prevalence by nature and seriousness (%)

Delinquent acts	$n = 2,295$	Mean	Standard deviation
Property non-serious <sup>a</sup>	7.2	0.7	0.26
Property serious <sup>b</sup>	6.1	0.6	0.24
Violence non-serious <sup>c</sup>	19.2	0.2	0.39
Violence serious <sup>d</sup>	4.5	0.4	0.21
Drugs offences serious <sup>e</sup>	3.9	0.4	0.19

<sup>a</sup>Hacking and shoplifting

<sup>b</sup>Burglary, bicycle theft, car theft, theft out of car

<sup>c</sup>Vandalism, carrying weapon, group fights

<sup>d</sup>Threats with violence, assault

<sup>e</sup>Hard drugs use, drugs dealing

for a total of 15 offences, values of the diversity/versatility measure range from 0 to 15. After addition of the offences, the values were then transformed into a scale from 0 to 3 resulting in simple measures of involvement in delinquency. According to this analysis, 15% of the sample committed only one type of delinquent act, 6.5% committed two and 8% committed three different types.

Though such an analysis may seem elementary, it gives the researchers the ability to scale all of the delinquent acts of the respondents together. In defence of diversity/versatility measures, Caspi et al. (1994) stated that “these measures are less-skewed than frequency scores and they give equal weight to all delinquent acts unlike frequency scores that give more weight to minor crimes that are committed more frequently and less weight to serious, less frequent crimes” (1994, pp. 170–171).

## 2.6 Group Delinquency

Juvenile delinquency is social behaviour. Indeed, most offences are committed in groups. Groups of young people are formed from the age of about 12



when they enter secondary education, and normally young people leave the group, once they leave school. As the influence of groups increases, the influence of parents decreases leaving the peer group as the primary socializing and disciplining source for adolescents. Peer groups are formed among those that are close to each other, such as in the classroom or in the neighbourhood. However, not all group behaviour consists of offending: the peer group also provides pleasure and social and psychological support in the transition to adulthood. Moreover, adolescents also learn the rules about work, dating, sex and conflict resolution in the peer group (Muuss, 1980; Warr, 2002). In short, young people do most things in groups. They go together to the disco, play music in bands, drink and blow together, hang around together and commit offences together.

We are interested in the group character of delinquency, as compared to the total number of individual offences reported by our sample. For all delinquent acts in the questionnaire, we asked whether they were committed individually or with more than one person. The outcomes are somewhat surprising: only 8% of all offenders did not commit any offences in a group, 43% reported two or three group offences and 49% committed three or more group offences. There is some difference according to the nature of the group behaviour. Seventy per cent of those who reported mainly serious offences committed three or more group offences, while about 50% of those reporting mainly minor offences, the offences that were overall more frequent, reported having committed the offences in a group.

## 2.7 Risk Behaviour

Risk or problem behaviour concerns behaviour that is not delinquent, but may lead to or is related to offending. Risk behaviour does not always lead to delinquent behaviour, but if such behaviour is frequent, the risk is great that the behaviour will extend to committing delinquent offences. To measure the relationship between risk behaviour and delinquent behaviour, we constructed two scales, one of the behaviour of the juvenile individually, the other of the behaviour of his or her friends.

The first scale measures the behaviour of the respondent him/herself taking the means of the items measuring truancy (spending a day away from school without excuse), drinking a lot of light alcohol or using soft drugs and harassing people just for fun ( $\alpha = 0.67$ ). Alcohol abuse, in particular, is an important factor since problematic alcohol use is related to other behaviours such as violence and delinquent acts (Franken, 2003; Monshouwer, 2004). The second scale measures the behaviour of friends and refers to a universal research finding, which is that having friends who have committed offences such as shoplifting, burglary, threats of violence and assault, is also related to delinquent behaviour of the youngster ( $\alpha = 0.73$ ). Additionally, we calculated the means of the items measuring whether a respondent has friends who have used soft and/or hard drugs, shoplifted, committed burglary, threatened someone with a weapon and/or committed serious assault.

Table 2.7 shows that most risk behaviour is occurring in middle-sized cities and not in large cities although differences are not large. With respect to the offending patterns of the friends of respondents, there is a difference between large and small cities, in that delinquency of friends is higher in the former than in the latter cities. To the extent that this finding is a reflection of respondents' own behaviour, the difference in offending is confirmed by national police statistics.

Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) argue that delinquents have low self control and that this is shown in everything they do, leading not only to offending, but also to risk taking behaviour in health issues, such as alcohol and drug abuse, or, for that matter, in driving or in risk sports situations (see also Junger and Stroebe, 2001; Junger et al., 2001). In order to test this connection between offending and risk-taking, we looked at the relationship of delinquency variety with soft drug use, "binge" drinking and number of serious accidents.

Table 2.8 shows indeed that behaviour that is not defined as delinquent but is a clear infringement of social norms is related to committing offences. This is the case for "binge" drinking, where young people drink large quantities of alcohol usually during weekends in a relatively short period of time ( $r = 0.31$ )<sup>2</sup> as well as for

<sup>2</sup>Muslim juveniles are an exception: they hardly drink any alcohol at all.

**Table 2.7** Prevalence risk behaviour respondent and of friends (%)

	Large cities ( <i>n</i> = 628)	Middle-sized cities ( <i>n</i> = 847)	Small cities ( <i>n</i> = 820)
Respondent behaviour <sup>a</sup>			
No risk behaviour	47.8	43.1	40.2
Some risk behaviour	35.8	35.3	41.7
Much risk behaviour	16.4	21.5	18.9
Friends behaviour <sup>b</sup>			
No offending behaviour	47.1	52.6	58.4
Some offending behaviour	37.7	33.1	31.5
Much offending behaviour	14.8	14.4	10.1

<sup>a</sup>*p* < 0.01  
<sup>b</sup>*p* < 0.001

**Table 2.8** Pearson correlations of “binge” drinking, soft drug use, serious accidents, truancy and delinquent behaviour

	Accidents	“Binge” drinking	Hash use	Truancy	Versatility
Accidents	1.00				
“Binge” drinking	0.14**	1.00			
Hash use	0.08*	0.18**	1.00		
Truancy	0.16**	0.19**	0.22**	1.00	
Variety scale	0.18**	0.31**	0.35**	0.28**	1.00

\*\*Sign. 0.01 (2-tailed)

**Table 2.9** “Last year” victimization prevalence and reporting to police by city size (%)

	Large cities		Middle-sized cities		Small cities	
	Victimized	Reported to police	Victimized	Reported to police	Victimized	Reported to police
Theft	23.5	17.0	21.7	30.0	16.4	24.4
Assault	4.1	20.8	4.9	26.8	4.3	11.8
Robbery/extortion	4.7	26.0	3.1	27.0	1.1	11.0
Bullying	12.6	6.8	15.5	5.6	14.4	1.8

soft drug use ( $r = 0.35$ ). Correlations of truancy ( $r = 0.28$ ) and serious accidents ( $r = 0.18$ ) are weaker.

Consequently, we are able to conclude that the outcomes seem to confirm Gottfredson and Hirschi’s theory, in that “binge” drinking, soft drug use and truancy are associated with committing offences.

## 2.8 Victimization

Since victimization is related to offending (van Dijk and Steinmetz, 1983), pupils were asked whether during “last year” they had been a victim of simple theft, theft with violence, assault, or bullying. We also wanted to know in which cases and how often victims had reported their victimizations to the police. We sought this piece of information in the hope that it would provide some insight into the relationship between the victimizations of young people and police statistics on these particular acts. Calculating corre-

lations with the variety measure produces only a significant correlation with theft victimization (0.13). However, victimization from bullying is significantly correlated with victimization from robbery/extortion (0.57) and from theft (0.39) (Table 2.9).

There are clear differences in victimization according to city size in the number of theft victims and of robbery/extortion victims. Consistent with earlier findings, young people in large cities reported more victimization in these two categories than their counterparts in small cities. There is hardly any difference in assault victimizations in terms of city size suggesting that violence is independent of city size in regard to assault. Reporting thefts is considerably lower in large cities than in the others, suggesting that young people in large cities do not feel reporting would be useful. As far as reporting assault and robbery/extortion is concerned, however, the lowest percentages appear in small cities. Alternatively, bullying, which is not defined as a delinquent offence but which can have serious consequences for the victim,

leading in some cases even to suicide (Smith et al., 1999), is hardly ever reported to the police.

Given the fact that most samples include (ethnic) minority groups, the question whether they had been a victim of discrimination seemed also relevant. As far as discrimination is concerned, 16.5% of the minority students answered that they had suffered discrimination, most of them only once (5.5%) or sometimes (9%). Since it is possible that minority groups suffer more often from discrimination than young people of Dutch origin, the relationship of discrimination with ethnic group was examined resulting in a significant result ( $F = 56.78$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). Analysis of discrimination experienced by all six “ethnicity or nationality of origin” groups showed that young people from non-western immigrant, Surinamese and Antillean origin felt occasionally discriminated against by Dutch juveniles as well as by immigrant youth of western origin, while Turkish and Moroccan juveniles only felt discriminated against by Dutch pupils. In other words, discrimination runs not so much along group lines as along skin colour lines: 16.5% of darker-skinned young people feel discriminated against by lighter-skinned youth.

## 2.9 Delinquency and Demographic Variables

### 2.9.1 Gender

According to the police and the media, female delinquency is increasing all the time and will soon catch up with male offending. Historically, feminist theory cited women’s emancipation as the main reason behind the increase (Adler, 1975; Simon, 1975; Austin, 1993); however, other theorists strongly denied such development (Chesney-Lind, 1989, 2001; Steffensmeier, 1993) citing theories of interacting inequalities, life history, and gender as an interactional accomplishment as lenses to interpret the rise in female criminal offending. What happened instead is that over time females consistently show considerably lower delinquency rates than males; however, the manner in which female offending is policed has changed over time. This is true for all countries for which there are records, and continues to be true all over the world to this very day.

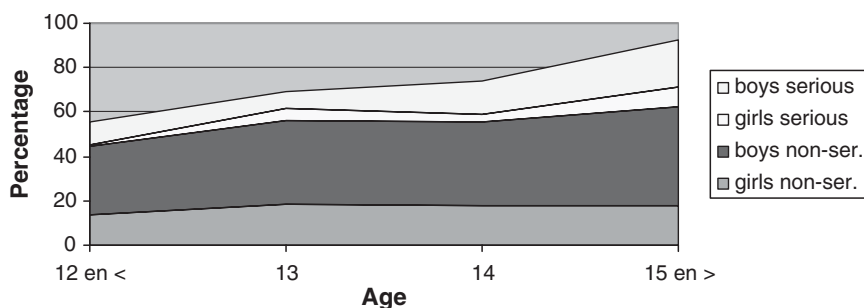
This is not any different in our self-report study. Females have significantly lower prevalence than males for 12 offences, although the difference for shoplifting is lowest. On the other hand, the rank order of offences is similar for both sexes. Girls are also involved in group fighting, followed by shoplifting, vandalism and carrying a weapon. The most remarkable fact is that there is no difference between the sexes in the prevalence of the use of soft drugs, hard drugs and alcohol in the last 4 weeks. Although the ISRD-2 sample is younger than that of the ISRD-1, we found the same outcome in 11 countries analyzed in ISRD-1 (Junger-Tas et al., 2003a, pp. 65–91), in that females hardly differed in soft drug use. Interestingly, females stopped using soft drugs earlier (about age 17) while males continued their use for more years.

### 2.9.2 Age and Delinquency

Age is strongly related to offending in all studies of delinquent behaviour. Accordingly, we may expect that 12-year olds will be less involved in delinquency than 15–16-year olds (Felson, 1998; Thornberry and Krohn, 2003; Warr, 2002). The ISRD-2 study also shows a relationship with age, where 12-year olds mainly restrict their delinquent behaviour to fighting, shoplifting and vandalizing, while the oldest age group mainly commits serious offences such as burglary, robbery/extortion and drug dealing.

As students sharing a common classroom are more often than not of the same age, one would expect similar differences in offending between students in the seventh grade and those in the ninth grade with the younger students committing fewer offences. However, this is only the case for shoplifting and for serious offences, such as bicycle theft, robbery/extortion, threats with violence and drugs dealing and not for other offences. One potential explanation for this result is the urban character of our sample. For example, ethnic minority pupils are overrepresented in the big cities and they are on average older than Dutch pupils in the same school class, increasing the age differential between students in the same classroom.

Another question is whether gender would differentiate in offending seriousness by age. Figure 2.2 shows two interesting differences. First, in terms of non-seri-



**Fig. 2.2** Seriousness of offending by gender and age (%)

ous offences there is hardly any increase in prevalence with age for females, but there is one for males. Second, while there is a slight increase in serious females offending with age, serious male offending doubles between the ages of 12 and 15.

## 2.10 Family Composition

Family composition reflects the Western character of Dutch society. Like many other Western nations, the Dutch have high divorce rates. Only 75% of all children in the sample live in a family consisting of a biological father and mother. Nearly one-fifth of the sample live in a one-parent family (18.5%) with the majority of this group living in female-headed households. Five per cent live with a stepfather or stepmother, and 1.5% live with other family members, mainly grandparents, or live in a state-run home.

Taking into account that the number of children who live with other family members or in a home is very small, one cannot say much about their involvement in delinquency in terms of their family composition. However, it is clear that living in a one-parent family or with a stepparent does not seem very favourable in terms of delinquent behaviour.

Further analysis showed that children raised alternatively by mother and father in a divorced, yet shared-parenting situation and children raised in a one-parent family, typically by the mother, commit more offences than children raised in a two-parent household (family of origin). This is also apparent in the number of different offences committed by these children, as offending variety is significantly higher for students in one-parent families than among those

who live in a two-parent household ( $F = 10.10$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) (Table 2.10).

Since this relationship between family composition and delinquency frequency is a frequently found outcome of delinquency research (Hirschi, 1969; West and Farrington, 1973), some qualifications about the uniqueness of our sample are in order. First, single mothers often live in a precarious socio-economic situation and, more often than not, in poor neighbourhoods (Morash and Rucker; 1989). Moreover, if single mothers succeed in providing adequate supervision for their children, differences between their children and children from two-parent households disappear (Riley and Shaw, 1985; Hirschi, 1969). Still, in a review of 60 years of research on this issue Wells and Rankin (1991) found a difference of 13–15% in delinquent behaviour between children from two-parent households and those from reconstituted families.

## 2.11 Education

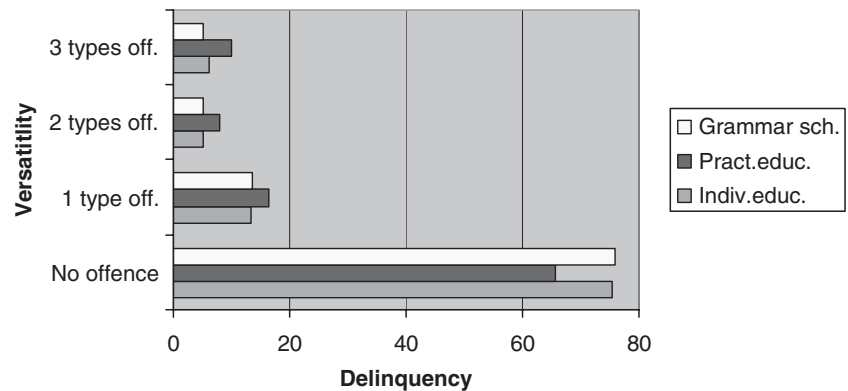
Pupils were evenly sampled from the different classrooms, so there are about a third of all respondents on each grade level. The first question is therefore whether there is an association of class level with delinquency. Different analyses showed that class level does not

**Table 2.10** Delinquent behaviour by family composition (%)

Offences	Family of origin ( $n = 1,716$ )	1-parent family ( $n = 421$ )	Stepparent ( $n = 116$ )
Non-serious	16.8	22.3	23.1
Serious	1.9	1.9	4.7
Combination	6.7	9.5	12.7

Notes:  $p < 0.001$

**Fig. 2.3** Education type by delinquent behaviour (%)



differentiate significantly in non-serious offences ( $F = 4.49, p = 0.11$ ), but it does so in serious offences ( $F = 11.65, p < 0.001$ ). There is no difference between the first level and the second, but there is a significant difference between the first level and the third. Thus, the highest grades commit the most serious offences which confirm our earlier findings in relation to age.

A second analysis is one between different school types, since the Dutch school system is strongly class-linked and lower class students have a much higher chance of attending the practice-oriented VMBO schools<sup>3</sup> than the higher-stream grammar schools that lead to higher education. If one considers Fig. 2.3, it is clear that young people attending VMBO schools commit more offences than juveniles attending other school types. Moreover, this is true for all types of offences. This finding is not a new or unique one. The Rotterdam survey that sampled 4,500 students aged 15 found the same result (Junger-Tas, 2003b, p. 103).

## 2.12 Ethnicity

The largest groups of ethnic minorities in our country are migrants from the Dutch ex-colony of Surinam. Many Surinamese immigrated to The Netherlands after the event of their independence in November 1975. Around that same time, unskilled workers from Turkey and Morocco, who were recruited for factory

work, augmented the diversity in the Dutch population. More recently, asylum seekers have come to the country either as refugees from war situations or police states, or as economic migrants from very poor countries with high unemployment. These new immigrants are coming from countries such as the former Yugoslavia, Asia, Africa, Iran, Iraq, Syria and Central Europe. There is also a small percentage (6.5%) of Western residents from neighbouring countries, such as the new EU member states, Canada, the United States and Australia.

Associating ethnicity with versatility, as well as with non-serious and serious delinquency produced significant results. Table 2.11 shows a significant difference with respect to both non-serious offence ( $p = 0.007$ ) and serious offences ( $p = 0.020$ ).

However, it should be mentioned that the percentage of missing data is relatively high with respect to car theft (4.8%) and robbery/extortion (6.8%) suggesting some underreporting of these offences, particularly by Moroccan boys who have many police contacts for these types of offences.

There is a striking difference between Turkish and Moroccan juveniles in the nature of their delinquent behaviour. Turkish males tend to commit mainly violent offences while Moroccan males specialize in property offences. On the other hand, Turkish and Moroccan females, who are traditionally and currently very tightly controlled by their family, hardly commit any delinquent acts at all.

The prevalence of robbery/extortion is highest among non-western immigrants, a phenomenon which may be related to the situation of newcomers in this group, a number of which might

<sup>3</sup>Children who have difficulties following VMBO education can attend special classes where they receive individualized education. It is a form of special education within normal schools.

be illegal asylum seekers. A well-known offence among illegal asylum seekers is street robbery/extortion, which is a relatively easy offence to commit (de Haan, 1993).

A striking outcome of Table 2.11, and one that is contrary to common belief is that there are no significant differences in delinquent behaviour between ethnic minorities. Although the most delinquent offenders, those who committed a combination of serious and non-serious offences, are somewhat more represented among immigrant groups than among Dutch pupils, differences are rather small.

Figure 2.4 indicates that girls from Western countries and from Surinam/Antilles have higher rates of non-serious offences than all other girls, although among these groups too prevalence remains considerably lower than that of boys. With respect to serious offences, Western and Surinam girls have higher scores, in particular, compared to Turkish and Moroccan girls. On the other hand, although boys

commit more serious offences than girls there are no great differences among the different groups.

### 2.13 Family Composition by Ethnicity

The last subject to consider in relation to ethnicity is family composition. The reason is that family composition varies considerably according to ethnic group, while at the same time it is related to delinquent behaviour.

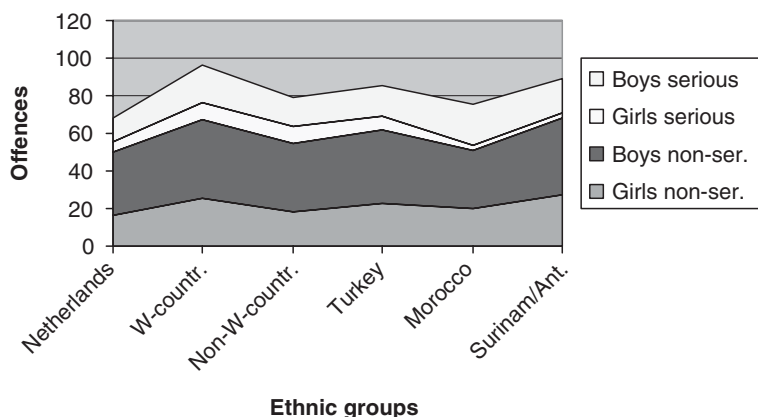
As Table 2.12 shows there are huge differences in family composition by ethnic group. The large majority of Dutch, but also of Turkish and Moroccan kids live in complete families, Turkish families being particularly united. This is not so much the case in West- and East European-, as well as non-western, immigrant families. It may, at least partly, be the result of the upheaval and complications of the migration process, as does appear in some life histories.

**Table 2.11** “Last year” delinquency prevalence by ethnicity<sup>a</sup> and seriousness (%)

Offences	Netherlands ( <i>n</i> = 1,492)	Western countries ( <i>n</i> = 153)	Non western countries ( <i>n</i> = 216)	Turkey ( <i>n</i> = 141)	Morocco ( <i>n</i> = 117)	Surinam/ Antilles ( <i>n</i> = 174)
Non-serious	17.5	20.9	18.2	18.4	15.5	23.7
Serious	2.2	3.3	2.8	1.4	3.4	1.2
Combination <sup>b</sup>	7.0	11.8	8.4	9.9	6.9	8.7

<sup>a</sup>“Western countries” include young people from Western and Eastern EU member states, Ex-Yugoslavia and Albania as well as Canada, US and Australia; “Non-western countries” include juveniles from Africa, the Middle East (Iraq, Syria) and Asia. Since there are only 46 Antillean kids in the sample, these are included in the Surinam group

<sup>b</sup>*p* = 0.40



**Fig. 2.4** Seriousness of offending by ethnicity and



**Table 2.12** Family composition by ethnicity

Family composition	The Netherlands ( <i>n</i> = 1,492)	Western countries ( <i>n</i> = 153)	Non-western countries ( <i>n</i> = 216)	Turkey ( <i>n</i> = 141)	Morocco ( <i>n</i> = 117)	Surinam/ Antilles ( <i>n</i> = 174)	Total ( <i>n</i> = 2,295)
Complete	79.5	63.5	63	87.0	81.0	47.0	75.0
1-parent	7.5	19.0	20	7.0	15.5	36.5	12.0
Stepparent	12.0	15.0	14.5	3.0	3.5	12.5	11.5
other	1.0	2.5	2.5	3.0	0.0	4,0	1.5

A striking fact is also the low number of complete families among Surinamese and Antillean juveniles, which is related to cultural factors referring to past conditions of slavery and exploitation. Consequently, the circumstance of being raised only by the mother is still very wide spread in these ethnic groups.

The question is to what extent family composition is related to delinquent behaviour if we take ethnic group into account. Controlling for ethnic group in an analysis of variance, the interaction of ethnic group with family is not significant ( $F = 1.16, p = .30$ ); so the differences in delinquency cannot be explained by the combined effect of these two variables. As far as the effect of individual variables is concerned, that of the family is significant ( $F = 4.77, p = 0.003$ ), while the one for ethnic group is not ( $F = 0.25, p = 0.94$ ). The conclusion must be that offending versatility only differs by family composition and not by ethnic group.

## 2.14 Multiple Regression Analysis

So far, we have only presented descriptive survey results applying mainly bi-variate analyses. Such analysis has its limitations, since possible interrelations among variables are not taken into account. Therefore, we end this chapter by showing a stepwise multiple regression analysis where versatility is the dependent-variable, and adding the variables we used in these preliminary findings of the study as regressors.

Looking at the partial coefficients, we see that most are significant although they are rather low, with the exception of substance abuse ( $beta = 0.297$ ). Gender and “binge” drinking do also give a sizable contribution to the explained variance and ethnicity does contribute moderately ( $beta = 0.115$ ). All other added variables, including school type do not increase the explained variance a great deal, although the *betas* are all significant. One may conclude that at this point of

the study the best predictors of delinquent behaviour are substance abuse, binge drinking, gender and ethnicity. Later analyses, introducing a great number of background variables, will shed new light and considerably modify these preliminary findings (Table 2.13).

## 2.15 Summary Discussion

The Dutch ISRD-2 study has been carried out on a city-sample (big city, medium-sized cities, small cities). Within these cities, we selected a random sample of schools followed by a random sample of grades seven, eight and nine (age 12–15), where the common ISRD questionnaire was administered. This resulted in a final sample of 2,295 schoolchildren.

The sample has one particular feature, namely, the high percentage of ethnic minorities (35%) compared to 22% nationwide in this age group. Related to this is the relatively high number of families receiving unemployment benefits, which is 15% compared to a national 6.3%, as well as their rather unfavourable position in the education system.

Forty-five per cent of the sample admit having committed at least once in their lifetime one of the 15 offences figuring in the questionnaire, and this was 29.5% in the year before the survey took place. Most of the kids commit non-serious offences and those who report serious offending also commit a lot of non-serious delinquent acts. Acts most frequently committed are fighting, carrying a weapon, vandalism and shoplifting.

Delinquent behaviour differs according to city size. Considering “last year” delinquency, small cities differ from big cities, in particular, with respect to violence: young people in small cities tend not as frequently as in the big cities to carry a weapon, fight in groups and commit assault, nor do they deal in drugs as much.

Most delinquent acts are committed in the company of others: only 8% said they had acted on their own.

**Table 2.13** Stepwise multiple regression with versatility as dependent-variable

Model	Unstandardized coefficients		Standardized coefficients			Correlations	
	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>beta</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>sig.</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>
(Constant)	0.153	0.058		2.65	0.008		
Combination alcohol and drugs	0.043	0.003	0.297	13.19	0.000	0.393	0.154
Gender [1.0]	0.156	0.017	0.174	9.04	0.000	0.432	0.187
“Binge” drinking	0.112	0.014	0.188	8.04	0.000	0.457	0.209
Ethnicity	0.032	0.006	0.115	5.66	0.000	0.476	0.227
School type	-0.060	0.016	-0.075	-3.76	0.001	0.481	0.231
Risk behaviour friends	-0.029	0.010	-0.059	-2.92	0.004	0.484	0.234
Age group	-0.023	0.009	-0.050	-2.43	0.015	0.486	0.237
Victimization	0.039	0.017	0.046	2.36	0.019	0.488	0.239

Note: dependent-variable: versatility past year (range 0–5);  $R = 0.49$ ,  $R^2 = 0.24$

The more serious acts they commit the more they do so in groups.

Young people do not only commit delinquent acts but they can also be victims of criminality. We measured victimization by theft (20.3%), assault (4.5%), robbery/extortion (2.8%) and such acts as bullying (14.3%) and discrimination (16.5%). In about 25% of cases, these victimizations are reported to the police. Victimization of bullying are significantly related to victimizations by robbery/extortion and theft. Of all victimizations, only those of theft are related to versatility.

As expected, girls show less delinquent behaviour than boys, although the ranking order of the most frequently committed offences is similar for both sexes.

Age is related to delinquency, in particular serious offences increase from age 14 on.

Distinguishing six ethnic groups (Young people from Dutch origin, Western and non-western immigrants and youth from Turkish, Moroccan and Surinam/Antillean origin) we found significant differences in non-serious ( $p = 0.007$ ) and serious delinquency ( $p = 0.020$ ). However, controlling for family composition, which varies a great deal over the groups, the interaction between ethnicity and family composition has no significant effect on delinquency; the effect on delinquency of ethnic group disappears, while that of family composition remains significant. Turkish and Moroccan boys are considerably more delinquent than their sisters who are more tightly controlled.

So far, the role of ethnicity in the explanation of crime remains an open question. In order to define this role more clearly, one has to take into account a number of other factors such as socio-economic differences, neighbourhood, peer group and education. For

reasons of space, these factors have not been analyzed in this chapter. A stepwise multiple regression analysis on the basis of a number of selected variables – all treated in this chapter – showed as strongest predictors of delinquency, substance abuse, binge drinking and gender. Ethnicity figured as a moderate predictor.

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# Chapter 3

## Belgium

Nicole Vettenburg, Claire Gavray, and Michel Born

### 3.1 Background

#### 3.1.1 Social-economic Information

Belgium has a population of 10.5 million inhabitants, 8.7% of whom are of foreign origin (5.5% are citizens from the European Union, while 3.2% are of other nationalities). The average annual per capita income is €13,222.

The tertiary sector accounts for about two-thirds of the Belgian economy, and this share is on the rise; it has risen from 63.7% in 2000 to 66.7% in the next 5 years. The industry sector and the construction sector together account for just over 20% of the economy; however, their share has decreased by almost 3%, the mirror image of the increase in the tertiary sector. The share of agriculture, which was already very small, continues to decline and has fallen to just below 1%.

The overall unemployment rate in Belgium for the age group between 15 and 64 years (8.46%) is substantially lower than for the group between 15 and 24 years of age (21.16%). This is reflected in the employment rate: for the age group between 15 and 64 years, the employment rate is 60.33%; for the group between 15 and 24 years, it is 27.79%.

The most frequently used poverty indicator is an income lower than 60% of the median income. In Belgium, 15% of the population was living below the poverty line in 2005. Seven per cent of the people had been in this situation for 3 years or more. Twenty per cent of the population belongs to the highest income

group in Belgium; this group has an income that is 4.1 times that of the 20% of Belgians who have the lowest incomes. This is just below the European average (4.7).

No juvenile delinquency figures are available for Belgium as a whole or for individual regions. Police statistics contain no information about perpetrators, and judicial information has not been published since 1989. Furthermore, the 1989 data are unreliable (Detry et al., 2006), and for this reason, they were withdrawn by the statistical service of the Justice Ministry. Conversely, partial figures are available on the basis of various scientific studies (for Flanders, see: Goedseels et al., 2000; Smits, 2004; Burssens, 2007; for Wallonia, see: Lecocq et al., 2003).

Consistent with the ISRD2 guidelines, a city-based sampling strategy was opted for in Belgium. For the selection of the four cities, two in Wallonie (the southern, mostly French speaking part of Belgium) and two in Flanders (the northern, Flemish-speaking part of Belgium), the comparability of the two regions and the distance to the research centres in Gent and Liege were taken into account. In each region, one medium-sized city and another, small in size were selected. For Flanders, they are Gent (population: 233,925, population density: 1,478.7/km<sup>2</sup>) and Aalst (population: 77,508, population density: 985.8/km<sup>2</sup>); and for Wallonie, Liege (population: 187,432, population density: 2,674.3/km<sup>2</sup>) and Verviers (population: 53,943, population density: 1,597.0/km<sup>2</sup>).

#### 3.1.2 The School System

The school system is essentially the same in the Flemish and the Walloon regions because it was established before the skills and training teaching goals were

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regionalised (1978). There are no tuition-based schools, but the organisation boards may differ. Public schools have public (local, provincial or community-based: Flemish or French-speaking) boards. On the other hand, “free” schools receive subsidies from the state and, as such, cannot be called “private”. “Free” schools outnumber public schools. The “free” network boards consist mainly of non-profit-making associations. Most of them are Catholic.

School is compulsory until 18 years of age, even though a mixed training system is available for 16-year-olds with school problems and a lack of motivation. The latter can combine part-time school and apprenticeship.

Traditionally, three educational levels exist in Belgium: elementary (nursery and primary), secondary and higher education. Next to these traditional mainstream education levels, special education exists as well on the level of primary and secondary education. Elementary education includes nursery and primary education. Primary education is a 6-year cycle, meant for children aged 6–12. Secondary education is meant for youngsters aged 12–18 and consists of 6 years, divided into three grades (or “degree”) of 2 years each. The first grade (2 years: type A or B) offers a range of general subjects. For pupils who did not receive their elementary education certificate or who are considered to be not academically strong enough to pass the first year of secondary education, one transitional year (B-class) is offered during which the subject matter of primary school is repeated. Starting the second grade of secondary education (each 2 years), pupils have a choice between five main education types. General secondary education (GSE) offers academic subjects only and prepares pupils for higher education. Technical secondary education (TSE) involves a combination of general, technical–theoretical and practical subjects. Vocational secondary education (VSE) is a practical education form in which pupils learn a specific occupation. It prepares youngsters for a job. Artistic secondary education includes a combination of general and artistic subjects. Part-time VSE from 15 years and older is a practical education form in which youngsters attend only 15 periods of classes a week. They gain professional experience in part-time labour, apprenticeship or family business. Each type of secondary education has its own curriculum, general education being the highest academic level. Within each type, there are several options (combination of subjects). With exception of part-time vocational education, they all lead to the certificate of secondary education.

Higher education includes education provided by higher education institutes and university education. There are no academic entry requirements for higher education. Once a pupil passes the last year of full-time secondary education, he/she receives the leaving certificate of secondary education, giving the right to enter any college for higher education or any university of his/her choice.

### 3.2 Research Design

Both Belgian research teams took part in ISRD1 separately (Born and Gavray, 1994). This time, they have chosen to collaborate closely to build up a questionnaire and a methodology as close as possible to each other and to the ISRD2-Steering Committee’s instructions.

As to the questionnaire, only a few questions were added among which we find a first descriptive set dealing with relationships with teachers. Another set deals with teenagers’ health and psycho-social resources.

As to the methodology in use, we opted for a city-based sampling strategy proposed by ISRD2-Steering Committee. Four cities were chosen in both regions considering the distance from the workplace and because of their comparable characteristics and size, two by two. Ghent (Flanders) and Liege (Wallonie) are two medium-sized cities and university centres with a similar economic background. Meanwhile, Aalst and Verviers are small towns and regional educational centres.

Within the framework of this survey, we asked questions to both male and female students in the seven, eight and nine years according to the international code. In the Belgian organisational system, they are in the first 3 years of secondary school. Theoretically, all youths go through the same first grade (or “degree”) (classes seven and eight). They have hardly any options there. But, in fact, in this first grade we also find type B classes which deal with students considered not to be academically strong enough to pass the first year of secondary education having left primary school without obtaining a degree. As one may know, Belgium has a high rate of repeating students in primary school and even more so in secondary school. This explains the different ages found in our sample. Few students concerned here will go back to “general education”, i.e. higher-education-focused orientation.

In the third secondary year, the first year of the second grade, students will opt for various orientations but the main stream will remain in “general education”.

We chose the paper version for the questionnaires because most schools did not have sufficient technical possibilities in order to do otherwise. The two research teams trained and closely assisted the investigators who were university students in both cases. At first, they accompanied them to the different schools, explained the context and the goal of the survey. They gave the instructions, insisted upon the fact that questionnaires would remain anonymous and kindly requested teachers not to interfere with the present work. Finally, both teams brought back the questionnaires and wrote down all the information relating to it (number of students, number of participants, etc.).

In terms of drawing the sample, each of the secondary schools in the four cities received a letter and a phone call. Many direction boards showed genuine interest in the survey and asked for the results in due time. Forty-three of the 93 schools (29 out of 64 for the 2 medium sized cities and 14 out of the 29 for the 2 small cities) agreed to take part. In other words, 46.3% of the contacted schools agreed. At each school, a random sample of one to three classes was taken, depending on the number of study years organised by the school. Beyond this point, on the basis of the available data, like the number of classes, their type, grade and the number of students in them<sup>3</sup>, we have completed the sample randomly and we tried to add classes that had a missing profile. We wanted to get a very close view of the global school population based on the school year and the education type (a total of seven categories). We finally visited 148 classes.<sup>1</sup> The students’ parents also received a letter about the survey (passive consent). We received 38 refusals in total.

Temporary collaborators were in charge of encoding the questionnaires. They were supervised by the researchers who, on both sides of the linguistic border, appointed a person responsible for the collecting of data and the contacts with the ISRD designer of the encoding program and of the various tests. A re-entering-of-the-data exercise was carried out.

<sup>1</sup>Please note that it is extremely hard to know how many students there are in a Belgian class because the class may be a very artificial and/or administrative grouping. In some classes, students may actually have very different options and spend only a very little time together as a class.

A total of 2,247<sup>2</sup> questionnaires form the Belgian database. The Table 3.1 below sums up the different phases. The table shows the number of students within each visited class, how many of them did fill in and hand out the questionnaire and how many questionnaires were actually kept for analysis. As a matter of fact, some questionnaires had to be discarded for not being sufficiently filled in, for a problem of quality in the answers or for a lack of seriousness on the behalf of the respondent.

The sample provides a good representation of both the “official” public network and the “free” subsidised network. Table 3.2 gives the distribution of the 93 schools in the population and of the 43 participating schools according to the education network.

The good representation of all class types (grades and levels) in the mixed sample is a little less so in the male and female groups when studied separately (see first four columns of Table 3.21 in Appendix). This is due to the fact that we did not at first have the distribution of sexes within the classes except for a few vocational or technical classes where the gendered orientation was made obvious by the option itself. Consequently, we thought it wise to resort to a weighting variable in our analyses.

Weighting variables have thus been constructed on the basis of the ratio between the total population of

**Table 3.1** Stages of constitution of the sample

Total population	Total number of students present on the day of the survey	Total number of filled in questionnaires	Total number of accepted questionnaires
25,665	2,851 (11.1% of 25,665)	2,349 (9.1% of 25,665 and 82.4% of 2,851)	2,247 (8.7% of 25,665; 78.8% of 2 851; and 95.7% of 2,349)

**Table 3.2** Population schools in four cities and sample

Network	Population (total number of schools in four cities, $n = 93$ )	Sample (participating school $n = 43$ )
Public network	44.09% ( $n = 41$ )	48.84% ( $n = 21$ )
“Free” network	55.91% ( $n = 52$ )	51.16% ( $n = 22$ )

<sup>2</sup>In fact 2,249, but in two cases there were missing values for the gender of the respondent. Therefore weighting these cases became impossible. These cases are omitted.

the four cities and the sample. Two variables are taken into account: gender and the country-specific school level (seven positions). In this way, a variable with 14 different coefficients is entered in the database.

### 3.3 Description

#### 3.3.1 Prevalence

##### 3.3.1.1 Risk Behaviour and Prevalence of Alcohol Consumption, Soft Drug Use, and Truancy

Table 3.3 and Table 3.6 show the prevalence of alcohol consumption and soft-drug use. Additionally, a combined score of alcohol consumption together with soft-drug use, truancy and an indicator of risk lifestyle can be used (Table 3.4 and Table 3.7). Note that prevalence of alcohol consumption and soft-drug use is displayed in separate tables and not together with the prevalence of self-reported delinquency (offences).

Table 3.3 shows that almost two out of three respondents already consumed beer or wine in their life, and almost one out of three strong spirits. “Soft drugs” were used by 12% of the sample. Considering the last month consumption, those rates can roughly be divided by two, but they remain high.<sup>3</sup>

In Table 3.4, truancy was measured referring to the last year whereas alcohol and drug use were measured referring to the last month. This is why there is no lifetime prevalence for truancy. “Risk” assesses whether at least two of the following three behaviours have been reported: (1) Having consumed beer/wine or strong spirits at least once during the last month, (2) having used marijuana/hashish at least once during the last month, and (3) being truant at least once during the last year.

The total alcohol rates can be compared to those of beer or wine in Table 3.3. Table 3.4 indicates that nearly 10% of the respondents show two of the three described risk factors. As well as in Table 3.4, the missing value rates remain low.

<sup>3</sup>Note that throughout the tables the prevalence rates are based on the number of valid cases only. In all tables the percentage of missing cases are given by variable and the total number of cases is indicated either in the table footnote or in a column header.

**Table 3.3** Lifetime and last month prevalence of alcohol and soft-drug use

	Lifetime		Last month	
	%	Missing	%	Missing
Beer/wine	62.3	1.7	35.3	2.4
Strong spirits	31.3	1.6	12.5	2.3
Marijuana, hashish use	12.0	1.8	6.0	1.9

*n* = 2,247; weighted data; prevalence based on valid cases

**Table 3.4** Lifetime and last month prevalence of risk factors

	Lifetime		Last month <sup>a</sup>	
	%	Missing	%	Missing
Alcohol total <sup>b</sup>	62.9	0.9	35.9	1.1
Marijuana, hashish use	12.0	1.8	6.0	1.9
Truancy	–	–	13.6	0.7
Two risk factors present	–	–	9.2	1.0

*n* = 2,247; weighted data; prevalence based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Truancy: last year prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Beer/wine and strong spirits

##### 3.3.1.2 Victimization Experiences

Table 3.5 shows the last year prevalence of victimisation and reporting to the police. Note that the basis of the prevalence of reporting an incident to the police is the number of victims, and not the number of valid cases. If a respondent did experience victimisation but did not indicate whether it was reported to the police, no reporting to the police has been assumed.

Bullying and theft are the most frequently declared offences. Even if robbery/extortion and assault occur less often, those more “heavy” offences are, in addition with theft, reported more to the police.

##### 3.3.1.3 Self-reported Delinquency

Table 3.6 displays lifetime and last year prevalence of the aggregated offences. Four of these are larger categories that aggregate 11 of the 15 offences: frequent violent offences, rare violent offences, rare property offences and hard-drug use (see footnotes of the table). Four offences remain unchanged. As reported above (Table 3.3), the “last year” prevalence rates represent roughly one-half of the “lifetime” prevalence rates. The most often declared offences are frequent violent offences, shoplifting



and vandalism. The non-response rates of those questions remain low (less than 2%). In Table 3.22 of Appendix, the offences are displayed per item. This Table 3.6 shows the same trends.

**Table 3.5** Last year prevalence of victimisation and reporting to the police

	Victimisation		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>
	%	Missing	%
Robbery/extortion	2.9	2.6	16.4
Assault	3.1	2.6	15.9
Theft	19.7	2.9	15.4
Bullying	17.0	3.1	5.7

$n = 2,247$ ; weighted data; prevalence based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Percentage based on number of victims; no answer: no reporting assumed

**Table 3.6** Lifetime and last year prevalence (aggregated offences)

	Lifetime		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	Missing	%	Missing
Frequent violent offences <sup>b</sup>	27.5	1.5	18.0	1.5
Rare violent offences <sup>c</sup>	6.6	1.5	4.1	1.5
Vandalism	10.7	1.5	6.5	1.9
Shoplifting	20.1	1.6	7.8	2.1
Rare property offences <sup>d</sup>	7.4	1.3	4.0	1.3
Computer hacking	6.8	2.1	4.9	2.3
Drug dealing	4.3	2.8	2.9	3.0
Hard drugs use <sup>e</sup>	2.8	1.7	1.1	1.7

$n = 2,247$ , weighted data; prevalence based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Hard-drug use: last month prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Group fight and carrying a weapon

<sup>c</sup>Snatching of bag, robbery/extortion, and assault

<sup>d</sup>Burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft and car break

<sup>e</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin/cocaine use

**Table 3.7** Lifetime and last month prevalence of alcohol and soft-drug use (medium cities sample vs. small cities sample)

	Medium-city sample ( $n = 1,587$ )				Small-city sample ( $n = 660$ )			
	Life time		Last month		Life time		Last month	
	%	Missing	%	Missing	%	Missing	%	Missing
Beer/wine	62.1	2.0	35.4	2.5	62.7	0.9	35.1	2.0
Strong spirits	32.5	1.7	12.5	2.5	28.4	1.2	12.3	1.8
Marijuana/hashish use	13.0	2.1	6.6	2.2	9.6	1.2	4.5	1.2

Weighted data; prevalence based on valid cases

### 3.3.2 Prevalence Rates for Medium-Sized Cities and Small Towns

#### 3.3.2.1 Consumption and Risk Behaviours

As far as no large city is included in the Belgian sample, the following Tables 3.7–3.9 only show the split between medium and small towns.

Although the beer and wine consumption is very similar in small and medium-sized cities, it seems that the use of strong spirits and “soft drugs” is less important in small towns, but the Chi-square test shows only a significant difference for marijuana/hashish use ( $\chi^2 = 4.688$ ;  $df = 1$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ).

Adding truancy and computing two out of three risk factors (Table 3.8) confirms the above assumption: the prevalence rates of these two factors seem to be lower in small towns than in medium-sized cities.<sup>4</sup>

#### 3.3.2.2 Victimization and Size of the Cities

Table 3.9 splits the results of Table 3.5 by city size. The three most reported offences to the police remain the same (robbery/extortion, theft and assault). The reporting rates are higher in small cities, but these differences are not significant.<sup>5</sup>

#### 3.3.2.3 Offences Production and Size of the Cities

Table 3.10 displays the same results as Table 3.6, according to a city-size split. Frequent violent offences, shoplifting and vandalism are the most reported offences,

<sup>4</sup> Truancy:  $\chi^2 = 4.742$ ;  $df = 1$ ;  $p < 0.05$  Two risk factors present:  $\chi^2 = 4.100$ ;  $df = 1$ ;  $p < 0.05$

<sup>5</sup> Victim robbery:  $\chi^2 = 3.327$ ;  $df = 1$ ;  $p > 0.05$ ; victim assault:  $\chi^2 > 0.000$ ;  $df = 1$ ;  $p > 0.05$ ; victim theft:  $\chi^2 = 0.523$ ;  $df = 1$ ;  $p > 0.05$ ; victim bullying:  $\chi^2 = 0.068$ ;  $df = 1$ ;  $p > 0.05$ .

**Table 3.8** Lifetime and last month prevalence of risk factors by size of city/town

	Medium-sized city ( <i>n</i> = 1,587)				Small towns ( <i>n</i> = 660)			
	Lifetime		Last month <sup>a</sup>		Lifetime		Last month <sup>a</sup>	
	%	Missing	%	Missing	%	Missing	%	Missing
Alcohol total <sup>b</sup>	62.7	1.1	36.1	1.3	63.5	0.6	35.4	0.6
Marijuana, hashish use	13.0	2.1	6.6	2.2	9.6	1.2	4.5	1.2
Truancy	–	–	14.6	0.7	–	–	11.2	0.5
Two risk factors present	–	–	10.0	1.1	–	–	7.3	0.7

Weighted data; prevalence based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Truancy: last year prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Beer/wine and strong spirits

**Table 3.9** Last year prevalence of victimisation and reporting to the police by size of city/town

	Medium-sized city ( <i>n</i> = 1,587)		Small towns ( <i>n</i> = 660)			
	Victimisation		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>	
	%	Missing	%	Missing	%	Missing
Robbery/ extortion	2.8	2.8	11.7	3.1	2.1	23.0
Assault	3.1	2.7	17.1	3.1	2.4	17.1
Theft	19.3	3.2	18.1	20.6	2.4	24.2
Bullying	16.1	3.2	1.8	19.3	2.7	1.1

Weighted data; prevalence based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Percentage based on number of victims; no answer: no reporting assumed

and the prevalence rates look very similar. In some cases, the prevalence rates are slightly higher in medium-sized cities; in other cases, they are slightly lower. There is no significant difference, except for shoplifting.<sup>6</sup>

### 3.3.3 Diversity (Versatility)

The same eight kinds of offences are taken into account in terms of diversity: carry weapon and group fight; robbery/extortion, snatching of bag and assault; vandalism; shoplifting; burglary, bicycle theft, car theft and car burglary; hacking; drug-dealing; and, at last, XTC, LSD, heroin or cocaine consumption.

Table 3.11 shows the diversity rates, both for lifetime and last month behaviour of the respondents.

It appears clearly and significantly that the proportion with no reported offence is higher among the female

<sup>6</sup>See table 11 in annexes.

respondents than among the male respondents, both on a lifetime and a last month basis.<sup>7</sup>

Similarly, Table 3.12 shows the same rates according to the A- and B-streams of the first and second study years, while Table 3.13 compares the rates for GSE, TSE and VSE in the third year. Those results will be discussed later in the appropriate thematic paragraphs.

Among the first and second year students, the diversity rates of offences (one or more offences) are lower in the A-stream (both on a lifetime and last month basis). Among the third year students, they are the lowest in the GSE-orientation. This result confirms what teachers see in their daily school experience (Gavray and Vettenburg, 2007). Considering the lifetime results, they seem to be the highest in TSE-orientation (VSE-oriented students hold the medium position). On a “last month” basis, the trend seems opposite between those two categories: there are fewer offences in the TSE orientation than in the VSE orientation. In fact, there is only a significant difference between the three GSE orientation on the one hand, and the joined three VSE and three TSE oriented students on the other hand<sup>8</sup>.

### 3.3.4 Incidence

Table 3.14 indicates the rank order of delinquent acts according to average frequency (the number of the same actions during a given period for juveniles who committed the offence at least once). Concerning last

<sup>7</sup>Life time:  $\chi^2 = 64.732$ ; *df* = 2; *p* < 0.05; Last month:  $\chi^2 = 65.534$ ; *df* = 2; *p* < 0.05

<sup>8</sup>Life time:  $\chi^2 = 64.732$ ; *df* = 2; *p* < 0.05; Last month:  $\chi^2 = 65.534$ ; *df* = 2; *p* < 0.05

**Table 3.10** Lifetime and last year prevalence (aggregated offences) by size of city/town

	Medium-sized city (n = 1,587)				Small towns (n = 660)			
	Lifetime		Last year <sup>a</sup>		Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	Missing	%	Missing	%	Missing	%	Missing
Frequent violent offences <sup>b</sup>	26.8	1.7	17.1	1.7	29.2	1.0	20.2	1.0
Rare violent offences <sup>c</sup>	6.2	1.7	3.9	1.7	7.6	1.1	4.6	1.1
Vandalism	11.0	1.8	6.5	2.1	10.1	1.0	6.4	1.3
Shoplifting	21.4	1.8	8.7	2.5	17.0	1.1	5.7	1.1
Rare property offences <sup>d</sup>	7.5	1.5	4.0	1.5	7.0	0.9	3.9	0.9
Computer hacking	6.6	2.1	4.5	2.3	7.3	2.3	5.6	2.5
Drug dealing	4.5	2.8	3.1	3.2	3.8	2.7	2.6	2.7
Hard drugs use <sup>e</sup>	2.9	2.0	1.2	2.0	2.7	0.9	0.9	0.9

Weighted data; prevalence based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Hard-drug use: last month prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Group fight and carrying a weapon

<sup>c</sup>Snatching of bag, robbery/extortion, and assault

<sup>d</sup>Burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft, and car break

<sup>e</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin/cocaine use

**Table 3.11** Lifetime and last month diversity rates – total and by gender

	Males		Females		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
<i>Lifetime</i>						
No offence	555	50.7	767	66.6	1,321	58.8
1–3 kinds of offences	441	40.3	338	29.3	779	34.7
4 or more kinds of offences	99	9.0	47	4.1	146	6.5
Total	1,095	100.0	1,152	100.0	2,247	100.0
<i>Last month</i>						
No offence	727	66.4	931	80.8	1,658	73.8
1–3 kinds of offences	317	29.0	207	17.9	524	23.3
4 or more kinds of offences	50	4.6	15	1.3	65	2.9
Total	1,095	100.0	1,152	100.0	2,247	100.0

Weighted data

**Table 3.12** Lifetime and last month diversity rates by 1st and 2nd year A- and B-streams

	A-stream		B-stream		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
<i>Life time</i>						
No offence	810	65.7	99	60.0	909	65.0
1–3 kinds of offences	375	30.4	54	33.1	429	30.8
4 or more kinds of offences	48	3.9	11	6.9	59	4.2
Total	1,233	100.0	164	100.0	1,397	100.0
<i>Last month</i>						
No offence	973	78.9	123	74.6	1,096	78.5
1–3 kinds of offences	236	19.1	39	23.7	275	19.6
4 or more kinds of offences	24	2.0	3	1.7	27	1.9
Total	1,233	100.0	164	100.0	1,397	100.0

Weighted data

year, the most often mentioned offences are: carrying a weapon, stealing from car and drug selling (but it has to be taken into account that those offences are also the ones with the largest standard deviations).<sup>9</sup> Looking at the size of the population involved, this ranking is quite different: group fighting, carrying a weapon, shoplifting, vandalism and soft-drug use involve the most respondents (see Table 3.22 in Appendix).

Such a table exists for each gender and for each school stream in the Appendix. Distributions by gender, first and second year A- and B-streams, and third year

<sup>9</sup>Please note that due to the non-normal distribution of the incidences and due to outlying cases, means and standard deviations can be very misleading.

GSE, VSE and TSE orientations have also been computed but, because of too small sub-samples, displaying and discussing those results is very risky.

### 3.4 In-Depth Study of Specific Themes

#### 3.4.1 Gender

The diversity indicator confirms that girls are significantly more likely than boys when it comes to asserting that they have not committed any delinquent behaviour globally or recently (Gavray, 1997).



**Table 3.13** Lifetime and last month diversity rates by third year GSE-, VSE- and TSE-orientations

	3 GSE <sup>a</sup>		3 VSE <sup>b</sup>		3 TSE <sup>c</sup>		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
<i>Life time</i>								
No offence	247	55.7	82	42.4	84	39.4	413	48.6
1–3 kinds of offences	170	38.4	79	40.7	101	47.4	350	41.2
4 or more kinds of offences	26	5.9	33	16.9	28	13.2	87	10.2
Total	443	100.0	193	100.0	212	100.0	848	100.0
<i>Last month</i>								
No offence	320	72.2	112	58.1	130	61.0	562	66.2
1–3 kinds of offences	114	25.8	65	33.6	70	32.8	249	29.3
4 or more kinds of offences	9	2.0	16	8.4	13	6.2	38	4.5
Total	443	100.0	193	100.0	212	100.0	848	100.0

Weighted data

<sup>a</sup>General secondary education<sup>b</sup>Technical secondary education<sup>c</sup>Vocational secondary education**Table 3.14** Rank order of delinquent acts according to frequency (“last year” offenders only)

Rank	Delinquent acts	Percentage of offenders reporting more than 3 times this offence the last year (%)	Number of students concerned (number of students who answered “how many times...”)
1	Burglary	47.4	20 (19)
2	Drugs selling	41.5	64 (53)
3	Soft-drug use (last month)	41.3	132 (104)
4	Carrying a weapon	37.2	225 (164)
5	Hacking	28.9	107 (90)
6	Shoplifting	27.2	172 (147)
7	Hard-drug use (last month)	26.3	25 (19)
8	Robbery/extortion	25	36 (28)
9	Vandalism	22.9	142 (118)
10	Group fight	22	287 (254)
11	Beating up someone (assault)	21.6	44 (37)
12	Stealing car/motorbike	21.1	21 (19)
13	Stealing from car	18.2	13 (11)
14	Snatching of bag	14.3	28 (28)
15	Stealing bike/moped/scooter	12.5	61 (56)

Weighted data

Jointly, girls are proportionally fewer in the group of people having experimented with at least four types of different acts<sup>10</sup>

(ratio less than one to three for the last year).

Even if girls are less prone to deviancy and so less involved in diversified and repetitive delinquency, prevalence tables offer more qualified results that are worth having a look at (Table 3.15).

The results notably invite us to think about the evolution of behaviours within the female teenage population. These behaviours come up in an ambivalent society, which, on the one hand, advocates the equality of both sexes and equal policies for either sex but which, on the other hand, concretely and implicitly justifies and puts forward values, qualities and ways of being as specifically male or female.

At the level of prevalence (“ever” or “last year”) concerning the various acts, today, we observe a convergence of boys and girls as to the most usual or “trivialised” behaviours. It is true in terms of victimisation (theft or threat exposure) as well as in the production of potentially dangerous or prohibited acts (alcohol or soft drugs use, shoplifting). In other respects, the delinquent attitudes and behaviours involving the use of physical strength or of physical materials, or the use of technical know-how (violent theft or hacking) remain a boy’s business<sup>10</sup>. Numerous anthropological and sociological papers show consistently through the ages and the various societies that males keep technical skills and their application to themselves (Hirata and Rogerat 1988; Héritier, 1996, 2002). See also the distribution of toys among children of both sexes and their future choices as to the education types according to the level of technicality.

**Table 3.15** Diversity in offences by gender – lifetime and last year—percentages

Aggregated offences	Life time		Last year	
	Boys % (n)	Girls % (n)	Boys % (n)	Girls % (n)
1. No offences	50.7 (555)	66.6 (767)	66.4 (727)	80.8 (931)
2. 1–3 types of offences	40.3 (441)	29.3 (338)	29.0 (317)	17.9 (207)
3. 4 types of offences or more	9.0 (99)	4.1 (47)	4.6 (50)	1.3 (15)
Total % (n)	100 (1,095)	100 (1,152)	100 (1,095)	100 (1,152)

<sup>10</sup> $\chi^2 = 64.732$ ;  $df = 2$ ;  $p < 0.05$

Today, computer sciences remain a field and an option that is not as open for girls. Gender theory highlights the social construction of expectations towards boys and girls. Even though both sexes very early internalise most of the skills, qualities and attitudes expected by every socializing authority, the situation is nevertheless far from being fixed and the world in evolution opens up.

If we now compare both groups with regard to the number of times where each of the 15 behaviours were reproduced, once initiated, during the last year, we notice an expected and systematically stronger incidence among boys than girls, except for the carrying of weapons for which no more significant difference exists between the sexes, once the behaviour has been done once. But we have to be cautious with the implications of this concept (carrying weapons). Let us remind the reader that the definition of “weapons” remains very open and unclear. Two identically “labelled” realities may turn out to be not very comparable. In all other cases, the female/male ratio of the “number of times” is at least 1:2; it is the case for vandalism or fights. It becomes greater than 1:4 when looking at the selling of drugs or two-wheeled-vehicle thefts (see Tables 3.24 and 3.25 in Appendix).

When we compare the results for the youths’ delinquent experiments in our two “medium” and our two “small” cities, we can expect to verify the fact that, distances having decreased as a consequence of the developing real or virtual means of communication, the young Belgians have standardised ways of living and behaving.

The comparison of both sexes offers interesting food for thought in as much as the “localisation” factor (i.e. size of town) only plays a part in the behaviour of girls. We thus notice a reduced risk of consumption of alcoholic beverages or drugs only among girls in the small-sized towns. The boys do not show any difference in this respect. Girls are even less prone to play truant than boys in the small cities (reference = last year). This result is surely to be linked with the persistently different relationship that both sexes have with school and education as well as with time and space.

Girls have a different historical relationship with education. In recent years, they became aware of the possibilities offered by school certification with regard to gaining more independence at the very time when certificates lost their role in social advancement for boys. Over 8% of the girls and 18.7% of the boys say

they do not like school at all. Five percent of the first group and over 8% of the second one has already repeated a year. Twelve per cent of the girls and over 16% of the boys evaluate their school results below the class average.

Protection against delinquency, which represents school success for girls, is confirmed by the results of linear regressions (see Sect. 3.4.2.2). The same applies concerning the lower necessity for parents to control young girls by force. Young girls cannot go out as freely and as often as boys, they cannot travel as far and they are more focused on close-by affective relations. Our data confirm that a lot of them choose to limit the anonymous or physically distant opportunities of social interaction. These opportunities usually make deviant experiments easier. The fact that they live in smaller communities and neighbourhoods rather than in urban centres reinforces the strength and control of social relations and enhances their dissuasive and protecting effect.

Spending most of one’s time in a large group of friends is significantly more frequent for girls in medium cities than for girls in smaller ones (25% vs. 17%). There is no such difference among boys. In both small and medium-sized towns, 8% of boys find it fun to scare people, regardless of where they go to school. In small-sized cities, 1.4% of the girls, and in the larger cities, 5.7% of them feel the same. These diverging results could be interpreted by the fact that a great number of boys, in contact with a world without limits and constraints, feel boredom along with frustration in a more standardised way.

The same observation of a greater standardisation of male behaviours is also true in the case of delinquent behaviours: the girls from smaller entities turn out to be less offending than the others. This is not true for boys. For example, 18% of the girls in Liège or Gent versus 13% of the girls of Aalst or Verviers confess participating in group confrontations or carrying a weapon. In the male group, these percentages are close to 38% and 42%. A similar tendency applies to vandalism (ever): in this case, the percentages are 7.3% and 3.9% for girls and over 15% for boys, no matter where they go to school. Over the last year this time, 4.2% of the girls in the medium cities say they have been involved with some vandalism versus 2.4% of the girls in small towns. For the boys, these percentages rise from 9.2 to 9.6% without the difference being significant here.

In short, we cannot discard the fact that some girls, in keeping with their plans or experience, are led into imitating the law of the “stronger” and into adopting attitudes more valued in men because they want to show that they “exist.” But, meanwhile a majority of the girls do “resist” the call of deviant experience or the desire to take power over others (Gavray, 2004). Eventually, both phenomena are only apparently contradictory. They are part of a deeper evolution that ceaselessly redefines the places and the negotiating power of men and women in different social groups.

### 3.4.2 Delinquency and Type of Education

Finally, we will analyze the data with respect to the type of education. Does delinquent behaviour among youngsters in lower secondary education (grades seven to nine) differ according to the type of education? If so, what are the influencing factors?

In the first 2 years of secondary education (grades seven and eight) in Belgium, a distinction is made between the A-stream (mostly, pupils who will follow GSE), and the B-stream (mostly, pupils with learning

difficulties in primary schools who need to be helped and who often will attend vocational or technical education). In the third year (grade nine), a three-part subdivision is generally used between GSE, TSE and VSE (see above). For some of the analyses below, a division between A-stream and B-stream is made across the 3 years. For the third year, GSE is included in the A-stream, TSE and VSE are included in the B-stream.

#### 3.4.2.1 Findings

In line with the findings from previous studies (Goedseels et al., 2000; Galand et al., 2004), we have found that B-stream pupils generally commit more frequent offences and also commit more types of offences than A-stream pupils.

#### Prevalence

The Table 3.16 below shows the aggregated offences and risk factors for both the lifetime and the last-year periods. Both the lifetime data and the last-year data suggest that almost all offences are committed

**Table 3.16** Prevalence of aggregated offences and risk factors broken down into A-stream and B-stream – lifetime and last year – percentages

	Life time			Last year <sup>a</sup>		
	A-stream	B-stream	Phi/V	A-stream	B-stream	Phi/V
Aggregated offences	% (n)	% (n)		% (n)	% (n)	
1. Frequent violent offences <sup>b</sup>	23.4 (388)	39.5 (222)	0.157***	14.7 (242)	28.0 (157)	0.151***
2. Rare violent offences <sup>c</sup>	4.5 (75)	12.7 (71)	0.143***	2.7 (44)	8.3 (47)	0.125***
3. Vandalism	7.8 (128)	19.4 (109)	0.164***	4.5 (75)	12.1 (67)	0.132***
4. Shoplifting	17.9 (296)	26.4 (148)	0.092***	7.5 (123)	8.9 (50)	0.023
5. Rare property offences <sup>d</sup>	4.6 (76)	15.5 (87)	0.181***	2.5 (42)	8.3 (47)	0.129***
6. Computer hacking	6.8 (112)	6.9 (38)	0.001	4.8 (79)	5.0 (28)	0.005
7. Drugs dealing	2.8 (45)	8.7 (48)	0.129***	2.0 (33)	5.6 (31)	0.093***
8. Hard-drug use <sup>e</sup>	1.4 (23)	7.1 (40)	0.150***	0.6 (10)	2.6 (14)	0.079***
Risk factors						
(a) Alcohol total <sup>a</sup>	61.1 (1,014)	68.5 (387)	0.067**	34.8 (578)	39.1 (220)	0.069
(b) Marijuana, hashish use <sup>a</sup>	7.5 (123)	25.4 (141)	0.239***	4.1 (67)	11.7 (65)	0.140***
(c) Truancy				7.5 (125)	31.5 (178)	0.305***
(d) Two risk factors present				6.0 (100)	18.7 (105)	0.189***

\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.001$ ;  $n = 2,247$ , weighted data; prevalence based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Alcohol, marijuana, hashish and hard-drug use: last-month prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Group fight and carrying a weapon

<sup>c</sup>Snatching of bag, robbery/extortion, and assault

<sup>d</sup>Burglary, bicycle/motorbike theft, car theft, and car break

<sup>e</sup>UTC/speed and LSD/heroin/cocaine use

significantly more by B-stream pupils than by A-stream pupils. Only for computer hacking, does this finding not apply: as many A-stream pupils as B-stream pupils commit this type of offence.

The last-year data show somewhat less marked differences between the A-stream and the B-stream than the lifetime data. Besides computer hacking, shoplifting and alcohol use show no significant difference between the two groups. In addition, it is noteworthy that B-stream pupils commit truancy four times more often than their colleagues from the A-stream.

Further analyses by year show that in the third year pupils from VSE commit more offences than pupils from TSE and GSE. This is not the case for computer hacking. Computer hacking is committed mainly by pupils from TSE and GSE and to a lesser extent by pupils from VSE. This applies to lifetime as well as last-year data. That can be explained by the specific knowledge and competences mobilised in the different sections. In addition, both the lifetime and the last-month data can suggest that slightly more juveniles from GSE drink beer and wine (LT = 76.9%; LM = 51.6%) than pupils from TSE (LT = 74.6%; LM = 47.8%) and VSE (LT = 68.4%; LM = 41.1%). However, the differences found are not significant.<sup>11</sup>

### Diversity

The table below shows that more B-stream pupils commit offences and that they also commit a wider variety of types of offences (cf. the categories used for the aggregated offences). In other words, in terms of

percentages of the pupils committing offences, more B-stream pupils commit more types of offences than A-stream pupils. A greater number of them commit four or more of the following eight offences: frequent violent offences, rare violent offences; vandalism, shoplifting, rare property offences, computer hacking, drugs dealing or hard-drug use (Table 3.17).

The data for the third year show that more pupils from VSE and TSE commit offences than pupils from GSE (lifetime:  $V = 0.136$ ;  $p < 0.001$  – last year:  $V = 0.116$ ;  $p < 0.001$ ). It is noteworthy that the lifetime data suggest that the third year pupils from TSE commit more offences than their colleagues from VSE; more pupils from TSE appear to commit one to three offences (39.4% vs. 42.3%); more pupils from VSE appear to commit more than four offences (17.0% vs. 13.1%).

### Incidence

Finally, we examined how frequently juveniles committed certain offences in the last year and how this figure can be broken down per type of education. We selected the most frequent offences: carrying a weapon (10.2%), shoplifting (7.8%), vandalism (6.5%) and group fights (13.1%) (see Table 3.22 in Appendix: prevalence in total) (Table 3.18).

Only for shoplifting, significant differences were found between A-stream and B-stream pupils. A-stream pupils committing shoplifting do this on an average less/often than those committing shoplifting from the B-stream. For the other offences, no significant differences were found.

**Table 3.17** Diversity in differences (aggregated offences broken down into A-stream and B-stream) – lifetime and last year – percentages

	Life time			Last year		
	A-stream	B-stream	V	A-stream	B-stream	V
Aggregated offences	% (n)	% (n)		% (n)	% (n)	
1. No offences	63.0 (1,057)	46.3 (264)		77.1 (1,293)	64.0 (365)	
2. 1–3 types of offences	32.5 (545)	41.0 (234)		20.9 (350)	30.4 (173)	
3. 4 types of offences or more	4.4 (74)	12.7 (72)		2.0 (33)	5.6 (32)	
			0.181***			0.143***
Total % (n)	100.0 (1,677)	100.0 (570)		100.0 (1,677)	100.0 (570)	

\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.001$

<sup>11</sup> Lifetime beer/wine:  $\chi^2 = 4.994$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $p = 0.082$ ; last month beer/wine:  $\chi^2 = 5.787$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $p = 0.0055$ .

However, we do see that in the first and second years of secondary education, shoplifting is committed more frequently by A-stream pupils. In the third year, the situation is clearly different: shoplifting is committed in descending order by pupils from VSE, TSE and GSE.

### 3.4.2.2 Explanatory Factors

Which factors can explain delinquent behaviour committed by pupils from the A-stream and the B-stream? Do these factors differ by type of education?

To investigate this, several multiple regression analyses were conducted, using “versatility” as the measure of delinquent behaviour, that is the average number of offences committed (total number of offences: 14). As predictors we used gender, age, migrant, parents’ education, parents’ work situation, affluence, family support, family supervision, language, place of residence, enjoying going to school, repeating, appreciation of school performance, appreciation of the school, pupil-teacher relationship. The analyses were conducted on the lifetime and the last-year data (Table 3.19).

On the whole, we found the percentage of explained variance to be low, between 10 and 15%.

**Table 3.18** Incidence of the most frequent offences broken down per type of education – last year – averages

Type of offence	Last Year (a) – average incidence		<i>t</i>
	A-stream	B-stream	
1. Carrying a weapon	27.49 (104)	41.99 (56)	0.881
2. Shoplifting	3.91 (113)	14.87 (36)	3.472***
3. Vandalism	3.62 (62)	6.91 (54)	1.292
4. Group fight	5.25 (152)	4.60 (99)	-0.242

\*\*\* $p < .001$

In the A-stream, school relationships appear to be the major explanatory factor. Pupils feeling that few teachers understand and help them, or that there are teachers who are stricter with them and help them less than other pupils, tend to commit more acts of delinquent behaviour. Furthermore, the respondent’s gender appears to be the second most important factor.

Among B-stream pupils, we see that family support is the principal explanatory factor. Juveniles who are getting along well with their parents and doing things together with them, tend to commit fewer acts of problem behaviour; school relationships constitute the second or third most important factors here.

Let us note that if one repeats regression analysis by gender on the basis of the same independent and dependent variable, it totally confirms a central impact of the relations with the teachers and of the evaluation young people make about their parents’ interest in their projects, difficulties, etc. What distinguishes both groups is – to us – interesting to underscore because results confirm the assumptions put forth previously. The level of academic investment and school success play in a massive and systematic way only in the female group, whatever be the period or section. Among boys, these two elements do not significantly play a part, contrary to parental control, which protects them from getting involved in problem behaviour. Parental control does not arise as having a significant impact in the case of the girls. It is probably due to the fact that conforming with the rules requires less confrontation because of the process of gendered socialisation. We expressed this assumption previously. As an illustration, the following table indicates the significant factors always predicting the level of versatility (extent of the diversity of tested acts over the last year). The predictors are classified so that the one with the highest *beta* is in position 1 and the one

**Table 3.19** Results of multiple regression analyses with respect to delinquent behaviour, broken down by type of education (dual division)

Versatility	$R^2$ total	Predictors		
		1	2	3
A-Stream				
– Ever	15%	School relationships	Gender (boys)	Repeating
– Last	11%	School relationships	Gender (boys)	Family supervision
B-Stream				
– Ever	10%	Family support	School relationships	Migrant
– Last	11%	Family support	Gender	School relationships



**Table 3.20** Results of multiple regression analyses with respect to delinquent behaviour, broken down by gender

Versatility	$R^2$ total	Predictors			
		1	2	3	4
Boys					
– Last	36%	School relationships	Family support	School section (general or not)	Family supervision
Girls					
– Last	28%	Repeating	School relationships	School performances	Family support

with the lowest *beta* is in position 4; note that in all the cases significance level is smaller than 0.001. As you see immediately, the total proportion of the explained variance is higher here (Table 3.20).

### 3.5 Conclusion

From the methodological point of view, it remains delicate and potentially misleading to work with a sample of four cities to describe the situation of a country or an area. We encountered some problems with access to schools because of the great freedom for the school boards to accept or to refuse collaboration. In their refusals, many schools gave the reason that such a study would be too disruptive for both the schools and the pupils. Even if now the rate of participation of the pupils was quite good, one can fear a decrease of the latter in case it would become required in the future to obtain the active consent of the parents.

On another point, one can underscore the difficulty of choosing which forms of deviance to take into account, and also the problem of determining once and for all the best aggregated measurements or scales of delinquency. The type, number and form of the available independent variables used to understand and explain delinquency in the current study does not always allow a full comprehension of the phenomenon. Again, we must underscore the interest to articulate quantitative and qualitative research, even if at the same time our current results put earlier findings in a new perspective. For example, we found (Vettenburg and Huybregts, 2003) that delinquent behaviour among juveniles broadly correlates with the quality of the personal contacts between the pupil and the teacher. It is the case here again. Nevertheless, comparisons remain difficult between studies and the differences between them may be related to various factors:

- Operationalisations of delinquent behaviour (other offences included) and the teacher–pupil relationship are somewhat different in both the cases.
- Difference in the respondents' ages: in ISRD2, the age is mainly between 12 and 15 years (early adolescent population), in Vettenburg and Huybregts it is between 12 and 18 years.
- Societal evolutions modifying the impact of social institutions such as the family or the school. The ISRD2 data collection took place in 2006; for Vettenburg and Huybregts, it was back in 1998.

We found that B-stream pupils generally commit more frequent offences and more types of offences than A-stream pupils. This also depends on the type of offence (e.g. for hacking, we found no difference) and age (e.g. shoplifting is higher in the first 2 years of the A-stream). Concerning the impact on delinquent behaviour, the school relationships seem more important in the A-stream, and family support more important in the B-stream (waterfall system). A lot of pupils in the B-stream started in the A-classes, and after negative school experiences (e.g. low results, disciplinary difficulties, etc.) they ended up in the B-stream. Further studies on the relationship between school and family can give more insight in the development of delinquent behaviour.

We can definitively confirm that the pupils, who stated that they have enough teachers who are prepared to listen patiently when they ask something, can teach well, do not treat them as children, and give them fair punishments, will commit fewer acts of delinquent behaviour. It is true for boys and girls and also true with respect to relations with parents. Our findings show the importance to include the gender perspective, not only to compare delinquency percentages but also to understand the differences between explanatory dynamics and their evolution in time. In general, analyses show lower prevalence and diversity in the female group but also in connection with a different

investment in education between boys and girls and a specific impact of gendered socialisation in each group: For example, boys remain more attracted by the desire to affirm themselves by violence and feel more appreciated for their technical skills. At the same time, the most common and standardised deviant and risk acts are now shared by boys and girls (drinking alcohol, smoking prohibited substances, truancy, etc.). Society is undergoing change and we can expect a homogenisation of problematic behaviours of youth in the urban environment and the more rural one. We could highlight very few delinquent behaviours specific to our two larger towns. In fact, in Belgium like elsewhere, we observe a stabilisation of juvenile delinquency (including serious and repeated violence).

One can perhaps be astonished not to note an increase in this phenomenon in an economic, social and ecological context which seems to be less favourable than yesterday; a context which discourages strong social relations and optimism for the future. We are happy to conclude that the micro level (and mainly the importance of interpersonal relationships in school and family) continues to appear an important protective factor.

## Appendix

See Tables 3.21–3.31.

**Table 3.21** Distribution of total students (four cities) by school level compared with the distribution of our sample (non-weighted sample), in total and by gender, in %

School level	Boys and girls		Boys		Girls	
	Total population	sample	Total population	sample	Total population	sample
1A	28.41%	28.97%	29.05%	27.89%	27.80%	30.11%
1B	2.91%	4.18%	3.10%	5.47%	2.73%	2.83%
2A	26.48%	27.28%	26.29%	26.50%	26.66%	28.10%
2B	4.41%	4.90%	4.85%	5.04%	3.99%	4.74%
3 General	19.73%	16.47%	18.69%	16.16%	20.73%	16.79%
3 Vocational	8.60%	8.63%	9.15%	10.69%	8.08%	6.48%
3 Technical	9.45%	9.57%	8.86%	8.25%	10.00%	10.95%
Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

Prevalence: not-aggregated offences

**Table 3.22** Lifetime and last year prevalence of offences

	Lifetime		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	Missing (%)	%	Missing (%)
Group fight	21.6	2.3	13.1	2.9
Carrying a weapon	15.0	2.4	10.2	2.5
Assault	3.5	2.5	2.0	2.7
Snatching of bag	2.4	2.1	1.3	2.1
Robbery/extortion	2.4	2.3	1.6	2.4
Vandalism	10.7	1.5	6.5	1.9
Shoplifting	20.1	1.6	7.8	2.1
Bicycle/motor bike theft	5.1	1.8	2.7	2.0
Car break	1.7	2.1	0.6	2.2
Burglary	2.0	1.6	0.9	1.7
Car theft	1.2	1.6	0.9	1.6
Computer hacking	6.8	2.1	4.9	2.3
Drug dealing	4.3	2.8	2.9	3.0
XTC/speed use	2.3	1.9	0.9	1.9
LSD/heroin/cocaine use	1.4	2.1	0.7	2.0

*n* = 2,247; weighted data; prevalence based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin use: last month prevalence



**Table 3.23** Lifetime and last year prevalences of offences by size of city/town

	Medium-sized city ( <i>n</i> = 1,587)				Small towns ( <i>n</i> = 660)			
	Lifetime		Last year <sup>a</sup>		Lifetime		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	Missing	%	Missing	%	Missing	%	Missing
Group fight	21.6	2.5	13.3	3.1	21.7	1.7	12.8	2.4
Carrying a weapon	14.2	2.3	9.3	2.5	16.9	2.5	12.6	2.4
Assault	3.8	2.7	2.3	2.9	2.8	2.1	1.4	2.1
Snatching of bag	1.8	2.1	0.9	2.2	3.8	2.0	2.2	2.0
Robbery/extortion	2.2	2.4	1.5	2.5	2.9	2.0	2.0	2.0
Vandalism	11.0	1.8	6.5	2.1	10.1	1.0	6.4	1.3
Shoplifting	21.4	1.8	8.7	2.5	17.0	1.1	5.7	1.1
Bicycle/motor bike theft	5.3	1.9	2.9	2.0	4.5	1.4	2.3	2.0
Car break	1.7	2.1	0.7	2.1	1.6	2.2	0.4	2.3
Burglary	1.9	1.7	0.8	1.8	2.1	1.3	1.2	1.4
Car theft	1.0	1.7	0.8	1.7	1.6	1.3	1.4	1.3
Computer hacking	6.6	2.1	4.5	2.3	7.3	2.3	5.6	2.5
Drug dealing	4.5	2.8	3.1	3.2	3.8	2.7	2.6	2.7
XTC/speed use	2.4	2.2	1.0	2.2	2.2	1.2	0.7	1.2
LSD/heroin/cocaine use	1.3	2.3	0.7	2.2	1.6	1.5	0.7	1.5

*n* = 2,247; weighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin/cocaine use: last month prevalence

Incidence: split by Gender

**Table 3.24** Female offenders. Rank order of delinquent acts according to average frequency ("last year" offenders only)

Rank	Delinquent acts	Mean	SD	Prevalence "last year" <i>n</i>
1	Stealing car/ motorbike <sup>a</sup>	52.41	78.295	2
2	Carrying a weapon	36.96	105.522	35
3	Hacking	7.10	20.346	24
4	Drugs selling	6.57	16.130	27
5	Soft-drug use (last month)	4.60	6.477	48
6	Shoplifting	4.23	12.869	77
7	Burglary	3.83	4.161	4
8	Beating up someone (assault)	3.28	3.357	9
9	Vandalism	3.26	8.087	37
10	Group fight	2.91	5.762	87
11	Robbery/extortion	1.78	0.468	5
12	Hard-drug use (last month)	1.70	1.035	7
13	Snatching of bag	1.68	1.230	7
14	Stealing bike/ moped/scooter	1.24	0.440	15
15	Stealing from car <sup>a</sup>	1.00	0	1

Weighted data

<sup>a</sup>Very rare fact: very few persons concerned

**Table 3.25** Male offenders. Rank order of delinquent acts according to average frequency ("last year" offenders only)

Rank	Delinquent acts	Mean	SD	Prevalence "last year" <i>n</i>
1	Carrying a weapon	31.36	97.855	125
2	Stealing from car	29.21	90.858	9
3	Drugs selling	27.78	78.954	28
4	Soft-drug use (last month)	12.65	43.542	58
5	Hacking	11.99	39.130	67
6	Beating up someone (assault)	11.09	26.600	27
7	Shoplifting	9.04	20.526	73
8	Stealing bike/ moped/scooter	7.19	31.109	39
9	Group fight	6.10	25.394	164
10	Vandalism	6.04	15.651	79
11	Hard-drug use (last month)	5.47	8.511	12
12	Snatching of bag	5.14	12.671	20
13	Robbery/extortion	3.83	7.837	22
14	Burglary	3.51	2.956	14
15	Stealing car/ motorbike	2.91	3.330	15

Weighted data

Incidence: split by type of education, A- en B-orientation first and second year

Note that some acts are very rare. We must be very cautious in out interpretations

**Table 3.26** A-stream. Rank order of delinquent acts according to average frequency ("last year" offenders only)

Rank	Delinquent acts	Mean	SD	Prevalence "last year" <i>n</i>
1	Stealing car/motorbike <sup>a</sup>	32.24	60.592	4
2	Carrying a weapon	22.56	72.650	76
3	Hacking	10.61	37.251	45
4	Snatching of bag	8.21	18.704	8
5	Beating up someone (assault)	6.93	21.182	20
6	Group fight	5.98	28.017	116
7	Vandalism	4.63	15.169	41
8	Soft-drug use (last month)	3.94	6.476	24
9	Drugs selling	3.69	4.227	14
10	Burglary	2.99	2.988	9
11	Shoplifting	2.67	3.152	67
12	Stealing bike/moped/ scooter	1.74	2.216	15
13	Robbery/extortion	1.66	0.993	9
14	Hard-drug use (last month)	1.61	0.899	5
15	Stealing from car <sup>a</sup>	1.00	0.000	2

Weighted data

<sup>a</sup>Very rare fact: very few persons concerned**Table 3.28** GSE. Rank order of delinquent acts according to average frequency ("last year" offenders only)

Rank	Delinquent acts	Mean	SD	Prevalence "last year" <i>n</i>
1	Carrying a weapon	40.77	135.351	28
2	Beating up someone (assault) <sup>a</sup>	17.00	16.712	3
3	Hacking	12.65	42.140	24
4	Drugs selling	5.94	13.253	14
5	Shoplifting	5.73	16.453	46
6	Stealing car/ motorbike <sup>a</sup>	5.50	6.093	2
7	Soft-drug use (last month)	5.08	6.082	34
8	Group fight	2.97	5.939	37
9	Snatching of bag	2.03	1.245	6
10	Robbery/extortion <sup>a</sup>	1.69	0.549	3
11	Vandalism	1.66	1.066	21
12	Stealing bike/moped/ scooter	1.40	0.519	9
13	Hard-drug use (last month) <sup>a</sup>	1.00	0.000	3
14	Stealing from car <sup>a</sup>	1.00	0.000	1
15	Burglary <sup>a</sup>	1.00	0.000	1

Weighted data

<sup>a</sup>Very rare fact: very few persons concerned**Table 3.27** B-stream. Rank order of delinquent acts according to average frequency ("last year" offenders only)

Rank	Delinquent acts	Mean	SD	Prevalence "last year" <i>n</i>
1	Carrying a weapon	30.32	96.475	13
2	Burglary <sup>a</sup>	10.00	0.000	1
3	Group fight	8.93	22.621	17
4	Soft-drug use (last month)	8.05	10.796	8
5	Vandalism	7.29	14.281	11
6	Hard-drug use (last month) <sup>a</sup>	4.79	5.756	2
7	Drugs selling	3.67	1.566	3
8	Robbery/extortion	2.61	1.717	5
9	Hacking	2.36	1.995	3
10	Snatching of bag <sup>a</sup>	2.00	0.000	3
11	Shoplifting	1.61	0.909	5
12	Beating up someone (assault) <sup>a</sup>	1.38	0.889	1
13	Stealing bike/moped/ scooter <sup>a</sup>	1.00	0.000	4
14	Stealing from car <sup>a</sup>			1
15	Stealing car/motorbike <sup>a</sup>	0.00	0.000	0

Weighted data

<sup>a</sup>Very rare fact: very few persons concerned**Table 3.29** VSE. Rank order of delinquent acts according to average frequency ("last year" offenders only)

Rank	Delinquent acts	Mean	SD	Prevalence "last year" <i>n</i>
1	Carrying a weapon	74.92	146.016	19
2	Stealing from car <sup>a</sup>	62.60	136.714	4
3	Drugs selling	53.40	110.802	13
4	Soft-drug use (last month)	21.43	66.293	24
5	Shoplifting	19.52	32.644	15
6	Stealing bike/moped/ scooter	18.86	57.886	11
7	Hacking	16.90	35.526	6
8	Vandalism	10.19	21.773	20
9	Robbery/extortion	9.56	15.444	5
10	Hard-drug use (last month)	7.63	13.923	5
11	Group fight	5.27	14.327	40
12	Burglary	3.87	2.872	5
13	Snatching of bag	3.67	8.732	9
14	Beating up someone (assault)	3.50	2.704	6
15	Stealing car/motorbike	1.38	0.832	9

Weighted data

<sup>a</sup>Very rare fact: very few persons concerned

**Table 3.30** TSE. Rank order of delinquent acts according to average frequency (“last year” offenders only)

Rank	Delinquent acts	Mean	SD	Prevalence “last year” <i>n</i>
1	Carrying a weapon	21.66	74.335	24
2	Beating up someone (assault)	21.04	44.422	5
3	Shoplifting	14.27	26.668	17
4	Drugs selling	8.01	8.210	10
5	Soft-drug use (last month)	6.60	8.374	15
6	Hacking	6.30	11.173	12
7	Stealing car/ motorbike	6.00	4.559	3
8	Hard-drug use (last month)	5.75	3.292	4
9	Vandalism	3.70	3.513	22
10	Burglary	3.58	3.550	2
11	Stealing bike/ moped/scooter	3.03	3.317	14
12	Group fight	2.16	1.519	42
13	Robbery/extortion	2.00	1.409	4
14	Stealing from car <sup>a</sup>	2.00	1.400	2
15	Snatching of bag <sup>a</sup>	1.00	0.000	2

Weighted data

<sup>a</sup>Very rare fact: very few persons concerned**Table 3.31** Pearson chi-square tests for differences in lifetime and last year prevalence (aggregated offences) by size of city/town

	Medium-sized city			Small towns		
	$\chi^2$	df	<i>p</i> -value	$\chi^2$	df	<i>p</i> -value
Frequent violent offences <sup>b</sup>	1.342	1	0.247	2.969	1	0.085
Rare violent offences <sup>c</sup>	1.688	1	0.194	0.546	1	0.460
Vandalism	0.370	1	0.543	0.003	1	0.960
Shoplifting	5.384	1	0.020	5.925	1	0.015
Rare property offences <sup>d</sup>	0.138	1	0.710	0.052	1	0.819
Computer hacking	0.311	1	0.577	1.148	1	0.284
Drug dealing	0.603	1	0.437	0.269	1	0.604
Hard drugs use <sup>e</sup>	0.033	1	0.855	0.381	1	0.537

Weighted data; prevalence based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Hard-drug use: last month prevalence<sup>b</sup>Group fight and carrying a weapon<sup>c</sup>Snatching of bag, robbery/extortion, and assault<sup>d</sup>Burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft, and car break<sup>e</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin/cocaine use

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# Chapter 4

## Germany<sup>1</sup>

Dirk Enzmann

This chapter presents, primarily, the descriptive findings of the German component of the second ISRD study. In the first part, some facts about Germany, the German school system, juvenile justice and official statistics concerning juvenile delinquency are presented. Next, the methodology of the study is explained, followed by a description of the prevalence of victimization experiences and self-reported delinquency, broken down by region/city size and school type as well as respondent characteristics such as sex, age group (grade), and migration background. Finally, it is shown how these characteristics can explain the variability of self-reported delinquency in the German sample.

### 4.1 Some Facts About Germany

Germany has a population of about 82.4 million (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2006); its population density is 231 persons per square kilometer. It borders on Denmark in the North, Poland and the Czech Republic in the East, Austria and Switzerland in the South, and France, Luxembourg, Belgium, and the Netherlands in the West. Germany is composed of 16 federal states that have autonomous authority in certain realms, particularly those concerning education, culture, police law, and (more recently) prison law. Germany became

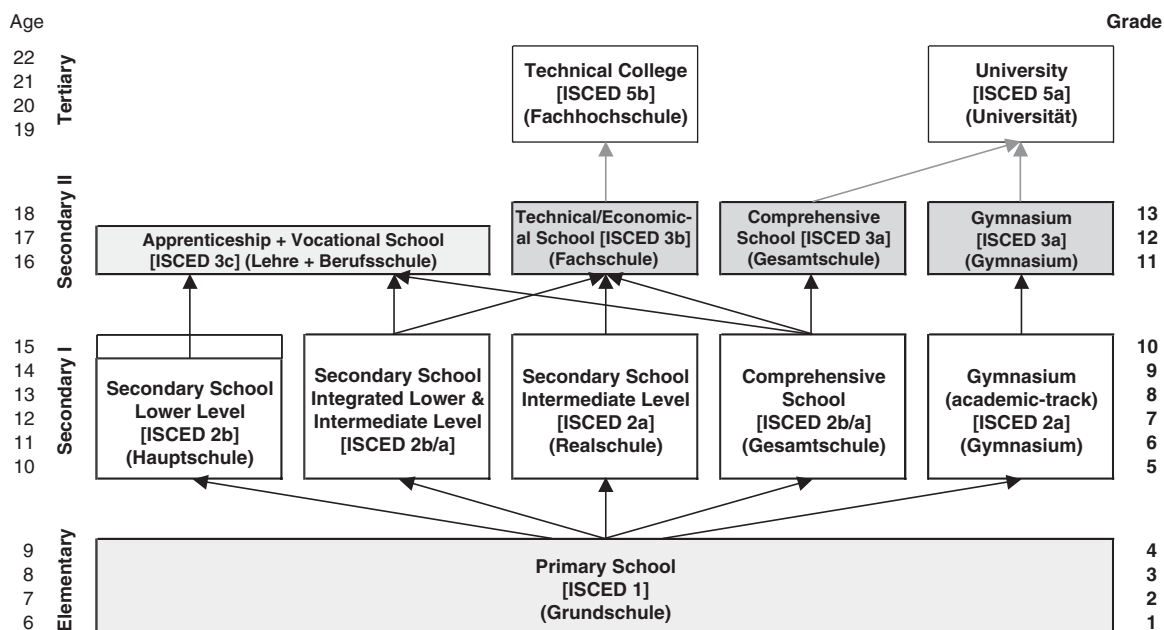
reunified in 1990; the eastern part of Berlin and the five eastern states represent the area of the former socialist GDR. In most recent statistics, the city state, Berlin, together with the five eastern states (20.3% of the total population) are subsumed to “Eastern Germany” or the “new federal states”. Western Germany can be divided into a northern and a southern part with five federal states each (38.0% and 41.8% of the total population, resp.).

The three parts of Germany differ in cultural, economic, and demographic aspects: While the total population is equally divided into Roman Catholics and Protestants, each with about 31%, and an additional fraction of 32.5% with no religious denomination, the vast majority in the northern states are Protestants, in the southern states Roman Catholics, and in the eastern states, persons with no denomination. Of the total population 18.6% have a migration background (western states: 21.5%, eastern states: 5.2%); just under 50% of them are foreigners (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2007a). Among the foreigners (8.9%), the most important migrant groups are people from Turkey (26.1%), Southern Europe (Portugal, Spain, Italy and Greece) (15.9%), former Yugoslavia (10.1%), and Poland (4.8%). Among migrants of German nationality, an important group comprises immigrants from the former Soviet Union (mostly Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation) with German roots (about 26% of the naturalized migrants). Of the total population in Germany, 20% is younger than 20 years and 25%, 60 years and older. However, because of the different age structure of migrants, the rate of persons with migration background is clearly higher among the young. Additionally, the rate of migrants is substantially higher in urban regions. Therefore, we can expect a much higher rate of migrants in our city based samples (see below).

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**Fig. 4.1** The German school system (Simplified). *Notes:* Paths indicate the transition to the highest possible level; except for primary school, several emanating paths are due to different

degrees offered by the respective school type; ISCED: programme code of the International Standard Classification of Education (UNESCO, 2006)

The gross domestic product per capita has been ? 28,010 in 2006 (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2007b). There is still a considerably lower productivity per capita in the eastern states (€ 20,182) compared to the western states. Here, productivity is a bit higher in the south (€ 31,387) than in the north (€ 28,137). The differences are partly due to different unemployment rates that are considerably higher in the eastern (18.8%) compared to the western states (north: 11.9%; south: 8.1%; total: 11.7%) (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2006). Accordingly, the available monthly income per household is considerably lower in the eastern states compared to the western states (estimated median: € 1,240 and € 1,640, resp.).

#### 4.1.1 The School System

The German school system is characterized by different school types; there is an early selection of students into different educational paths<sup>2</sup>. Students are selected

into these paths after grade 4, generally at the age of ten (see Fig. 4.1).

In most federal states full-time schooling<sup>3</sup> is compulsory until grade 9 or 10 (generally until the age of 16). Not all types of schools and educational paths exist in all federal states, although in all states there are academic-track secondary schools (Gymnasiums), and in the majority of the states secondary schools of the lower and intermediate level exist. Integrated (lower and intermediate) schools can be found especially in the eastern states, whereas in the southern states, these school types as well as comprehensive schools play a minor role. In 2004/2005, about 22% of all grade 9 students attended lower level secondary schools; 27%, intermediate level secondary schools, and 34%, academic-track secondary schools. Although a small percentage of students attend comprehensive and integrated (lower and intermediate level) schools (9% and 8% of the students, resp.), the latter is the dominant school type of the eastern states (46% of its students) (Konsortium Bildungsberichterstattung, 2006).

<sup>2</sup>The vast majority of students attend public schools (92% in 2004/2005); generally, home schooling is not allowed.

<sup>3</sup>A normal school day takes about 6 h.

German schools offer three types of leaving certificates: Lower level, intermediate level, and higher level (university-entrance) degrees. In 2004/2005, 8% of all students leaving school had no degree at all, 25% received a lower level certificate, 43% an intermediate level, and 24% a higher level certificate. International comparative studies show that the selectivity of the German school system is high. Among the 30 OECD countries it occupies rank three of selectivity, and the variance of performance between schools is the highest (Schümer, 2005). Accordingly, at grade 9 the highest percentage of migrants is found in lower secondary schools (36%) and the smallest in academic-track secondary schools (Gymnasiums) (16%)<sup>4</sup> (Konsortium Bildungsberichterstattung, 2006). As the selectivity of the German school system according to performance is strongly related to social status and stratification (Baumert and Schümer, 2001; Schümer, 2005), the type of school acts as a proxy for the socioeconomic background of the students and is an important covariate when studying deviant behaviour and delinquency of children and juveniles.

#### 4.1.2 Juvenile Justice and Official Crime Statistics

In Germany criminal responsibility starts with the age of 14. Cases of juveniles (14–17 years of age) and young adults (18–20) having committed a crime are submitted exclusively to specialized juvenile courts. Not only juveniles will be punished according to a special Juvenile Justice Act (JJA, see Dünkel, 2006) but also young adults if their offense has been characteristic of a juvenile crime or if their personality or moral development at the time of committing the crime was comparable to that of a juvenile<sup>5</sup>. While the penal law for adults generally focuses on the offence, the JJA focuses rather on the offender. Accordingly, the major

purpose of sanctions according to the JJA is educational. Because of the “minimum intervention” principle, in 69% of the cases in 2003 the decision of the juvenile court procurator was dismissal of the case or informal sanction, and the vast majority of formal court sanctions were educational or disciplinary measures (Dünkel, 2006). Although the JJA prescribes specific reactions and procedural rules for juveniles and young adults, punishable crimes are the same as for adults, i.e. status offenses specifically prescribed for juveniles do not exist.

Figure 4.2 shows police statistics of children (aged 12–13) and juveniles per 100,000 of the respective age group suspected for criminal offenses between 1993 and 2006 (Bundeskriminalamt, 2007). After an increase until 1998 among all age groups, the officially recorded prevalence rates are declining, especially among the younger age groups. It is important to note that the overall crime rate of the 14–15-year-olds is about 1.8 times higher than the rate of the 12–13-year-olds; the rate of the 16–17-year-olds is about twice as high.

An increase of the prevalence rates with increasing age can be observed for nearly all offenses with the exception of shoplifting (see Fig. 4.3): Here the officially registered crime rate of the 16–17-year-old juveniles drops even below the rate of the 12–13-year-old children. The rates in Fig. 4.3 show that among older children and juveniles’ prevalence rates of shoplifting, vandalism, and assault belong to the highest order, whereas the rates of pick pocketing<sup>6</sup>, hard drug use, and car break are especially low.

Again one should note that there are considerable (and consistent) differences of officially registered crime rates not only between cities (elevated crime rates) and rural areas, but also between the northern states and southern states (7.9 vs. 6.4 juvenile suspects per 100,000) as well as between the western (north and south) and eastern states (7.1 vs. 8.7 juvenile suspects per 100,000)<sup>7</sup>. Therefore, when selecting cities (especially small towns) for the German sample of the ISR2 study, special attention has been paid to the north-south and east division of the German federal states.

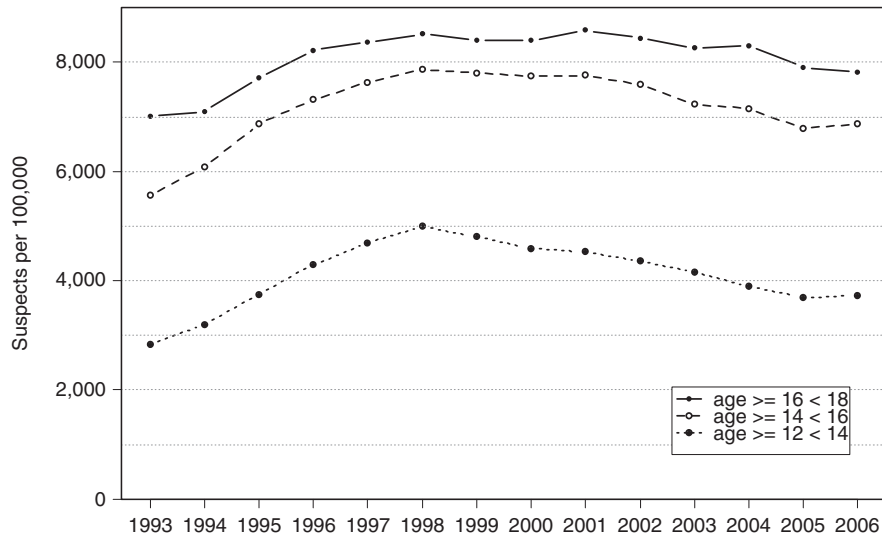
<sup>4</sup>In integrated (lower and intermedium level) schools, only 7% of the students are migrants; however, this school type is more characteristic for the eastern states where only 5% of the population has a migrant background.

<sup>5</sup>In 2003 about 64% of young adults have been sentenced according to the JJA. This rate, however, differs considerably between the federal states: Less than 50% in Bavaria and Rhineland-Palatinate (south), nearly 90% in Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein (north) (Dünkel, 2006).

<sup>6</sup>Note that according to the German penal law snatching away of a handbag (purse) is subsumed under robbery.

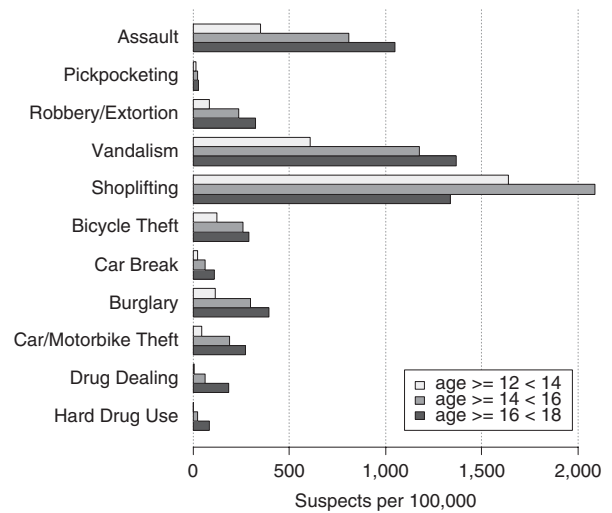
<sup>7</sup>Total crime rates 2006; Bundeskriminalamt (2007) and own calculations. It is noteworthy that court sentence statistics for juveniles show the opposite trend across the federal states, see Dünkel (2006).





**Fig. 4.2** Suspects of criminal offenses (total crime) 1993–2006 per 100,000 of age group. (Source: Bundeskriminalamt (2007) and own calculations)

**Fig. 4.3** Suspects of selected criminal offenses 2006 per 100,000 of age group. Notes: Assaults comprise aggravated assaults only; rates of burglary and hard drug use are estimates (Source: Bundeskriminalamt, 2007, and own calculations)



## 4.2 Study Design

In Germany we opted for city based sampling of the schools classes stratified by grades 7–9. Following the ISRD sampling guidelines that stipulated to sample at least 700 cases from one large city (more than 500,000 inhabitants), 700 cases from one medium-sized city (120,000 inhabitants  $\pm 20\%$ ) and about 250 cases from

three small towns each (10,000–75,000 inhabitants), we tried to find the most representative large and medium-sized cities of Germany as well as the most representative small towns of the northern states (Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein), the southern states (Baden-Wuerttemberg and Bavaria), and the eastern states (except Berlin), respectively. For that purpose we collected official statistics of selected demographic

characteristics<sup>8</sup>, socio-economic data<sup>9</sup>, and officially recorded crime rates<sup>10</sup> of all large cities (14, except Berlin), all cities with a population between 96,000 and 144,000 (33), and all small towns of the northern (141), southern (329), and eastern states (196), respectively. Using the averages of these statistics of each of the five clusters of cities/towns, we used an optimal matching procedure (Ho et al., 2007a, b) to find the most typical city/town with respect to the profiles of averages of each cluster. As a result, the most typical cities and towns in each of the five groups were chosen as the cities/towns from which to draw random samples of classes. As the most typical of Germany's large cities Cologne (969,709 inhabitants) was chosen, and as the most typical medium-sized city Iserlohn (96,314 inhabitants). In the eastern states Nordhausen (43,894 inhabitants), in the northern states Walsrode (24,373 inhabitants), and in the southern states Erlenbach (10,168 inhabitants) turned out to be most typical of the small town clusters. Because of problems of non-response among certain types of schools in the large and medium-sized cities (see below), the next typical large town, Hamburg (1,734,083 inhabitants) and medium-sized city, Moers (104,595 inhabitants) were selected, additionally. Although the cities/towns chosen can be assumed to be reasonably representative of cities/towns of respective magnitude and region, one should note that the resulting sample of students is not representative of the total German population of students: By following the sampling guidelines 44% of the German population was not considered in the selection procedure (localities with less than 10,000 inhabitants, cities with 75,000–96,000, and cities with 144,000–500,000 inhabitants corresponding to 27%, 4%, and 13% of the population, resp.)<sup>11</sup>.

Lists of classes of the schools with the number of students per school type and grade per town were used to randomly draw samples of classes stratified by grade that would result in the projected case numbers taking into

<sup>8</sup>Rate of persons younger than 15 years; rate of persons older than 64 years; percentage of persons of foreign citizenship younger than 15 years; percentage of persons of foreign citizenship older than 14 years.

<sup>9</sup>Households' dependent on social welfare benefits, rate of unemployment 2004; change of unemployment rate between 2000 and 2005.

<sup>10</sup>Police recorded crimes 2005 per 100,000 population: (a) assault, (b) damage to property, and (c) total crime minus assault and damage to property.

<sup>11</sup>Estimates based on Hannemann (2001) and more recent population statistics (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2006).

account total non-response rates of 50%<sup>12</sup>. Interviewing took place between March and November 2006. Trained interviewers employed self-administered paper and pencil questionnaires in the classes at the time of one normal school lesson. Passive parental consent has been sufficient to allow students to participate. To facilitate participation of students of the most important migrant groups, questionnaires translated into Russian and Turkish were offered, as well (overall, 10 and 17 students, about 5% of the target group, made use of this option).

In one large city (Cologne) and one medium-sized city (Iserlohn) the response rates of lower secondary and comprehensive schools have been much lower than the average. As there were not enough schools in the population for drawing replacement schools, we decided to expand the survey by adding Hamburg (large city) and Moers (medium-sized city) to the sample of cities. This measure effectively removed the biased distribution of sampled classes with respect to the school type.

In terms of absolute numbers of students, the overall response rate was only 39%. This rate tended to be higher in smaller cities and towns and lower in large cities. However, 71% of the total non-response took place on the level of schools (school administrators), 19% on the level of classes (teachers), and only 10% on the level of individual students (7% absenteeism<sup>13</sup> and 3% refusal). Based on the students who actually *were present* at the time of the interviews, the participation rate was 95%; however, a more realistic figure of the response rate is 86% which is based on the *actual size* of participating classes, thus including students absent for different reasons.

Non-response on the level of schools and classes is less a threat to the representativeness of the sample than non-response on the level of the individual students due to absenteeism, lack of parental consent, or student refusal. Especially non-response on the individual level might be related to self-selection associated with delinquency. In this respect the response rate of 86% is still acceptable.

Because the biggest part of non-response is probably not related to delinquency or other variables of interest, weighting the data can help to compensate for

<sup>12</sup>To select classes from schools proportional to the size of the schools, systematic sampling with aselect begin has been employed using randomized school lists sorted by size.

<sup>13</sup>The overall truancy rate estimated by teachers was about 5%.

deviations from population proportions due to non-response. The weights reflect the true population proportions of students in grades 7, 8, and 9 per school type per town as well as estimated proportions of 12–15-year-old children and juveniles in large cities, medium-sized cities, and small towns in Eastern and Western Germany<sup>14</sup>. One should note, however, that even the weighted data are not representative for German seventh to ninth grade students as such but at best for non truant seventh to ninth grade students living in German cities and towns.

Although weighted data (and appropriate statistical tests) will be used in the following analyses one should

note that *the absolute number of cases reported always refers to the number of students actually surveyed*. In addition to weighting, the statistical tests and confidence intervals take into account the fact that the primary sampling unit is the class, not individual students, and thus compensate for design effects due to the clustering of students within school classes.

### 4.3 Sample Characteristics

In Table 4.1 characteristics of the German sample broken down by city size are displayed. Most interesting is

**Table 4.1** Sample characteristics by city size

	Large cities		Medium-sized cities		Small towns		Total
	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
<b>Age</b>							
11–12	6.7	111	4.3	52	7.6	70	6.5
13	25.6	431	25.1	249	26.5	301	25.9
14	33.9	442	29.0	300	28.9	319	30.5
15	25.1	301	31.5	288	27.3	307	27.6
16 and older	8.6	85	10.2	115	9.7	102	9.5
	$\bar{x} = 13.9$		$\bar{x} = 14.2$		$\bar{x} = 14.1$		$\bar{x} = 14.1$
	SD = 1.06		SD = 1.12		SD = 1.13		SD = 1.12
	<i>n</i> = 1,370		<i>n</i> = 1,004		<i>n</i> = 1,099		<i>n</i> = 3,473
<b>Sex</b>							
Male	51.7	697	51.8	521	50.5	560	50.7
Female	48.3	674	48.2	484	49.5	538	49.3
<b>Ethnic background</b>							
Natives	59.9	820	68.1	677	79.2	856	70.7
Former SU	4.6	62	4.5	51	4.2	51	4.4
Central EU	5.3	71	6.5	68	1.6	19	3.8
Turkey	12.2	166	10.6	101	7.5	86	9.6
EU (other)	6.5	90	7.3	72	4.8	50	5.9
Others	11.6	155	3.0	32	2.6	29	5.5
<b>Migration status</b>							
First generation migrants	10.7	145	8.9	95	7.8	87	8.9
Second generation migrants	29.7	407	23.3	233	13.6	156	20.7
Natives	59.6	820	67.9	677	78.6	856	70.3
<b>School type</b>							
Lower level	18.9	266	19.5	185	25.4	213	22.1
Medium level <sup>a</sup>	42.8	515	51.1	510	31.4	387	39.3
Higher level	38.3	591	29.3	312	43.2	499	38.6
<b>Grade</b>							
Grade 7	32.0	558	32.0	329	30.9	337	31.5
Grade 8	34.0	438	33.3	334	34.4	381	34.0
Grade 9	34.0	376	34.7	344	34.7	381	34.5

Notes: Weighted data

<sup>a</sup>Combining intermediate level schools and comprehensive schools

<sup>14</sup>Population estimates are based on Hannemann (2001) and recent population statistics (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2006).

**Table 4.2** Migration status by ethnic background

	Former SU	Central EU	Turkey	EU (other)	Others	Total
First generation migrants (%)	89.4	21.0	9.7	25.8	31.9	30.6
Second generation migrants (%)	10.6	79.0	90.3	74.2	68.1	69.4
Row per cents	15.1	13.1	33.0	20.0	18.8	100.0
<i>n</i>	164	158	353	212	216	1,103

Notes: Weighted data; Cramér's  $V = 0.57$ ;  $P < 0.001$

**Table 4.3** Percentages of repeaters by grade (12–16-year-olds only)

	Grade 7	Grade 8	Grade 9	Total
Never repeated	84.1	82.7	81.0	82.6
Once and more	15.9	17.3	19.0	17.4
<i>n</i>	1,208	1,140	1,055	3,403

Notes: Weighted data; Cramér's  $V = 0.03$ ;  $P = 0.669$

**Table 4.4** Percentages of repeaters by age (12–16-year-olds only)

	12 years	13 years	14 years	15 years	16 years	Total
Never repeated	99.7	95.8	87.1	76.6	30.1	82.6
Once and more	0.3	4.2	12.9	23.4	69.9	17.4
<i>n</i>	231	971	1,057	891	253	3,403

Notes: Weighted data; Cramér's  $V = 0.46$ ;  $P < 0.001$

the composition of the sample according to ethnic background, current migration status, and type of school. Nearly 30% of the students are first or second generation migrants<sup>15</sup>. The most important and homogeneous group of migrants are students with a Turkish background (10%) followed by migrants from states of the former Soviet Union (SU). Students of this group are most likely repatriated Germans whose parents re-immigrated to Germany. Both groups differ, however, by their migration status: While 90% of students with a Turkish background were born in Germany, nearly 90% of students originating from the former SU migrated recently and were born abroad (compare Table 4.2).

The rate of migrants is systematically related to the size of the cities: It is highest in large cities (40%) and lowest in small towns (only 21%).

Overall, more than one third of the students attend higher level schools (Gymnasium), less than one quarter attends lower level schools. The other types of schools are summarized as medium level schools by combining intermediate and comprehensive schools. The distribution of students according to school types differs considerably with regard to city size. However, one should be careful interpreting this pattern because

the differences are not only due to the size of the cities but also to the heterogeneity of the German school system of the different federal states.

The other demographic characteristics such as age, sex, and grade are distributed as expected from a random sample of students of German cities and towns. However, to study the development of delinquent behaviour according to age, the variable age must not be used. Due to the design of the ISRD2 study that sampled grade 7 to grade 9 classes and not individual students of the age groups 12–16, students who repeated classes are clearly underrepresented among younger students and overrepresented among older students. The effect of this is plainly shown by comparing the rate of repeaters by grade and by age (Tables 4.3 and 4.4): While the association of repeating classes with grade is virtually zero and non significant, there is a high and significant association of the rate of repeaters with age. From one grade to the next the rate of repeaters increases by about 1.5%, whereas from 1 year of age to the next, it seems to increase by 17.5% on the average.

If repeating a grade is associated with behavioural problems and delinquency (which in Germany is very likely), instead of the variable age the variable grade

<sup>15</sup>Second generation migrants are defined as students born in Germany with at least one parent born abroad. Third generation migrants are classified as natives (autochthonous).

must be used to study the development of delinquency with that of age. To statistically control for repeating a grade is no solution to this problem, because by doing so this one would also control for problem behaviour (that is at the focus of interest).

Overall, nearly three quarters (71%) of all children and juveniles live together with their biological parents, 16% live either with one parent and his/her partner, 12% in a single parent household, and 1% not with one of their biological parents. As Table 4.5 shows, the family composition of the students is associated with their migrant status, but also with their educational level. Complete families are more prevalent among second generation migrants that constitute the majority of migrants. It is noteworthy that less than 15% of

students with a Turkish background do not live with both of their biological parents, whereas this rate of incomplete families is twice as high (more than 30%) in all other groups. Table 4.5 also shows the selectivity of the German school system: While 9% of students attending a Gymnasium live in single parent families, this rate is much higher in medium and lower schools (14–15%).

The family composition is only an incomplete description of the family situation. Another important variable is the index of perceived problems of the students' parents (fights between parents, problems with drugs or alcohol, separation or divorce). This can be demonstrated by Fig. 4.4 showing that, interestingly, students of a Turkish background not only live in more

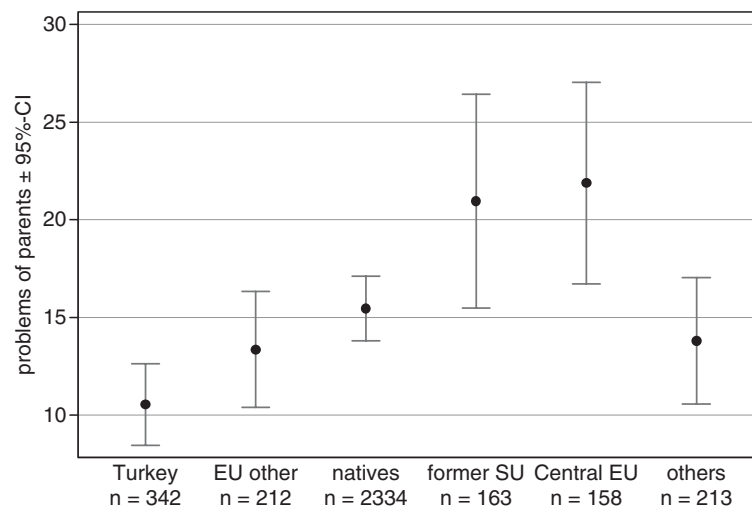
**Table 4.5** Family composition by migration status and school type

	Living with biological parents	With parent and his/her partner	Single parent family	Others
Migration status <sup>a</sup>				
First generation migrants	68.7%	13.6%	12.7%	5.0%
Second generation migrants	76.3%	10.8%	12.3%	0.6%
Natives	69.0%	17.9%	12.1%	1.1%
School type <sup>b</sup>				
Lower level	66.7%	16.3%	15.4%	1.6%
Medium level	65.9%	19.0%	13.6%	1.6%
Higher level	77.4%	12.8%	8.9%	0.9%
<i>n</i>	2,471	529	414	44

Notes: Weighted data

<sup>a</sup>Cramér's  $V = 0.09$ ;  $P \leq 0.001$

<sup>b</sup>Cramér's  $V = 0.09$ ;  $P \leq 0.001$



**Fig. 4.4** Perceived problems of parents by ethnic background

(weighted data)

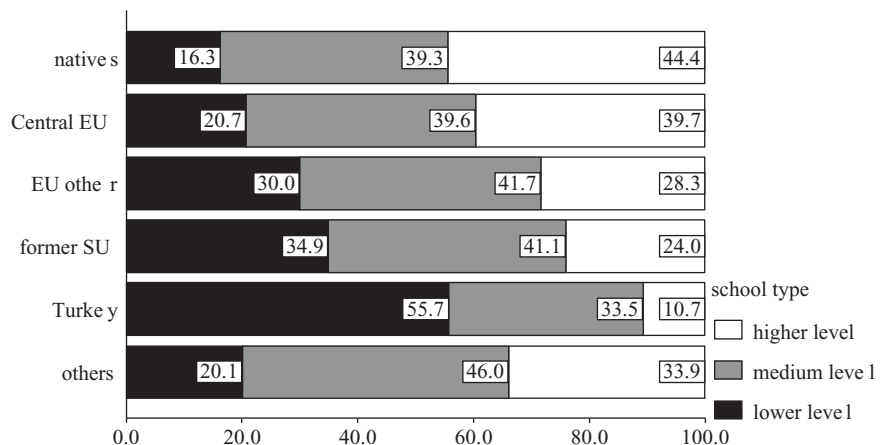
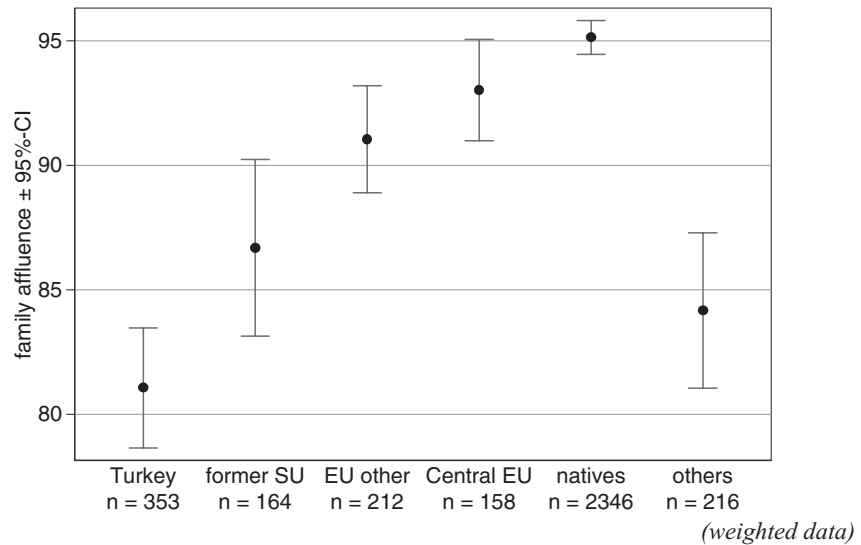
stable families but also in families with a lower level of conflicts and problems. In contrast, students originating from countries of the former SU or of Central Europe (Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland) perceive clearly more problems of their parents.

The socio-economic situation of the students is clearly related to their migration status: While the rate of unemployment of native families is about 6%, it is 12% among second generation migrants and 18% among first generation migrants (Cramér's  $V = 0.15$ ;  $P \leq 0.001$ ). Similarly, an index of family affluence (see also Boyce et al., 2006) shows higher levels of affluence among native families as compared to second or

first generation migrants (mean = 95.1 vs. 87.8 and 82.8, resp.;  $F_{(2, 156)} = 4.4$ ;  $P = 0.014$ ). Again, students with Turkish background are exceptional: The affluence of their families is clearly the lowest (Fig. 4.5).

The social selectivity of the German school system is clearly demonstrated in Fig. 4.6: While 44% of the native born attend higher level schools (Gymnasium) offering access to universities and higher education and only 16% attend lower level schools, the rates of migrants attending higher level schools are much lower (10–40%), and rates of migrants who attend lower level schools offering less options for the future are much higher (21–56%). Again, Turkish migrants are

**Fig. 4.5** Affluence by ethnic background



**Fig. 4.6** Educational level of students by ethnic background. Notes: Weighted data; per cent per school type; Cramér's  $V = 0.22$ ;  $P < 0.001$

exceptional: Less than 11% attend higher level schools, nearly 56% attend lower level schools.

The demographic characteristics of the sample shows that in order to study the social structuring of delinquent behaviour, factors such as family composition as well as family problems, migration status as well as ethnic background, parents' unemployment as well as family affluence, and the educational level of the students should be taken into account.

#### 4.4 Victimization Experiences

Victimization experiences of the students show the amount of crime from the victims' perspective and thus supplement the rates of self-reported delinquency. Nearly one third of the students (31.5%) reported having been a victim of robbery/extortion, assault, or theft during the last year. The prevalence rate is higher in large cities (36.2%) and lower in small towns (28.1%) (Table 4.6). The most common experience is theft (27.0%), least common is robbery (3.7%) that differs significantly according to city size. Bullying at school is also a comparatively frequent experience (16.5%).

Although the least frequent experience, robbery, is reported to the police most frequently (Table 4.7). Overall, however, the reporting rates are low, ranging from 10% (assault and theft) to 15% (robbery) of all incidences<sup>16</sup>. Bullying is virtually never reported to the police. Nevertheless, 6% of all victims state having reported bullying at school, although it is questionable whether bullying as it has been defined by the questionnaire item<sup>17</sup> is a punishable crime.

#### 4.5 Risk Factors of Delinquency

According to German law the consumption of alcohol by juveniles is not a criminal offense, and although the possession of marijuana or hashish is prohibited, in

many cases the consumption of small amounts will not be prosecuted (the policies of the federal states differ in this respect, see Görgen et al., 2003, pp. 16–18). However, whether prosecuted or not, the consumption of strong spirits and marijuana/hashish as well as truancy can be regarded as risk factors of delinquency.

Table 4.8 shows the life-time and last month prevalences of the consumption of alcohol and hashish/marijuana together with the last year prevalence of truancy and the percentages of students with at least two of the three risk factors. Comparing the risk factors by city size there are opposite trends: While alcohol consumption is least prevalent in large cities and highest in small towns (Cramér's  $V = 0.07$ ,  $P = 0.032$ ), truancy rates are clearly higher in large cities and lowest in the smaller towns (Cramér's  $V = 0.07$ ,  $P = 0.005$ ). The rates of hashish/marijuana use do not differ significantly (Cramér's  $V = 0.01$ ,  $P = 0.748$ ). Altogether, the rates of students with two risk factors or more do not differ significantly according to city size (Cramér's  $V = 0.01$ ,  $P = 0.701$ ). This distribution of risk factors by city size does not fit to the general presumption that problem behaviour is more prevalent in larger cities.

Subgroup differences of sex and ethnicity are most interesting. With respect to the risk factors under consideration there are hardly any sex differences, the only exception is last month hashish/marijuana use (4.7% of males vs. 2.2% of females, Cramér's  $V = 0.07$ ,  $P = 0.002$ ). Alcohol consumption and truancy do not differ significantly. Thus, the overall rate of males with two risk factors (12.0%) is as high as the rate of females (12.2%; Cramér's  $V = 0.00$ ,  $P = 0.878$ ).

Comparing risk factors by ethnicity, the prevalence of alcohol consumption is clearly least among students of Turkish background (beer/wine or strong spirits last month: 17.0% vs. 44.5% of all other groups, Cramér's  $V = 0.16$ ,  $P < 0.001$ ). Students of the former SU show the highest alcohol consumption rates, especially with respect to strong spirits (last month prevalence: 27.2%). At the same time, their truancy rate is highest (32.3% opposed to 20.4–24.8% among other migrants and 14.3% among natives; Cramér's  $V = 0.13$ ,  $P < 0.001$ ). There are no significant differences of hashish/cannabis use. As a consequence, the prevalence of at least two risk factors of delinquency is highest among migrants from the former SU states (19.8%), about the average among the native born (11.7%), and lowest among students with a Turkish background (8.7%) (Cramér's  $V = 0.07$ ,  $P = 0.014$ ).

<sup>16</sup>Confidence intervals were calculated by bootstrapping (bias-corrected and accelerated) after excluding outlying cases (max. 0.5%) by applying a negative binomial distribution of victimization and reporting incidences.

<sup>17</sup>“You were bullied at school (other students humiliated you or made fun of you, hit or kicked you, or excluded you from their group)?”



**Table 4.6** Victimization experiences (last year) by city size

	Large cities ( <i>n</i> = 1,372)		Medium-sized cities ( <i>n</i> = 1,007)		Small towns ( <i>n</i> = 1,099)		Cramér's <i>V</i>	<i>P</i>
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing		
Robbery	5.3	0.9	4.5	1.1	2.3	0.8	0.07	0.017
Assault	7.1	0.7	5.6	0.8	6.1	0.7	0.02	0.446
Theft	30.5	0.7	27.1	1.0	24.7	0.8	0.06	0.085
Bullying	16.9	1.2	17.9	0.9	15.6	1.7	0.03	0.543
Total <sup>a</sup>	36.2	0.4	32.1	0.5	28.1	0.4	0.08	0.006

Notes: Weighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Without bullying

**Table 4.7** Victimization and reporting to the police (last year)

	Prevalence victimization		Prevalence reporting <sup>a</sup>	Incidence reporting <sup>b</sup>	95% CI incidence reporting
	% victims	% Missing			
Robbery/ extortion	3.7	0.9	17.9	15.4	10.1–22.1
Assault	6.3	0.7	15.5	10.4	5.8–13.3
Theft	27.0	0.8	13.4	10.3	8.5–12.6
Bullying	16.5	1.3	6.1	0.9	0.5–0.5
Total <sup>c</sup>	31.5	0.4	15.1	12.0	10.1–14.5

Notes: *n* = 3,478; weighted data; % victims based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Per cent based on victims

<sup>b</sup>Per cent based on incidences, unweighted

<sup>c</sup>Without bullying

**Table 4.8** Life-time and last month prevalences of risk factors (large city sample vs. rest of sample)

	Large city sample ( <i>n</i> = 1,372)				Rest of sample ( <i>n</i> = 2,106)			
	Life time		Last month <sup>a</sup>		Life time		Last month <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Beer/wine	65.7	1.3	35.6	2.0	71.9	0.9	43.0	1.6
Strong spirits	40.0	1.6	16.8	1.9	42.4	1.0	18.9	1.5
Marijuana, hashish use	10.4	1.7	3.7	1.8	9.6	1.3	3.3	1.4
Truancy	–	–	2.2	0.8	–	–	15.4	0.4
Two risk factors present <sup>b</sup>	–	–	12.6	1.2	–	–	11.9	0.9

Notes: Weighted data, prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Truancy prevalence: last year

<sup>b</sup>Two of strong spirits consumption last month or hashish use last month or truancy last year

Whether truancy or the consumption of strong spirits or hashish/marijuana can actually predict the commission of violent or property offenses will be investigated below by employing multiple logistic regression models.

## 4.6 Self-reported Delinquency

Table 4.9 shows life-time and last year prevalences of self-reported delinquency of the large cities and the smaller cities and towns together with the percentage

of cases with missing answers<sup>18</sup>. Life-time prevalences, however, are rather crude indicators of delinquency that do not reflect the current situation. Their interpretation is more ambiguous than last year prevalences due to the age differences among the respondents. It is noteworthy that the number of missing answers is higher in large cities than in smaller cities or towns, especially if the prevalences are high (shoplifting, carrying a weapon, and vandalism). Large city respon-

<sup>18</sup> The percentages of missing are based on unweighted numbers of cases.

**Table 4.9** Life-time and last year prevalences (large cities sample vs. rest of sample)

	Large cities sample ( <i>n</i> = 1,372)				Rest of sample ( <i>n</i> = 2,106)			
	Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>		Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Group fight	21.9	1.8	14.6	2.2	19.8	1.4	10.9	1.7
Carrying a weapon	16.0	2.1	11.3	2.6	14.0	0.8	9.4	1.2
Assault	9.3	1.8	5.5	2.0	8.4	1.0	4.3	1.3
Snatching	7.3	1.8	3.9	2.0	5.9	0.8	2.4	0.8
Extortion	5.2	1.8	3.4	1.8	2.8	1.3	1.7	1.4
Vandalism	20.8	2.0	12.9	2.4	20.6	0.9	13.6	0.9
Shop lifting	28.6	2.3	9.3	2.7	23.1	0.8	7.3	1.0
Bicycle/motor bike theft	4.4	1.9	2.6	2.0	3.5	1.1	1.8	1.2
Car break	3.4	1.9	1.4	2.0	2.3	0.8	1.0	0.9
Burglary	2.1	2.0	1.1	2.0	1.8	1.1	0.8	1.2
Car theft	0.7	1.7	0.4	1.8	1.0	1.1	0.5	1.2
Computer hacking	8.2	1.8	5.5	2.0	7.3	1.0	6.0	1.1
Drug dealing	4.1	2.0	2.9	2.1	4.7	1.0	3.5	1.1
XTC/speed use	0.9	2.0	0.2	2.0	1.4	1.0	0.6	1.0
LSD/heroin/cocaine use	0.8	2.2	0.5	2.2	0.9	1.1	0.3	1.2

Notes: Weighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Drug use: last month prevalences

dents are less willing to respond - which does not necessarily mean that their answers are less honest.

Overall 31% of the respondents reported having committed at least one offense during the last year. The most common offenses are vandalism (13.4%) and group fights (12.1%) followed by carrying a weapon (10.0%) and shoplifting (7.9%) (Fig. 4.7). All these offenses are less serious. The more serious offenses were committed by less than 5% of the respondents, the most common among them being assault, (4.7%) followed by drug dealing (3.3%), bag/purse snatching (2.9%), extortion (2.2%), and bicycle or motor bike theft (2.1%). Other serious property offenses, for example, theft from cars, burglary, or car thefts, were committed by less than 2%.

Compared across city sizes, only the prevalence of violent offenses (group fights and extortion) is significantly about 50% higher in large cities as compared to small towns (Table 4.10).

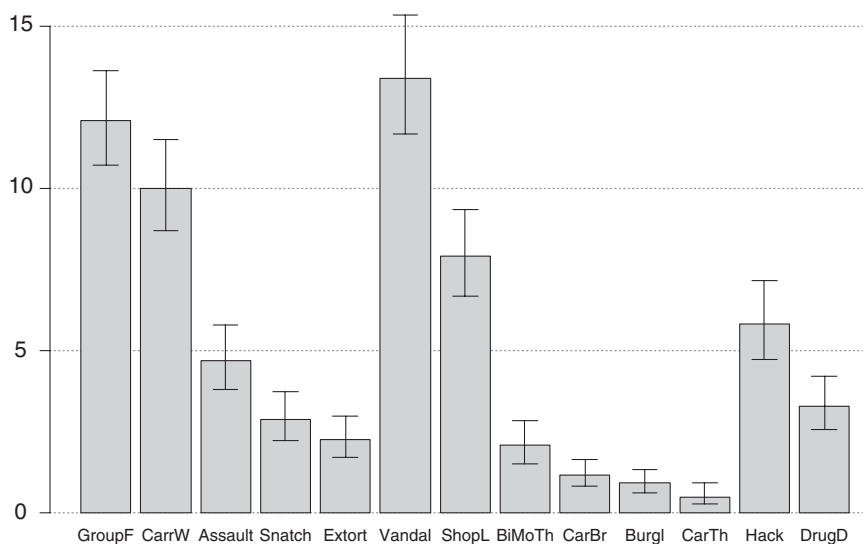
Below, some offenses will be grouped together: Frequent (less serious) violent offenses, rare (more serious) violent offenses, and rare (more serious) property offenses. These will be shown together with vandalism, shoplifting and drug dealing.

As expected, far more male students report delinquent behaviour than female students (Fig. 4.8). With respect to violent offenses, the prevalence rates of

males are about three times the prevalence rates of females. But also non-violent offenses that need no physical strength are committed more often by males: Rare (and serious) property offenses, hacking<sup>19</sup>, and drug dealing. However, it is worth noting that there are no significant differences in male and female prevalence rates of shoplifting.

Official crime statistics (see Figs. 4.2 and 4.3) as well as the well known age-crime curve suggest that in the age groups surveyed delinquent behaviour should increase with age. Therefore, it is interesting to note that the only observable increase occurs between grade 7 and grade 8 students with respect to the more serious property offenses and drug dealing (Fig. 4.9). Comparing grade 8 and grade 9 students, there is no increase but rather a decrease (the decrease of vandalism is statistically significant). It is conceivable that the increase seen in official crime statistics might be explained by the assumption that with the start of criminal responsibility by the age of 14, grade 9 students are more likely to be reported to the police than younger students.

<sup>19</sup>It is not sure how the respondents understood the term "hacking" and it is questionable whether they really possess the knowledge and ability necessary to hack computers.



**Fig. 4.7** Last year prevalences of self-reported delinquency. Notes: weighted data; percentages and 95%-CIs; *GroupF*: group fight; *CarrW*: carrying a weapon; *Snatch*: purse or bag snatching; *Extort*: extortion; *Vand*: vandalism; *ShopL*:

shoplifting; *BiMoTh*: bicycle, moped, or scooter theft; *Burgl*: burglary; *CarBr*: stealing out of a car; *CarTh*: car or motorbike theft; *Hack*: hacking a computer; *DrugD*: drug dealing

**Table 4.10** Last year prevalences of self-reported delinquency by city size

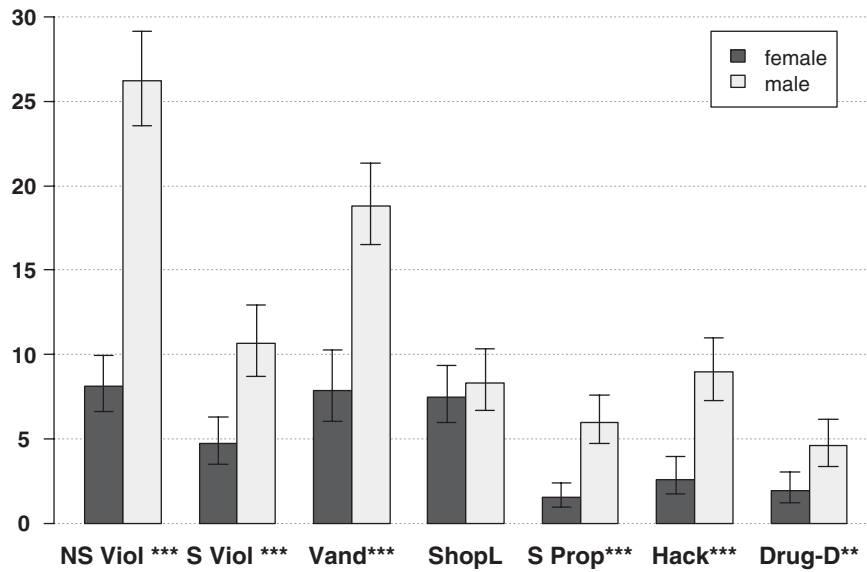
	LC	MC	ST	Cramér's <i>V</i>	<i>P</i>	Total	% Missing
Group fight	14.6	13.0	10.0	0.06	0.024	12.1	1.9
Carrying a weapon	11.3	8.4	9.9	0.04	0.288	10.0	1.7
Assault	5.5	3.7	4.6	0.03	0.146	4.7	1.6
Purse/bag snatching	3.9	2.2	2.5	0.04	0.171	2.9	1.3
Extortion	3.4	1.1	2.0	0.06	0.002	2.2	1.6
Vandalism	12.9	10.4	15.2	0.06	0.063	13.4	1.5
Shop lifting	9.3	7.1	7.4	0.03	0.299	7.9	1.7
Bicycle/motor bike Theft	2.6	1.8	1.9	0.02	0.483	2.1	1.6
Car break	1.4	0.9	1.1	0.02	0.507	1.2	1.3
Burglary	1.1	0.6	0.9	0.02	0.438	0.9	1.5
Car theft	0.4	0.3	0.6	0.02	0.568	0.5	1.4
Computer hacking	5.5	5.7	6.1	0.01	0.890	5.8	1.5
Drug dealing	2.9	3.5	3.4	0.01	0.804	3.3	1.5
Total	31.1	29.9	31.2	0.01	0.867	30.9	0.8

Notes:  $n = 3,478$ ; weighted data; prevalences based on valid cases; *LC* large cities; *MC* medium-sized cities; *ST* small towns

The results of previous German self-reported delinquency studies showed substantially higher rates of violent offenses among second generation migrants (Wilmers et al., 2002, p. 97ff). It is remarkable that the results of this study show no significant differences of prevalence rates according to migrant status. A comparison of rates by ethnic background shows only a significant difference concerning frequent (non-serious) violent offenses: The prevalence rate of students with

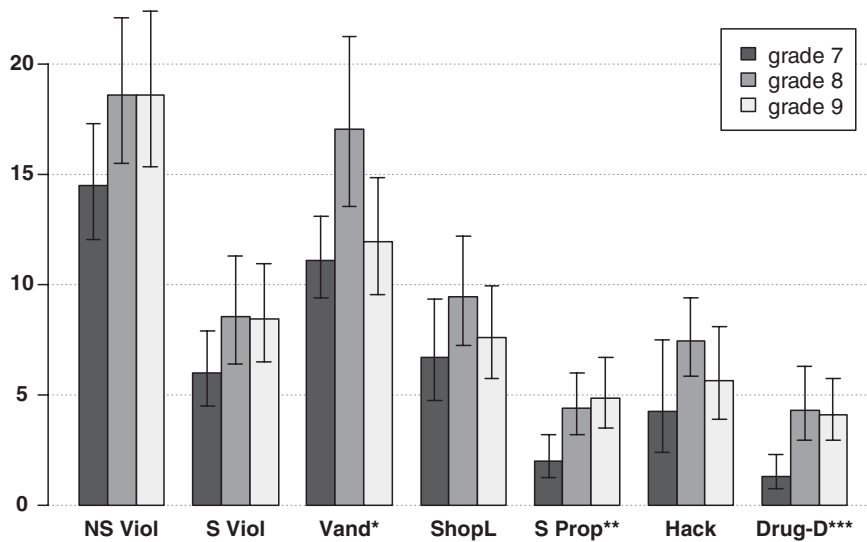
a Turkish background is significantly higher than the rate of all other groups (23.6% vs. 16.6%). This difference is mainly due to a higher prevalence rate of group fights (20.0% vs. 11.2%,  $P < 0.001$ ) (Fig. 4.10).

Given these results it is striking that students with Turkish background show no higher prevalence rates of more serious violent offenses. Their rate of shoplifting is even significantly lower than the rates of all other groups (4.2% vs. 8.3%,  $P = 0.027$ ). This is all the



**Fig. 4.8** Prevalences of self-reported delinquency (last year) by sex. *Notes:* weighted data; percentages and 95%-CIs; *NS Viol:* non serious violence; *S Viol:* serious violence; *Vand:* vandalism;

*ShopL:* shoplifting; *S Prop:* serious property offense; *Hack:* computer hacking; *Drug-D:* drug dealing; \* $P < 0.05$ ; \*\* $P < 0.01$ ; \*\*\* $P \leq 0.001$



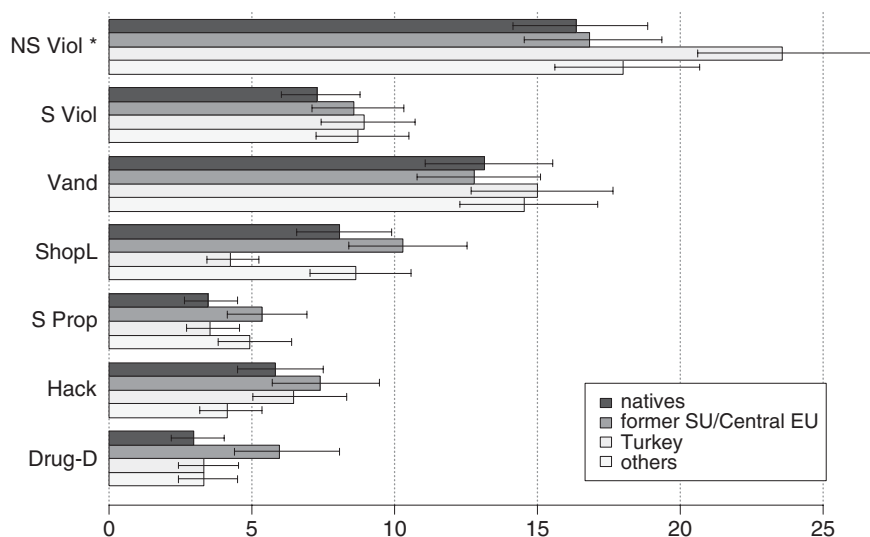
**Fig. 4.9** Prevalences of self-reported delinquency (last year) by grade. *Notes:* weighted data; percentages and 95% CIs; *NS Viol:* non serious violence; *S Viol:* serious violence; *Vand:* vandalism;

*ShopL:* shoplifting; *S Prop:* serious property offense; *Hack:* computer hacking; *Drug-D:* drug dealing; \* $P < 0.05$ ; \*\* $P < 0.01$ ; \*\*\* $P \leq 0.001$

more remarkable as their socio-economic status is significantly bad. Very similar results have been found in the Dutch ISRD study according to which among Turkish students the prevalence rate of group fights is highest and the rate of shoplifting is lowest (Junger-Tas et al., 2008, p. 59). The pattern of offending among Turkish juveniles who – as we have seen – are well

integrated within their families seems to imply that their delinquent behaviour rather serves the function of self-expression and male identity management than being an expression of antisocial tendencies.

A comparison of the prevalence rates of antisocial behaviour across types of school shows that the rates of higher level schools are nearly always significantly



**Fig. 4.10** Prevalences of self-reported delinquency (last year) by ethnic background. Notes: weighted data; percentages and 95% CIs; *NS Viol*: non serious violence; *S Viol*: serious violence;

*Vand*: vandalism; *ShopL*: shoplifting; *S Prop*: serious property offense; *Hack*: computer hacking; *Drug-D*: drug dealing; \* $P < 0.05$

lower, especially with regard to violent and serious property offenses. In contrast, the rates of medium level school students and lower level school students do not differ significantly. Combining all offenses, the overall prevalence rate of delinquency is 24.7% among higher level school students opposed to 35.7% among students of medium level schools and 33.1% among lower level schools ( $P < 0.001$ ).

As the demographic characteristics discussed are correlated, only multivariate analyses can show their unique importance as possible predictors of delinquent behaviour.

#### 4.7 Multivariate Models to Explain the Prevalence of Self-reported Delinquency

To study how demographic characteristics and other theoretically relevant variables can explain the variability of self-reported delinquency in the German sample, a series of logistic regression models have been employed. In the following, hierarchically nested regression models are presented to explain the prevalence of *serious violent delinquency* (Table 4.11). Models to explain the prevalence of group fights,

shoplifting, and serious property offenses yield similar results (although the amounts of explained variances differ) (Enzmann et al., 2009). The models to explain serious violent delinquency shown next can thus demonstrate the major results obtained.

Apart from socio-demographic characteristics that serve as controls (city size, sex, grade, school type, ethnic background, family affluence) the models investigate the effects of family variables (family composition, perceived problems of parents, family attachment, parental supervision), neighbourhood (attachment, collective efficacy, disorganization), and life style (self-control, going out at night, risk behaviour, delinquent friends) on the prevalence of serious violent delinquency (combined prevalence of assault, purse/bag snatching, and extortion)<sup>20</sup>. Results of *Model 0* show that including the socio-demographic characteristics simultaneously yields significant net effects of the city size (a lower prevalence rate in small cities opposed to large cities), sex (a higher prevalence rate of males), grade (a higher prevalence rate of grade 8 opposed to grade 7 students), and school type (a lower prevalence rate of higher level school students opposed to lower level school students). Together these vari-

<sup>20</sup>The operationalization of these variables is described in Enzmann et al. (2009).

**Table 4.11** Effects of family, neighbourhood and life style on the prevalence of serious violent delinquency controlled by socio-demographic characteristics (logistic regression)

	Model 0	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
City size (large cities = 0)						
Medium-sized cities	1.72 <sup>-1*</sup> (0.13)	1.72 <sup>-1*</sup> (0.13)	1.54 <sup>-1*</sup> (0.14)	1.64 <sup>-1*</sup> (0.15)	1.56 <sup>-1*</sup> (0.14)	1.64 <sup>-1*</sup> (0.15)
Small towns	1.37 <sup>-1</sup> (0.16)	1.27 <sup>-1</sup> (0.17)	1.09 <sup>-1</sup> (0.21)	1.45 <sup>-1</sup> (0.17)	1.04 <sup>-1</sup> (0.21)	1.27 <sup>-1</sup> (0.19)
Sex (female = 0)						
Male	2.36 <sup>***</sup> (0.52)	2.39 <sup>***</sup> (0.52)	2.20 <sup>***</sup> (0.51)	2.10 <sup>**</sup> (0.53)	2.23 <sup>***</sup> (0.50)	2.17 <sup>**</sup> (0.54)
Grade (grade 7 = 0)						
Grade 8	1.75 <sup>*</sup> (0.45)	1.41 (0.37)	1.55 (0.41)	1.40 (0.43)	1.35 (0.36)	1.29 (0.40)
Grade 9	1.54 (0.37)	1.20 (0.29)	1.22 (0.28)	1.04 <sup>-1</sup> (0.24)	1.06 (0.25)	1.16 <sup>-1</sup> (0.22)
School type (lower level = 0)						
Medium level	1.03 <sup>-1</sup> (0.26)	1.01 (0.28)	1.06 <sup>-1</sup> (0.26)	1.04 <sup>-1</sup> (0.31)	1.04 <sup>-1</sup> (0.28)	1.06 <sup>-1</sup> (0.31)
Higher level	2.22 <sup>-1***</sup> (0.13)	1.75 <sup>-1</sup> (0.17)	2.08 <sup>-1*</sup> (0.14)	1.41 <sup>-1</sup> (0.25)	1.82 <sup>-1</sup> (0.18)	1.37 <sup>-1</sup> (0.25)
Ethnic background (natives = 0)						
Former SU/Central EU	1.22 (0.43)	1.11 <sup>-1</sup> (0.35)	1.12 (0.40)	1.15 <sup>-1</sup> (0.33)	1.14 <sup>-1</sup> (0.35)	1.30 <sup>-1</sup> (0.30)
Turkey	1.11 (0.36)	1.31 (0.43)	1.04 <sup>-1</sup> (0.31)	1.02 <sup>-1</sup> (0.32)	1.14 (0.38)	1.04 (0.34)
Others	1.20 (0.26)	1.28 (0.30)	1.05 <sup>-1</sup> (0.24)	1.01 (0.28)	1.08 (0.27)	1.05 (0.30)
Family affluence (z-std.)	1.14 (0.14)	1.18 (0.15)	1.23 (0.15)	1.08 (0.15)	1.23 (0.17)	1.12 (0.15)
Family composition (complete family = 0)						
Incomplete family		1.15 <sup>-1</sup> (0.20)			1.18 <sup>-1</sup> (0.19)	1.03 <sup>-1</sup> (0.22)
Problem of parents (z-std.)		1.40 <sup>***</sup> (0.14)			1.38 <sup>**</sup> (0.14)	1.27 <sup>*</sup> (0.13)
Family attachment (z-std.)		1.30 <sup>-1***</sup> (0.05)			1.19 <sup>-1*</sup> (0.06)	1.01 <sup>-1</sup> (0.09)
Parental supervision (never = 0)						
Sometimes/always		2.70 <sup>-1***</sup> (0.07)			2.44 <sup>-1***</sup> (0.08)	1.56 <sup>-1*</sup> (0.12)
Neighbourhood attachment (z-std.)			1.22 <sup>-1*</sup> (0.08)		1.20 <sup>-1</sup> (0.08)	1.16 <sup>-1</sup> (0.09)
Collective efficacy (z-std.)			1.01 <sup>-1</sup> (0.14)		1.10 (0.16)	1.05 (0.15)
Disorganization (z-std.)			1.71 <sup>***</sup> (0.14)		1.55 <sup>***</sup> (0.13)	1.17 (0.11)
Self-control (z-std.)				2.04 <sup>-1***</sup> (0.05)		1.85 <sup>-1***</sup> (0.06)
Going out at night (never = 0)						
1-4 times/week						1.71 (0.56)
5-7 time/week						3.27 <sup>**</sup> (1.37)
Risk behaviour (max. 1 = 0)						
2-3 behaviours						2.54 <sup>**</sup> (0.79)
Delinquent friends (extortion) (no = 0)						
Yes						1.94 <sup>*</sup> (0.55)
<i>F</i> ( <i>df</i> 1, <i>df</i> 2)	3.54 (11,147)	9.97 (15,143)	7.05 (14,144)	15.81 (16,142)	8.33 (18,140)	12.58 (23,135)
Pseudo R <sup>2a</sup>	4.4%	10.5%	11.0%	22.2%	14.5%	23.8%

Notes: Weighted data,  $n = 3,466$ , clustering assumed; odds-ratios < 1 indicating negative relationships are displayed as (1/odds-ratio)<sup>-1</sup>; in brackets: standard error of *b*.

\*  $P = 0.05$ , \*\*  $P = 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $P \leq 0.001$

<sup>a</sup>R<sup>2</sup> of unweighted data, no clustering assumed

ables explain about 4.4% of the variance of the prevalence rates. After controlling for these characteristics there are no significant differences of prevalences between the ethnic groups.

Adding family variables (*Model 1*), neighbourhood variables (*Model 2*), or life-style variables (*Model 3*) in all cases increases the explained variance substantially. The most important of the family variables is parental supervision reducing the prevalence rate, followed by perceived problems of parents (increasing the prevalence) and family attachment (decreasing the prevalence), the family structure shows no significant net effect. Of the neighbourhood variables disorganization is most important (increasing the prevalence) followed by attachment (decreasing the prevalence). Collective efficacy shows no significant effect. While both sets of variables increase the amount of explained variance by 6–7%, the life style variables have the strongest effects increasing the explained variance by nearly 18%. In this set of variables going out at night shows the strongest effects (increasing the prevalence substantially), followed by strong effects of risk behaviour (truancy, drinking alcohol, or consuming cannabis), the existence of delinquent friends (both increasing the prevalence), and self-control (decreasing the prevalence).

The full model (*Model 5*) including all variables simultaneously still shows significant net effects of family variables (parental supervision and perceived problems of parents) and all life-style variables, whereas the effects of neighbourhood variables vanish. Additionally, of the socio-demographic variables city size and sex still show significant effects. The variables included explain a considerable amount of variance (24%).

Full models using the same predictor variables explain 27% of the variance of the prevalences of group fights, 23% of shoplifting, and 28% of serious property offenses. Although adding family and neighbourhood variables to the set of life-style variables increases the variance explained always less than 2% this does not mean that family and neighbourhood are unimportant for the explanation of delinquent behaviour. Rather, the results suggest that life-style variables are the more proximal variables, mediating the effects of family and neighbourhood on delinquency: The life style of juveniles itself depends on the situation of their family and the quality of their neighbourhood/ neighbourhood's.

## 4.8 Conclusions

On closer examination of local characteristics of Germany there are some distinct features that should be taken into account when describing juvenile delinquency and applying criminological theory to explain its variation: Although not fully acknowledged by ruling politicians, Germany is in fact a country of immigrants. As the demographic figures show, nearly one third of the younger generation of students is first or second generation migrants. Compared to native born people, their socio-economic situation is clearly more difficult. The largest group of immigrants is of Turkish origin. In parts there is a tendency of Turkish migrants to separate from the German majority society. Additionally, the German school system is highly selective at an early age, advancing segregation of the less advantaged. The educational degrees achieved are determined to a large extent by the educational level and socio-economic situation of the parents.

Taking this into consideration, there are two noteworthy results of the Germany ISRD2 study. At first sight results of earlier studies are replicated showing that a high proportion of Turkish juveniles (especially males) report having committed violent offenses. However, this is only true for less serious violent delinquency: Concerning serious violence Turkish juveniles are not exceptional if compared to native Germans or other immigrants. What is more, students of a Turkish background commit clearly less property offenses (shoplifting) than all other groups. Altogether, the delinquent behaviour of Turkish juveniles is not anti-social but seems to be rather a means of male self expression. This result fits with other studies showing the importance of violent legitimizing norms of masculinity among Turkish juveniles (Enzmann et al., 2004).

Secondly, multivariate models demonstrate the importance of life style for the explanation of delinquent behaviour. Although low self-control, risky leisure time behaviour, and delinquent peers are strong predictors of serious and less serious violent and property offenses, at the same time results show that life style itself is associated with more distal characteristics of the family (parental supervision, attachment, and problems) as well as to features of the neighbourhood (especially disorganization) that determine delinquent behaviour indirectly. Using the merged ISRD2



data of 30 countries including structural indicators on city levels will allow a more thorough investigation of the impact of neighbourhoods and local characteristics on (predictors of) delinquent behaviour.

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# Chapter 5

## France

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### 5.1 Introduction

At the time of writing this chapter, juvenile delinquency and urban violence are a crucial political issue in France, particularly in the wake of the upcoming presidential elections. Most political parties have been reciprocally criticizing each other for not being able to deal with the issue and for having reduced the police presence in difficult communities. All this political posturing has taken place against a background of xenophobia, fear of terrorism, and social debate. As a matter of fact, the problem has its roots in social exclusion and this is a major issue. During 2003, one third of the generation who were born between 1973 and 1983 were unemployed and did not benefit from any type of job training. This meant that many youngsters (those aged 20–30) were going through an identity crisis and felt stigmatized and excluded from mainstream society. As a consequence, unrest and tension have been growing in our country for the last few years, resulting in a period of urban violence during the winter of 2005/2006.

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The youth in France are often considered as dangerous, and collective opinion tends to suggest that they should be dealt with more firmly, particularly in socially deprived neighborhoods (Mucchielli, 2001). The decision makers, be they national or international, do not seem to take into account the results of research and analysis of the causes and processes underlying the emergence of youth violence. Currently, repression, rather than increased attention, is the main approach to dealing with youth problems. This strategy results in building tensions among the youth, particularly among those from socially deprived areas and mainstream society. These tensions are palpable within the school context (Debarbieux et al., 2003). This is why at the European Observatory of Violence in Schools we thought the “International Self Report Delinquency Study” was particularly relevant.

This research was set out to achieve a state of the art survey of the levels and nature of juvenile delinquency in France: to check on the prevalence and frequency of the phenomenon as well as its conditions of emergence and the supposed existence of specific patterns among the population aged 12–16. It also aimed to participate in a comparative survey at an international level to compare the phenomenon of delinquency in France with similar or different patterns in other national contexts.

### 5.2 Juvenile Delinquency in France

According to official statistical data, the prevalence of crime among youth is increasing. However, it is difficult to be assertive about such an increase because of the sensitivity of public opinion to youth misbehavior and a higher level of proactivity of the police services to produce official data. As a matter of fact, in 2003,

France created a National Observatory of Crime and Delinquency, gathering data on crime through police reporting registers. Between 1993 and 1998, the youth delinquency measure showed a strong increase (Les Cahiers de la Sécurité Intérieure, no. 42) in overall delinquency. Roché believes that this increase was due to the growing use of violence (Roché, 2001, pp. 28–30). However, official judicial statistics on the number of convictions of delinquents under the age of 18, as detailed in the Justice Data Book (2005), demonstrate that convictions have decreased from 575, in 1999, to 534, in 2003.

The age of onset seems to be lower for vandalism and property assault (Junger-Tas et al., 2003; Roché, 2001), but the total amount of crime by youngsters under the age of 13 represents 2.3% of the overall delinquent acts in the country, according to the General Direction of the National Police and Gendarmerie (2004).

### 5.3 A Survey Within a Difficult Social Context

The survey was designed and administered during October 2006 and May 2007 under difficult conditions brought about by urban violence and the tense social and political climate that characterized France during this period. As a matter of fact, during the night of the 27 October 2005, urban riots began in the Clichy-sous-Bois area of Paris, following the death of two teenagers and a strained relationship with the police services; the riots later spread all over the country and were the longest and most widespread since May of 1968. The riots lasted 3 weeks and rocked 280 cities with violence. A state of emergency was officially declared in the country, with measures such as curfew, until the fourth of January 2007. These violent events took place mainly in difficult urban zones and ghettoized urban areas, yet they were the direct expressions of the youth crisis. They were perpetrated by a youth population trying to find its place in a socially excluding society, an exclusion that starts right from school and goes on all through life. Young people set fire to public properties and schools, assaulted the police, firemen, post-offices, public transport, indiscriminately attacking what they perceived as national institutions as well as cultural buildings. This was a direct questioning of the government's social and security policy. It is claimed by many sociologists (Lagrange, 2007; Chauvel, 2006) that the

riots were a consequence of the evolution of poverty and a growing social inequality not only in France but all around the world and the negative effects it has on social cohesion. These riots were directly followed by major strikes to protest against a new law concerning the employment of youth under the age of 26. The law was touted as a mechanism to facilitate professional employment of youngsters mainly operated through the possible lay off of young workers. As a matter of fact, the probation period was extended from 3 months up to 6 months before a long-term working contract could be signed. This law called "Contrat Première Embauche" offered financial incentives such as lower taxes to companies who would hire workers under the age of 26. However, it was perceived by many as an extension of the precariousness of employment rather than ensuring more job opportunities. The result was considerable unrest and more strikes. These strikes lasted from February the 7th until mid-April. Upper secondary schools and universities were closed, city streets were blocked with demonstrations, and public transports were on strike. These events represented a genuine challenge in trying to conduct the ISRD study in secondary schools, most of them having experienced trouble and damages. Head teachers were very concerned with the stigmatization that might result from such a survey in a period of very tense social atmosphere. Although authorities had announced the end of the emergency state, unrest and disorder were persistent in some of the neighborhoods we surveyed.

All of this unrest highlighted the stigmatization of ethnic minorities, racial tensions, and fear of terrorism disclosed via the discourse of the riotous youth. Concerns of terrorism from Muslims and the Taliban, as well as aggressive and repressive treatment of youths from socially deprived areas by the police were all brought to national attention. Despite these adverse conditions, we managed to complete the survey in both socio-economically deprived areas and areas characterized by higher levels of social organization.

## 5.4 Study Design

### 5.4.1 Sampling

The sample aimed to be a national sample. It was designed using a semi-random method with several stages. We call it semi-random because we randomly

selected the areas and schools that were asked to participate, but the final decision belonged to the schools' head teachers and board of administration.

In the first step, we randomly selected educational administrative areas (14 out of 27 areas sampled). In a second step we randomly selected secondary schools including urban and suburban areas. In mid-October of 2005, out of the 233 schools contacted, 36 accepted to participate. These schools were sent a letter explaining the survey, its objectives, the procedure, the time it would take to participate, and what they would gain from their participation. The low response rate can be explained by the events introduced previously. Researchers who wanted to report on the delinquency of students were not exactly welcomed with open arms during this period of social unrest. The participating groups of students were randomly selected for the seventh, eighth, ninth grades as agreed upon in the ISRD sampling plan.

Out of the 36 schools, 9 were vocational schools and 23 were mainstream secondary schools. We decided not to include the vocational schools in the sample because of the differences in the age span and their lack of representativeness. As a consequence, we focused on teenagers who were attending the mainstream lower secondary school and for whom school was compulsory (compulsory schooling is up to the age of 16 in France and lower secondary school starts at the age of 11 years old). Several schools dropped out of the survey before we started the survey. There was no doubt that the social climate we described in the introduction had to do with their final decision.

#### 5.4.1.1 Sample Size

The sample is modified (see comments above) nationally representative of state schools in France of both Priority Education Zone and "ordinary" ones<sup>2</sup>. It includes 22 lower secondary schools, and 3,363 teenagers aged 12–16 years completed the questionnaire (1,693 males and 1,667 females)<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>2</sup>Priority Education Zones in France are equivalent to the Educational Action Zones in England. That is to say that these are schools where positive discrimination is implemented. This policy admits the societal responsibility of a school's underachievement or disaffection and tries to compensate by investing higher means both financially and in providing staff identified as specialists in catering to socially deprived children.

<sup>3</sup>The age distribution in Table 5.1 and the following results are based on weighted (redressed) data.

**Table 5.1** Age and % of schooled pupils in lower secondary schools in France/ISRD sample

Age	% At national level	% ISRD sample
16	1.85	1.9
15	11.51	11.5
14	31.40	32.5
13	31.54	30.9
12	23.71	22.9

We administered the questionnaire in 17 cities in 11 urban units. The city of Paris itself is not part of the sample. All the Parisian schools were individually contacted but firmly refused to take part. However, the Paris urban zone is largely represented with five cities being included in the Paris urban unit and six being part of the region called Ile de France and representing the academies of Créteil and Versailles. As a consequence, 52.5% of the respondents live in what is called the "banlieue" that is to say the outskirts of Paris. Some (21.4%) of the participating schools are priority education schools while most (78.2%) are not priority education schools. The sample is composed of six large cities (>100,000 inhabitants), five medium cities (>40,000 inhabitants) and six small cities (>20,000 inhabitants). A total of 1,059 students lived in the six large cities (31.5% of total sample), 1,027 lived in the five medium size cities (30.5% of total sample), and 1,277 lived in the six small towns (38.0%)

#### 5.4.2 Fieldwork

We introduced a self-administered paper-and-pencil survey. This option enabled us to gain access to a larger number of youngsters in a limited time span while reducing the bias of social desirability (Junger-Tas and Marshall, 1999). The questionnaire was administered by the European Observatory of Violence in Schools research team under the supervision of the author. For some Paris locations and in Strasbourg, a research assistant, Benjamin Moignard, coordinated the administration of the survey. The research assistants were all PhD or graduate students in education science or sociology. Most of them had been trained during a pilot survey in May 2005 as well as in two training sessions on the objectives of the survey, ethical and deontological matters, administration procedures and behavior to adapt in schools with the adults and with the pupils. No adult from the school was allowed to stay in the classroom when the pupils responded to the questionnaire in order to make the students feel more at ease to



honestly complete it. Each group was under the supervision of three members of our team. As a whole, most of the pupils happily responded.

The first 15–20 min of the questionnaire administration were dedicated to explaining to the pupils how the data would be used and how impossible it would be for any adult, whether from the school or the police services, to gain access to the information they would provide as well as to the presentation of the survey itself. We insisted on explaining this, since it was obvious that some pupils were concerned. This time was precious since it enabled us to establish a trusting relationship with the youngsters and the non-response rates were rather low. The number of questionnaires we could not use, because of them being completed in an obviously wrong way was 20.

## 5.5 Socio-Demographic Data about the Respondents' Background

Family composition, parents' employment and ethnic background are factors that may influence delinquency. Therefore, we thought useful to describe some of these characteristics as related to this study sample.

### 5.5.1 Ethnic Background

The majority (89.3%) of the respondents were born in France. The remaining minority percentage (10.1%) hailed from other countries listed here in decreasing order: Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Turkey, and Mayotte. For those who were born abroad, most of them were schooled in France from the beginning of their educational careers (74.5%). More than 34% of the youth who reported that they were born in France were said to have parents of another nationality and are thus likely to be victims of racism due to their status of ethnic minority. Most respondents (86%) of the sample speak French when at home. When the family language is not French it is most frequently Arabic (2.8%) or Berber<sup>4</sup> (6.2%). That is to say languages from North Africa are the primary language spoken in the home for one third of the participants who were not born in France.

<sup>4</sup>Berber is the language talked by the Berber ethnic community from North Africa.

### 5.5.2 Family Composition and Living Conditions

The proportion of students living with both of their parents is 68.4%. Fifteen per cent live with one parent only (13.5% headed by the mother), 6.3% live alternatively with one and the other parent, 7.4% live in a blended family, and 22.1% of the respondents do not live with their father.

With respect to parents' employment, 71.6% of fathers have a steady job and 14% have irregular jobs. As far as mothers are concerned, 59.4% are employed on a regular basis and 34% do not have any job or have an irregular one. The difference between male and female employment reflects the same trend at the national level (6.4% males and 28.6% females have precarious, unsteady jobs). However, we have no means of checking if female unemployment is due to personal choices or cultural matters (in some schools where the ethnic background is based on a cultural habit of mothers staying at home to look after the children, the women's employment rate is extremely low).

Living conditions were also surveyed by the questionnaire. More than one out of three students shares his/her bedroom with another person. Overall, 82.8% of respondents stated that they have a computer at home and 75.4% own a cell phone. The percentage of households that have a car is 91.5%. However, it should be noted that these data are aggregate data, with great discrepancies according to the neighborhood and type of schools that were surveyed.

Our study is based on two hypotheses that have been extensively researched and tested in the field of criminology. We use the social control theories of Hirshi (1969), which is to say that we consider that youth engagement in deviant behavior is due to social bonding and that certain life circumstances can pull people toward deviance while others protect themselves from deviance. According to Reckless, people are drawn to deviance and delinquency by adverse living conditions such as poverty, unemployment and lack of education. However, peers belonging to deviant subcultures may influence the youth, which may also lead to delinquency. According to Hirschi, deviant behavior can be avoided when people have strong social bonds to families, schools, peers and other institutions. This theory is the backbone of the interpretation of our results obtained for this survey. Aspects of

our interpretation were also influenced by the theory of inequalities developed in France. According to this theory, violence is due to feelings of frustration and tension, inferiority and unfairness. This theory has been developed in a study aimed to explain and analyze the rise in violent events in schools showing that the education system was responsible in reproducing the inequalities produced by society itself and contributing to social segregation. This is akin to strain theory, which states that the consequence of the failure to achieve positively valued goals and the disjunction between aspirations, expectations and actual achievement may result in crime as adaptation. In France, social inequality reproduced in the educational system was hypothesized to fill the social gap and be an incentive to climb up the social ladder.

## 5.6 Victimization, Deviant and Delinquent Behaviour Prevalence

The results we present in this section are prevalence rates, that is, the percentage of respondents who reported deviant behaviour or crime at least once in their life as well as the rates concerning their involvement in such activities within the last month or the last year. The various acts and behaviours presented are divided into problem behaviours such as drinking alcohol or soft drug consumption and truancy, “frequent violent acts” such as carrying a weapon and group fighting, “rare violent offenses” such as purse snatching, robbery/extortion and assault, shoplifting, vandalism, “rare property offenses” like burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft and theft from car (car break), hard drug use (ecstasy/speed and LSD, cocaine), drug dealing, and computer hacking. These results are also presented according to the type of town the data were been collected in.

### 5.6.1 Risk Factors Toward Delinquency and Criminal Behaviour

Tables 5.2–5.4 present the results from respondents regarding their involvement in risk factors of deviant and delinquent behaviours. Behaviours that fall into this category are alcohol consumption, soft drug consumption and truancy from school. According to these data more than one-third of the respondents have consumed alcohol once in their life (34.48%) and more than one out of ten reported consuming alcohol during the last 4 weeks. The consumption of strong spirits and soft drugs is much lower (respectively half and a third). This can be explained by the fact that in France, the habit of drinking beer or wine during meals remains very strong and it is not a rare occurrence for adults themselves to offer youngsters the possibility to taste such drinks. This “tasting” of alcohol could be considered as an intergenerational habit. On the contrary, the consumption of soft drugs is illegal according to the French law and consuming such products is a step further toward delinquency since it is considered as criminal behaviour. With respect to truancy, it appears that nearly one student out of every three played truant in the year preceding the survey. This high level of truancy is rather concerning when taken in the context of social bonding. If students do not have a stake in the conforming social institution of the school, if they are not involved in school activities, then the school has diminished power to tackle the truancy problem. One out of ten participants cumulates two risk factors, that is to say substance use and truancy. We want to remind that combinations of risk factors increase the probability of antisocial behaviour.

We continued our analysis by comparing the risk behaviours between large cities, medium cities, and small cities. The highest ratios, contrary to what would be expected, were in medium and small cities as far as alcohol and soft drug use are concerned. The youngsters in medium and small cities drink more alcohol

**Table 5.2** Life-time and last month prevalence of alcohol and soft drug use

	Life time		Last month	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Beer/wine	32.0	2.2	13.5	1.7
Strong spirits	16.7	2.6	6.4	1.3
Marijuana, hashish use	8.2	2.1	3.6	1.9

Notes:  $n = 3,363$ ; weighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

**Table 5.3** Life-time and last month prevalence of risk factors

	Life time		Last month	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Alcohol total <sup>a</sup>	33.5	1.1	14.5	1.1
Marijuana, hashish use	8.2	2.1	3.6	1.9
Truancy <sup>b</sup>	–	–	28.1	0.3
Two risk factors present			11.1	1.1

Notes:  $n = 3363$ ; weighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Beer/wine and strong spirits

<sup>b</sup>Truancy: last year prevalence

**Table 5.4** Life-time and last month prevalences of risk factors by size of city/town

	Large city ( $n = 1059$ )				Medium sized city ( $n = 1027$ )				Small towns ( $n = 1277$ )			
	Life time		Last month <sup>a</sup>		Life time		Last month <sup>a</sup>		Life time		Last month <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Alcohol total <sup>b</sup>	26.8	2.8	11.2	1.4	32.3	1.3	13.1	0.2	39.9	0.4	18.4	1.1
Marijuana, hashish use	6.2	3.2	2.5	1.5	8.2	2.4	4.2	0.2	9.9	1.0	4.1	0.2
Truancy	–	–	29.0	0.5	–	–	29.0	0.4	–	–	27.1	0.1
Two risk factors present	–	–	9.4	1.1	–	–	10.8	0.3	–	–	12.9	0.5

Notes:  $n =$  weighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

(Table 5.4: 26.8% have drunk in large cities and 36.5% in the rest of sample). They are also more likely to have drunk in the last 4 weeks (11.2%; 16.1%). It is in smaller towns that the drinking percentage is highest with 39.9% of the respondents who declared that they have consumed alcohol in their life and 18.1% in the last 4 weeks. As far as soft drug use is concerned, the trend is similar (see Table 5.8). This can be explained by the fact that medium and small towns are located in the suburbs of Paris and are some of the most segregated and disorganized neighbourhoods in France. Small cities show the largest proportions of youth with a combination of two risk factors. We could argue here that boredom is one of the reasons explaining substance abuse. Moreover, disorganized neighbourhoods offer easier access to drugs, which facilitates their consumption. However, the truancy rates are lower in small towns while there is no difference between large and medium cities. Social control theory may seem to operate here positively. That is to say that in these

areas, there is a higher sense of community and social network, meaning that communities are more organized, everybody knows everybody. This leads to an informal control by adults that can be dissuasive for the youngsters to play truant. Moreover, families from socially deprived backgrounds and ethnic minorities who are more concentrated in these areas still have hopes and trust in education to help their children to get out of their social condition. School is considered to be extremely important and missing school is not allowed except when family matters such as looking after younger brothers or an ill parent have higher priority (Blaya, 2003).

With respect to age and gender, the peak age for alcohol consumption for both genders is 14 years: Almost 43% of the 14 year olds state they have consumed alcohol. Although there is a difference between male and female alcohol consumption, it is not dramatic (34.91% males; 31.97% females). This confirms some of our work about school dropouts. In that



particular study, when 99% of the females we interviewed – after they had tried to commit suicide - recalled that in the past they had consumed too much alcohol in order to forget about their problems without the adults being aware of it, we knew there must be a connection between alcohol and risk behavior. This is confirmed in this study since one out of two respondents who drank beer or wine stated that the adults did not notice and 57.67% of those who drank spirits stated the same. It seems that females are more skilled at hiding their alcohol abuse or are less under the control of adults. Almost 9% of the males reported that adults noticed they had drunk, compared to less than 6% of the females ( $\chi^2_{(4)} = 5.67$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ).

With respect to soft drugs, we notice the same differences for consumption and adult supervision with 70.3% of those who reported drug use reporting that they had not been noticed by any adult. The age of onset is 13 for 34.4% of the respondents. However, the peak age of consumption is 16 years, which coincides with previous results in other countries (Junger-Tas et al., 2003). What is more worrisome is the high proportion of one out of ten of respondents who combines two of these risk factors (see Table 5.3). Males show a higher risk with 13.1% compared to 9.12% for females. A body of literature has described how conduct disorders are precursors of later antisocial behavior and how the co-occurrence of risk factors increases its probability (Farrington, 1986; Fortin and Bigras, 1996; Hawkins et al., 2000; Vitaro and Gagnon, 2000). Research has also shown how victimization can be a predictor of conduct disorders and how victims can turn into aggressors (Kumpulainen and Rasanen, 2000) and in one case out of five, first year students opt for verbal violence or assault to settle their conflicts when they are victimized (Turcotte and

Lamonde, 2004, p. 35). It is to victimization that we turn next.

## 5.7 Victimization and Reporting to the Police

According to Singer et al. (1995) and Durant (1994), male victims are more likely to use weapons than others and to adopt violent behaviour themselves whatever their social and family backgrounds. This confirms the Pittsburgh study that shows evidence that victimization is a stronger predictor of carrying a weapon than the reverse.

Table 5.5 shows the proportions of participants who have been victims of robbery/extortion, assault, theft and bullying and how many of these victims reported the incident to the police. As we can see, the most frequent type of victimization is bullying, that is to say, repeated victimization by one or several peers. By order of importance, those who resort to theft are (13%), assault (3.9%) and robbery/extortion (2.3%). We shall notice in Tables 5.5 and 5.6 that the most frequently reported incidents to the police are those that are more easily recognized as crimes by the police and justice services and those that involve physical aggression. Typically bullying is under-reported. This can be explained by several factors. The victims of bullying are subject to repeated victimization that contributes to their feeling of being powerless, a sense of shame and degradation. The victims end up believing that the name-calling or abuse they suffer from is deserved and gradually lose their self-esteem. They can develop not only anxiety but also depression and their school results often decline. The psychological turmoil that such victimization can generate leads the victims to hide their problems and prevents them from seeking the help of adults.

**Table 5.5** Last year prevalence of victimization and reporting to the police

	Victimization		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>
	%	% Missing	%
Robbery/extortion	2.3	7.2	46.7
Assault	3.9	7.9	21.3
Theft	13.0	7.5	14.0
Bullying	16.0	7.0	3.5

$n = 3,363$ ; weighted data; prevalence based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Percentage based on number of victims; no answer: no reporting assumed

**Table 5.6** Last year prevalence of victimization and reporting to the police by size of city/town

	Large city (n = 1059)			Medium sized city (n = 1027)			Small towns (n = 1277)		
	Victimization		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>	Victimization		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>	Victimization		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>
	%	% Missing		%	% Missing		%	% Missing	
Robbery/extortion	2.8	7.0	46.7	3.3	8.6	23.5	1.6	6.3	38.1
Assault	4.4	8.6	21.3	4.4	8.7	22.2	3.0	6.8	30.8
Theft	13.5	7.5	14.0	13.9	8.9	15.4	11.9	6.3	16.4
Bullying	16.0	6.4	3.5	15.6	8.1	5.6	16.4	6.7	1.9

Unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Percentage based on number of victims; no answer: no reporting assumed

However, we can see in Table 5.6 that in medium and small cities, the rates of victims reporting to the police are higher. This might be because the cities being smaller, the victims think the perpetrators are more likely to be identified and caught and that they will more easily secure reparation for the problem. Big cities make it more difficult to solve victimization cases. Victimization are more numerous in large and medium cities than in small cities. In larger cities, opportunities for people to get access through illegal activities to goods they could not acquire through legitimate means are numerous (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960). Moreover, the bigger the city, the more anonymous, the less efficient social control and the more the targets that are attainable. The absence of difference across city types for bullying can be explained by the fact that it mostly occurs in a closed environment such as schools where the victim can hardly avoid the aggressor(s) (although this is changing with cyber bullying), and whether the school is in a large city or a small one, does not really matter much. As the size of the student population is rather similar in most French schools, it does not depend on the size of the city or town where it is located.

With respect to gender and age, victims are more numerous amongst the male respondents (28.71% compared to 25.43% for females). However, the difference is not dramatic and the relationship is not significant ( $\chi^2_{(2)} = 5.67, p = 0.059$ ). The peak age for the victims of extortion or robbery/extortion as well as assault is 15 (4.90%). For bullying and theft, it is at age 16 that the risk is higher (17.19% and 20.31%). These results contradict previous studies on school bullying showing that getting older was a protective factor (Olweus, 1978; Smith and Sharp, 1994). As for theft, this could be explained by the fact that as

one gets older, there is the potential to have more pocket money or belongings likely to be worth taking. It is also at the age of sixteen that youth are more likely to combine two types of risk factors (35.14% of this age group are in this case); a higher proportion of boys than girls had at least two risk factors (7.4% males vs. 4.9% females;  $\chi^2_{(3)} = 14.44, p = 0.002$ ).

There is clearly a strong relationship between the combination of risk factors and victimization. The most influential of these factors are the combination of alcohol and marijuana: 41.1% of this group had been victimized, and truancy and marijuana (42.50% of the students who do both were victims;  $\chi^2_{(3)} = 27.52, p < 0.001$ ). The combination of such factors represents a risk for antisocial behaviour. This will be the focus in the next section of this chapter.

## 5.8 Prevalence of Delinquent Behaviours and Offenses

The most common behavioural problems are group fighting, shoplifting, vandalism and carrying a weapon (Table 5.7). It is rather amazing to see that more than one out of ten youngsters admits carrying a weapon, while in France this subject is not addressed with any frequency. As a matter of fact, if we trust the last set of official data concerning school violence in France for the academic year 2005/2006, that is to say the same period of the time as our survey, there would be only 35 students who were caught with a firearm and the ones who were carrying weapons represented only 0.9% of the students (note d'information, 06/30 December, Les Actes de Violence Recensés dans Signa en 2005–2006).

**Table 5.7** Life-time and last year prevalence of offences

	Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Group fight	28.7	2.1	17.5	2.0
Carrying a weapon	11.7	1.7	7.3	1.7
Assault	4.9	2.0	2.1	2.0
Snatching of bag	2.7	1.9	1.5	1.9
Robbery/extortion	2.2	2.0	1.4	2.0
Vandalism	12.5	1.8	6.8	1.7
Shoplifting	24.6	1.7	10.2	1.5
Bicycle/motor bike theft	5.0	1.8	2.8	1.7
Car break	3.2	1.2	1.4	2.1
Burglary	3.2	2.0	1.7	1.9
Car theft	1.7	1.4	1.2	1.8
Computer hacking	7.2	3.1	5.0	3.1
Drug dealing soft drugs	1.7	1.7	1.1	2.0
Drug dealing hard drugs	0.8	1.8	0.5	1.8
XTC/speed use	1.0	2.0	0.4	2.0
Cocaine use	1.1	2.0	0.5	1.9

*n* = 3363; weighted data; prevalences based on valid cases  
<sup>a</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin use: last month prevalence

This shows the importance of conducting self-reported delinquency surveys, as adults are not aware of what is really going on most of the time. The prevalence of offenses in the last 12 months, although less important than the lifetime prevalence shows the same pattern of troublesome and delinquent behaviour.

But who are these teenagers who carry weapons? They are predominantly boys (17.48% of males stated having carried a weapon vs. 5.70% females). These boys who carry a weapon predominantly live in nuclear families (61.02%) but less often than those who stated they were not carrying a weapon (71.63%). They more often live in single parent (mother) households (15.59% vs. 8.77% of non-weapon carriers with a significance of 0.01) or with their mother and her partner (9.83% vs. 5.23% with a significance of 0.01). The fathers of boys who carry weapons have less often steady employment (66% vs. 74%, significance: 0.02). They are also more likely to be part of a gang according to Klein's definition (out of the 22.9% of the youngsters who carry weapons and are part of a gang, 82.2% are males).

With respect to shoplifting, it is perpetrated by one out of four respondents. This type of offense is rather easy to perpetrate and is part of the predatory delinquency that many youth also practice as a challenge. It is for them a way to acquire goods they would not have

in other circumstances and the consequences, whether by police or otherwise, are infrequent and less severe than for other offences (Roché, 2001). As our results show, adults are barely aware of the offense. Only 22.43% of offenders say that adults were aware of their shoplifting and within this percentage, 23.76% were spotted by their parents, 19.89% by the police, 3.31% by one of their teachers, and most of them (53.04%), were seen by someone else. The youngsters most involved in such activities come from lower socio-economic background, live in segregated urban areas (one out of three of these respondents lives in the outskirts of Paris), and have fathers who are unemployed or are suffering from long term illness. The percentages of male and female offenders are close (25.81% males; 23.34% females), what Stéphanie Rubi's work about female delinquent teenagers already showed (2003). The children who are mostly involved are 10–13 years old (12.5% of the shoplifters declare shoplifting at the age of 10) with a peak at 12 (17.2%). Together with group fighting (10.1% aged 10), these offenses start early. The peak age for group fighting is 13 with 19.4% of the fighters being this age. We want to point out here that as far as group fighting is concerned, the survey was completed and the study found that teenagers of school going age usually find playgrounds the "right" place to settle conflicts, whether they were started in school or outside in the neighbourhood, or to measure and gain status. The adults knew of barely half of the incidents that were reported. Sixteen per cent of the adults who became aware of the group fights were teachers, which supports our previous statement. The majority (76.6%) of the respondents state they were not sanctioned, either because their behaviour had not been noticed, or because adults decided not to sanction them. To provide a context for the relatively high frequency of shoplifting, these youngsters in socially deprived areas or small towns usually walk to the nearest store in their area as their only leisure. They tend to go in a group (16% of the sample) and play or set challenges to steal goods. Another phenomenon is the one of threatening a younger or a weaker fellow to steal for the dominant one. Vandalism starts at an early age as well, with 19.7% of the respondents stating that they had damaged property before the age of 11. Vandalism is also predominantly a male activity (67.3% of the offenders). Supervision operates better for our sample in terms of vandalism; however, one-third of the offenders vandalized. But this refers to the older

offenders (13–14 years old); perhaps the offences were more visible and thus more easily noticed. Nevertheless, only 9.2% of those who vandalized were in fact sanctioned.

To sum up, with regard to shoplifting, group fighting and other offences such as vandalism, we can say that the onset of these offences is at a very young age, and that these types of offences are little controlled and/or sanctioned by the adults. These behaviours, easily achieved and with little consequence do contribute to the development of status amongst peers and a feeling of impunity that can be the first step to further and more severe delinquent career development.

More severe delinquent behaviours such as vehicle theft, assault, burglary, snatching, hard drug substance abuse and drug dealing are less important. However, bicycle and motorbike thefts were reported by 5 respondents out of 100. The higher proportion of two-wheel vehicle theft can be explained by the theory of opportunities; many youngsters go to school with such vehicles, and these goods are the most desired ones by male teenagers (78.5% offenders were males). The higher prevalence of such offences in large cities (43.4%) is understandably due to the larger number of this type of property and the lower risk of the vehicle being identified by its owner again once taken. Here again, supervision and sanction are rather low (12.9%

state an adult knew about it and 6.5% of the offenders were sanctioned).

Table 5.8 indicates that rare violent offences, rare property offences, computer hacking, hard drug use and drug dealing are more common offences in large cities than in medium and small cities. These results can be explained by the greater number of goods and opportunities that are present in larger cities coupled with a generally greater difficulty to supervise and exercise social control in larger urban areas (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960). Additionally, the above listed offences are more predominantly perpetrated by males (68.3% male offenders). Medium and small cities are more affected by shoplifting and frequent violent offences. This latter point is partly due to the social inequalities that exist in the medium cities that were surveyed. The medium cities included in the study are mainly located on the outskirts of Paris where most of the highly segregated areas are concentrated. The overall higher frequency of these offences could also be due to boredom and lack of diverse leisure activities in small cities when compared with larger cities (Nizet and Hiernaux, 1984). However, a main factor in the increased levels of delinquency in the larger cities could also be due to the social deprivation some of these cities are experiencing in the face of the decline of the industry sector being de-localized abroad.

**Table 5.8** Life-time and last year prevalences (aggregated offences) by size of city/town

	Large city ( <i>n</i> = 1059)				Medium sized city ( <i>n</i> = 1027)				Small towns ( <i>n</i> = 1277)			
	Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>		Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>		Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Frequent violent offences <sup>b</sup>	30.0	1.9	18.1	1.9	31.2	2.1	20.7	2.1	33.5	1.2	21.0	1.2
Rare violent offences <sup>c</sup>	8.4	1.8	4.0	1.8	7.4	2.1	4.2	2.1	7.7	0.9	3.7	0.9
Vandalism	12.3	3.3	6.8	0.7	12.8	1.7	6.4	0.7	12.5	0.7	7.2	0.5
Shoplifting	22.8	2.5	8.4	0.8	27.8	2.2	15.6	0.7	29.4	0.6	12.8	0.6
Rare property offences <sup>d</sup>	9.8	2.0	5.4	1.9	7.3	2.0	3.6	2.0	7.7	0.6	4.0	0.6
Computer hacking	8.3	4.4	5.9	0.3	5.5	2.1	3.5	0.7	7.5	2.9	5.4	0.4
Drug dealing	2.3	2.0	1.3	2.1	1.9	2.1	1.6	2.1	1.9	0.9	1.0	0.9
Hard drugs use <sup>e</sup>	2.0	2.8	0.5	0.4	1.1	2.0	0.6	2.0	1.6	0.9	0.8	0.9

Weighted data; prevalence based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Hard drug use: last month prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Group fight and carrying a weapon

<sup>c</sup>Snatching of bag, robbery/extortion, and assault

<sup>d</sup>Burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft, and car break

<sup>e</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin/cocaine use

## 5.9 Influence of Family Composition on Troublesome Behaviour and Delinquency

Most research concludes that family composition and, more specifically, family breakup have long-term negative effects on the socialization and behaviour of children. Consequently, these aspects of family life can be important risk factors for getting into delinquency. Children of divorced parents (households) are significantly more prone to antisocial behaviour, and this is especially true for males (Roché, 2001; Lagrange, 2003). In France, for the first time since its legalization in 1884, the rate of divorce peaked at 45% and this rate has stayed stable since 1980.<sup>5</sup> Six divorces out of ten involve children under the age of 18, a statistic that translates into 120,000 children affected by divorce per year. The rates of divorce in large cities are about 70%. As a consequence, one child out of four lives with a divorced parent.

Our results correspond with previous research on the protective nature of the nuclear family in terms of protecting children from engaging in antisocial or troublesome behaviours. Although Roché (2001, p. 157) states that living in a blended family has a more significant protective impact than living in a single parent family, we do not get the same results in terms of violent offenses. However, the difference between nuclear family and the other types of families is highly significant. For shoplifting, the most significant difference is observed when comparing nuclear families and single parent families ( $\chi^2_{(1)} = 36.33, p < 0.001$ ), while the gender difference is also appreciated with females being more affected than males (53.50% vs. 47.50%) by family circumstances.

Divorced parents do not have an influence on hard drug abuse ( $\chi^2_{(2)} = 3.50, p = 0.173$ ) which contradicts the Choquet and Ledoux (1998) and Aebi (1997) studies of self reported survey on the life of youth that concluded that broken families have a significant influence on drug consumption. However our study concurs with these two surveys' conclusions on the significant impact of divorce on the abuse of soft drugs, with 12.6% of divorced parent's "fami-

lies" children stating they have used soft drugs versus 6.2% of intact families' children ( $\chi^2_{(4)} = 55.70, p < 0.001$ ). These results need to be considered with care since one risk factor alone does not have much impact. Measuring it at one time in childhood or adolescence gives a very narrow view and does not take into account the possible resiliency factors that can occur over the life time. The most probable explanation is that single parent families and the majority of delinquent youths are usually living in the same segregated areas and meeting similar socio-economical difficulties. The results concerning shoplifting presented earlier tend to confirm this interpretation. We also highlight the fact that family climate influences the behaviour of youngsters to a great extent, and that many teenagers who are disaffected from school and have adopted antisocial behaviours, are dissatisfied with their family relationships as our study on school dropout demonstrates. As previous research by Walgrave (1992) and Ferguson et al. (1992) shows, family conflicts in socially deprived conditions exacerbate problems and contribute to the development of adverse emotional conditions that jeopardize the quality of the family climate and have an impact on parental supervision and the development of antisocial behaviour.

The results we present in this chapter are exploratory and it would be extremely interesting as a future research endeavor to check on the influence of the family climate versus family structure in the wake of Mucchielli's conclusion in his research report on Family and Delinquency (2000) that "research should focus on at risk family living conditions and on the analysis of the social exclusion process that foster juvenile delinquency and diminish the capacities of parental supervision".

## 5.10 Conclusion

French youth are currently subject to heavy criticism and some of their antisocial and delinquent behaviours are used to serve some media and political objective fueling the feeling of insecurity in public opinion and electorate. This study aimed to check on the prevalence of victimization and offending and attempted to examine the relationship of offending with individual factors such

<sup>5</sup>Population (INED) Jean-Paul Sardon, 1996 – 16th report on French demography, INED; - Ministère de la justice, Chiffres-clés (1990 à 2003)



as age and gender and social and contextual factors such as social control, deprivation and family. This chapter demonstrates that youth antisocial behaviour and delinquency mainly involve alcohol consumption, truancy, group fighting, vandalism and shoplifting. In other words, the delinquent acts reported are typical teenage antisocial and delinquent or risk taking behaviours. The peak age for what are considered minor offenses is 13–14 years old – suggesting that these are mostly related to the teenage stage. For most deviance and crimes, males are more involved, although females show similar rates of involvement in shoplifting and substance abuse.

The proportions of truancy and weapon carrying are most surprising and well above official data. Hard drug use is persistently the exception as only one out of 100 respondents reported having consumed ecstasy, speed or coke with a larger prevalence in large cities probably due to the greater likelihood to get access to the substance. These findings correspond with existing research on hard drug use. Males are more likely to be both offenders and victims of delinquent acts and risk behaviours, except in terms of school bullying where the gender difference is not significant. As far as victimization is concerned, the frequency of reporting to the police is rather low and does occur mainly for offenses that are legally and easily identifiable. This also reflects the lack of trust and growing opposition amongst the youth to the police that was particularly visible during the violent urban riots that took place when we started this survey.

Concerning the higher involvement of males in delinquent activities compared to females, we can wonder if this is not also due to less supervision by parents on males than on females, more specifically in areas where there is a high concentration of North African communities. Our findings about risk factors should raise the attention of policy makers, in the sense that one out of ten respondents reports two risk factors for antisocial behavior, which confirms previous studies on the necessity to focus on prevention rather than repression and that our youths are first in danger before possibly becoming dangerous.

The early age of onset for deviance and offences such as the consumption of alcohol, vandalism and group fighting for instance is also worrying and should be taken more into account by adults, and indicates that prevention should start from an early age. Meta-analysis conducted on the effectiveness of intervention programs against anti-social behaviours show that the most effi-

cient programs are those that are implemented by primary schools (Blaya, 2006). Our findings suggest that delinquency might be related to social exclusion, segregation and deprivation as the percentages of offenses such as shoplifting, vandalism and alcohol consumption demonstrate. Alternatively, these types of offenses could also be explained as being due to boredom and fewer opportunities for entertainment in small towns.

Families, as the first socializing institution, play an important role in preventing antisocial behavior and our results show that living in an “ordinary”, or nuclear, family is a protective factor against antisocial behavior. These results need to be further analyzed measuring the influence of the family climate versus the family structure. Social exclusion and difficult family living conditions have a negative impact on parental supervision and as a matter of fact, this study shows how inadequate supervision and social control open the door to impunity and more severe antisocial behaviour. Our objective is not to stigmatize families from socially deprived backgrounds but to emphasize the fact that the concentration of social hardships makes the supervision of teenagers more difficult. We also want to highlight the need for better prevention programs, more occupational opportunities for youth in isolated or segregated areas, as well as the necessity for adults, whether in schools or neighbourhoods, to be more aware of the difficulties of youth and of deviant patterns of behaviour.

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# Chapter 6

## Switzerland<sup>1</sup>

Martin Killias, Marcelo F. Aebi, Leslie Herrmann, Carine Dilitz, and Sonia Lucia

### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the main results of the second national self-reported juvenile delinquency survey conducted in Switzerland in 2006. The survey was conducted using the standardized questionnaire developed for the ISRD-2 with the addition of a few questions. This assures comparability with the rest of the countries participating in the ISRD-2 project. In addition, it is possible to analyse crime trends because Switzerland participated in the first International Self-reported Delinquency Study (ISRD-1) that took place in 1992. Between 1992 and 2006, no national surveys were conducted, but some surveys took place at the cantonal or city level (e.g. surveys among students in the cantons of Zurich and Vaud). This paper includes a brief socio-demographic and economic description of the country, a presentation of the methodology applied in Switzerland as well as the main results of the survey.

### 6.2 Demographic and Economic Characteristics of Switzerland<sup>2</sup>

Switzerland has a surface of approximately 41,285 km<sup>2</sup>, of which 25.5% are non-productive. Woods make up 30.8% of the total territory, while agricultural surfaces

count for 23.9%, and dwellings and built-up surfaces, for 6.8%. At the end of 2004, the resident population was 7,415,100, of which 20.6% were foreigners. Among them, citizens from Ex-Yugoslavia (22.7%), Italians (19.8%), and Portuguese (10.5%) form the largest groups. When the total surface is considered, the population density is 182 inhabitants per square kilometre. The languages spoken in Switzerland are Swiss-German (63.7%), French (20.4%), Italian (6.4%) and Romansh (0.5%).

In 2005, 56.1% of the resident population were employed, of which 55.5% were males and 44.5% females. The majority of the females (56.3%) were part-time workers, compared to only 10% of the men. According to economic sectors, 72.5% of the active population was employed in the tertiary sector, 23.7% in the secondary sector and 3.8% in the primary sector. The level of unemployment was 3.8% in 2006. While in 1992, the gross domestic product was approximately 31,000 US dollars per capita, and by 2005, it had increased up to 48,889.

The age distribution shows that the population is ageing. As in many other Western European countries, this is mainly due to an increase in life expectancy and a low fecundity rate. The marriage rate is 5.3 per 1,000 inhabitants and the divorce rate is 2.4. In 2000, 6% of the households were single parent families.

As far as education is concerned, 18.0% of the population aged 25–64 had attended only compulsory school; 53.2% had secondary education acquired in high schools, professional schools or through an apprenticeship combined with school; and 28.8% had higher education (universities, technical schools or higher professional schools). The education level has increased over the last decades and is higher among males.

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<sup>2</sup>Data quoted from OFS (2006a, 2006b)

## 6.3 Swiss Alcohol and Drug Policy<sup>3</sup>

### 6.3.1 Alcohol

There is no minimum drinking age legislation in Switzerland, although it is an offence to offer alcoholic drinks in excessive quantities to persons below 16 (section 136 of the Swiss criminal Code). Alcohols cannot be sold to juveniles below 18, except wine and cider that can be sold to those above 16 (18 in the Italian-speaking canton of Switzerland). Juveniles below 16 cannot order alcoholic drinks in restaurants or pubs, except when they are accompanied by adults. Alcohol advertising as well as any advertisement on that subject specially intended for minors is prohibited on television and radio. However, as in many other European countries, in practice, it is not extremely difficult for juveniles to get alcoholic drinks.

Switzerland has traditionally applied a policy of relative tolerance towards alcohol. In many cantons, the production of wine is an important economic activity, and therefore it can be said that the country has a *culture of wine*. Alcohol consumption remains high in international comparison although it has been decreasing since the 1970s. However, a comparison between 1986 and 2002 shows a substantial increase in weekly alcohol consumption and binge drinking among juveniles aged 15 and 16. Traditionally, as in most European wine producing countries, adolescents were allowed to taste small quantities of wine during family meals as a part of their social learning. However, this recent upward trend is not related to wine but to beer, alcopops and spirits, which are the kind of alcohols that are not consumed in family but with peers. According to the ISPA national survey of juveniles aged 11–16, 16% of them regularly drank alcohol in 2002. This behaviour was less frequent for females than for males.

### 6.3.2 Drugs

Since the mid 1990s, Switzerland had gone in for a drug policy based on a so-called “four pillars model”: prevention, therapy/reintegration, harm reduction (including heroin prescription and needle exchange

programs) and repression/control (focused mainly on drug trafficking). This model was introduced as a consequence of a huge increase in hard drug consumption during the 1980s and led to a stabilisation of the number of hard-drug addicts. Nevertheless, as we will see in the following paragraph, there has been an increase in the use of cannabis. Currently, the cultivation, sale, consumption and possession of all drugs including cannabis (with a THC rate higher than 0.3) are forbidden. In 2004, the Parliament analyzed the possibility of legalizing cannabis, but the project was abandoned mainly because some studies showed that the percentage of active substance (THC) contained in the cannabis available in the market was extremely high.

The drug legislation is more severely enforced in the French-speaking area of the country, but the life prevalence of cannabis consumption is not lower than in the German part of it. Only the Italian speaking cantons show a lower rate of cannabis consumption. According to the available data, there was an increase in the prevalence and the frequency of cannabis consumption among people aged 15–39 between 1992 and 2002. These data also reveal that at the age of 15 and 16, about 50% of the male and 40% of the female population had already tried cannabis. At the same time, juveniles rarely experiment other drugs at that age. From 1986 to 2002, cannabis consumption by young people aged 15–16 in the category “multiple consumption of cannabis” increased four times, while the increase is less impressive in the category “only one incidence of consumption”.

## 6.4 Study Design

### 6.4.1 Sampling Method

The Swiss ISRD-2 involves a national random sample of more than 3,000 juveniles attending the seventh, eighth and ninth grade, which corresponds roughly to ages 13 to 16. This sampling procedure was preferred over the city-sampling procedure – used in most of the participating countries – because Switzerland is a small country and, in a comparative perspective, has no real *big* cities. For example Zurich, the largest city, has a population of less than 400,000 inhabitants.

<sup>3</sup>Data quoted from ISPA (2004).

A national random sample was drawn out of a list (received from the Swiss Federal Statistical Office) of all school facilities (public and private) from grade seven to nine. The cantons of Zurich and Ticino were oversampled in order to allow comparisons with other countries using city samples.

In the first step of the random assignment, 72 schools were selected; in the second step, three classes (one for each grade) out of each school were randomly chosen. Four of the selected schools refused to participate in the survey. They were substituted by two other schools randomly selected within the same cantons. Each school principal sent a letter, prepared by our research team, to the parents describing the study briefly. Parents who did not want their children to participate were asked to inform the school of their decision (i.e. passive consent). Interestingly enough, there were no refusals to participate.

Thus, the Swiss sample is composed of 3,648 interviews conducted in 70 schools (of which two were private<sup>4</sup>) within 20 cantons. 2,549 questionnaires were in German, 806 in French and 293 in Italian. Most of the students were between the ages 13 and 16, but there were some (2.5%) aged 12 and others aged 17 (1.8%).

### 6.4.2 Data Collection

Instead of the paper-pencil questionnaire used in most countries participating in the ISRD-2, Switzerland used a computerized questionnaire translated into French, German and Italian and accessible – under supervision of the research team - through the Internet. A previous randomized controlled experiment has shown that data collection through the Internet and through paper-pencil instruments produces very similar prevalence and incidence rates of offending, substance use and victimization (Lucia et al., 2007). In addition, the automatic recording of data through the Internet reduces inconsistent or erroneous indications. Moreover, this method reduces considerably the costs of the survey. All in all, 3,551 interviews were conducted through the Internet. Due to technical problems,

65 questionnaires failed to be registered, and 97 interviews had to be replaced by paper-pencil instruments in the classroom.

The computer rooms of the schools were used for the survey. The interviewers were graduate students from the Lausanne Institute of Criminology and Criminal Law for the Italian and the French areas of the country, and graduate students from the University of Zurich for the German area. They were trained to present the survey and answer the eventual questions from the pupils in a standardized way. They also had to fill in an interviewer questionnaire.

Taking into account the very low rate of absentees (6.3%) during the interviews, no call-backs were carried out. The presence of a teacher during the survey was not mandatory and, most of the times, the teacher actually present was the one in charge of the computer lessons who is usually not particularly familiar with the pupils. For that reason, it was not feasible to use the teacher questionnaire, as in other countries. However, some information on the school was collected through the interviewer form.

### 6.4.3 Validity and Bias

Research has shown that self-reported delinquency studies are a valid measure of delinquency for teenagers as well as for some categories of offenders such as prison inmates or hard-drug addicts under heroin treatment (Aebi, 2006). As the current survey was conducted among teenage students, it belongs to one of the categories for which the self-reported delinquency survey is theoretically considered as valid.

From an empirical point of view, however, it is necessary to check systematically the validity of each survey. In that context, and as there are no alternative measures - such as police or court records – available for the sample, one can assess validity only by comparing the consistency of the answers given to different questions. As indicated in the tables, there are no contradictions between prevalence and incidence rates, less serious offences are more frequent than serious offences, and “rare” offences remain rare. Moreover, the answers to the survey were carefully screened in order to spot and delete inconsistent answers as well as typing errors. Finally, the use of a national random sample reduces the bias that could be due to the choice

<sup>4</sup>In Switzerland, private schools represent approximately 5% of all schools of the grades at stake. Taking size into account, two private schools in 70 matches their share in the Swiss educational system.

of a particular city considered to be representative of other cities.

## 6.5 Prevalence of Delinquency, Problem Behaviour and Victimization

### 6.5.1 Life-Time and Last Year Prevalence Rates in 2006 and 1992

In the following chapters we will present the prevalence rates of substance use, victimization and offending in Switzerland in 2006. We will also include a comparison with the survey conducted in 1992, when the first ISRD was conducted in Switzerland. The Swiss questionnaire included a series of questions on cruelty towards animals, hooliganism and bullying that were added at the end of the standardized ISRD-2 questionnaire but that will not be treated in detail here in order to assure comparability with the rest of the countries participating in this project.

#### 6.5.1.1 Overview of the Results in 2006

This section shows prevalence rates (lifetime and last year/last month) of several problem behaviours and offences as well as of victimization experiences. It also explains the way in which these behaviours have been grouped into larger categories.

According to the results shown in Table 6.1, 68% of the students have already tasted wine or beer and 38% have tasted strong spirits. In particular, during the last month, about 39% have consumed wine or beer and 16% strong spirits. Indeed, almost all students who consumed strong spirits during that period have also consumed wine or beer. These figures confirm that alcohol consumption is fairly common among Swiss teenagers. The same is true for the derivatives of cannabis (marijuana, hashish) as 17.5% have already tried it and 7% have used it during the last month. Truancy is also wide-spread as almost one student out of every five admitted to having stayed away from school for at least a whole day without a legitimate excuse during the last month. The presence of two out of three risk factors concerns 14.3% of the respondents.

**Table 6.1** Life-time and last month prevalence of alcohol, soft drug use and risk factors (%)

	Life time		Last month <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Beer/wine	67.8	0.5	38.8	1.5
Strong spirits	38.0	1.0	16.2	1.7
Marijuana, hashish use	17.5	1.2	7.2	1.3
Alcohol total <sup>b</sup>	68.2	0.3	39.1	0.4
Truancy	–	–	18.0	0.7
Two risk factors present <sup>c</sup>	–	–	14.3	0.2

Notes:  $n = 3,648$ ; weighted data; percentages based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Truancy refers to the last year, whereas alcohol and drug use have been asked for the last month. There is no life-time prevalence for truancy

<sup>b</sup>Beer/wine and strong spirits

<sup>c</sup>“Risk” assesses whether at least two of the following three behaviours have been reported: (1) Having drunk strong spirits at least once during the last month, (2) having used marijuana/hashish at least once during the last month, and (3) being truant at least once during the last year

**Table 6.2** Last year prevalence of victimization and reporting to the police (%)

	Victimization		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>
	%	% Missing	%
Robbery/extortion	2.3	0.6	22.3
Assault	2.4	0.9	32.4
Theft	22.6	0.8	32.3
Bullying	12.4	1.0	7.8

$n = 3,648$ ; weighted data; percentages based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Percentage based on number of victims; no answer: no reporting assumed

As can be seen in Table 6.2, theft is the most common offence committed against the respondents, with almost one fourth of them reporting having been victims of it. Twelve per cent declared that they had been victims of bullying and a more than 2% were victims of robbery/extortion and of assault. These prevalence rates of victimization are lower than the ones found by the Swiss Crime Survey of 2005 for the respondents aged 20 or younger (Killias et al., 2007). However, the rates of reporting to the police are comparable to what is being found among adults. In that context it is clear that the vast majority of the offences committed against adolescents are never reported to the police. In fact, the respondents reported to the police only 8% of all cases of bullying, 22% of cases of robbery/extortion and about 32% of cases of assault and theft.

**Table 6.3** Life-time and last year prevalence of offences (%)

	Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Group fight	15.5	1.3	8.4	1.7
Carrying a weapon	11.1	1.3	7.8	1.5
Assault	2.9	1.5	1.2	1.6
Snatching/mugging	2.4	0.9	1.1	0.9
Robbery/extortion	1.4	1.1	0.9	1.1
Vandalism	13.4	0.9	7.8	1.2
Shoplifting	23.6	0.6	9.1	1.0
Bicycle/motor bike theft	6.6	0.8	3.7	0.9
Car break	2.7	1.1	1.0	1.1
Burglary	2.0	1.1	0.9	1.2
Car theft	0.8	1.0	0.4	1.1
Computer hacking	7.3	1.1	5.3	1.2
Drug dealing	3.7	1.2	2.8	1.4
XTC/speed use	1.3	1.1	0.4	1.2
LSD/heroin/cocaine use	1.4	1.1	0.4	1.2

*n* = 3,648; weighted data; percentages based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin use: last month prevalence

Table 6.3 presents the lifetime and last year prevalence rates for all the offences included in the questionnaire. It can be seen that shoplifting is the most common offence among Swiss juveniles (with a lifetime prevalence of 24% and a last year prevalence of 9%), followed by group fight (16% and 8% respectively), vandalism (13% and 8%) and carrying a weapon (11% and 8%). Less common are offences such as computer hacking (7% and 5%) and bicycle or motorcycle theft (7% and 4%). The rest of offences are rarely committed by the members of our sample (prevalence:  $\leq 5\%$  in the last year). This group of offences includes drug dealing, rare violent offences (snatching/mugging, robbery/extortion, assault) and some property offences (burglary, car theft, car break). Hard-drugs use is quite uncommon (approximately 1.5%).

In order to have more reliable rates of offending, the several offences have been grouped into larger categories in Table 6.4. The goal was to keep separate the frequent, often rather trivial offences, from the rare and usually more serious behaviours (see footnotes to Table 6.4). All offences have been taken into account except computer downloading, because the questionnaire did not distinguish clearly between legal and illegal downloading music/film.

**Table 6.4** Life-time and last year prevalence of aggregated offences (%)

	Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Frequent violent offences <sup>b</sup>	21.0	0.5	13.1	0.5
Rare violent offences <sup>c</sup>	5.5	0.4	2.6	0.4
Vandalism	13.4	0.9	7.8	1.2
Shoplifting	23.6	0.6	9.1	1.0
Rare property offences <sup>d</sup>	8.9	0.3	4.8	0.3
Computer hacking	7.3	1.1	5.3	1.2
Drug dealing	3.7	1.2	2.8	1.4
Hard drugs use <sup>e</sup>	2.0	0.3	0.6	0.3

*n* = 3,648; weighted data; percentages based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Hard drug use: last month prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Group fight and carrying a weapon

<sup>c</sup>Snatching/mugging, robbery/extortion, and assault

<sup>d</sup>Burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft, and car break

<sup>e</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin/cocaine use

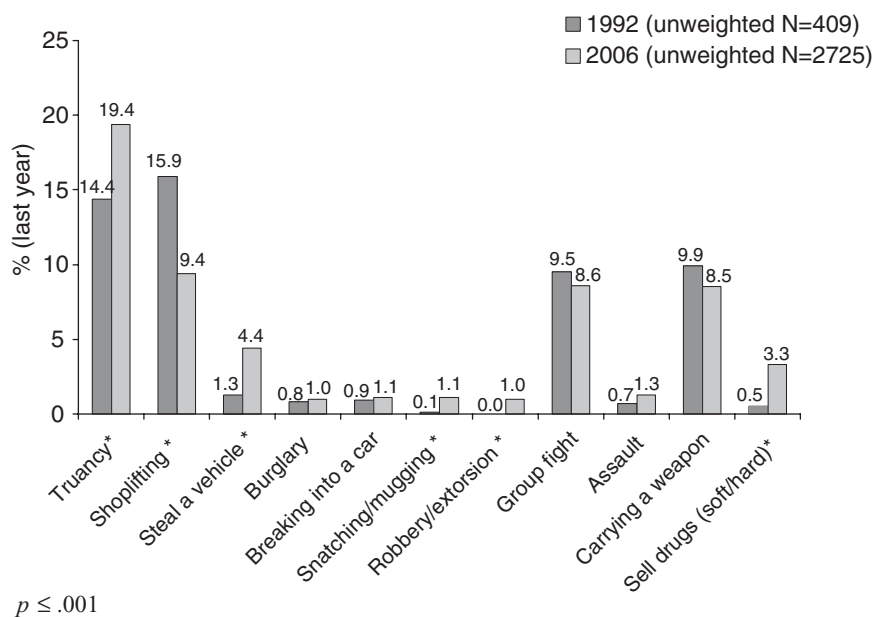
### 6.5.1.2 Comparison Between 2006 and 1992

In 1992, the first International self-reported delinquency study was conducted in 12 countries, including Switzerland. The Swiss study was based on a national probability sample of juveniles aged 14–20 (Killias et al., 1994). Interviews took place face to face, mostly at the respondent's home. In Fig. 6.1, we give an overview of the rates of self-reported delinquency in 1992 compared to the ones from 2006. The comparison is limited to offences whose definition is comparable and where similar or identical time frames have been used. Unfortunately, the reference period for drug use and victimization was very different in both surveys. Some offences, such as vandalism, were measured in substantially different ways and have, therefore, been excluded from Fig. 6.1. Moreover, in order to allow comparisons, only respondents aged 14–16 in both surveys were included. This is the reason why the 2006 rates included in Fig. 6.1 deviate slightly from those presented in Table 6.3.

Overall, the comparison shows that some property offences, such as stealing a vehicle, burglary and breaking into a car, have increased, although the increase is not always statistically significant. Moreover, the results show a statistically significant upward trend for truancy, selling drugs, vehicle thefts and violent offences overall, such as robbery/extortion and muggings (bag snatching). On the other hand, shoplifting has decreased



**Fig. 6.1** Last year prevalence rates (in %, weighted data) of delinquent behaviour, 1992 and 2006 (respondents aged 14–16)



significantly. Group fights and carrying weapons have slightly decreased as well.

The 1992 and 2006 surveys having differed in certain methodological aspects, the question arises whether design features could account for the differences that were observed. The two questionnaires were rather similar as far as items of self-reported offending were concerned. There were differences, however, regarding assault (where, in 2006 and unlike 1992, actual injury needing medical attention was required) and robbery/extortion (where actual use of force was not required in the 2006 version) whose effects were conservative; all other things being equal, the 2006 rates should have been lower than those for 1992, whereas in fact they were not. Vandalism was defined very differently in the two surveys and is not included in the present comparison. Moreover, the 1992 survey was conducted through face to face interviews at home, whereas the 2006 survey is a school-based survey using Internet interviews. As a controlled trial conducted during the preparation of the 2006 survey revealed, paper-pencil and Internet interviews produce substantially comparable results (Lucia et al., 2007). In 1992, subjects had to fill in the SRD part of the questionnaire on a paper form that was handed over to the interviewer in a sealed envelope. Intuitively, it would seem, therefore, that the interview situation in 1992 was, as far as SRD measures are

concerned, quite similar to a classic paper-pencil questionnaire (Becker and Günther, 2004). Thus, the substantial differences observed by Oberwittler and Naplava (2002) in a quasi-experimental comparison of face-to-face and school-based written interviews may not hold for the present comparison. The 1992 survey suffered, however, from substantial non-response due to severe data protection measures. An additional test conducted at that time among non-responding subjects showed, however, that delinquency rates were not lower among those who complied (Killias et al., 1994). Finally, if a methodological bias had played a major role, one would have expected rates to differ consistently in one direction. However, the results show that delinquency rates differ between 1992 and 2006 in both directions.

The increase in violent offences shown in Fig. 6.1 matches parallel observations based not only on police statistics, but also on victimization surveys conducted regularly in Switzerland since 1984 (Killias et al., 2007). Further, medical data from a study conducted by the University Hospital of Berne (Exadaktylos et al., 2007) show that the number of patients treated for injuries related to urban violence has increased by nearly 60% between 2001 and 2006, whereas no such trend was observed for patients treated for other causes. Qualitatively, the data indicate that injuries have become substantially more serious over these years. Thus, there

are several independent sources pointing to a likely increase of serious violent offences in Switzerland over the last decade. Ongoing research also offers plausible explanations for the observed trends, since going out during late night hours and uncontrolled leisure-time may have substantially increased since 1992 (Markwalder et al., 2007). Thus, the general increase in interpersonal violence is not only well documented, but also fairly plausible given the well-known influence of juvenile delinquency on that kind of behaviour.

### 6.5.2 Prevalence Rates in the Canton of Zurich and in the Rest of the Country

In order to have some basic idea about the frequency of different behavioural problems in a more urban area as well as on the national level, the following tables will present the national data (without the Canton of Zürich) along with those for the canton of Zurich (Table 6.5).

As the data in the Tables 6.5 and 6.6 reveal, adolescents in the urban area of the canton of Zurich use sub-

stances at very similar rates as those found overall in Switzerland. However, a significant difference is found for truancy, which is remarkably more frequent in the Zurich area, probably as a result of a more outgoing lifestyle among urban youths. Another significant difference is found when looking at the variable computed “two out of three risk factors”, the prevalence rates being higher in the Canton of Zurich (Table 6.6).

Table 6.7 shows that in general (with the only exception of bullying), urban youth are relatively more often victims than those in the rest of Switzerland. However the differences are not statistically significant for bullying and assault. An important difference can be found in the case of theft and robbery/extortion, where juveniles in the Zurich region are more often victims, probably because of more wide-spread outdoor-leisure time activities in urban areas. Finally, there are no major differences in reporting to the police, across the country.

The detailed indications (Table 6.8) show very similar rates in Zurich and in the rest of Switzerland for group fights, carrying a weapon, burglary and computer offences. However, adolescents in Zurich admit more often having assaulted other persons, having robbed/extorted somebody, having snatched bags or

**Table 6.5** Life-time and last month prevalence of alcohol and soft drug use (large city sample vs. national sample), in %

	Canton of Zurich (unweighted $n = 981$ )				Rest of Switzerland (unweighted $n = 2,667$ )			
	Life time		Last month		Life time		Last month	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Beer/wine	65.1	0.3	35.9	0.8	68.3	0.6	39.9	1.7
Strong spirits	35.6	1.2	17.5	1.7	38.4	0.9	15.9	1.7
Marijuana/hashish use	19.2	1.4	8.2	1.6	17.2	1.1	7.0	1.2

Weighted data; percentages based on valid cases

**Table 6.6** Life-time and last month prevalence of risk factors (large city sample vs. rest of sample), in %

	Canton of Zurich (unweighted $n = 981$ )				Rest of Switzerland (unweighted $n = 2,667$ )			
	Life time		Last month <sup>a</sup>		Life time		Last month <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Alcohol total <sup>b</sup>	65.4	0.3	36.3	0.4	68.7	0.2	39.7	0.4
Marijuana, hashish use	19.2	1.4	8.2	1.6	17.2	1.1	7.0	1.2
Truancy	–	–	24.7**	0.9	–	–	16.8	0.6
Two risk factors present <sup>c</sup>	–	–	17.9*	0.2	–	–	13.7	0.2

Weighted data; percentages based on valid cases

\* $p \leq 0.01$ , \*\* $p \leq 0.001$

<sup>a</sup>Truancy refers to the last year, whereas alcohol and drug use have been asked for the last month. There is no life-time prevalence for truancy

<sup>b</sup>Beer/wine and strong spirits

<sup>c</sup>“Risk” assesses whether at least two of the following three behaviours have been reported: (1) Having drunken beer/wine or strong spirits at least once during the last month, (2) having used marijuana/hashish at least once during the last month, and (3) being truant at least once during the last year



**Table 6.7** Last year prevalence of victimization and reporting to the police (large city sample vs. rest of sample), in %

	Canton of Zurich (unweighted $n = 981$ )			Rest of Switzerland (unweighted $n = 2,667$ )		
	Victimization		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>	Victimization		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>
	%	% Missing	%	%	% Missing	%
Robbery/extortion	4.6*	0.4	22.2	1.8	0.6	22.4
Assault	2.7	0.8	34.6	2.3	0.9	31.9
Theft	27.9*	0.8	29.5	21.6	0.7	32.9
Bullying	11.0	1.2	5.6	12.7	1.0	8.1

Weighted data; percentages based on valid cases

\* $p \leq 0.001$

<sup>a</sup>Percentage based on number of victims; no answer: no reporting assumed

**Table 6.8** Life-time and last year prevalence of offences (in %)

	Canton of Zurich (unweighted $n = 981$ )				Rest of Switzerland (unweighted $n = 2,667$ )			
	Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>		Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Group fight	15.5	2.1	8.7	2.4	15.4	1.1	8.3	1.5
Carrying a weapon	11.1	1.3	7.8	1.6	11.1	1.2	7.8	1.5
Assault	3.6	1.6	2.0	1.7	2.7	1.4	1.0	1.5
Snatching/mugging	3.4	1.4	2.0*	1.4	2.3	0.8	0.9	0.9
Robbery/extortion	2.3	1.5	1.4	1.5	1.3	1.0	0.8	1.0
Vandalism	16.0*	1.4	10.1*	1.4	13.0	0.8	7.3	1.1
Shoplifting	23.5	1.1	8.4	1.2	23.6	0.5	9.3	0.9
Bicycle/motor bike theft	6.8	1.3	4.2	1.6	6.5	0.7	3.6	0.8
Car break	3.2	1.4	1.6	1.4	2.6	1.1	0.9	1.1
Burglary	2.1	1.4	1.0	1.5	2.0	1.1	0.8	1.2
Car theft	1.4	1.0	0.6	1.3	0.7	1.0	0.4	1.1
Computer hacking	7.7	1.4	5.1	1.4	7.3	1.1	5.3	1.2
Drug dealing	4.1	1.9	3.2	1.9	3.6	1.1	2.7	1.3
XTC/speed use	1.6	1.4	0.9*	1.4	1.3	1.1	0.3	1.2
LSD/heroin/cocaine use	1.4	1.5	0.6	1.7	1.4	1.1	0.3	1.1

Weighted data; percentages based on valid cases

\* $p \leq 0.05$

<sup>a</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin use: last month prevalence

other items, having vandalised property and consumed ecstasy/speed. When the offences are grouped to larger categories (Table 6.9), rare violent offences and vandalism are significantly more frequent in Zurich.

subdivided into four subsections: personal background, family context, school context and environmental context. We shall focus on delinquent behaviours and not present the results concerning drugs and victimization.

## 6.6 Delinquency and Problem Behaviour

In this chapter, we look at a bivariate analysis before using multiple regression analysis in section 6.7. The strength of the link between two variables will be measured by the coefficient Gamma. Gamma between 0.30 and 0.50 is considered as a moderate relationship, and scores higher than 0.50 are strong. This section is

### 6.6.1 Personal Background

#### 6.6.1.1 Gender

Gender has always been an important variable in the study of delinquency. Our results confirm that girls are significantly less involved in delinquency than boys, apart from shoplifting, a behaviour for which there is no significant difference (Table 6.10).

**Table 6.9** Life-time and last year prevalence of aggregated offences (large city sample vs. rest of sample), in %

	Canton of Zurich (unweighted $n = 981$ )				Rest of Switzerland (unweighted $n = 2,667$ )			
	Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>		Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Frequent violent offences	20.7	0.6	12.7	0.6	21.1	0.5	13.2	0.5
Rare violent offences	7.2*	0.6	4.4*	0.6	5.1	0.4	2.3	0.4
Vandalism	16.0*	1.4	10.1*	1.4	13.0	0.8	7.3	1.1
Shoplifting	23.5	1.1	8.4	1.2	23.6	0.5	9.3	0.9
Rare property offences	8.8	0.4	5.2	0.4	8.9	0.2	4.7	0.2
Computer hacking	7.7	1.4	5.1	1.4	7.3	1.1	5.3	1.2
Drug dealing	4.1	1.9	3.2	1.9	3.6	1.1	2.7	1.3
Hard drugs use	2.0	0.4	1.0	0.4	2.0	0.3	0.5	0.3

Weighted data; percentages based on valid cases

\* $p \leq 0.05$

<sup>a</sup>Hard drug use: last month prevalence

### 6.6.1.2 Migrant Background

In the present study, several variables have been used to assess the respondents' history of migration. We consider as "non-migrant" any respondent born in Switzerland, whose parents were also born in Switzerland. A respondent born abroad is also considered as "non-migrant" if both his/her parents were born in Switzerland. A "second generation migrant" is a person born in Switzerland with one of his parents born abroad. A "first generation migrant" is a respondent who was born abroad with one or both parents born abroad as well.

In relation to self-reported offending, the differences point consistently in the direction of higher offending rates among migrant adolescents. For most offences, the differences between first and second-generation migrants are modest and vary in direction. Still, we observe that the relationship is weak or at the maximum moderate (for rare violent offences).

In that context, some studies have observed that minorities often underscore their delinquent involvement (Junger, 1990, p. 22; Killias, 2002, p. 164). As a consequence, comparisons between minority and autochthones youths based on self-report data may be of questionable validity. If that was the case in this study, the difference between both groups could be even larger. It is impossible, however, to test this hypothesis, since no alternative measures of delinquency are available for the sample.

Finally, the question has often been debated whether children who arrive at an early age may integrate better

than those who arrive at later ages. Intuitively, age at immigration may make a difference in adjusting to the new environment and particularly in respect to learning the local language and having a successful career at school and later in life. For this reason, we have dichotomized the so-called "first" generation (i.e. those who were born abroad), taking into account whether or not they arrived in Switzerland before age 10. The results show no difference between the group of the "late comers" and the group of "early migrants". The reasons are not entirely clear, and further analyses will be required to look more in detail into this aspect of migration. In any case, it must be taken into account that in our sample we have only 99 respondents who arrived at age 10 or later.

### 6.6.1.3 Self-control

For Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990), people with low self-control will tend to engage more frequently in criminal and deviant acts than others. In this context, people with low self-control tend to be impulsive, self-centered and more risk-taking. They also prefer simple tasks and physical activities and have a volatile temper. In our analysis, only items related to impulsivity, risk-taking, being self-centered and temper have been used to create a scale of self-control. The reliability of this scale (Cronbach's alpha) is .831. The results presented in Table 6.10 suggest that self-control is strongly related to all offences (Gamma ranging from 0.5 to 0.7).

**Table 6.10** Relationship between gender, migrant background, self-control and prevalence of aggregated offences

	Gender ( <i>df</i> = 1)			Migrant background ( <i>df</i> = 2)				Self-control ( <i>df</i> = 1)					
	Female	Male	<i>p</i>	Gamma	Non-migrant	Second generation	First generation	<i>p</i>	Gamma	High	Low	<i>p</i>	Gamma
	Frequent violent offences	5.0	21.3	***	0.7	11.0	15.2	18.9	***	0.2	8.3	27.4	***
Rare violent offences	1.2	4.0	***	0.6	1.8	3.8	4.0	***	0.3	1.1	6.8	***	0.7
Vandalism	4.7	10.9	***	0.4	6.5	9.5	9.9	**	0.2	3.8	19.5	***	0.7
Shoplifting	8.8	9.4	ns	0.0	8.3	10.9	8.5	*	0.1	6.5	16.4	***	0.5
Rare property offences	2.3	7.3	***	0.5	3.7	6.6	5.4	***	0.2	2.5	11.2	***	0.7
Computer hacking	1.9	8.5	***	0.6	4.3	6.7	6.4	*	0.2	3.7	9.8	***	0.5
Drug dealing	1.1	4.4	***	0.6	2.4	3.2	3.5	ns	0.1	1.3	7.2	***	0.7

\**p* ≤ 0.05, \*\**p* ≤ 0.01, \*\*\**p* ≤ 0.001**Table 6.11** Relationship between family "affluence", father and mother occupational status and prevalence of aggregated offences

	Family "affluence" ( <i>df</i> = 2)						Father occupational status ( <i>df</i> = 2)				Mother occupational status ( <i>df</i> = 3)							
	High	Medium	Low	Low	High	<i>p</i>	Stable work	Gamma	Out-of-work/ unstable work	Retired/on welfare	<i>p</i>	Stable work	Gamma	Out-of-work/ unstable work	Retired/on welfare	Household	<i>p</i>	Gamma
	Frequent violent offences	18.5	12.1	13.5	**	-0.1	12.7	16.7	16.5	ns	0.2	13.3	13.0	9.8	12.9	ns	0.0	ns
Rare violent offences	4.1	2.3	2.8	ns	-0.1	2.5	3.4	3.9	ns	0.2	2.5	3.2	1.6	2.3	ns	0.0	ns	0.0
Vandalism	9.7	7.6	7.2	ns	-0.1	7.3	11.1	9.7	ns	0.2	7.7	7.3	8.2	8.0	ns	0.0	ns	0.0
Shoplifting	12.4	8.9	8.4	ns	-0.1	8.8	7.6	15.5	ns	0.1	9.5	11.4	6.5	6.5	*	-0.1	ns	0.0
Rare property offences	7.7	4.1	5.6	**	0.0	4.6	4.8	6.8	ns	0.1	4.7	5.2	4.8	4.2	ns	0.0	ns	0.0
Computer hacking	7.3	4.9	5.5	ns	0.0	5.1	6.2	7.8	ns	0.2	5.7	5.7	1.6	4.2	ns	-0.1	ns	0.0
Drug dealing	4.5	2.7	2.2	ns	-0.2	2.7	2.1	0.0	ns	-0.4	2.7	3.8	1.7	2.0	ns	0.0	ns	0.0

\**p* ≤ 0.05, \*\**p* ≤ 0.01, \*\*\**p* ≤ 0.001

#### 6.6.1.4 Social Class and Socio-Economic Status

Social class and socio-economic status have been considered key-variables in delinquency over many decades. In the criminological literature, it has often been observed, however, that measuring social class is at least as intricate as measuring delinquency, particularly when it comes to juveniles whose social position is not yet defined beyond their parents' status and their school records.

In the ISRD-2, it has been decided to measure social class through four variables, namely whether or not the respondent has at home a room of his own, whether or not he/she owns a computer or a mobile phone, and whether or not his family owns a car. In the Swiss questionnaire, we have added two additional questions, asking how many cars the respondent's family owns, and whether the last car bought was a new or a used car. After several reclassifications and tests, we decided to use the four common instrument items, combined with the question about the number of cars owned by the family.

It should be kept in mind, however, that the way social class has been defined in the international as well as in the Swiss study measures, practically speaking, "the level of consumption of the family" or the "family affluence" rather than its hierarchical position.

Our analysis led to the following classification:

- High level of consumption: "yes" to all four common items, the family owning more than two cars: 365 respondents entered into this category;
- Medium level of consumption: "yes" to all four common items, the family owning one or two cars: 2,394 respondents were included in this category;
- Low level of consumption: all respondents not owning all the four items (i.e. either they do not have a room of their own, or no computer, or no mobile phone, or the family does not own a car): 885 respondents belonged to this category.

As Table 6.11 shows, the relationship between delinquency and level of consumption is nonexistent (Gamma ranging from  $-0.2$  to  $0.0$ ). However, the prevalence rates suggest that children from families with low levels of consumption have lower delinquency rates. We presume that "wealthy" families offer many consumer goods to their children and may exert less control over their leisure-time. In this sense, the results found here match the positive correlation

between cash available to respondents and delinquency observed during the Swiss ISRD-1 study (Lorenz Cottagnoud, 1996). Similar results were found in the Cambridge study where, compared to non-delinquents, young delinquents were found to have more cash available for their personal needs at the age of 20 (Farrington, 1995). Other studies on self-reported delinquency in Switzerland (Eisner et al., 2000, p. 75) and in Germany reported similar results (Oberwittler et al., 2001).

#### 6.6.1.5 Parents' Employment

Father's employment history, and particularly longer periods of unemployment, have often been said to be related to adolescent's delinquency and problem behaviour. In the present study, we have collected information on father's and mother's employment history. In particular, respondents have been asked whether the father/mother has a stable job, whether he/she is currently or frequently out of work, or whether he/she gets a pension or lives on social welfare. The latter category includes, therefore, parents who may be retired due to their age; however, given the relatively young age of the children in our sample, this would rarely be the case. It seems more plausible to believe that some of the parents included in this third category may benefit from welfare payments to handicapped persons. In the case of the *mother*, the questionnaire included further the possibility that she cares for the household without being employed.

Table 6.11 shows little influence of parental employment on delinquency, although teenagers whose fathers have a stable job or whose mothers stay at home commit less offences. A similar result had already been found by Morales Ortega (1996) in her analysis of the 1992 Swiss ISRD-1 data.

### 6.6.2 Family Context

#### 6.6.2.1 Quality of the Relationship with Parents

This dimension was measured by two questions tapping the relationship with father and mother. "Having a strong relationship" means that the pupil answered

“he/she gets along fine or rather fine with both parents” and “having a weak relationship” means that “he/she answered, not getting along so well or not at all with at least one of the two parents”. For all offences, juveniles with problematic relationships with one or both parents admit far more frequently having committed offences. As we can observe in Table 6.12, the relationship is moderate to strong (Gamma ranging from 0.3 to 0.6).

It is important to take into account that the difficulties with parents may not necessarily be the cause, but can just as well be the consequence of problem behaviour, frequent absences from home and offences by the juvenile.

### 6.6.2.2 Parental Supervision

Parental supervision has been measured by parents' knowledge of the respondent's friends, by whether or not they usually set a time by which the youth has to be back home and whether they respect the time given. The responses to the three questions have been summed and the scale ranges from 1 to 7. Then it has been dichotomized into “a weak relationship” (range from 1 to 4) and “a strong relationship” (range from 5 to 7). This turned out to be a very important variable, whose influence is comparable to the one of the quality of the relationship between the respondent and his/her parents. Again, adolescents whose parents are generally well informed about their whereabouts commit far fewer offences than the others.

### 6.6.2.3 Household Composition

The effect of the household composition on adolescents' behaviour has often been debated. The evidence so far has shown a strong impact in the USA, but mixed results in Europe (Junger-Tas et al., 2003; Haas et al., 2004). The 1992 ISRD-1 had shown, in Switzerland, rather weak differences between children from single-parent and traditional households (Aebi, 1997). The situation is different in 2006 as Table 6.12 shows significant differences between traditional and single-parent families, with the exception of violent and computer offences. However, the relationship is weak to moderate (Gamma ranging from 0.0 to 0.3).

### 6.6.2.4 Traumatic Events

In the questionnaire, respondents were asked whether they had experienced any traumatic events, such as loss of a parent, illness of a parent or divorce of the parents. Out of the eight items, one has not been taken into account (death of somebody you love) because it was considered too vague. These items have been combined in Table 6.12. It shows that adolescents who experienced more than one traumatic event in their life tend to display more problem behaviour and to offend more often than other juveniles. This variable plays a moderate role in all offences.

## 6.6.3 School Context

### 6.6.3.1 Grade

It is well known that delinquency and other forms of problem behaviour change with grades at school. At the same time, grade is obviously associated with age. Therefore, we expect students in grade 7 to be less involved in delinquency than those in ninth grade. The correlation between age and delinquency – not shown here – is similar to the association between grade and delinquency presented in Table 6.13.

Offending rates do not increase substantially between grades 7 and 9, with the exception of drug dealing ( $\gamma = 0.5$ ).

### 6.6.3.2 Attachment to School

Respondents have been dichotomized according to whether or not they like going to school. There is a moderate to strong negative correlation between attachment to school and involvement in delinquency across all offence types.

Respondents who have repeated a grade at least once admit having committed more offences than those with a successful school career. The difference is important, however, only for rare and violent offences.

Nevertheless, it seems that school attachment (Gamma ranging from 0.3 to 0.5) is far more important in connection with offending than repeating a grade (Gamma ranging from 0.0 to 0.3). This finding matches the results found by Junger-Tas et al. (2003). According

**Table 6.12** Relationship between relationship with parents, parental supervision, household composition, life events and prevalence of aggregated offences

	Relationship with parents ( $df = 1$ )				Parental supervision ( $df = 1$ )				Household composition ( $df = 1$ )				Life events ( $df = 1$ )			
	Strong		Weak		Strong		Weak		Traditional family		Single-parent families		0-1 life events		At least 2 life events	
	Gamma	$p$	Gamma	$p$	Gamma	$p$	Gamma	$p$	Gamma	$p$	Gamma	$p$	Gamma	$p$	Gamma	$p$
Frequent violent offences	12.4	19.9	**	0.3	11.8	24.6	***	0.4	12.6	14.9	ns	0.1	12.0	17.3	***	0.2
Rare violent offences	2.2	6.8	***	0.5	1.8	7.3	***	0.6	2.5	3.0	ns	0.1	2.0	4.6	***	0.4
Vandalism	6.8	14.6	***	0.4	6.8	16.1	***	0.4	6.9	10.5	***	0.2	6.4	11.9	***	0.3
Shoplifting	7.8	21.8	***	0.5	8.9	14.3	***	0.3	8.0	12.8	***	0.3	7.4	15.0	***	0.4
Rare property offences	4.3	7.5	*	0.3	4.1	10.4	***	0.5	4.1	7.0	***	0.3	3.9	7.5	***	0.3
Computer hacking	4.8	9.9	***	0.4	4.1	10.9	***	0.5	5.2	5.6	ns	0.0	4.7	7.3	**	0.2
Drug dealing	2.2	7.7	***	0.6	2.2	7.6	***	0.6	2.3	4.1	**	0.3	2.1	4.9	***	0.4

\* $p \leq 0.05$ , \*\* $p \leq 0.01$ , \*\*\* $p \leq 0.001$

**Table 6.13** Relationship between reaped a grade and truancy and prevalence of aggregated offences

	Grade ( $df = 2$ )				Attachment to school ( $df = 1$ )				Repeated grade ( $df = 1$ )				Truancy ( $df = 1$ )										
	Grade 7		Grade 8		Grade 9		Grade 9		Strong		Weak		Gamma		Never		Once or more		No		Yes		
	Gamma	$p$	Gamma	$p$	Gamma	$p$	Gamma	$p$	Gamma	$p$	Gamma	$p$	Gamma	$p$	Gamma	$p$	Gamma	$p$	Gamma	$p$	Gamma	$p$	
Frequent violent offences	10.2	15.0	14.3	***	0.1	9.7	18.2	***	0.3	12.6	16.0	*	0.1	10.2	26.0	***	0.5	26.0	***	0.5	26.0	***	0.5
Rare violent offences	2.3	2.8	2.7	ns	0.1	1.6	4.1	***	0.4	2.2	4.4	***	0.3	1.5	7.6	***	0.7	7.6	***	0.7	7.6	***	0.7
Vandalism	6.1	8.5	8.7	*	0.1	5.5	11.1	***	0.4	7.6	8.7	ns	0.1	5.3	19.0	***	0.6	19.0	***	0.6	19.0	***	0.6
Shoplifting	7.9	10.0	9.4	ns	0.1	7.0	12.3	***	0.3	9.2	8.8	ns	0.0	6.7	20.1	***	0.6	20.1	***	0.6	20.1	***	0.6
Rare property offences	3.0	5.5	5.9	***	0.2	3.6	6.5	***	0.3	4.4	6.9	**	0.2	3.0	12.8	***	0.6	12.8	***	0.6	12.8	***	0.6
Computer hacking	4.5	6.3	4.9	ns	0.0	4.2	6.8	**	0.3	5.2	5.3	ns	0.0	4.2	10.0	***	0.4	10.0	***	0.4	10.0	***	0.4
Drug dealing	0.6	3.2	4.6	***	0.5	1.7	4.4	***	0.5	2.6	3.7	ns	0.2	1.4	9.4	***	0.8	9.4	***	0.8	9.4	***	0.8

\* $p \leq 0.05$ , \*\* $p \leq 0.01$ , \*\*\* $p \leq 0.001$

to their ISRD-1 data, school failure is far less important in Europe than in the USA, probably because of the different social significance of a poor school record on the two sides of the Ocean. The continental educational systems offer indeed poor students far better job and training opportunities than American high-school drop outs may find. The findings presented here suggest that this trend may not have been reversed in the mean-time.

### 6.6.3.3 Truancy

Finally, truancy – defined as not attending school lessons for at least a whole day, without a legitimate excuse during the last 12 months – can be seen as a way of evading social control by teachers. Instead of being at school or at home, truancy may lead to outdoor activities. Accordingly, juveniles reporting truancy admitted to several times more offences than those who attend school regularly. The difference is particularly impressive for rare violent offences and drug dealing.

## 6.6.4 Environmental Context

### 6.6.4.1 Neighbourhood Problems

The questionnaire contained also items concerning neighbourhood characteristics. The reliability of the scale (Cronbach's alpha) is 0.801. This scale allowed dichotomizing respondents according to whether or not they live in a neighbourhood characterized by problems of public order (delinquency, drug dealing, graffiti, etc.). As Table 6.14 reveals, this seems to be one of the most important variables considered here.

Obviously, adolescents adjust their behaviour to what they find, in the streets around their home. However, the strongest impact – next to rare violent offences – can be seen again in connection with drug dealing, an activity directly related to the characteristics of certain urban areas.

### 6.6.4.2 Neighbourhood Attachment

According to some theoretical approaches (Sampson and Laub, 1997), neighbourhood attachment (rather than neighbourhood characteristics) is supposed to influence behaviour of people living in a particular area. The reliability of the scale (Cronbach's alpha) is 0.791. The respondent had to respond about positive neighbourhood characteristics such as liking his neighbourhood, close-knit neighbourhood and social control. Although most differences in Table 6.14 are significant, the Gamma ( $\gamma$ ) values are lower (between 0.3 and 0.5) than those for the neighbourhood problems (between 0.5 and 0.8). In other words, neighbourhood attachment is far less important than neighbourhood characteristics even with respect to rare violent offences.

### 6.6.4.3 Group of Friends

More than 60% of the juveniles that participated in the survey said they belonged to a group of friends. This percentage seems relatively low compared, for example, to Italy. The analysis shows that delinquent behaviour is more wide-spread among juveniles who admit having a group of friends with whom they spend a lot of time. As we can see in Table 6.14, the influence of

**Table 6.14** Relationship between neighbourhood problem, neighbourhood attachment, group of friends and aggregated offences

	Neighbourhood problems ( $df = 1$ )				Neighbourhood attachment ( $df = 1$ )				Group of friends ( $df = 1$ )			
	No	Yes	$p$	Gamma	Strong	Weak	$p$	Gamma	No	Yes	$p$	Gamma
Frequent violent offences	11.8	42.8	***	0.7	11.9	15.9	***	0.2	8.4	15.9	***	0.3
Rare violent offences	2.0	15.2	***	0.8	2.3	3.4	*	0.2	1.7	3.2	**	0.3
Vandalism	6.7	32.2	***	0.7	7.0	9.7	**	0.2	3.8	10.1	***	0.5
Shoplifting	8.4	26.8	***	0.6	8.2	11.4	**	0.2	5.1	11.6	***	0.4
Rare property offences	3.8	25.6	***	0.8	4.2	6.0	*	0.2	2.5	6.1	***	0.4
Computer hacking	4.8	14.7	***	0.5	4.7	6.2	ns	0.1	3.6	6.2	***	0.3
Drug dealing	2.1	16.7	***	0.8	2.2	4.1	***	0.3	1.2	3.6	***	0.5

\* $p \leq 0.05$ , \*\* $p \leq 0.01$ , \*\*\* $p \leq 0.001$



such a group on delinquency is moderate to strong ( $\gamma$  between 0.3 and 0.5).

## 6.7 Multivariate Analyses and Delinquency

In order to assess the impact of the several independent variables once the influence of other contributing factors is taken into account, we have conducted a series of logistic regression analyses. All independent variables whose relationship with the dependent variables (i.e. seven types of delinquency) showed a  $p$ -value smaller than 0.1 in the preceding analyses were introduced in the models. The independent variables considered were gender, migrant background, self-control, family affluence, father's and mother's occupational status, relationship with parents, parental supervision, family composition, life events, grade, attachment to school, having repeated a grade, truancy, neighbourhood problems, neighbourhood attachment, and having a group of friends. The regressions were first computed according to the "backward LR" method and then according to the "enter method". In Table 6.15, several variables were excluded from all models<sup>5</sup>. Five variables play a (minor) role in some offences. For example, weak school attachment and being in grade 8 or 9 (rather than 7) increase the probability of engaging in frequent violent offences. Weak school attachment is also related to vandalism and shoplifting, while grade is related to rare property offences and drug dealing. As expected, involvement in serious delinquent acts increases with age. A weak relationship with parents is related only to shoplifting.

Truancy and self-control remain significant in all models, confirming the hypotheses that low self-control as well as time passed without supervision by the school or the family – and thus time of exposure to all sorts of occasions and temptations to commit an offence – play a most important role in delinquency. Gender (i.e. being male) is the main factor in most offences (the odds increasing from 3.5 to 5), except for shoplifting and vandalism. Peers' delinquency has also a major influence

on most offences, with the exception of rare violent offences. Finally, traumatic life events and weak parental supervision are related to some offences only (violent offences, computer hacking, drug dealing, and, respectively, vandalism and shoplifting).

## 6.8 Conclusions

A comparison between self-reported delinquencies in 1992 and 2006 (Fig. 6.1) shows an increase in truancy, vehicle thefts, snatching/mugging, robbery/extortion and selling of drugs. Shoplifting has significantly decreased probably because it has become substantially more complicated over the last 15 years due to an improvement in security technologies. There is also a slight reduction in the rates of carrying a weapon. This could be explained by a change of the legislation introduced in 1999, which outlawed carrying weapons in public. Indeed, research has shown that the ban had a substantial effect on the general population (Burlet et al., 2007), and age-groups studied here were possibly also affected by it. Assault (defined more narrowly in 2006) has increased, although not significantly. Taken together, the three rare (i.e. serious) violent offences have increased significantly and substantially. For the remaining offences, the prevalence rates are stable.

When the canton of Zurich (i.e. Switzerland's most urban area) is compared to the rest of the country, no difference is found for substance use (Tables 6.5, 6.6 and 6.8 regarding alcohol, marijuana/hashish and hard drugs), whereas rates for vandalism<sup>6</sup> and rare violent offences are significantly higher in the canton of Zurich (Table 6.8 and 6.9). Urban youth are also more often victims than those in the rest of Switzerland, especially to theft and robbery/extortion (Table 6.7).

According to our analyses (Table 6.15), the "typical" young offender is a male, has low self-control, often fails to attend school, belongs to a group of at least three friends, and lives in a problematic neighbourhood. Frequently, he has experienced traumatic life events and weak parental supervision. His engagement in violent and property delinquency as well as drug dealing will increase with age. For some offences, a

<sup>5</sup>first and second generation migrant, medium and low family affluence, household compositions, school failure, neighbourhood attachment, father out of work or in pension, and mother in pension or at home.

<sup>6</sup>According to Federal Railways sources, trains in the Zurich area are far more often vandalised than in other regions (oral communication). Thus, the difference found here is in line with the experience of a significant stakeholder.

**Table 6.15** Odds ratio of the independent variables used in the final logistic regression models

Independent variables	Dependent variables						
	Frequent violent offences	Rare violent offences	Vandalism	Shoplifting	Rare property offences	Computer hacking	Drug dealing
Gender (boys vs. girls)	5.02	3.45	2.1	–	3.62	4.51	3.55
Self-control (low vs. high)	2.82	3.03	3.75	1.98	2.66	1.87	2.73
Truancy (yes vs. no)	1.84	2.77	2.55	2.36	2.65	1.72	3.34
Group of friends (yes vs. no)	1.98	ns	2.26	2.31	1.76	1.49	2.56
Neighbourhood problems (yes vs. no)	2.29	2.28	2.18	1.6	3.75	ns	2.89
Life events (yes vs. no)	ns	1.86	1.51	1.4	ns	1.61	1.9
Parental supervision (low vs. high)	1.49	1.94	ns	ns	ns	1.76	1.79
School attachment (weak vs. strong)	1.37	ns	1.45	1.43	ns	ns	ns
Relationship with parents (weak vs. strong)	ns	ns	ns	2.15	ns	ns	ns
Grade 8–9 (vs. grade 7)	1.39	–	ns	–	1.59	–	–
Grade 8 (vs. grade 7)	ns	–	ns	–	ns	–	5.2
Grade 9 (vs. grade 7)	ns	–	ns	–	ns	–	7.19
Second generation migrant (vs. born in Switzerland)	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	–
First generation migrant (vs. born in Switzerland)	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	–
Medium family affluence (vs. high)	ns	ns	–	ns	ns	–	ns
Low family affluence (vs. high)	ns	ns	–	ns	ns	–	ns
Household composition (other vs. living with both parents)	ns	–	ns	ns	ns	–	ns
School failure (yes vs. no)	ns	ns	–	–	ns	–	–
Neighbourhood attachment (no vs. yes)	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
Father out-of-work/unstable (vs. stable work)	–	–	–	ns	–	–	–
Father in pension (vs. stable work)	–	–	–	ns	–	–	–
Mother out-of-work/unstable (vs. stable work)	–	–	–	ns	–	–	–
Mother in pension (vs. stable work)	–	–	–	ns	–	–	–
Mother at home (vs. stable work)	–	–	–	ns	–	–	–
Nagelkerke R <sup>2</sup> (in %)	26	20	22	14	21	13	28

– Variable not included in the model because not significant in the bivariate analysis ( $p \geq 0.10$ )

ns Variable included but not significant

weak school attachment and a weak relationship with parents also play a major role. Other variables, such as migrant status, family affluence, household composition, school failure, neighbourhood and parents' unemployment, are not related to delinquency once other variables are controlled.

Offending is obviously related to delinquent opportunities in the environment, as well as to evasion of parental control. Therefore, it is not surprising to find truancy and neighbourhood problems to be closely related to delinquency. Attachment to the neighbourhood, however, is not related to any offence. This suggests

that neighbourhood problems are far more important than emotional ties to the local area.

In conclusion, offending seems first of all related to opportunity structures in the physical and social environment, i.e. to group processes and problems of public order in the neighbourhood. Upcoming analyses will be directed at understanding more thoroughly the role of adolescents' social and physical environment, including local area characteristics and school variables, collected through an interviewer form in Switzerland as well as in the remaining countries. Preliminary studies in Switzerland suggest that the school and its characteristics may be important in the emergence of behavioural problems among students (Haymoz et al., 2008) This preliminary finding might confirm parallel findings by Rutter et al. (1979/1980) in the United Kingdom and Gottfredson et al. (2005) in the United States.

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# Chapter 7

## Austria

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### 7.1 Introduction

The political development of the European Union with its eastward expansion of its borders has reinforced Austria's position as the geographic centre of Europe. Austria's territory is composed of forests (43%), land devoted to agriculture (34%) and the Alps (10%). A significant part of Austria is rural or semi-urbanised, including the alpine regions in the west and hills towards the eastern borders with Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic. About two-fifth of the land space is "urbanised" with Vienna (population larger than 1 million) as the only metropolitan area. Five cities fall into the population category of 75,000 to 250,000 inhabitants, and 18 towns have a population between 20,000 and 75,000. Further, 49 towns have a population between 10,000 and 20,000, and all other towns are smaller. Austria has a population of 8.175 million inhabitants (2004). Ninety-eight per cent of the population speaks German, and there are six officially recognised cultural minority groups (Croats, Roma, Slovaks, Slovenians, Czechs and Hungarians) who mainly live in the southern and eastern regions. Approximately three-fourth of the population is RomanCatholic, 5% are Protestant and 21% are otherwise religiously affiliated or have no religious affiliation. With regard to employment, Austria appears to be pretty "average" for western European standards (6.4%).

Over the last half century, the total Austrian population has shown a modest growth of 18% (from 6.934 million in 1951 to 8.175 million in 2004), with 48.55%

of the population currently consisting of males. In the cities considered in this survey, the proportion of young people under the age of 20 varied, with a higher percentage in the small towns (21–25%) and a lower percentage in the cities of Graz and Vienna (19%). At the overall Austrian census of the year 2001, the official percentage of foreigners was almost 9%. In Vienna, about 16% of the residents are non-Austrian. In the smaller towns considered in this study, the percentage of foreigners varies between 9% and 17%. The majority of foreigners in Austria come from Serbia and Montenegro, Turkey, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Germany. Table 7.1 shows the major nationalities in the Austrian population.

#### 7.1.1 Youth and Delinquency in Austria

In Austria, youth delinquency is a topic that occasionally appears in the media, but at present, the Ministry of Justice is not considering any major political reforms of the juvenile justice system. The Austrian juvenile justice system still benefits from early developments in the 1980s, particularly the reform of the Juvenile Court Act in 1988, which introduced victim-offender mediation and other social alternatives to traditional forms of punishment. Since then, education is meant to prevail over punishment, which has been further supported by an expansion of social control outside the boundaries of penal law, namely, through family and youth welfare organisations. The current practice of restorative justice seems to have tapped the full potential and spectrum of diversions as reactions to juvenile delinquency seem sufficient.

With regard to prevention of crime and delinquency in schools, a number of so-called "de-escalation

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**Table 7.1** Nationalities in Austria

Total population 2001	8,032,926	100%	
Austrian citizens	7,322,000	91.15%	
Foreigners	710,926	8.85%	100%
Serbia and Montenegro	132,975		18.7%
Turkey	127,226		17.9%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	108,047		15.2%
Germany	72,218		10.2%
Croatia	60,650		8.5%

programmes” have been developed. These programmes are intended to prevent specific crimes as well as general “anti-social behaviour”. Peaceful conflict resolution, prevention of violence, integration, addiction problems, as well as the recognition of right and wrong, are the main points of focus in these programmes. Social workers inform pupils about methods of coping with crisis situations, and conflict resolution, both of which are practised in classes. The intention is to teach minors at an early stage that conflicts can be resolved through compromise, a lesson which has positive effects for the resolution of conflicts during adolescence and in their later lives. In some schools, the concept of “CoCoCo” (communication, cooperation, conflict-resolution) is pursued by teachers as part of the regular schedule. This strategy helps pupils gain a better understanding of social, emotional and communication structures in supervised lessons.

*Statistics on youth crime* are the result of a systematic data collection of events that are recorded as “crime” by the police and forwarded to the prosecution. In Austria, youth crime consists of criminal offences committed by persons from 14 to below 18 years of age. Some facts from the youth crime statistics are listed below (and see Figs. 7.1 and 7.2)

- Youth crime is primarily recorded as property crime (55%).
- The number of registered juvenile suspects has increased between 2001 and 2005 by 27% compared to an overall increase of suspected persons by 19%. Nevertheless the proportion of juvenile suspects remained constant over time at approximately 11%.
- The highest rates of suspected offenders are found in the age-group of 18–21 years and 21–25 years, but also the 14–18 year olds are over-represented compared to adults. In 2005 about 7% of youth were reported to the police for criminal offences.
- There has been an increase in charges against youth for assault, particularly for robbery/extortion, most

likely as the result of the emergence of a “new offence” related to the popularity of mobile phones amongst youth. In contrast, theft has increased in the previous years to a lower extent.

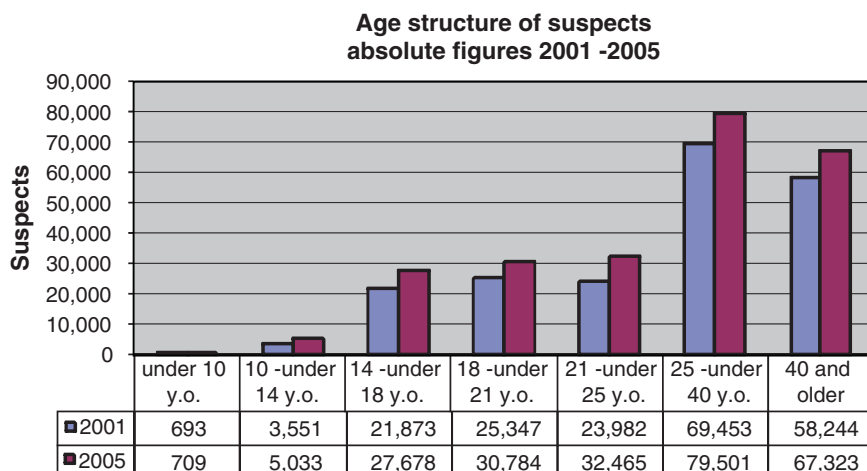
One motivation for the ISRD-study in Austria was the general feeling of discontent with the quality of statistics. Not all offences are detected by the public and only some are reported to the police. The reporting and recording of crime relies on the general sense of justice and on policing practices in society. In Austria, only 10% of youth suspects are convicted each year, which may in part be due to slow administration, but also because of acquittals or alternative consequences such as community sanctions (e.g. diversion, community service, social training courses and care orders). Moreover, official crime registers lack social and cultural information on delinquents and ignore the fact that offending is entrenched in the social and cultural environment of young people. A self-report study on youth delinquency should therefore gather additional information on hidden crime to help explain youth delinquency, and link data on offending with data on social and cultural environments of young people.

## 7.2 Methodology and Study Design

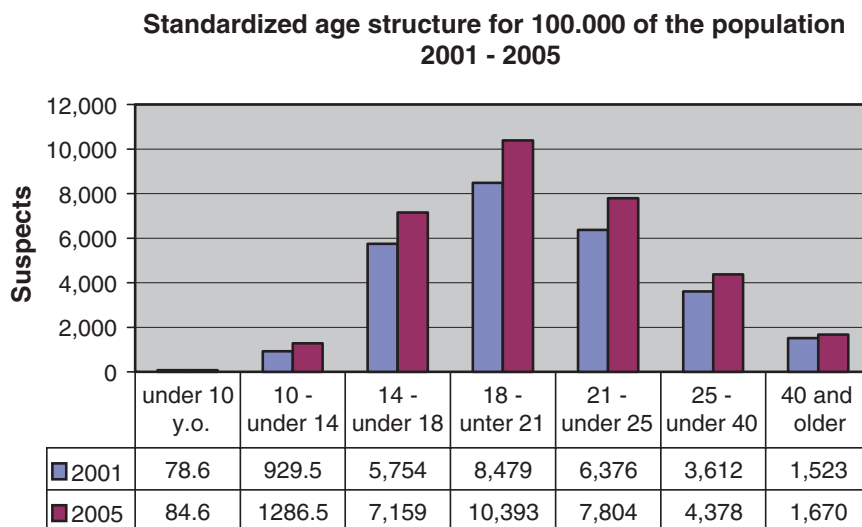
In Austria the ISRD\_2 Study was administered by researchers in the Institute for the Sociology of Law and Criminology in close cooperation with the Austrian Institute for Youth Research. In accordance with the international guidelines for city-sampling methodology, one large city (> 500,000 inhabitants; Vienna), one medium-size city (75,000 – 250,000 inhabitants; Graz) and five small towns (< 75,000 inhabitants; Steyr, Hallein, Dornbirn, Wr. Neustadt, Villach) were selected under consideration of a maximum geographic distribution in Austria.

The research methodology had to be adjusted to the given resources and administrative preconditions. For pragmatic reasons, the guidelines for representative sampling of classes could not be followed, because an exhaustive list of classes of grades seven, eight and nine for all schools in Austria was not available. In other words, total population of classrooms was unknown. Moreover, schools cannot be forced to participate, and a diplomatic and friendly way of persuasion to participate in the study was required. Therefore, in Austria,





**Fig. 7.1** Age structure of suspects 2001–2005 (absolute figures)



**Fig. 7.2** Standardised age structure of suspects (per 100,000 of population)

schools were chosen as the sampling units, using an official list of all registered public schools, which proceeded in accordance with the following procedure. Instead of sending out invitations to all schools in selected cities and towns to participate in the study, the schools were contacted one-by-one on the telephone, asked to participate, and most appropriate arrangements were made together with the schoolmaster about the selection of classes in order to avoid major disruption of the regular schooling routine (avoiding exam days,

split-education lessons, excursions, etc.). This selection procedure was repeated until the desired sample of 3,000 pupils was achieved. In this way, the problem of non-response of schools and classes could be widely circumvented. In the small towns all contacted schools agreed to participate in the study. In the city of Graz, three lower secondary schools refused, and in Vienna three lower secondary schools, three higher secondary schools and three higher vocational colleges rejected the invitation to participate in the study.



The choice of schools was limited in the small towns, with only one or two schools per school type in each town, whereas schools in Vienna were selected following social distribution in the housing population according to the latest census data. Thus, a well balanced sample of schools in high-income districts and low-income districts could be guaranteed. Table 7.2 gives an overview outlining the number of schools, classes and students included in the sample.

At the time of this study, the school system in Austria distinguished two types of public schools in the seventh, eighth grade (higher general secondary school; lower secondary school) and four types in the ninth grade (higher general secondary school – upper level; higher technical and vocational college; intermediate technical and vocational college; pre-vocational year for vocational schools for apprentices). An over-sampling in the ninth grade was necessary in order to have a balanced number of pupils in each school type for data analysis. Only public schools were included in this study.

With regard to later analysis of the migration background,<sup>1</sup> it should be kept in mind that vocational and pre-vocational schools have a higher percentage of pupils with migration background than higher second-

ary and technical schools. A comparison of the school types in the ninth grade shows this clear disparity (Table 7.3). Moreover, the percentage of pupils with migration background is lower in small towns (22%) than in the city of Graz (31%) and Vienna (49%).

The Austrian sample comprised 3,009 questionnaires received from 125 classes in 45 schools. Only 15 pupils did not participate in the survey (two had no parental consent, two missed because of language problems, 11 were absent because they had to join other courses). Sixty-two questionnaires had to be excluded after a plausibility test. Finally, 2,995 questionnaires were included in the statistical analyses (1,100 from Vienna, 862 from the city of Graz and 1,033 from the small towns).

### 7.3 The Conceptual Framework

Self-report studies have an advantage that a wealth of social information can be obtained which illuminate important aspects of youth culture in society. This includes information on socio-economic and ethnic background, family composition and serious life-experiences, leisure-time activities, peer-group composition, neighbourhood, school performance, self-control and victimisation. These cultural aspects of youth can be utilised to help explain the conditions under which youth delinquency can develop. This approach to explaining youth delinquency has a long tradition in criminology. See, for example empirical research undertaken by control theorists like Ivan Nye (1958), Reckless (1967), and particularly Hirschi (1969) and Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990). The common ground for the tradition of control theory is the assumption that positive social bonds with the family, peers and

**Table 7.2** Overview of the sample (responses): schools, classes, students by towns

	Schools	Classes	Students
Vienna	13	46	1,105
Graz	9	38	865
Wr. Neustadt	4	8	192
Steyr	5	8	198
Villach	5	9	256
Hallein	5	9	221
Dornbirn	4	7	172
Total	45	125	3,009

**Table 7.3** Migration background in the sample by school-type

	Ninth grade				Total
	Higher general secondary school	Higher technical and vocational college	Intermediate technical and vocational college	Pre-vocational year for vocational schools for apprentices	
Migration background	23.3%	19.2%	44.8%	41.2%	30.9%

<sup>1</sup>In the analysis of the sample-data “migration background” was defined as “born in South-East-Europe, Asia, Africa or South America, or at least one parent born there”. This definition is based on the idea of lower socio-economic status and therefore does not consider migrants from North- and West Europe and Anglo-American countries.

school are crucial for prevention of delinquency, and that “crime and deviance is to be expected when social and personal controls are in some way inadequate” (Lilly et al., 2002).

The Austrian analysis followed a two-step procedure: First, descriptive statistics about prevalence rates were analysed with regard to socio-demographic variables like gender, age, school-type, town-size and ethnic background. In a second analytic step cultural and socio-demographic information was used to explain youth delinquency using the framework of control theory. Figure 7.3 presents out conceptual framework.

#### 7.4 Prevalence Rates and Socio-demographic Background: Descriptive Variables

Table 7.4 (below) shows the life-time and last month prevalence of alcohol and soft drug use. Austrian youth is no stranger to alcohol: About 63% of the sample population have consumed alcohol (wine, beer, alcopops), and 39% have consumed stronger forms of alcohol. About 9% of all youth reported “ever” soft drug use

(3.1% reported “last month” use of soft drugs). There are virtually no differences between different city sizes, with the exception of alcohol use which seems slightly higher in small towns.

Table 7.5 (below) shows the lifetime and last year prevalence for 15 delinquent acts. We show the rates for the entire sample, since only very small differences were found between cities and towns [Figure 7.4 in Annex shows the prevalence rates for the large, medium and small towns.]. The most frequently reported offences (“ever”) are group fights (20.9%), shoplifting (18.2%), vandalism (16.9%) and carrying a weapon (10.2%). Computer hacking is reported by 6.7% of the sample. All other forms of delinquency are ranked under the 5% mark.

For further analysis, different forms of delinquency were collapsed into the following sum-indices: (1) Alcohol consumption, (2) drug use (including drug dealing), (3) theft (shoplifting, snatching), (4) serious theft (burglary, bike theft, car theft, theft from cars, extortion) and (5) violence (carrying weapon, vandalism, group fight and assault).

The descriptive analyses of these delinquency dimensions according to socio-demographic variables (not shown here) suggest that, with regard to gender, no differences were found in the habits of alcohol consumption and theft. However, the widely known gender effect in violence and serious theft was supported in the Austrian sample: 42% of boys and only 22% of girls say they have committed violent offences in the past. Involvement in serious thefts was reported by 10% (boys) and 3% (girls). In a more detailed analysis of theft (shop-lifting and purse snatching), the gender-effect varies with age: The gender composition of young thieves is reversed in grade 9 compared to grade 7: At the age of 13, boys represent the majority of thieves (46% girls, 54% boys), whereas at the age of 15, girls represent the majority (57% girls, 44% boys). Drinking alcohol becomes common by the age of 14

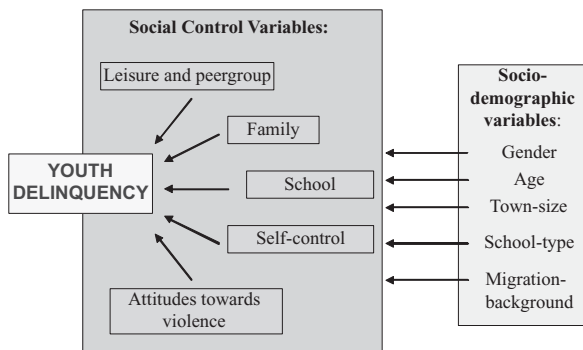


Fig. 7.3 Conceptual framework

Table 7.4 Lifetime and last month prevalence of alcohol and soft drug use;  $n = 2,995$  valid cases, missing cases  $<1\%$

	Large city sample ( $n = 1,100$ )				Rest of sample ( $n = 1,895$ )			
	Life time		Last month		Life time		Last month	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Beer/wine	61.4	0.5	34.3	0.8	64.5	0.6	39.6	1.2
Strong spirits	38.8	1.3	18.9	1.5	39.9	0.9	19.3	1.3
Marijuana/hashish use	10.3	0.8	3.3	1.0	8.4	1.0	3.0	1.0

**Table 7.5** Life-time and last year prevalences of offences

	Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Group fight	20.9	0.6	11.6	0.9
Carrying a weapon	10.2	0.7	6.2	0.8
Assault	4.4	0.7	2.2	0.8
Pick pocketing/ snatching	4.8	0.5	1.9	0.5
Robbery/ extortion	1.8	0.4	1.3	0.5
Vandalism	16.9	0.5	9.6	0.6
Shop-lifting	18.2	0.6	5.7	0.7
Bicycle/ motor-bike theft	3.3	0.6	1.8	0.7
Car break	2.3	0.4	1.0	0.5
Burglary	1.5	0.7	0.8	0.7
Car theft	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.5
Computer hacking	6.7	0.4	4.7	0.6
Drug dealing	3.3	0.6	2.3	0.7
XTC/speed use	1.8	1.0	0.5	1.0
LSD/heroin/ cocaine use	1.6	0.7	0.5	0.7

*n* = 2995; unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin use: last month prevalence

years: 42% of 13-year olds, but 71% of 14-year olds say they have consumed alcohol in the past.

Interestingly, no significant differences were found in self-reported prevalence rates for the different city sizes. Youth delinquency does not seem to be a city phenomenon anymore, with frequencies of alcohol consumption, theft and violence similar in rural towns and bigger cities. Among the students in grades seven and eight, different school types seem to make a difference. Although no significant difference with regard to alcohol use between higher general secondary schools and lower secondary schools was found, pupils in higher general secondary schools do report lower rates of violence.

Migration background was defined as “born in another country or at least one of the parents born in another country.” In general, only minor differences were found in prevalence rates between native Austrians and youth of other ethnic backgrounds, with the exception of alcohol consumption, where a significant difference was found. Seventy per cent of the native respondents and 55% of respondents with migration background had consumed alcohol. We interpret this difference by the prevailing Muslim background of foreign youth in

**Table 7.6** Victimization and reporting to the police

	Victimisation (%)	% Missing	Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup> (%)
Robbery/extortion	2.7	3.2	21.3
Assault	3.7	3.3	25.4
Theft	22.4	3.0	20.4
Bullying	9.9	3.5	0.7

<sup>a</sup>Percentage based on number of victims

Austria and their general rejection of alcohol due to religious reservations. This example reminds us to consider cultural peculiarities in research on crime and delinquency.

Table 7.6 (above) shows that victimisation rates of robbery/extortion and assault are quite low, and one out of ten students reported to be the victim of bullying. Almost one-fourth of the students (22.4%) reported to have been the victim of theft. Table 7.6 also shows that – with the exception of bullying - more than one out of five cases of victimisation was reported to the police.

## 7.5 Explaining Youth Delinquency in Austria: Explanatory Variables

In this section, the correlation of self-reported data on youth delinquency and individual social characteristics is discussed. For statistical analysis, thematically related questions in the questionnaire were combined, and sum indices on social background and youth-culture were constructed. In the following paragraph, these indices on peer groups, leisure activities, family, school, attitudes towards crime and self-control are described, followed by a discussion of the correlation between these characteristics and certain forms of delinquency.

### 7.5.1 Leisure Time and Peer Groups

Concerning leisure time and peer groups five indices were constructed:

1. Group membership (i.e. being part of a group of friends)

2. Readiness for group delinquency (spending time in public; accepting doing illegal things, doing illegal things together, and considering the group to be a gang)
3. Knowing delinquent friends
4. Leisure time activities: nightlife and alcohol (i.e. going to discos, drinking a lot of alcohol)
5. Leisure time: group delinquency (i.e. vandalism; shoplifting; frighten and annoy people).

A frequency analysis focusing on leisure-time activities shows that 21% of the respondents stated they never go out in the evening. Seventy per cent stated that they “have a certain group of friends to hang out with”. Twenty-nine per cent of the group members say doing illegal things is accepted for their group, and 32% say they also do illegal things together. Sixteen per cent of the group members consider their group of friends to be a “gang”. Those results are similar for large cities and small towns in Austria. Boys and girls differ significantly in that respect.

We merged four questions (originally developed by the Euro Gang Study to measure gang involvement) into one index “readiness for group delinquency”<sup>2</sup>. In the Austrian sample, 31% of the respondents indicated a “low readiness for group delinquency”, which means that they do not spend time in public places, they do not appreciate doing illegal things together with friends and they do not consider their group to be a gang. Only 5% of the 13–15-year old students scored positive on all four questions, suggesting a “high readiness for group delinquency”. With regard to migration background and city-size no differences were found.

Some differences were found concerning the question “with whom do you spend most of your free time?”<sup>3</sup> First, more boys than girls reported spending time alone (11% boys; 8% girls). Second, the family seems more important to youth with a migration background. Youth born abroad spend their time more often with their families (46%) compared to Austrian youth (34%). Third, age is an important factor that changes leisure habits of young people. At the age of 14, peer groups become more prominent at the expense of the

family. But small groups (1–3 friends) are dominant over large groups of friends. Thirty-five per cent of the respondents spend most of their time with small groups, whereas only 18% spend their time together in large groups. Moreover, it is interesting to see that pupils in higher education attach more importance to spending time alone than pupils of lower secondary and vocational schools. Additionally, in higher secondary schools spending time alone increases with age, whereas it decreases with age in vocational schools. Large groups of friends are less popular with pupils in higher education.

In order to learn more about the significance of delinquency in students’ lives, behaviours like shoplifting and vandalism were not only included in the “crime-section” of the questionnaire, but were also included in the context of general leisure-time activities. At the top of the ladder of activities are computer-games and chatting over the computer (47%), followed by sports (40%). Going to discos at night (15%) and alcohol consumption (11%) are ranked rather low, as are shop-lifting (1.6%) and vandalism (3.8%).

A factor analysis of leisure-time activities clearly extracts two dimensions. The first is a group of youth who may be called – admittedly using somewhat exaggerated terminology – the “alcoholic night-owls”. They “drink a lot of alcohol” and often “go to discos or pop-concerts” ( $r = 0.52$ ). A second group may be labelled “petty offenders”, who tend to vandalise, shop-lift, and frighten and annoy other people ( $r = 0.22$ – $0.42$ ). Each dimension needs further specification about the group composition.

First, the “alcoholic night-owls” are comprised of girls and boys alike. Second, more Austrian-born pupils than migrants are found in this group, which can be explained by the prevalent absence of alcohol use among Muslim youth. Third, correlations with psychological dimensions were found to be a factor for this group. Risk taking and spontaneity are typical characteristics of that group. Fourth, it was found that drinking a lot of alcohol and going out at night corresponds with poor school performance (truancy, repetition of grades, performance compared with others students in class). The “petty offenders” show other social and behavioural features. In this group the boys are the majority. In contrast to overall self-reported crime, petty crime in groups does not increase with age. Vandalism, shoplifting and annoying people are equally important in all age groups. Pupils in the ninth

<sup>2</sup>This measure corresponds with the measures of gang involvement used in the Euro-Gang Study.

<sup>3</sup>No tests of statistical significance were conducted, so the presented differences should be interpreted to be merely suggestive of differences.

grade even report less petty crime in leisure time than pupils in seventh and eighth grade (with the exception of vocational schools, where petty offending further increases with age).

Pupils were asked whether they knew friends who have committed certain forms of crime such as drug abuse, shoplifting, burglary, robbery/extortion and assault. This question had a strategic function in the questionnaire as a bridge between the “social” and “criminal” part, but more importantly, it is designed to give an impression on the distribution of offences in youth sub-cultures, because it avoids asking personal questions about one’s behaviour (and thus may provide a better measure of delinquency). However, this question form also has the danger of over-reporting, since many people may simply pretend to know someone who has committed an offence. In the Austrian sample, responses to this question show that drug use (23%) and shop-lifting (28%) are quite common among youth, whereas burglary, robbery/extortion and assault are rather rare (between 4% and 6%). Again city-size, ethnicity and gender show no significant differences. Drug use was reported to a higher extent in secondary higher education, while violence and robbery/extortion seem more common in vocational schools, but this may also be due to disproportionate gender dispersion with a majority of males in vocational schools.

For further statistical analysis of the correlation between the sum-indices on leisure and peer group activities and self-reported delinquency, alcohol consumption was excluded. This decision was made because first and foremost drinking alcohol is not a crime in Austria, and second because this item dominates all forms of crime and delinquency and gives biased results. The highest correlation was found between “knowing delinquent friends” and overall self-reported crime (excluding alcohol consumption). Those pupils who know friends who have committed crimes in the past also report their own involvement in delinquent activity (Spearman’s  $\rho = 0.523$ ). This applies to all self-reported offence categories except for what we called “severe theft” (burglary, theft of vehicles, robbery/extortion).

The second highest correlation is found between the index “readiness for group delinquency” and overall self-reported crime (excluding alcohol) ( $\rho = 0.448$ ). As mentioned above, this index reflects the

inclination to a gang-culture including items like “spending time in public”, “accept doing illegal things”, “actually do illegal things together”, and “consider the group to be a gang”. The group delinquency index correlates in particular with violence and alcohol/drug consumption ( $\rho > 0.3$ ), but less with severe theft ( $\rho = 0.258$ ). It seems that kids who hang out in what some may consider a youth gang tend to drink a lot of alcohol and commit offences like vandalism and assault, are involved in group fights, but do not get involved much in theft and burglary.

It can be concluded that all indices concerning leisure time and the peer group play a major role in youth delinquency in Austria. Leisure activities together with friends have a crucial impact on delinquency. Youth delinquency is primarily a social group phenomenon.

### 7.5.2 Self-control and Delinquency

In contrast to sociological explanations of crime and delinquency through factors like leisure activities, peer groups, family, neighbourhood, and school, variables like self-control and attitudes represent a more psychologically oriented approach to explain criminality. This perspective was emphasised by Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990). This version of control theory holds that the degree of internalised control over one’s own social behaviour is just as important to the explanation of deviance as the external determinants of social life. In general, youth cultures are characterised by risk behaviour of young people who like to test their limits and their inclination to adventure and excitement. Consequently, self-control seems the only regulator to resist the prevalent peer pressure and delinquency youths experience. Moreover, low self-control may be conceived as a causal factor not only for crime and delinquency, but also as a component for general failure in many social situations at school and in personal relationships (Wikström, 2006).

In this study the self-control scale first introduced by Bursik and Grasmick (1993) was used. In a correlation analysis, 12 questions for self-description were summarised into four subscales: *Spontaneity, risk-taking, egoism and impulsiveness*. For example, the assertion “I lose my temper easily” was assigned to impulsiveness. The assertion “I will try to get the



things I want, even when I know it's causing problems for other people" was assigned to egoism. In the descriptive analysis (results not presented), agreement with the given assertions corresponds with high rates of spontaneity, risk-taking, egoism and impulsiveness, and consequently indicate a rather low level of self-control. In Austria, the majority of respondents disagree with the assertions in the questionnaire (i.e. showed a rather high level of self-control). More specifically, agreement with risk-taking question was rather low whereas spontaneity received slightly higher levels of agreement.

An analysis of the differences in self-control according to socio-demographic factors showed very little variance regarding gender, age, town size, migration background and school-type. The highest Spearman-correlations were found between risk-taking and gender ( $\rho = 0.179$ ; boys more risk-taking than girls) and between impulsiveness and migration background ( $\rho = 0.102$ ; migrants more impulsive than locals). The pupils in the Austrian sample show a high rate of homogeneity with respect to self-control factors.

How powerful is the concept of self-control to explain self-reported delinquency? The relationship between the personality traits and delinquency was tested in a simple bi-correlation analysis. The results show an overall correlation of ( $\rho = 0.417$ ) of the self-control scale with overall delinquency. This suggests that personality traits such as risk-taking, spontaneity, egoism and impulsiveness may explain delinquent behaviour to a great extent. This general correlation between self-control and delinquency is broken down by types of delinquency and self-control subscale (see Table 7.7). Overall, violence shows the highest correlations with the subscales of self-control [e.g. risk-taking (0.406)]. Focussing on overall delinquency (last column), it appears that impulsiveness and egoism play a lesser role than risk taking and spontaneity. Risk taking in particular is important, because it correlates

with violence and alcohol consumption. The correlation between risk taking and delinquency is similar for girls ( $\rho = 0.481$ ) and for boys ( $\rho = 0.447$ ).

### 7.5.3 Family Relationships and Self-reported Delinquency

The ISRD 2 questionnaire contained a number of questions that referred to the family life of the respondents. These questions could be categorised in three groups:

1. Contact with the family (frequency of leisure activities with the parents and having dinner together)
2. Emotional bonding with the family (the quality of understanding with father and mother)
3. Direct control through family (parents know their children's friends, and they set a time limit for going out at night).

As expected, results show that contact with family decreases with age: 73% of 13-year olds, but only 56% of 15-year olds spend their time more than once a week together with their parents. With increasing age, quality of relationships of girls with their parents deteriorates, whereas for boys, the quality of relationships remains constant. Moreover, it was found that particularly in vocational schools, but also in higher secondary schools, father and son relationships tend to be better than father and daughter relationships. It is interesting to see that the emotional bonding, in particular in father and daughter relationships, correlates with direct formal control through the family. Girls who say that their parents know their friends, have a better relationship with their fathers. In general, the better the relationship with parents, the more the parents want to know about their children's friends and activities, and the more they are inclined to set limits to control their children's leisure activities.

**Table 7.7** Correlation between forms of delinquency and self-control factors

Spearman-correlation (rho)	Alcohol	Drug	Theft	Severe theft	Violence	Overall delinquency
Spontaneity	0.264	0.227	0.209	0.173	0.303	0.350
Risk-taking	0.365	0.262	0.249	0.225	0.406	0.472
Egoism	0.188	0.180	0.188	0.154	0.247	0.270
Impulsiveness	0.110	0.145	0.135	0.127	0.249	0.215
Self-control	0.283	0.266	0.253	0.241	0.404	0.417



Direct control in the form of setting curfew limits is stricter with girls than with boys, and overall tends to decrease with age. The majority (83%) of 15-year old girls and 74% of the boys say they get curfew limits from their parents when going out at night. This difference is even more explicit in families with migration backgrounds where 84% of 15-year old girls and only 65% of the boys get curfew-limits. The significant difference in parental styles for girls and boys also seems to be social class specific with the biggest ranges of given curfews between girls and boys are found in vocational schools and polytechnic schools.

The Austrian data provides initial support for Hirschi's (1969) control theory: social bonding with the family is significantly correlated with self-reported delinquency. The more affectionate the relationships with parents ( $\rho = 0.226$ ), the more time children spend with parents ( $\rho = 0.243$ ), and the more direct control parents hold over their children ( $\rho = 0.248$ ), the less delinquency is reported by the juveniles. A detailed analysis of different forms of delinquency and different forms of parental control shows that, in particular, direct control effects is related to a lower readiness for violence ( $\rho = 0.226$ ) and drug consumption ( $\rho = 0.173$ ). Likewise, regular leisure activities and common meals together with parents and positive emotional bonds result in lower rates of alcohol consumption ( $\rho = 0.307$ ). This correlation decreases with age, which confirms the common knowledge that parental control gets less effective as children grow up.

In contrast to the case of alcohol consumption, where the impact of family bonds decreases with age, family relations become more important with age with regard to offences like theft, burglary, drug consumption and violence. The correlation between emotional bonding with the family and the sum index of these crimes increases with age from  $\rho = 0.156$  (13-years old) to  $\rho = 0.261$  (15 years old).

#### 7.5.4 Schools

Next to family relationships, schools are seen as an important disciplinary institution for the socialisation of young people, not least because in many Austrian counties, full-day schools are prevalent. Hirschi's control theory is based on a rational actor model of behaviour and emphasises the rational component of conformity

that emanates from schools. The individual contemplating a deviant act "must consider the costs of this deviant behaviour, the risk he runs of losing the investment he has made in conventional behaviour" (Hirschi, 1969, p. 20). Therefore, the bond with school may be interpreted as an important indicator for the conformity with social norms and values.

In the analysis of the Austrian ISRD\_2 data, questions concerning the school were categorised in three indices:

1. Attachment to school ("if I had to move, I would miss my school", "I like my school")
2. Perception of crime at school (regarding theft, fighting and vandalism)
3. Performance at school (truancy, repetition, performance compared to class-mates)

With regard to attachment to school, differences were found according to school types. The bond to lower secondary and vocational educational schools decreases significantly with grade, whereas higher secondary and technical schools are perceived more positively. Furthermore, significant gender and age differences were found. Girls show a decreasing attachment from a relatively high level of 80% who like school at the age of 13 to 67% at the age of 14, whereas the attachment of boys with school remains constant on a lower level with 66% and 62% respectively. Moreover, girls spend more time doing homework and reading books, while boys use their leisure time for sports and playing computer games. This confirms earlier studies in Austria that found girls more ambitious at schools (Eder, 1996).

The extent of truancy was found similar in all school types, but increasing with grade. Additionally, truancy seems more frequent in Vienna than in small towns. This result corresponds with higher repetition rates in Vienna (15% of the respondents).

Boys report higher levels of perceived theft, fighting and vandalism at school than girls. Significant differences were found according to school type with almost 60% of the respondents in the pre-vocational schools for apprentices having been confronted with crime at their schools, whereas theft, fighting and vandalism was reported in higher vocational colleges by 47% of the respondents. However this may be due to the different proportion of boys and girls in the respective schools.

Results of correlation analysis of school indices and self-reported delinquency show that school per-

**Table 7.8** Correlation matrix between forms of delinquency and school-variables

Correlation Spearman's rho	Alcohol	Drugs	Theft	Severe theft	Violence	Sum of delinquency (excl. alcohol)
Attachment to school	-0.174	-0.165	-0.162	-0.117	-0.195	-0.230
Performance at school	-0.301	-0.314	-0.261	-0.182	-0.291	-0.369
Perception of crime in school	0.131	0.185	0.155	0.132	0.254	0.269

formance has the strongest relationship with delinquency ( $\rho = -0.369$ ), followed by perception of crime at school ( $\rho = -0.269$ ) and school attachment ( $\rho = -0.230$ ). However, Table 7.8 shows that correlation differs with the kind of delinquency. Good performance at school in terms of little truancy, no repetition of grades and positive self-comparison with classmates primarily corresponds with low alcohol and drug consumption, but also with low violence and low theft. This seems to reflect the “well-behaved and ambitious” pupils, who also abstain from any kind of delinquent behaviour. On the other hand, perception of violence at school corresponds positively with delinquency. The coincidence of perception of violence in school and self-reported violence ( $\rho = 0.254$ ) suggests an active involvement of youth in a violent ambience.

The impact of school performance differs by school type (not shown here). In higher secondary education, school performance is more significantly correlated with “good” behaviour than in lower secondary education and vocational schools, where the correlation is lower. The correlation between school attachment and self-reported delinquency decreases with age: the older the youngsters, the less positive behavioural effects can be gained through attachment to the school. In other words, with increasing age, school attachment does not matter with regard to delinquency. Delinquent behavioural traits may become more resistant to the control factor of school attachment.

## 7.6 Conclusions

The ISRD-2 study has launched a new form of research on youth delinquency in Austria. In the margin between the myth of youth as folk-devils and youth delinquency as a normal transitory devel-

opmental trait in life, the instrument of self-reporting has added substantially to traditional forms of data collection on crime and delinquency. Although primarily quantitative methods were applied in the analysis, this study has contributed to the cultural knowledge about youth and their lifestyle. It looks beyond simple statistical descriptions of frequencies of crime and has the potential to explain certain behavioural features through social and personal circumstances of young people. We should mention, however, that we present in this chapter only preliminary bi-variate correlations, and that any speculations about causality should be made with great caution. It also has to be acknowledged that self-reported data represent “soft facts” in contrast to “hard facts” in the criminal record system. Although it is possible that self-reports provide a valid measure of crime and crime trends, self-report analyses primarily scrutinise the meaning of certain forms of delinquency in the eyes of youth offenders. This kind of data analysis can help explain the reasons and circumstances behind certain trendy lifestyles of young people. Crime and delinquency are to be seen in a cultural perspective.

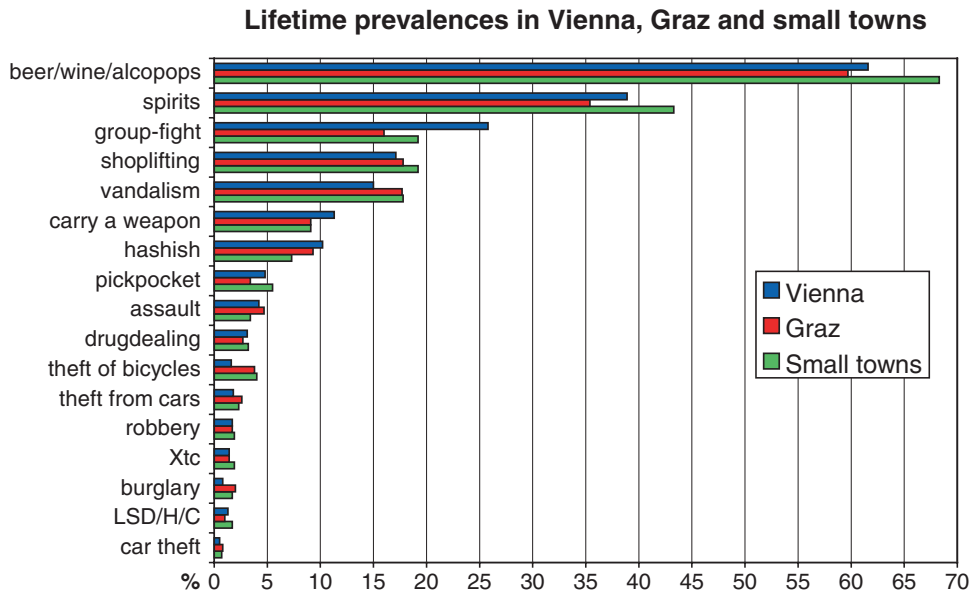
This methodology has extended our knowledge on youth delinquency and alcohol consumption in two ways. First, the commonly used social categories found in the crime statistics such as gender, age and nationality could be supplemented with more sophisticated data on migration background, school type and size of the city. For example, the overall Austrian sample showed very little variation in delinquency between metropolitan and rural areas. Also, migration background was found significant merely in the case of alcohol consumption, with a clear majority of Austrians already having consumed alcohol at the age of 15. Importantly, in all forms of self-reported offending, the answers of foreigners of the first, second or third

generation correspond to answers of young people with Austrian family backgrounds. Moreover, if we assume that the school types of higher secondary schools and higher technical colleges on the one hand, and lower secondary schools and vocational schools on the other also represent a divide in social classes (which is the case in Austrian cities rather than in the countryside), then we can learn from this study that alcohol consumption is independent of social class background, whereas violence clearly varies between these school types (and thus social class). Alcohol consumption seems common with the wealthy and the poorer students alike. Violence, however, seems to be a phenomenon that correlates with lower educational levels and working classes.

Second, and more important theories about the causes of youth delinquency were explored. Using the concepts of control theories, correlation between delinquency and social bonding with peers, the family and

the school, attitudes and leisure activities, were tested. In Austria, self-reported delinquency correlates with the approval of violence, having friends who have committed a crime, alcohol consumption, bad school performance, perceived crime in the neighbourhood and at school, and victimisation. Besides, delinquent youth show lower levels of self-control, they are more ready to take risks and act impulsively. All this hints at the confirmation of control theories. However, the results also show that socio-economic class seems to play a subordinate for youth delinquency. This may be due in part to vague questions in the questionnaire. Future self-report studies should take other theoretical concepts like “social disorganization theory” more seriously and emphasise ecological approaches to explain crime and delinquency.

## Appendix



**Fig. 7.4** Prevalence by size of city

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# Anglo-Saxon Countries

# Chapter 8

## Ireland

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### 8.1 Introduction and Background

This chapter looks at the self-reported offending behaviour of school children in the Republic of Ireland. The findings are derived from the administration of international self-reported delinquency (ISRD2) questionnaire to a sample of students mostly aged 13–15 years ( $n = 1,570$ ) in their first, second and third years of secondary school across a number of cities and towns.

In order to accurately interpret the findings, it is important to highlight the local context and economic conditions. The Republic of Ireland's official population is 4,234,925 as measured by the 2006 census. The latest figures revealed that 28% of the population was made up of children aged 18 or younger<sup>2</sup> (CSO, 2002). The Irish economy has undergone a transformation within recent years and has moved from a primary dependence on agriculture to a dependence on trade, industry and investment. Over the last decade, there has been a dramatic reversal of fortune for the Irish economy, from a situation of high levels of unemployment and emigration to a position of almost full employment (see Fahey et al., 2007). Furthermore, a considerable

number of people in the Irish labour market are now foreign nationals (NESC, 2005).

Although the Republic has recently experienced unprecedented growth, it still faces a distinct number of social problems. Poverty, school drop-out at an early age, and low literacy levels are a reality for certain sections of Irish society. In particular, child poverty remains a persistent problem. Today, one in five Irish children lives in income poverty,<sup>3</sup> while one in ten Irish children lives in consistent poverty<sup>4</sup> (Combat Poverty Agency, 2006).

The education system in Ireland is distinguished by a very high level of church involvement. Historically, churches were heavily involved in the establishment and management of schools in Ireland, and over 90% of schools in Ireland still remain under the management of Catholic Church (Clancy, 2005). The education system is operated on three levels: primary, second level and third level. In the second level system, which caters to the age range from which the sample for this project was drawn, there are distinct sub-sections including secondary schools, vocational schools, comprehensives and Irish language schools (Gaelscoileanna).

Social and economic changes have resulted in changes in the issues faced by young people in Ireland. There has been a dramatic increase in the participation of young people in the labour market in the last 15 years, with more and more taking part-time jobs outside school. Illegal drug use has also become more commonplace. A recent report by National Advisory

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<sup>2</sup>Children are defined as being under the age of 18 years as set out by the UN in the Convention on the Rights of the Child

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<sup>3</sup>Children and their parents live on an income, which is 60% or less of the average household income (Combat Poverty Agency, 2006).

<sup>4</sup>Children live on an income of 60% or less of the average household income and also experience deprivation of basic necessities (Combat Poverty Agency, 2006).



Committee on Drugs released in 2003 found that the lifetime prevalence rate for the use of illegal drugs among those aged 15–24 years was 25%. The European School Survey Project on Alcohol and Drugs identified that Ireland had one of the highest life-time prevalence rates (39%) for the use of cannabis among the countries surveyed.

### 8.1.1 Juvenile Offending and Juvenile Justice System

The scope of available research on youth offending and the juvenile justice system in Ireland is limited. Indeed, it has been argued that the absence of such research has hindered the advancement of the juvenile justice system and has often resulted in policy being developed in a “research vacuum” (O’Sullivan, 1996, p. 5; more generally see O’Donnell, 2005). The Children Act (2001) represents a new framework for the juvenile justice system in Ireland and is the first major legislative reform of the system in almost 100 years. The key areas of change include the increase in the age of criminal responsibility from 7 to 12 years for all but the most serious offences, the placement of the Juvenile Diversion Programme on a statutory basis, the introduction of restorative cautioning and family conferencing, the enshrinement of the principle of detention as a measure of last resort, the abolition of imprisonment for children and the development of a broader range of community-based sanctions. While there have been substantial delays in enacting the new legislation, the establishment of the Irish Youth Justice Service in 2006 and the publication of the first National Youth Justice Strategy in 2008 has given a new impetus to the development of a programme of reform of the youth justice system in Ireland.

## 8.2 Methodology

The research involved the administration of a self-report questionnaire to seventh, eighth and ninth grade students. In total, 37 secondary schools took part in the research and questionnaires were administered to 1,570 students.

The Irish questionnaire was based upon the standardised format of the ISRD2, but it also incorporated

elements from the Canadian National Youth Survey. The basic sample design used was cross-sectional. The sampling frame identified students aged 12–15 years (Grades seven, eight and nine) or those in all types of second levels schools in the Republic of Ireland, except for those that specifically catered to students with learning difficulties or behaviour problems.

In order to draw a national sample for this study, a list of all second level schools in the Republic of Ireland was obtained from the Department of Education and Science. Five geographic areas were chosen according to size and degree of urbanisation, resulting in three sub-samples that included one large city<sup>5</sup>, (the population size of 495,781) one medium-sized city (population 123,062) and three small towns<sup>6</sup> with population sizes of 32,500, 31,577 and 17,000<sup>7</sup> inhabitants respectively. Within these specific areas, schools were randomly selected.

The second stage of sampling was to randomly select two classrooms within each school. The information on the number of classes in each grade was gathered from each school by the researchers. Students in seventh, eighth and ninth grade were identified as the targets of the study. Two class rooms from each school were then randomly selected.

In total, 37 of the 62 sampled schools agreed to participate in the study, giving an institutional response rate of 60%. Overall, as Table 8.1 shows, the response rate was higher in medium city (65% and in small towns (72%) than in large city (48%).

The number of schools that participated did not vary greatly across selected areas. Most of the non-participating schools were in the large city. Four schools were determined as having “timed out”. In two

**Table 8.1** Participation rates of schools

	Large city	Medium city	Small town 1	Small town 2	Small town 3
Participant	13	11	3	5	5
Non-participant	12	5	3	1	0
“Timed out”	2	1	0	0	1
Total	27	17	6	6	6

<sup>5</sup>This does not include greater areas of the city for the large city and for medium city.

<sup>6</sup>This includes the population of the town and greater areas of the town.

<sup>7</sup>Figures were taken from the 2002 Census released by the Central Statistics Office.

cases, it was decided to stop trying to contact them after the tenth answered phone call failed to elicit a decision one way or another. In the remaining cases, it was not possible to gain access and organise a field-work visit within the available timeframe.

All schools that declined to participate were probed for a reason. Half cited “research over-saturation” as their main reason ( $n = 10$ ). It should be noted that many schools were hesitant to take part because important state examinations were approaching and they did not want to disturb their class schedules.

Permission to administer the surveys was first sought from the principals of the sampled schools. Passive parental consent forms were dispersed detailing the nature of study that allowed parents to exclude their child from taking part by signing a cut-away slip attached to the bottom of the form. In addition to the consent of the school and the parent/guardian, the informed consent of the young people themselves was obtained.

### 8.3 Key Findings

This part of the chapter presents findings from the survey in relation to overall levels of offending and how these are related to gender, family structure, type of school and neighbourhood.

#### 8.3.1 Demographics of the Sample

The average age of participants was 14.1 years with over 90% of those surveyed aged between 13 and 15. Twelve-year olds accounted for only 3.3% and 16–17-year olds, for 3.9%. Of the total of 1,570 participants, 733 (47%) were female and 826 (53%) were male. The vast majority of students stated that they were born in the Republic of Ireland ( $n = 1,380$ , 87.9%) and only 10% ( $n = 167$ ) were born in another country.

Respondents were asked to describe the structure of their family. The majority (80.6%) reported that their parents were living together (either married or unmarried), which is broadly similar to findings of other youth-based surveys conducted in Ireland (HBSC, 2002; Lalor and Baird, 2006). Almost 9% (8.9) indicated

that they lived only with their mother and 3.8% reported living with their mother and stepfather. Furthermore, 6.7% reported living in various “other” family compositions (e.g. with grandparents, foster family, etc.).

The majority of respondents reported having father (69.5%) as well as mother (58.9%) with a “steady job”. Smaller numbers reported having a father who owned his own business (23.0%) and a mother who was employed in full-time household duties (25.0%). Only a very small percentage of students reported having parents who either could not find work or were unable to work.

#### 8.3.2 Overall Prevalence and Incidence of Self-reported Delinquent Behaviour

Students were asked about their involvement in a variety of behaviours that ranged from more trivial acts such as cigarette smoking to more serious offences such as car theft. Both lifetime prevalence (defined as having engaged in behaviour on at least one occasion) and either last year or last month prevalence were measured depending upon the seriousness of the particular activity.

As can be seen from Table 8.2, students regularly reported involvement in less serious behaviours such as drinking beer, wine or cider, drinking spirits, smoking cigarettes, and viewing X-rated Internet sites. Very small numbers reported involvement in more serious offences; in fact, less than 7% reported ever having been involved in either burglary, bicycle theft, car theft, theft from a car, robbery/extortion, assault, purse snatching, hard drug use, drug dealing, and more serious computer-related acts. Vandalism and shoplifting were relatively common and around one in six reported carrying a weapon such as a stick, chain or knife (not a pen-knife) at some stage. However, qualitative comments gathered from students suggest that the rather high prevalence of weapon carrying may have been due to the broad definition of “weapon” used in the questionnaire.

If students reported involvement in a particular behaviour during their lifetime, they were asked for the age at which they *first* engaged in this behaviour (i.e. the age of onset). Likewise, if a student reported involvement in a behaviour during the designated recall period (last year or last month), he or she was

also asked to report the frequency of this behaviour, measured by the number of incidents per month or year. The mean age of onset was 12.7 years; however, children become involved with different behaviours at slightly varying ages. For example, the average age of

onset for shoplifting was 11.4 years old while the average age for hard drug use, a much more serious offence, was 13.6 years old. Broadly speaking, most self-reported behaviours (with the exception of status offences) were not reported frequently.

When self-reported offending rates across different-sized towns and cities included in the survey in Ireland are compared, it can be seen that a similar pattern emerges to those reported above (see Tables 8.3, 8.4 and 8.5 below). The most common incidents reported were less serious such as drinking alcohol, smoking cigarettes, or viewing X-rated Internet sites. Only a relatively small number reported involvement in serious offences such as being involved in burglary, car theft, robbery/extortion, assault or hard drug use. Overall, it was apparent that there were slightly less reported incidents from those living in the small towns and medium-sized cities than those in large cities; however, many of the differences were not statistically significant. Indeed, of the incidents reported in the “life-time” (Table 8.3) by city size, only those involving vandalism, shoplifting, bicycle theft and group-fights were found to be statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

A broadly similar pattern emerged in relation to acts of delinquency in the “last year” (see Table 8.4), with slightly more of those from large and medium city locations admitting to acts of delinquency than those from small towns. Again, many of the differences found between the cities and towns were relatively small and not statistically significant. Looking at incidents of victimisation and whether they were reported to the police in the last year (see Table 8.5 below) a

**Table 8.2** Prevalence of self-reported youth behaviour

Type	Ever		Last year		Last month	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Shoplifting	477	31.9	268	18.0	–	–
Burglary	68	4.6	42	2.8	–	–
Bicycle theft	99	6.7	52	3.5	–	–
Car theft	45	3.0	32	2.1	–	–
Theft from car	103	6.9	59	4.0	–	–
Vandalism	383	25.5	265	17.7	–	–
Carrying a weapon	241	16.3	183	12.4	–	–
Robbery/extortion	62	4.2	50	3.4	–	–
Group fighting	523	35.4	364	24.8	–	–
Assault	66	4.5	43	2.9	–	–
Arson	209	14.2	139	9.4	–	–
Purse snatching	59	4.0	40	2.7	–	–
Cannabis use	283	18.8	–	–	112	7.5
Ecstasy/Speed use	39	2.6	–	–	15	1.0
LSD/Heroin/ Cocaine use	46	3.1	–	–	16	1.1
Drug dealing	81	5.4	58	3.9	–	–
Beer, wine, cider consumption	992	64.8	–	–	461	30.2
Spirits consumption	736	49.1	–	–	317	21.2
Cigarette smoking	531	35.2	–	–	275	18.2
Computer hacking	71	4.8	56	3.8	–	–
E-mail harassment	94	6.4	76	5.2	–	–
Viewing X-rated Internet sites	530	36.0	453	30.9	–	–

**Table 8.3** “Life-time” delinquency prevalence by city-size (in valid %)

	Large city <i>N</i> = 491		Medium city <i>N</i> = 540		Small towns <i>N</i> = 539		<i>p</i>
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	
Vandalism	28.1	4.3	27.3	3.7	21.4	5.4	0.029
Shoplifting	36.8	4.9	29.5	3.9	29.7	5.2	0.021
Burglary	3.9	4.9	4.6	3.9	5.1	5.8	0.636
Bicycle theft	9.6	4.9	7.2	4.8	3.4	5.9	0.000
Car theft	4.0	4.3	3.1	4.3	2.0	5.6	0.162
Hacking	5.5	7.1	3.9	5.2	5.2	7.6	0.464
Car break	6.9	4.9	7.0	4.4	6.9	5.6	0.997
Robbery/extortion	4.5	5.7	4.1	4.3	4.0	6.9	0.899
Weapons	17.9	4.7	17.7	4.8	13.2	7.2	0.074
Groupfights	40.7	6.3	33.8	4.3	32.1	7.1	0.015
Assault	6.1	6.1	4.1	4.6	3.4	7.1	0.115
Drugdealing	5.2	5.1	6.1	3.5	4.9	5.0	0.642
XTC	3.0	4.3	1.5	4.1	3.3	4.8	0.167
L/H/C	4.1	4.1	1.9	3.7	3.3	5.0	0.136

**Table 8.4** “Last Year” delinquency prevalence by city-size (in valid %)

	Large city <i>N</i> = 491		Medium city <i>N</i> = 540		Small towns <i>N</i> = 539		<i>p</i>
	%	Missing	%	Missing	%	Missing	
Vandalism	19.0	4.7	18.3	4.1	15.9	5.4	0.395
Shoplifting	22.2	5.3	14.5	3.9	17.7	5.6	0.007
Burglary	2.1	4.9	3.1	3.9	3.1	5.8	0.571
Bicycle theft	4.9	5.1	3.7	5.0	2.0	5.9	0.041
Car theft	3.0	4.3	1.9	4.4	1.6	5.6	0.292
Hacking	4.4	7.3	2.5	5.4	4.6	7.6	0.171
Car break	4.5	4.9	3.7	4.6	3.7	5.8	0.772
Robbery/extortion	3.9	5.7	3.3	4.3	3.0	7.1	0.739
Weapons	13.9	4.7	13.7	5.2	9.6	7.2	0.069
Groupfights	29.6	7.1	23.3	4.6	21.8	7.4	0.013
Assault	4.1	6.1	2.3	4.6	2.4	7.1	0.176
Drugdealing	3.2	5.3	4.8	3.5	3.5	5.0	0.387
XTC*	1.3	4.3	0.8	4.1	1.0	4.8	0.727
L/H/C*	1.3	5.3	0.6	3.7	1.4	5.0	0.399

\*Last 4 weeks

**Table 8.5** “Last year” victimisation prevalence and reports to the police by city-size (valid %)

	Large city		Medium city		Small towns	
	Victimised	Reported to police	Victimised	Reported to police	Victimised	Reported to police
Theft	21.5	13.7	18.9	11.2	31.1	7.1
Assault	3.9	15.0	4.0	21.1	4.0	21.1
Robbery/ extortion	6.1	19.2	6.2	9.4	3.4	6.3
Bullying	18.2	2.5	14.1	1.4	19.8	0.0

slightly different pattern emerged. It appeared that those from small towns were slightly more likely to have stated they were victimised for thefts and bullying than those from medium and large cities.

### 8.3.3 Definition of Delinquency and Problem Behaviour

Moving away from differences between cities and towns, the following analysis considers overall patterns of delinquency, and in Table 8.6, the self-reported acts are grouped into five major categories: property offences, violent offences (subdivided into criminal damage and offences against the person), drug offences, status offences, and computer-related acts. Categories of offending were created by summing the number of individuals reporting at least one of these activities. Definitions for the categories used

in the current analysis were based upon groupings used in the ISRD1 survey in Belfast, which was conducted by McQuoid (1994).

Two major trajectories were calculated: “Overall Delinquency” and “Overall Problem Behaviour”. These categories are also very similar to those used in the Belfast study with the exception that the current calculations included alcohol consumption, whereas the Belfast categories did not. This study measures “Overall Delinquency” by involvement in more serious crimes (property offences, violent offences, drug dealing and e-mail harassment). The definition of Overall Problem Behaviour *only* includes items relating to alcohol use, drug use and cigarette smoking. Computer hacking and viewing X-rated Internet sites are not included in either of these measurements.

It was found that 53.9% of the sample reported having committed at least one delinquent act at some time in their lives, with 38.9% having done so during the last year (see Table 8.7). Considerably more children (67.2%) had been involved in some form of problem

**Table 8.6** Categorized self-reported behaviours

Property offences	Violent offences		Drug offences	Status offences	Computer-related acts
	Criminal damage	Offences against the person			
• Shoplifting	• Vandalism	• Group fighting	• Cannabis	• Beer, wine, cider	• Computer hacking
• Burglary	• Arson	• Robbery/extortion	• Speed	• Spirits	• E-mail harassment
• Bicycle theft		• Assault	• LSD, cocaine, heroin	• Cigarette smoking	• Viewing X-rated Internet sites
• Car theft		• Purse snatching	• Drug dealing		
• Theft from car		• Carrying a weapon			

**Table 8.7** Prevalence of self-reported behaviours “Ever”, “Last year”, and “Last month”

Type	Ever		Last year		Last month	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Property offences	531	33.8	315	20.1	–	–
Violent offences	690	43.9	516	32.9	–	–
Drug offences	307	19.6	–	–	123*	7.8*
Status offences	1,053	67.1	–	–	570	36.3
Computer-related acts	587	37.4	496	31.6	–	–
Overall delinquency	846	53.9	611	38.9	–	–
Overall problem behaviour	1,055	67.2	–	–	580	36.9

\*Figure excludes drug dealing

behaviour during their lifetime, while the prevalence rate for within the last month of 36.9% was quite similar to the last year delinquency rate.

Status offences were the most prevalent type of behaviour reported by students both in terms of lifetime prevalence (67.1%) and also in terms of a time-limited measure; in this case, 36.3% of students had committed a status offence in the last month. Violent offences were reported “ever” by 43.9% and by almost a third last year, but this was high mainly due to the inclusion of group fighting, which was ambiguously defined in the questionnaire and could be interpreted to include anything from a verbal row to a serious riot, in the violent offences category. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that among the more serious types of violent acts, 16.3% reported having “ever” carrying a weapon, 12.4% in the last year.

Computer-related acts were next most prevalent (37.4% ever) with high prevalence of viewing X-rated Internet sites accounting for most of this figure. Following this, a third (33.8%) of students reported “ever” having committed a property offence (20.1% within last year). Drug offences were the least prevalent with only 7.8% reporting having taken drugs during the last month. Additionally, drug use was more prevalent than drug dealing (5.4% ever, 3.9% last year).

### 8.3.4 Correlates of Juvenile Delinquency and Problem Behaviour

#### 8.3.4.1 Gender

Table 8.8 demonstrates that the overall prevalence of delinquency for males (48.9%) was almost twice as high as for females (27.6%). In particular, many more males reported involvement in property offences (24.3% for males; 15.3% for females), violent offences (43.2% for males; 21.0% for females), and computer-related acts, largely attributable to viewing X-rated Internet sites (48.9% for males; 12.1% females). In contrast, females reported higher last month prevalence rates of overall problem behaviour and status offences than males. Both these figures were most likely influenced by females’ higher “last month” prevalence rates of consumption of spirits (23.9% compared to 18.9% of males) and cigarette smoking (21.5% compared to 15.2% of males). On average, females reported smoking 10.2 cigarettes per month, almost twice as many as males ( $M = 4.9$ ).

In terms of property offences, males reported both higher lifetime and last year prevalence rates than

**Table 8.8** Gender and prevalence of self-reported behaviours “Last year” and “Last month”

Type	Male				Female			
	Last year		Last month		Last year		Last month	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Property offences	201	24.3	–	–	112	15.3	–	–
Violent offences	357	43.2	–	–	154	21.0	–	–
Drug offences*	–	–	72	8.7	–	–	50	6.8
Status offences	–	–	293	35.5	–	–	274	37.4
Computer-related acts	404	48.9	–	–	89	12.1	–	–
Overall delinquency	404	48.9	–	–	202	27.6	–	–
Overall problem behaviour	–	–	299	36.2	–	–	278	37.9

\*Figures exclude drug dealing

**Table 8.9** Year in school and prevalence of self-reported behaviours “Last year” and “last month”

Type	Grade 7				Grade 8				Grade 9			
	Last year		Last month		Last year		Last month		Last year		Last month	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Property offences	63	13.4	–	–	120	22.3	–	–	132	23.5	–	–
Violent offences	130	27.7	–	–	195	36.2	–	–	191	34.0	–	–
Drug offences*	–	–	15	13.2	–	–	36	6.7	–	–	72	12.8
Status offences	–	–	111	23.6	–	–	203	37.7	–	–	256	45.6
Computer-related acts	80	17.0	–	–	186	34.6	–	–	230	40.9	–	–
Overall delinquency	144	30.6	–	–	227	42.2	–	–	240	42.7	–	–
Overall problem behaviour	–	–	113	24.0	–	–	204	37.9	–	–	263	46.8

\*Figures exclude drug dealing

females for shoplifting, burglary, bicycle theft, car theft and theft from a car. In regards to violent offences, males reported higher prevalence rates than females for both criminal damage and offences against the person. A quarter of males (24.3%) in the sample reported committing an act of vandalism during the last year compared to only 10.5% of females. Males (33.0%) were also twice as likely as girls (15.5%) to have been involved in a group fight during the past year. Interestingly, both “life-time” and “last year” prevalence rates of purse snatching for females and males were quite similar: 4.3% and 2.8% for males, and 3.7% and 2.6% for girls. In general, males and females had similar prevalence rates for consumption of drug; however, there were some noteworthy differences. Specifically, about twice as many males (5.0%) as females (2.4%) reported dealing with drugs during the last year, and females had a mean age of onset for Ecstasy/ Speed use of 13.3, a full year earlier than males ( $M = 14.2$ ).

### 8.3.4.2 Year in School

Patterns in behaviour varied considerably across the three school grades sampled. As evident from the life-time prevalence rates shown in Table 8.9, most children had experimented with many of the behaviours by the time they were in Grade eight. The “last year” prevalence of overall delinquency rose from 30.6% in Grade 7 to 42.2% in Grade 8 and levelled off at 42.7% in Grade 9. On the other hand “last year” prevalence rates for overall problem behaviour continued to rise steadily throughout all 3 years (24.0% in Grade 7, 37.9% in Grade 8, and 46.8% in Grade 9). In general, prevalence rates for status offences and drug offences grew steadily throughout the 3 years in school, while property offences, violent offences and computer-related acts remained somewhat stable across the three groups. In regard to status offences, life-time prevalence rates for cigarette smoking indicate that if children had not smoked a cigarette by the time they were



in Grade 8, they were less likely to do so after that point, as the rates increase from 29.5% in Grade 7 to 38.5% in Grade 8, and decline slightly to 36.6% in Grade 9. The figures for alcohol consumption reveal a steady rise in both the “life-time” and “last month” prevalence rates from Grade 7 through Grade 9. Three quarters (74.7%) of Grade 9 students will have consumed beer, wine or cider on at least one occasion, 40.7% at least once in the last month.

### 8.3.4.3 Family Structure

Differences in rates of self-reported behaviours were broken down based upon the students’ self-reported family structure. As stated earlier, most (80.6%) of the children reported that they lived with both their mother and father. On the basis of this statistic, it was decided to compare nuclear family structures with all other family structures, majority of which were households headed by a single mother. As can be seen from Table 8.10, children living in nuclear family structures had both lower rates of overall delinquency and lower rates of overall problem behaviour. Children from nuclear families reported lower rates of property offences, violent offences and status offences than children from single-mother/other family compositions. In regard to property offences, children from nuclear families reported lower “life-time” and “last year” prevalence rates for shoplifting, bicycle theft, car theft and theft from a car than children from single-parent/other family types. Despite this, children from all family backgrounds had similar “life-time” as well as “last year” prevalence rates for burglary (4.4% for children from nuclear families, 4.7% for children from single-parent/other family types, 2.7% for children from nuclear

families, 2.9% for children from single-parent/other family types).

## 8.3.5 The Role of School and Neighbourhood

### 8.3.5.1 Type of School

Schools labelled “Disadvantaged” by the Department of Education and Science were compared with schools that were not. As shown in Table 8.11, both overall delinquency and overall problem behaviour were higher for children attending a disadvantaged school than for children attending a non-disadvantaged school.

Self-reported prevalence rates for property offences were also higher amongst children attending disadvantaged schools. In particular self-reported “last year” prevalence rates for offences such as shoplifting, bicycle theft, car theft and theft from car were all higher in disadvantaged schools. On the other hand, prevalence rates for burglary were similar, with 2.6% of children in disadvantaged schools and 2.9% of children in non-disadvantaged schools reporting having committed burglary at least once during the last year. Violent offences were also more prevalent in the disadvantaged schools, while the “last month” prevalence rate for drug offences in disadvantaged schools (11.3%) was almost twice that in non-disadvantaged schools (6.3%). The high prevalence for “last month” drug offences can largely be explained by cannabis, which almost twice as many children attending disadvantaged schools (10.9%) reported using during the last month compared with children attending non-disadvantaged schools (6.1%). In regard to computer-related

**Table 8.10** Family structure and prevalence of self-reported behaviours “Last year” and “Last month”

Type	Nuclear family				Single-mother/other			
	Last year		Last month		Last year		Last month	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Property offences	229	18.4	–	–	82	27.4	–	–
Violent offences	383	30.7	–	–	125	41.8	–	–
Drug offences*	–	–	88	7.1	–	–	33	11.0
Status offences	–	–	420	33.7	–	–	144	48.2
Computer-related acts	392	31.5	–	–	96	32.5	–	–
Overall delinquency	453	36.4	–	–	149	49.8	–	–
Overall problem behaviour	–	–	428	34.4	–	–	146	48.8

\*Figures exclude drug dealing

**Table 8.11** School type and prevalence of self-reported behaviours “Last year” and “Last month”

Type	Disadvantaged school				Non-disadvantaged school			
	Last year		Last month		Last year		Last month	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Property offences	114	23.8	–	–	201	18.4	–	–
Violent offences	182	38.1	–	–	334	30.6	–	–
Drug offences*	–	–	54	11.3	–	–	69	6.3
Status offences	–	–	210	43.9	–	–	360	33.0
Computer-related acts	121	25.3	–	–	375	34.3	–	–
Overall delinquency	206	43.1	–	–	405	37.1	–	–
Overall problem behaviour	–	–	217	45.4	–	–	353	33.2

\*Figures exclude drug dealing

**Table 8.12** Level of community disorder and prevalence of self-reported behaviours “Last year” and “Last month”

Type	Low community disorder				High community disorder			
	Last year		Last month		Last year		Last month	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Property offences	61	13.1	–	–	30	42.9	–	–
Violent offences	94	20.1	–	–	41	58.6	–	–
Drug offences*	–	–	18	3.9	–	–	14	20
Status offences	–	–	120	25.7	–	–	43	61.4
Computer-related acts	133	28.5	–	–	26	37.1	–	–
Overall delinquency	124	26.6	–	–	45	64.3	–	–
Overall problem behaviour	–	–	123	29.3	–	–	44	62.9

acts, children attending disadvantaged schools reported lower “last year” prevalence rates than children attending non-disadvantaged schools (25.3% vs. 34.3%). Once again, this may be due to limited access to computers for children attending disadvantaged schools.

### 8.3.5.2 Level of Community Disorder

The level of disorder in a child’s neighbourhood was measured by six questionnaire items (e.g. there is a lot of drug dealing/crime/graffiti) which formed a useful scale. Scores were divided into two categories, “Low Community Disorder” and “High Community Disorder”. As shown in Table 8.12, prevalence rates for both overall delinquency and overall problem behaviour were much higher in communities with high levels of disorder. An important caveat to the interpretation of these results is that only about a third of students responded to questions composing this scale.

Property offences were almost four times prevalent in communities with high levels of disorder than those with low levels. These differences carried over upon examination of individual offences such as shoplifting (11.1% in

communities with low disorder; 38.5% in communities with high disorder), burglary (1.5% in communities with low disorder; 9.5% in communities with high disorder), and car theft (0.4% in communities with low disorder, 10.9% in communities with high disorder). Violent offences were also much more commonly reported in communities with high levels of disorder, both in terms of criminal damage (41.4% of children during last year) and offences against the person (51.4% during last year). Drug offences were also much more prevalent in communities with high levels of disorder as indicated by the “last month” prevalence rate of 20.0%. Furthermore, status offences were twice as prevalent in high disorder communities, with 90.0% of children in such communities having committed a status offence on at least one occasion.

## 8.4 Conclusions

Overall this study revealed that over half (54%) of the young people reported committing at least one crime or “delinquent act” in the past and 39% stated that they

had done so in the last year. These acts included offences such as property and violent crimes. Sixty-seven per cent admitted to involvement in “problem behaviour” and 37% said they had been involved in such behaviour in the last year, including drug use, alcohol use, and smoking.

The most commonly reported offences were shoplifting (32%), vandalism (26%) and fighting (26%). However it is unclear from the wording of the questionnaire if “fighting” was interpreted by respondents as verbal or physical fighting. Few of the young people reported committing more serious offences such as burglary (5%), car theft (3%) or robbery/extortion (4%). For problem behaviour the most common acts reported were drinking alcohol (65%) and smoking cigarettes (35%).

These findings are similar to other self-reported crime surveys administered internationally and demonstrate that criminal behaviour among the young is much more common than official statistics suggest. The survey also shows, similar to other Irish surveys on the health of young people, that problem behaviour such as drinking alcohol and smoking are unfortunately common within this age group.

In relation to the types of young people most involved in crime and problem behaviour, the survey shows that males are considerably more likely to commit crime than females. Some 49% of the males admitted to a delinquent act in the previous year, by comparison to only 28% of the females. Males were more involved in property offences (24%) than females (15%). Interestingly, females were more likely to have been involved in many of the problem behaviours. For example, 22% of the females admitted to smoking in the last month compared to just 15% of the males.

Levels of involvement in criminal behaviour were found to increase with the age of the young person. So while 31% of those in Grade 7 admitted to committing a criminal offence in the previous 12 months, this increased to 42% for Grade 8 students and 43% for Grade 9 students. Prevalence rates for problem behaviour also grew steadily with the age of the young person and three quarters of third year students admitted to consuming alcohol in the past year.

Children coming from two parent families as opposed to single parent families were less likely to report that they had committed criminal acts or problem behaviour. Therefore children living in a nuclear family structure had both lower rates of overall delinquency and lower rates of overall problem behaviour.

The levels of delinquency and problem behaviour were found to be higher for children who attended disadvantaged schools than for children attending non-disadvantaged schools. In particular rates for violent offences, shoplifting and car theft involvement were higher for those students attending disadvantaged schools. Young people attending disadvantaged schools were also about twice as likely to report that they had used drugs in the past month as those attending non-disadvantaged schools.

The survey revealed little difference in the rates of offending or problem behaviour according to the area in which the school was located (large urban, urban or small town). Respondents from the large city had a slightly higher overall offending rate in the previous year (44%), but this was not much greater than those who were from the other areas (37% medium city and 36% small towns). However, there was evidence that levels of disorder in the young person’s neighbourhood were related to individual levels of crime and problem behaviour. Those from areas with high levels of disorder reported committing more offences than those from areas with low levels of disorder. For example, almost 4 times as much property-related offences were reported by those coming from communities with high levels of disorder. Violent offences and drug offences were also much more likely to have been reported by those living in areas of high disorder.

The findings from this research highlight the fact that many more young people engage in criminality than official Garda (police) statistics suggest. Previous self-report studies elsewhere have shown that crime is much more widespread than official statistics suggest. Furthermore, many young people are involved in problem behaviour such as drinking and smoking. However, the research also reveals that few are engaged in serious crime.

Criminality and social disadvantage have been linked in many criminological studies, which have also shown that offending is related to factors such as poor parental supervision and individual factors like drug and alcohol use. Offenders are often different from non-offenders in terms of their background and lifestyles (see generally Farrington, 1989). The present research supports these findings and underlines that events such as parental separation, divorce, and being placed in foster care can have serious effects on young people’s offending behaviour. Research has also shown the importance of effective parental supervision and good child/parent relations on children’s

behaviour (Boswell, 1997). The results correspond to previous self-report findings that have shown that offenders are more likely to have a number of problems in their family background and relationships (Flood-Page et al., 2000).

The present research underlines the importance of seeking to understand the factors associated with criminality, especially among the young. By furthering our understanding of risk factors and criminality we can begin to shape broad social policies and policies directly affecting the young, so that young people in Ireland are less likely to engage in crime and harmful behaviour. This research study makes a modest contribution to this debate and we would encourage the development of future research examining the nature, extent and causes of youth criminality in Ireland.

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# Chapter 9

## Canada<sup>1</sup>

Josée Savoie

### 9.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the first highlights of the Canadian version of the International Self-reported Delinquency Study (ISRD), the International Youth Survey (IYS). The chapter presents the prevalence of various delinquent behaviour of youth in grades 7–9 attending school in Toronto, Canada. Violent and property delinquent behaviours are analysed separately. The report also examines risk factors for youth delinquency, such as alcohol and drug use, the quality of parent-youth relationships, parental supervision and delinquent friends. The prevalence of youth victimisation is also presented. This report is based on Savoie (2007).

### 9.2 Study Design

#### 9.2.1 Sampling Method

The International Youth Survey was conducted with the Toronto District School Board and certain private schools. More than 3,200 youth in grades 7–9, representing 60,900 students, participated during the spring of 2006.

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<sup>1</sup>The National Crime Prevention Centre at the department of Public Safety Canada and Statistics Canada wishes to express their deep appreciation to the schools and the young individuals from the seventh, eighth and ninth grades in Toronto who took part in the International Youth Survey.

The target population for the survey consisted of students in grades 7, 8 and 9 attending schools in the Toronto census subdivision. Schools in the Toronto Public School Board and private schools were eligible for selection. Students in specialised schools were excluded from the target population. The population actually surveyed differs very slightly, in that students in very small classes (10 or less) were excluded from selection.

The sampling frame was a stratified cluster sampling frame. Schools were first stratified by grade and geographic area, and a sample of schools was selected in each stratum systematically with probability proportional to size, where the size measure was identified as the number of students in the grade. This strategy was meant to provide for adequate representation of the various Toronto neighbourhoods and therefore of the city's demographic and socio-economic characteristics.

Statistics Canada interviewers visited selected schools to obtain consent from the principal. If consent was granted, the interviewer listed the classes and randomly selected one class in the desired grade. Students in the selected class were given consent forms for their parents to sign, and only students for whom parental consent was obtained were permitted to participate.

#### 9.2.2 Data Collection

Data collection took place in April and May 2006. A paper and-pencil questionnaire<sup>2</sup> was administered to all students in the same class in a classroom session, much like a test environment. The classroom sessions were conducted by Statistics Canada interviewers.

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<sup>2</sup>A different version of the ISRD-questionnaire was used in this data collection.

There were 210 classes selected, five of which were determined to be out-of-scope, meaning that the school did not contain the grade for which it was selected. The breakdown of the 205 in-scope classes is as follows: 70 grade 7 classes, 69 grade 8 classes, and 66 grade 9 classes.

Of the 205 in-scope classes, 177 participated in the survey, resulting in a class response rate of 86% (89% for grade 7, 84% for grade 8, and 86% for grade 9). Within these classes, a total of 3,290 questionnaires were completed from a total of 4,530 listed students, yielding a student response rate of 72% (72% for grade 7, 74% for grade 8, and 70% for grade 9).

The overall response rate is obtained by multiplying the class response rate with the student response rate. For the IYS, the overall response rate is 62% (64% for grade 7, 62% for grade 8, and 60% for grade 9).

Students in grades 7–9 each accounted for 33% of the final respondent sample. Boys and girls took part in the survey in roughly equal proportions. Respondents' ages varied from 12 to 17 years. Overall, 21% were 12-year olds, 34% were 13-year olds, while 32% were 14-year olds. Those aged 15 and older made up the remaining 13%.

### 9.2.3 Data Limitation

Results are based on a sample and are therefore subject to sampling error. They might have been slightly different if the entire population had participated in the survey. The difference between a sample-based estimate and figures on the entire population is referred to as the “sampling error of the estimate”. In this report, the coefficient of variation (*CV*) is used to measure sampling error.<sup>3</sup> Estimates with a high *CV* (above 33.3%) have not been published because they are considered unreliable. In such cases, the letter “F” appears in figures and data tables. Any estimate with a *CV* that ranges from 16.6 to 33.3% must be used with caution and is identified by the letter “E”. With respect to the IYS sampling design and sample size, an estimate of a given proportion of the total population expressed as a percentage is expected to vary from the actual

proportion by no more than 0.8 percentage points 19 times out of 20.

### 9.2.4 Definitions

Delinquency as defined in this chapter refers to all behaviours explicitly set out in the Criminal Code of Canada, whether engaged in by individuals aged 12–17 or by persons 18 years and older. As such, this definition does not cover statutory delinquency, such as truancy, nor does it include alcohol or drug use. This definition supports more direct comparison with other sources of data on youth delinquency in Canada.

Delinquency, as defined for the purposes of this analysis, covers all forms of violent behaviour, delinquency involving property and selling drugs, or acting as a go-between for the sale of drugs. It refers essentially to a traditionally held view of delinquency.

#### 9.2.4.1 Violent Delinquency

Violent delinquency is measured using five questions: Have you ever snatched a purse, bag or something else from a person? Have you ever carried a weapon, such as a stick, chain or knife (not a pocket knife)? Have you ever threatened somebody with a weapon or threatened to beat them up to get money or other things from them? Have you participated in a group fight on a school playground, a football stadium, in a street, or in any other public place? Have you ever intentionally beaten up someone, or hurt them with a stick or knife, so badly that they had to see a doctor?

#### 9.2.4.2 Delinquency Involving Property

Delinquency involving property is measured using the following seven questions: Have you ever damaged something on purpose, such as a bus shelter, window, car, seat on a bus or train? Have you ever stolen something from a store? Have you ever broken into a building with the purpose of stealing something? Have you ever stolen a bicycle? Have you ever stolen a motorbike or car? Have you ever stolen something out of or from a car? Have you ever set fire on purpose to a mailbox,

<sup>3</sup>  $CV = 100 * \text{standard error of estimate/estimate}$



garbage can, building, or car (not on your own property)? The prevalence of property-related behaviours exclude computer hacking.

### 9.2.4.3 Drug-related Delinquency

There was one question on drug-related delinquency: Have you ever sold any (soft or hard) drugs or acted as a middleman or go-between? In this report, using alcohol or (hard or soft) drugs is not therefore considered a delinquent behaviour but rather a risk factor. The consumption of alcohol and drugs is not considered a crime under the Canadian Criminal Code.

## 9.3 Growing Up in Toronto, Growing Up in a Diverse Environment

Numerous studies have recognised that the urban environment, socio-economic conditions and demographic characteristics of our communities have an impact on the dynamics of risk and protection factors in relation to youth delinquency and social exclusion. The following paragraphs attempt to place the Canadian survey results in context by briefly setting out a demographic and socio-economic portrait of the city of Toronto.

Toronto is Canada's largest city. According to 2006 Census data, Toronto's population was 2,503,000 which represented 8% of Canada's population. Toronto's population density was 3,972 inhabitants per square kilometer. The median age of Toronto residents was 38.4 years, lower than the national median age (39.5).

Toronto attracts more immigrants than any other Canadian city. Immigrants made up 50% of the city's population, 22% of whom came to Canada between 2001 and 2006. Similarly, visible minorities represented 47% of the city's population.

Toronto is no exception to the national trend towards income polarisation that has taken place in large Canadian cities over the past 25 years. As a result, there has been a concentration of employment income along with a marginal rise in family income in the higher income neighbourhoods, while employment income has dropped and unemployment rates have risen in the lower income areas. In 2006, the unemployment rate was higher (7.6%) and the median income of Toronto

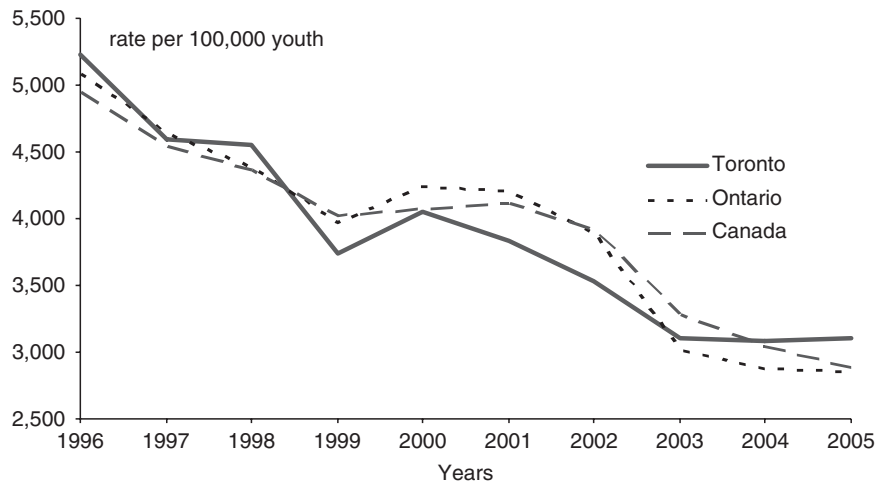
families (\$59,671) was below that of its metropolitan region (6.7% and \$69,321) and the country as a whole (6.6% and \$63,866).

Research conducted by the United Way of Greater Toronto and the Canadian Council on Social Development (2004) shows a high concentration of lone-parent families in the lower income neighbourhoods. These organisations have found that 1-in-3 lone-parent families live in these neighborhoods. In 2006, Toronto's share of lone-parent families (20%) out-ranked those of the overall metropolitan area (17%) and the country as a whole (16%). The median income of female lone-parent families (\$35,176) was almost half that of married-couple families (\$66,843).

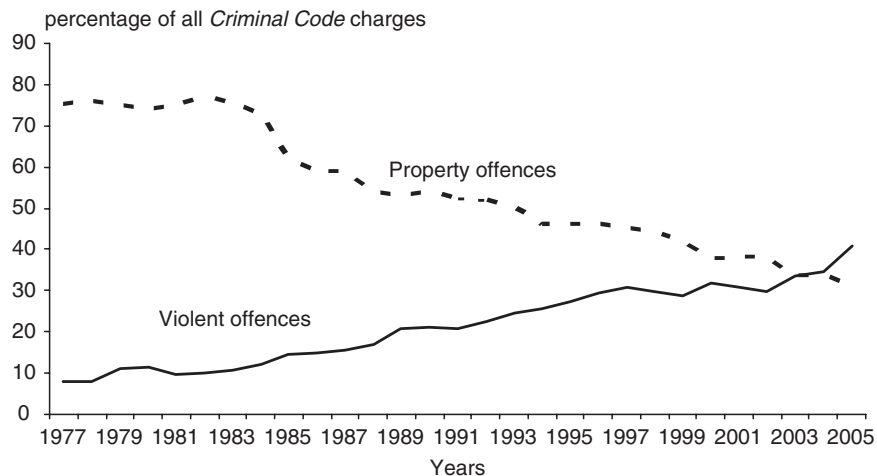
In 2006, the share of occupants who owned their own homes was far less in the City of Toronto (54%) than it was in the country as a whole (68%). According to the 2006 Census data, home affordability has dropped by 16% in Toronto. Indeed, 47% of all tenants used over 30% of their disposable income for housing. Residential mobility was also important in Toronto, 45% of the population aged 5 years and over have reported having moved since the last 5 years, a proportion higher than the Canadian national average (41%).

The rate of police reported youth aged 12–17 charged with a Criminal code offence declined steadily over the second half of the 1990s to reach a record low in 2004: 3,085 per 100,000 youth aged 12–17. Police services in Ontario and Canada overall recorded a similar trend (Fig. 9.1). However, this general decrease in the rate of youth charged did not apply to all offence categories under the Criminal Code. Overall, rates of charges against violent youth were on the rise in Toronto (1,268 per 100,000 youth in 2005). Conversely, property-related charges against youth continued to drop (970 per 100,000 youth in 2005).

The number of violent offences as a share of overall youth crime in Toronto has clearly been on the rise since 1977, and Toronto police have reported that the number of such crimes has surpassed that of property offences for the second year in row. Since 1977 (Fig. 9.2), property offences had been consistently more numerous. At the national and provincial levels, police departments have been apprehending a growing number of youth aged 12–17 in relation to violent incidents over the past 30 years. Policies and practices, the public's perception and tolerance of youth misconduct may influence the rate at which offences are reported to the police.



**Fig. 9.1** Rate of youth charged, as reported by police, 1996–2005. *Source:* Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Uniform Crime Reporting Survey, 2006



**Fig. 9.2** Youth crime trend changing, Toronto, 1977–2005. *Source:* Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Uniform Crime Reporting Survey, 2006

## 9.4 Prevalence of Delinquent Behaviour

Over one-third (37%) of students in grades 7–9 in Toronto reported having engaged in one or more delinquent behaviours in their lifetime, through either acts of violence, acts against property or the sale of drugs (Tables 9.1 and 9.2). The lifetime prevalence was higher among boys (41%) than among girls (32%).

During the 12 months preceding the survey, 1-in-5 youth reported committing at least one delinquent act and it was found that delinquent behaviour was more prevalent among youth in higher grades. Eighth- and

ninth-graders were most likely to exhibit delinquent behaviour over the previous 12 months, 22% and 24% respectively. Among seventh graders, the proportion reporting delinquent behaviour during this period was 14% (Tables 9.3–9.5). The prevalence of delinquency among boys was highest in grade 8 at 27%, and was highest among girls in grade 9 (20%).

The approximately 11,800 youth who reported engaging in delinquent behaviours during the year prior to the survey reported just over 115,000 separate delinquent acts. The vast majority (91%) of these delinquent acts were committed by just under half of

**Table 9.1** Lifetime prevalence of delinquent behaviours, Toronto, 2006 (*Source:* Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, International Youth Survey, Toronto, 2006)

	% Delinquent youth			% Missing
	Male	Female	Total	
Rare violent behaviours <sup>a</sup>	6.0	3.8	4.8*	1.5
Frequent violent behaviours <sup>b</sup>	27.3	12.2	19.3**	0.9
Rare property related behaviours <sup>c</sup>	5.0	2.4	3.6**	1.4
Total lifetime prevalence of violent behaviours	29.9	14.5	22.5**	1.7
Total lifetime prevalence of property-related behaviours	29.5	26.4	28.0*	1.9
Total lifetime prevalence of delinquent behaviours	40.8	31.8	36.5**	2.8

*Notes:*  $n = 3,290$ ; weighted data; percentages based on valid cases; total prevalence *excluding* computer hacking, alcohol and drugs consumption

\*Significant difference ( $p < 0.050$ )

\*\*Significant difference ( $p \leq 0.001$ )

*E* Use with caution ( $16.6\% < CV < 33.3\%$ ); *F* Too unreliable to be published ( $CV > 33.3\%$ )

<sup>a</sup>Group fight and carrying a weapon

<sup>b</sup>Snatching, mugging, robbery/extortion and assault

<sup>c</sup>Burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft and car break

these youth – indicating that a relatively small proportion of youth were responsible for a high number of repeated delinquent acts.

Survey results revealed that few youth engaged in more than one type of delinquent behaviour in their lifetime. More than half of delinquent youth indicated that they had engaged in only one type of delinquent behaviour and a further 25% engaged in two types of delinquent behaviours in their lifetime.

#### 9.4.1 Prevalence of Violent Delinquent Behaviour

Violent delinquent behaviour among Toronto students in grades seven, eight and nine was slightly less prevalent than was delinquent behaviour involving property. Just under one-quarter of youth reported taking part in at least one violent incident in their lifetime compared to just over one-quarter who reported participating in delinquent behaviour involving property. About 3% reported that they had been involved in the sale of drugs. The proportion of boys (30%) who self-reported violent delinquent behaviour was double the proportion of girls (15%) (Tables 9.1, and 9.2).

Of all the violent delinquent behaviours measured by the survey, youth most commonly reported participating in group fights (16%) and carrying a weapon such as a

stick, chain or knife (10%) during their lifetimes. Other types of violence covered by the survey (including beating up someone or hurting them so badly that they had to see a doctor, stealing a purse or something else from a person, and beating up someone or threatening them with a weapon in order to get something from them) were rarely reported (2%) (Table 9.2).

About 13% of Toronto youth reported participating in violent delinquent behaviour during the 12 months preceding the survey (Table 9.3). Youth in grades 8 and 9 were slightly more likely to have reported being involved in a violent delinquent act in the 12 months preceding the survey than were grade 7 students.

The proportion of boys who reported engaging in violent delinquent behaviours during this period was more than twice that of girls – 18% compared to 8%. These boys were responsible for about 72% of all reported violent acts in the year prior to the survey.

Toronto youth in grades 7–9 indicated that they had committed more than 62,000 acts of violence in the 12-month period preceding the survey (Table 9.6). Two types of acts – carrying a weapon (37,000 acts) and participating in group fights (18,000 acts) – accounted for 88% of all violent acts during this period. Other types of violent behaviour surveyed were much less frequent.

However, despite the fact that more incidents of carrying a weapon than participating in group fights were reported, fewer youth reported that they had carried a weapon (3,800) than reported that they had participated in a group fight (5,700) – indicating that many youth

**Table 9.2** Lifetime prevalence of delinquent behaviours, Toronto, 2006

	% Delinquent youth			% Missing
	Male	Female	Total	
<b>Violent behaviours</b>				
Snatching a bag, purse or something else	3.1 <sup>E</sup>	1.5 <sup>E</sup>	2.3*	0.9
Carrying a weapon	14.6	5.2	10.1**	0.6
Threatening somebody to get something	2.4 <sup>E</sup>	2.2 <sup>E</sup>	2.3	0.6
Participating in a group fight in a public place	22.0	10.4	16.4**	0.8
Intentionally beating up or hurting someone	2.7	1.1 <sup>E</sup>	2.0*	0.8
<b>Property-related behaviours</b>				
Damaging something intentionally	12.0	6.3	9.3**	0.7
Stealing something from a store	21.4	22.8	22.1	0.5
Breaking into a building with the purpose of stealing	1.0	— <sup>F</sup>	0.6 <sup>E*</sup>	0.6
Stealing a bicycle	3.7	0.7 <sup>E</sup>	2.3**	0.5
Stealing a motorcycle or car	— <sup>F</sup>	— <sup>F</sup>	— <sup>F</sup>	0.8
Stealing something out of (or from) a car	2.4	1.4 <sup>E</sup>	1.9*	0.6
Intentionally setting fire to property	6.6	2.8 <sup>E</sup>	4.8**	0.9
Computer hacking	16.2	9.7	12.9**	0.9
<b>Drug-related behaviours</b>				
Selling drugs, or acting as a middleman or go-between	3.3 <sup>E</sup>	1.6 <sup>E</sup>	2.5*	0.6
Alcohol consumption	42.4	42.2	42.3	2.3
Drug consumption	10.9	9.9	10.4	1.5

Notes:  $n = 3,290$ ; weighted data; percentages based on valid cases; total prevalence excluding computer hacking, alcohol and drugs consumption

\*Significant difference ( $p < 0.050$ )

\*\*Significant difference ( $p \leq 0.001$ )

<sup>E</sup> Use with caution ( $16.6\% < CV < 33.3\%$ ); <sup>F</sup> Too unreliable to be published ( $CV > 33.3\%$ )

**Table 9.3** Last 12 months prevalence of delinquent behaviours by sex and grade, Toronto, 2006

Total % delinquent behaviours	Sex			Grade				% Missing
	Male	Female	Total	7	8	9	Total	
Rare violent behaviours <sup>a</sup>	3.2	2.1	2.6	2.4	2.8	2.7	2.6	1.3
Frequent violent behaviours <sup>b</sup>	17.0	6.9	11.7**	10.1	12.9	12.3	11.7	1.0
Rare property related behaviours <sup>c</sup>	2.9	— <sup>F</sup>	1.9 <sup>E</sup>	1.5 <sup>E</sup>	2.2	2.1	1.9 <sup>E</sup>	1.4
Total violent behaviours	18.1	8.3	13.4**	11.3	14.9	13.8	13.4*	2.0
Total property-related behaviours	14.6	10.3	12.5**	7.7	14.5	15.3	12.5**	2.1
Total delinquent behaviours	24.4	15.5	20.1**	14.5	22.0	23.6	20.1**	3.4

Notes:  $n = 3,290$ ; weighted data; percentages based on valid cases; total prevalence excluding computer hacking, alcohol and drugs consumption

\*Significant difference ( $p < 0.050$ )

\*\*Significant difference ( $p \leq 0.001$ )

<sup>E</sup> Use with caution ( $16.6\% < CV < 33.3\%$ ); <sup>F</sup> Too unreliable to be published ( $CV > 33.3\%$ )

<sup>a</sup>Group fight and carrying a weapon

<sup>b</sup>Snatching, mugging, robbery/extortion and assault

<sup>c</sup>Burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft and car break

who did carry a weapon did so repeatedly. In fact, carrying a weapon was the most commonly-reported repeat offence, with 75% who had carried a weapon reporting that they had done so more than once.

The intensity, or number of times individual youths engaged in a violent delinquent behaviour in the 12

months prior to the survey, varied depending on the type of behaviour. The proportion of youth who reported engaging in a violent delinquent behaviour one time was highest for serious beatings (58%), followed by snatching a bag or purse (42%), and participating in a group fight (39%). About one quarter of youth who

**Table 9.4** Last 12 months prevalence of delinquent behaviours by sex and grade, Toronto, 2006

% Delinquent behaviours	Sex			Grade				% Missing
	Male	Female	Total	7	8	9	Total	
<b>Violent behaviours</b>								
Snatching a bag or something else	1.8 <sup>E</sup>	0.6 <sup>E</sup>	1.2 <sup>E**</sup>	1.1 <sup>E</sup>	1.4 <sup>E</sup>	1.2 <sup>E</sup>	1.2 <sup>E</sup>	0.8
Carrying a weapon	8.9	3.4	6.3 <sup>**</sup>	4.3 <sup>E</sup>	6.8	7.6	6.2 <sup>*</sup>	0.6
Threatening somebody to get something	1.1 <sup>E</sup>	1.3 <sup>E</sup>	1.2 <sup>E</sup>	0.9 <sup>E</sup>	1.0 <sup>E</sup>	1.3 <sup>E</sup>	1.2 <sup>E</sup>	0.5
Group fight in a public place	13.1	5.4	9.4 <sup>**</sup>	8.9	10.1	9.0	9.0	0.8
Assault (beating up, hurting)	1.3 <sup>E</sup>	— <sup>F</sup>	0.9 <sup>E</sup>	0.9 <sup>E</sup>	1.0 <sup>E</sup>	— <sup>F</sup>	0.9 <sup>E</sup>	1.0
<b>Property-related behaviours</b>								
Damaging something intentionally	6.8	3.1	5.0 <sup>**</sup>	3.9 <sup>E</sup>	5.9	5.3 <sup>E</sup>	5.0	0.7
Stealing from a store	8.5	7.5	8.0	4.3 <sup>E</sup>	8.4	11.3	8.0 <sup>**</sup>	0.6
Breaking into a building	0.7 <sup>E</sup>	— <sup>F</sup>	0.4 <sup>E</sup>	— <sup>F</sup>	— <sup>F</sup>	— <sup>F</sup>	0.4 <sup>E</sup>	0.5
Stealing a bicycle	2.2 <sup>E</sup>	— <sup>F</sup>	1.2 <sup>E</sup>	— <sup>F</sup>	— <sup>F</sup>	1.7 <sup>E</sup>	1.2 <sup>E</sup>	0.5
Stealing a motorcycle or car	— <sup>F</sup>	— <sup>F</sup>	— <sup>F</sup>	— <sup>F</sup>	— <sup>F</sup>	— <sup>F</sup>	— <sup>F</sup>	0.7
Stealing something out of/from a car	1.1 <sup>E</sup>	0.6 <sup>E</sup>	0.9 <sup>E</sup>	— <sup>F</sup>	1.3 <sup>E</sup>	— <sup>F</sup>	0.9 <sup>E</sup>	0.6
Setting fire to property	4.1	1.7 <sup>E</sup>	3.0 <sup>**</sup>	1.7 <sup>E</sup>	3.7 <sup>E</sup>	3.4 <sup>E</sup>	3.0 <sup>*</sup>	0.7
Computer hacking	11.3	4.8	8.2 <sup>**</sup>	6.3	10.1	8.0	8.2 <sup>*</sup>	1.2

Notes:  $n = 3,290$ ; weighted data; percentages based on valid cases; total prevalence excluding computer hacking, alcohol and drugs consumption

\*Significant difference ( $p < 0.050$ )

\*\*Significant difference ( $p \leq 0.001$ )

*E* Use with caution ( $16.6\% < CV < 33.3\%$ ); *F* too unreliable to be published ( $CV > 33.3\%$ )

**Table 9.5** Last 12 months prevalence of delinquent behaviours by sex and grade, Toronto, 2006

% Delinquent behaviours	Sex			Grade				% Missing
	Male	Female	Total	7	8	9	Total	
<b>Violent behaviours</b>								
Selling drugs/act as go between	2.8 <sup>E</sup>	1.2 <sup>E</sup>	2.0 <sup>E**</sup>	— <sup>F</sup>	1.3 <sup>E</sup>	4.4 <sup>E</sup>	2.0 <sup>E</sup>	0.6
Alcohol consumption	13.7	12.6	13.2	5.6	14.7	19.1	13.2 <sup>**</sup>	2.1
Drug consumption	5.2	3.9	4.6	— <sup>F</sup>	4.3	8.8	4.6	1.4

Notes:  $n = 3,290$ ; weighted data; percentages based on valid cases; total prevalence excluding computer hacking, alcohol and drugs consumption

\*Significant difference ( $p < 0.050$ )

\*\*Significant difference ( $p \leq 0.001$ )

*E* Use with caution ( $16.6\% < CV < 33.3\%$ ); *F* Too unreliable to be published ( $CV > 33.3\%$ )

reported that they had threatened someone or carried a weapon did so once.

According to the number of violent delinquent acts reported, the intensity of violent delinquent behaviour exhibited by girls was greater than that of boys in cases where something was taken from another person, threats were made or a person was severely beaten. This shows that while delinquency was restricted to fewer girls, those who did engage in such acts were very active.

Youth did not appear to be inclined to explore different types of violence. Among those Toronto youth in grades 7, 8 and 9 who reported delinquent acts, two-thirds reported committing only one type of violent behaviour over their lifetime. Boys were more versatile

than girls in their type of violent behaviour: 72% of girls engaged in one type of violent behaviour compared to 63% of boys.

#### 9.4.2 Delinquent Behaviour Involving Property

As indicated earlier, the lifetime prevalence of delinquent behaviour involving property was 28% among Toronto youth in grades 7–9 (Tables 9.1 and 9.2). Boys were slightly more likely than girls (30% vs. 26%) to report such acts. The prevalence of property-related delinquent

behaviour varied, with the highest proportion (22%) of youth reporting that they had ever shop-lifted, followed by vandalism (9%), and setting fires (5%). Two per cent reported stealing bicycles and 2% stealing something out of a car.

As was the case for violent delinquent behaviours, 13% of Toronto youth in grades 7, 8 and 9 reported committing property-related delinquent acts during the 12-month period preceding the survey. Toronto youth in grades 8 and 9 were more likely to have engaged in delinquent acts against property than those in grade 7 (Table 9.3).

The prevalence rates for property-related delinquent behaviours for boys and girls were much closer than they were for violent behaviours. At 10%, the 12-month prevalence rate for property-related delinquent behaviours among girls was two-thirds the rate for boys (15%). For violent delinquent behaviours, the prevalence rate for girls was just half the rate among boys.

The relative participation of boys and girls varied depending on the type of offence. For example, males represented over two-thirds of all youth committing acts of vandalism, but just over half of those who reported shoplifting. Stealing something from a store was the property offence with the highest female representation (45%) (Tables 9.4 and 9.5).

Students reported committing about 47,000 delinquent acts involving property during the 12 months prior to the survey. This is much lower than the number of violent acts reported over the same period (Table 9.6).

Of the property-related delinquent behaviours covered by the survey, incidents of shoplifting and vandalism during the previous 12 months were most frequently reported by youth (Table 9.6). Grade 7, 8 and 9 students in Toronto reported committing over 25,000 acts of shoplifting, almost 12,000 acts of vandalism and over 5,400 incidents of arson. Auto theft and breaking and entering were reported less frequently by Toronto youth.

About two-thirds of youth who reported that they had shoplifted, vandalised something, or stolen a vehicle stated that they had done so more than once. Lower proportions of youth reported repeating other property-related delinquent behaviours. The intensity of delinquent behaviour involving property in the previous 12 months was higher for boys than it was for girls for almost all types of behaviours surveyed.

As was the case with delinquent behaviours involving violence, few youth had engaged in more than

**Table 9.6** Delinquent behaviours during the last 12 months by sex, Toronto, 2006 (Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, International Youth Survey, Toronto, 2006)

Delinquent behaviours	Number of self-reported behaviours		
	Male	Female	Total
<b>Violent behaviours</b>			
Snatching a bag, purse or something else from a person	1,930	1,510	3,440
Carrying a weapon, such as a stick, chain, or knife	27,720	9,450	37,170
Threatening somebody to get money or something else	1,050	1,680	2,740
Participating in a group fight in a public place	13,550	4,140	17,700
Intentionally beating up or hurting someone badly	590	511	1,103
Total of violent delinquent behaviours	44,850	17,300	62,150
<b>Property-related behaviours</b>			
Damaging something intentionally	9,270	2,700	11,970
Stealing something from a store	15,570	9,530	25,100
Breaking into a building with the purpose of stealing something	520	16 <sup>E</sup>	540
Stealing a bicycle	2,240	27	2,464
Stealing a motorcycle or car	0 <sup>E</sup>	62 <sup>E</sup>	62 <sup>E</sup>
Stealing something out of (or from) a car	740	500	1,240
Intentionally setting fire to property (other than your own)	4,070	1,390	5,460
Total of property-related behaviours	32,610	14,230	46,840
<b>Drug-related behaviours</b>			
Selling drugs, or acting as a middleman or go-between	5,021	1,167	6,188
Total of delinquent behaviours	82,480	32,700	115,181

Notes: Figures may not add up to totals due to rounding; the total lifetime prevalence of delinquent behaviours excludes computer hacking, alcohol and drugs consumption

0 True zero or a value rounded to zero

E Use with caution (16.6% < CV < 33.3%)

one type of act against property during their lifetime. A majority, 70%, reported committing only one type of delinquent behaviour involving property. Girls (72% of whom reported involvement in only one type of property-related delinquency) were less versatile than boys (63%).



## 9.5 Characteristics of Youth Committing Delinquent Acts

Half of the delinquent youths in grades 7–9 indicated having engaged in their first delinquent behaviour before the age of 12, though there was some variation for certain types of behaviours. For example, youth tended to be slightly older when they participated in either drug-related delinquent behaviours or motor vehicle theft for the first time and slightly younger when they first shoplifted. There is little difference between the sexes with respect to the age at which delinquent behaviour first occurs (Table 9.7).

Many studies have shown that the odds of re-offending are greater for people who commit crimes at a younger age. Research conducted by Carrington et al. (2005), using referrals before Canadian courts, has shown that offenders who began their court career with an incident

occurring at age 12 had an average of 7.9 referred incidents, whereas those whose first referred incident occurred at age 21 had an average of only 1.2 incidents.

In majority of instances, youth were with other people when they participated in delinquent acts. In fact, 92% of youth who participated in arson also reported that they were with other people when they set fire to property. This proportion was 81% for youth who reported vandalising property, and 80% for those who reported breaking and entering. Among violent delinquent behaviours, 70% reported being in the company of others when they threatened somebody, and 60% were with others when they intentionally beat someone up.

In many cases, parents, teachers, police and other individuals were unaware of youth delinquent behaviour. According to the survey, 42% of Toronto youth in grade 7, 8 or 9 who had reported at least one delinquent act in their lifetime stated that their most recent act had been discovered by another person.

**Table 9.7** Age of onset of delinquent behaviours, Toronto, 2006 (Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, International Youth Survey, Toronto, 2006)

	Age of onset (%)							Mean age	Median age	Mode age
	<10	10	11	12	13	14	15+			
<b>Violent behaviour</b>										
Snatching a bag, purse or something else from a person	17	4	5	20	38	16	0	11.9	13.0	13
Carrying a weapon, such as a stick, chain, or knife	11	12	12	24	25	14	2	11.8	12.0	13
Threatening somebody to get money or something else	10	11	17	18	41	4	0	11.7	12.0	13
Participating in a group fight in a public place	13	13	17	22	22	12	2	11.6	12.0	12
Intentionally beating up or hurting someone	20	16	11	20	21	12	0	11.2	12.0	13
<b>Property-related behaviours</b>										
Damaging something intentionally	19	13	14	22	25	7	1	11.2	12.0	13
Stealing something from a store	33	15	10	20	16	5	1	10.3	11.0	12
Breaking into a building to steal something	22	6	8	16	38	11	0	11.3	12.0	13
Stealing a bicycle	13	14	22	22	12	16	1	11.4	12.0	12
Stealing a motorcycle or car	0	0	0	49	17	35	0	12.9	13.0	12
Stealing something out of (or from) a car	16	12	15	19	31	5	2	11.4	12.0	13
Intentionally setting fire to property	9	11	18	19	26	18	0	11.9	12.0	13
<b>Drug-related behaviours</b>										
Selling drugs, or acting as a middleman or go-between	2	0	4	11	28	41	15	13.4	14.0	14

Notes: 0 true zero or a value rounded to zero; figures may not add up to 100 due to rounding

Nearly two-thirds of all youth who reported that their last delinquent behaviour was discovered also stated they were punished either by their parents, a teacher, the police or another person.

## 9.6 Risk Factors and Youth Delinquency

The following paragraphs look at certain characteristics of IYS respondents and their relationship to delinquency as reported in the last 12 months. Risk factors are characteristics that are associated with a greater likelihood of youth delinquency. However, the presence of a risk factor does not necessarily mean that an individual will engage in delinquent or deviant behaviour. Furthermore, links among the factors examined and delinquency are not necessarily causal in nature. The various factors are considered separately and do not take into account the relative impact of all factors.

The socio-demographic characteristics of young Toronto IYS respondents were quite similar to those of the overall Toronto population. For example, one-third of young respondents were foreign-born, more than two-thirds had parents who were foreign-born, one-third mentioned speaking a language at home other than English, and one in five was from a lone-parent family.

The prevalence of delinquent behaviour reported by foreign-born youth was lower than it was for their Canadian-born peers: 15% versus 23%. There was no significant difference in the prevalence of delinquency between Canadian-born children of immigrant parents (22%) and Canadian-born children whose parents were not immigrants (24%). The prevalence of delinquency was lower among youth who spoke a language other than English at home than it was among youth who did speak English at home (15% vs. 23%).

Among different family types, the prevalence of delinquent behaviour was lowest among respondents who were living with both parents (18%) at the time of survey and significantly higher among those from lone-parent families (25%) and step families (35%) (Table 9.8).

The majority of Toronto youth in grades 7, 8 and 9 indicated that their parents were employed. Delinquent behaviours were found to be less prevalent for youth

whose parents did not have a job; 17% when the mother was not employed and 14% when the father was not employed (compared to 21% when the mother was employed and 20% when the father was employed). While these results may suggest that parental supervision may be a factor at play, more complex analysis is required to isolate this influence.

A strong majority (over 95%) of Toronto youth in grades 7–9 reported getting along well with their parents. Delinquent behaviours were significantly more prevalent for the youths who reported not getting along well with their parents. Over one third of youth who reported that they did not get along with their mother or their father had engaged in delinquent behaviour in the last 12 months. Among those youth who reported that they did get along well with at least one of their parents, about 20% had engaged in delinquent behaviour in the past year (Table 9.8).

Delinquent behaviour was relatively rare among youth who reported that their parents always knew who they were with when they went out: 12% of youth in this situation had engaged in delinquent behaviour in the past 12 months. In comparison, over half (56%) of youth who reported that their parents rarely or never knew who they were with had engaged in delinquent behaviours (Table 9.8).

Alcohol consumption is fairly common among Toronto youth in grades 7–9. Over 40% reported having drunk beer or wine at least once in their lifetime. The prevalence of drug consumption was lower, 10% (Table 9.2).

Drug and alcohol consumption appear to be among the most important risk factors in the prevalence of youth delinquency. The prevalence of delinquent behaviour during the previous twelve months among youth who reported having at least once in their lifetime used drugs was 60%, compared to 16% of youths who had never consumed drugs. Among youth who reported consuming alcohol, 35% reported delinquent behaviour, compared to 9% for those who had never consumed alcohol (Table 9.8).

The majority of youth who participated in the survey stated they had a group of friends. Delinquent behaviours were more prevalent in youth who mentioned spending most of their free time with friends, in comparison to those who indicated spending most of their free time alone or with their family (Table 9.9). Those who had older friends, delinquent friends, or groups of friends who committed illegal acts or toler-

**Table 9.8** Prevalence of delinquency by selected characteristics, last 12 months, Toronto, 2006 (*Source:* Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, International Youth Survey, Toronto, 2006)

Characteristics in percentage	Percentage of youth reporting delinquency
Grade level	
7	14*
8	22*
9	24*
Gender	
Male	24*
Female	16*
Canadian born	
Yes	23*
No	15*
Immigrant parents	
Mother only	20 <sup>E*</sup>
Father only	33*
Both parents	18*
Neither parent	24*
Language spoken at home	
English	23*
Other	15*
Family composition	
Two parent family	18*
Single parent family	25*
Step/Blended family	35 <sup>E*</sup>
Other	24 <sup>E*</sup>
Father's employment status	
Employed	20*
Not employed	14 <sup>E*</sup>
Mother's employment status	
Employed	21*
Not employed	17*
Quality of the parent-youth relationship	
Get along well with their mother	19*
Did not get along with their mother	36*
Get along well with their father	18*
Did not get along with their father	35*
Quality of parental supervision	
Parents are always aware of whom they were with	12*
Parents are sometimes aware of whom they were with	35*
Parents never aware of whom they were with	56*
Alcohol consumption <sup>a</sup>	
Yes	35*
No	9*
Drugs consumption <sup>a</sup>	
Yes	60*
No	16*
<i>Total year prevalence of delinquent behaviours</i>	20

*Notes:* E: use with caution (CV is between 16.6% and 33.3%)

\*There is a significant difference ( $\chi^2, p < 0.001$ )

<sup>a</sup>Lifetime prevalence of consumption

**Table 9.9** Delinquent friends and peers by the last 12 months prevalence, Toronto, 2006 (*Source:* Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, International Youth Survey, Toronto, 2006)

Characteristic	Percentage of youth reporting delinquency
With whom do you spend most of your free time?	
Alone	16*
Family	19*
One to three friends	32*
Four or more friends	26*
Do you have delinquent friends?	
Yes	39*
No	8*
Which best describes the ages of the people in your group?	
Younger (under 12)	12*
Same age (12–15)	20*
Older (16 and over)	42*
Does your group spend much time together in public?	
Yes	27*
No	11*
Are illegal activities accepted by your group?	
Yes	53*
No	15*
Does your group engage in illegal activities together?	
Yes	57*
No	16*
Do you consider your group of friends to be a gang?	
Yes	45*
No	20*
<i>Total year prevalence of delinquent behaviours</i>	20

*Notes:* E: use with caution (CV is between 16.6% and 33.3%)

\*There is a significant difference ( $\chi^2, p < 0.001$ )

ated them also had higher prevalence of delinquent behaviours.

Delinquent behaviours were also more prevalent among youth who mentioned spending a large amount of time with their group of friends in public places such as a park, the street, a mall or the neighbourhood: 27%. In comparison, the delinquency prevalence was 11% for youth who did not spend much time in those places. Such places may be less likely to be under the supervision of parents or other adults.

Self-reporting of gang membership does not necessarily signify that the activities of the gang are illegal.

The prevalence of delinquent behaviours among youths in grades 7–9 who reported belonging to a gang was more than double (45%) the prevalence of those who reported that their circle of friends was not a gang (20%).

## 9.7 Prevalence of Youth Victimization

Studies have shown that children and youth who have been victimised are often likely to suffer from depression and have low self-esteem. These children may show aggressive or self-destructive behaviour, and are at greater risk of engaging in delinquent or deviant behaviour, whatever be their relationship to the perpetrator of violence (Health Canada, 2004; Hotton, 2003; Sprott and Cesaroni, 2002).

The IYS includes questions on youth's experience of victimisation in the previous 12 months. Respondents were asked to share their experience of incidents of bullying at school, assaults requiring medical assistance, threats of extortion, and thefts of which they have been victims.

Over 40% of grades 7–9 Toronto students reported having been victimised at least once in the 12 months preceding the survey (Table 9.10). About 28% stated that they had been victims of a theft and 21% were victims of bullying at school. One over 5 % of young respondents reported having received threats of extortion and, more rarely, having been hit so violently that medical attention was required (3%). Over two-thirds (67%) of victimised youth stated they had been subjected to only one type of victimisation while less than one-third (29%) said they had experienced only two types.

Forty-three per cent of boys stated they had been victimised, while a slightly lower proportion of girls (38%) indicated the same. This was the case for all victimisation types except bullying incidents, where the prevalence for girls was higher (Table 9.10).

Similar to how delinquency intensity is defined, in this report, victimisation intensity is measured according to the number of times a young person was a victim of a specific type of incident. Victimization intensity was significantly higher for incidents of bullying. Two-thirds of all youth who were bullied were victims of such incidents more

than once. The intensity of bullying varied greatly with 16% of young persons having been bullied on more than 12 occasions over the 12-month period preceding the survey.

In cases where youth had been hit so violently that they required medical attention, 60% of youth reported that one such incident had occurred. In cases of theft or attempted theft with threats, respondents said they been victimised on one occasion.

Youth who reported that they had engaged in traditional types of delinquency at least once in the previous 12 months were more likely to report having been victimised over the same period: 56% of delinquent youth had been victimised compared to 36% of non-delinquent youth. Similar results were found for the different types of delinquency and for both boys and girls.

Despite the number of youth who reported that they had been victimised, repeatedly in some instances, very few report their incidents to the police (14%). Data from the 2004 General Social Survey (GSS) also showed that reporting to police was low among victims between the ages of 15 and 19. Furthermore, in the majority (53%) of incidents that came to the attention of the police, it was someone other than the victim who had reported the incident, according to the GSS. The main reasons given by victims for not reporting an incident were that it was not important enough (36%) or that it was dealt with in another way (20%).

The survey data indicate that filing a police report was most common among youth who required medical attention after being hit (25%) (Table 9.10). Filing a police report was least frequent in the case of bullying events, occurring at a rate of 6%. Rates at which attempted thefts with threats and actual thefts were reported were relatively similar (18 and 14% respectively). These results are consistent with those of the GSS and show that incident severity has an impact on the likelihood of reporting an incident of victimisation.

## 9.8 Synthesis

Initial highlights of the International Youth Survey, Toronto, show that over their lifetimes, 37% of youth in grades 7–9 reported engaging in delinquent behaviour, and that more youth were involved in property-

**Table 9.10** Prevalence of victimisation over the last 12 months by gender, grade and reporting to the police, Toronto, 2006 (Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, International Youth Survey, Toronto, 2006)

Type of victimisation	% of victimised youth			% Missing	% Reporting to police
	Male	Female	Total		
Someone wanted you to give them money or something else and threatened you if you did not do it	7.2	2.7	5.0**	1.6	17.9
Someone hit you violently or hurt you so much that you needed to see a doctor	4.0	2.1 <sup>E</sup>	3.1*	1.8	25.2
Something was stolen from you	30.2	25.7	28.0*	1.7	14.2
You were bullied at school	20.4	21.7	21.0	2.0	5.6
Total	42.8	37.7	40.3*	3.4	15.0

Notes:  $n = 3,290$ ; weighted data; percentages based on valid cases

<sup>E</sup> Use with caution ( $16.6\% < CV < 33.3\%$ )

\*Significant difference ( $p < 0.050$ )

\*\*Significant difference ( $p \leq 0.001$ ); figures include all youth that reported a victimisation incident; the same youth can be accounted for more than one type of victimisation. However, total calculate each youth only once

related delinquent behaviour than were involved in violent behaviour. Overall, delinquent behaviour was more prevalent in higher grade levels and higher among boys than girls. Half of the delinquent youths in grades 7–9 indicated having engaged in their first delinquent behaviour before the age of 12.

These preliminary results show that delinquent behaviour was significantly more prevalent among students in grades 7, 8 and 9 who reported consuming alcohol and drugs, who indicated having little parental supervision and who were living in a step-, or blended family at the time of survey. Delinquent behaviour also increased significantly with the presence of delinquent friends.

Youth often committed delinquent acts in the company of others, most often their peers. Delinquent behaviour was often not discovered by adults. However, when delinquent behaviour was discovered, two-thirds of the time it was punished by parents, teachers or police officers.

Two out of 5 youth indicated that they had been victimised at least once during the 12-month period preceding the survey. Delinquent youth were more likely to report incidents of victimisation (56%), compared with 36% of youth who had not engaged in delinquent behaviour.

This chapter has presented initial highlights of the Canadian version of International Self-reported Delinquency Survey. Future analysis of the impact of

various risk factors and correlates of delinquency will enable us to better understand the underlying dynamics of the prevalence of delinquency. Such analysis will also need to take into account youth's school and community environments.

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# Chapter 10

## USA<sup>1</sup>

Ineke Haen Marshall and Ni He

### 10.1 Introduction

The United States is very different from its European counterparts in many ways. Indeed, American “exceptionalism” has been documented in a vast amount of scholarly and popular writings on the western world (e.g. Ross, 1991; Madsen, 1998; Hellerman and Markovits, 2001; Lipset, 1955, 1997, 2000; Wrobel, 1996). This alleged American “exceptionalism” is important to understand in order to interpret differences in the problems of youth crime and victimisation between the US and other western countries, and – in a more narrow sense – American exceptionalism also has direct implications for the methodology, design and execution of the ISRD-2 study (which will be addressed in the section on the methodology). Although comparative research is interested in *both* similarities and differences (and in many ways, the United States is also very *similar* to the rest of the western world), we start this brief chapter highlighting some of the aspects that mostly differentiate the United States from its European counterparts.

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### 10.2 The “Exceptional” United States

The United States is a very large and complex country; it differs from most European countries in terms of the size of its territory (9.83 million km<sup>2</sup>), the large number of inhabitants (over 303 million), its very complicated government structure (a federal government with 50 independent states) and its diverse population. Although there is a shared language, a federal government and a common history, it could easily be argued that “the United States” should not be seen as one single country, but rather as a loose confederation of 50 individual states. The differences between, for example, the state of Massachusetts (a prosperous state in the Northeast with a liberal policy and a well-educated population), the state of Texas (a politically conservative state in the south west) or the huge state of California (with a population of over 36 million and an economy that approximates the eighth largest economy in the world) is enormous. The US has a very decentralized government structure and the federal government allows a lot of leeway to its states and municipalities (cities, towns and villages) in determining local policies (with regard to education, safety and health care), provided that they abide by certain fairly loosely defined federal guidelines.

The United States is a capitalist society *par excellence*. The “American Dream” – which by now appears to be on its way to become a global nightmare – is characterized by a cultural emphasis on competition, individualism, achievement, and the importance of the acquisition of material goods. Quintessentially, the term “American” is the widely shared belief that this dream should be open to anybody who is willing to work hard, regardless of origin. This egalitarian ideology notwithstanding, the reality is that the United



States has a very unequal distribution of wealth and income, much more so than most European countries. The United States remains one of the wealthiest nations in the world, but – because of its reluctance to fully embrace the notion of “social solidarity” through income redistribution – the gap between a substantial well-to-do upper and middle class and a large “underclass” persists. Recent cuts in welfare benefits have further weakened the social safety net for unemployed or unemployable, sick or disabled people. Because of lack of availability of well-paid jobs, many parents need to work multiple minimum-wage jobs, in a society where it remains very difficult and expensive to find good day care and after-school programs. About 12% of the US population lives below the poverty threshold according to a recent US Census data. In a recent report by The Economic Policy Institute (2008), the general health and wellbeing of the nation’s youth was listed as below many European nations. America’s poor are mostly concentrated in the inner cities (for African Americans and Hispanics) and the rural areas (for whites). More so than is true for most European cities, many large American cities have areas of highly “concentrated disadvantage”, with disturbingly high levels of crime, mental illness, violence, unemployment, teenage pregnancy, high school drop out rates, and dependency on welfare. Often, urban violence goes hand in hand with gangs, drug dealing and guns. The ready availability of guns in American society doubtlessly contributes to the relatively high level of homicide in this country. Although the homicide rate has declined significantly over the last decades (from a high of 10 per 100,000 some 20 years ago to about 5 per 100,000 in 2007), it still remains about two to three times higher than in most western European countries.

Thus, there is some truth to the gun-toting, dangerous image of the US, which is portrayed in the mass media. However, violence and street crime are very much concentrated in particular areas, and most communities in the United States are very safe. As a matter of fact, overall (with the exception of homicide), the crime rate in the United States is very much comparable to other western countries. For almost half a century now, crime has been a highly politicized issue in the United States, and “popular punitivism” (see Garland, 1996; Freiberg, 2001) has characterized the bulk of American crime policy. The level of incarceration in the US (about 600 per 100,000) is among the

highest in the world (and about 5–6 times higher than in most European countries), and it is one of the few countries in the world that still makes use of capital punishment. In this context, it is important to point out that it is misleading to only paint a one-dimensional and stark picture of the US system of justice. Indeed, the US also has a large number of innovative and inclusive programs, particularly for youthful offenders, which have been copied by other western nations as exemplary (for example, the Communities that Care program).

### **10.2.1 Race and Ethnicity**

It is impossible to discuss delinquency, crime and criminal justice – or for that matter virtually anything – in the United States without mentioning the key role of race. There is a huge amount of writing on race relations in the United States, which goes far beyond the current chapter. American discourse is – much more so than many European countries – likely to talk in terms of “race” rather than in terms of “ethnicity” or “national origin” or “citizenship”. The United States is generally known as a “nation of immigrants”, a country which historically has been very hospitable towards most new immigrants, a “melting pot” of many different religions, races, and cultural backgrounds. At the same time, the history of the United States is replete with examples of racism and exclusionary treatment of newcomers and other minority groups who were often seen as a threat to the American way of life (Marshall and Farrell, 2008). A significant portion of the current population (about 77% according to the 2000 US Census) are “whites”, the descendants of early Western European immigrants, the so-called WASPs (White Anglo-Saxon Protestants), who – by most measures – remain the dominant group in American society, both in terms of numbers and in terms of power and influence. The original inhabitants of the United States, the Native Americans make up about 1.5% of the current population and remain among the most marginalized groups in American society today, in terms of income, education, housing, health and criminal victimization. Another small minority group are the “Asian Americans”, including people from the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian Subcontinent, – a mixture of racial, national and cultural identities that

together constitute 4.21% of the American population. There is no doubt, however, that by far the two most significant “minority” groups in the United States are the African Americans (Blacks – a “racial” category) and the Hispanics (Latinos – an “ethnic” category).

African-Americans or Blacks now constitute 12.9% of the American population. Unlike other immigrants, “Blacks” came to the United States against their will, in chains as slaves, forced into involuntary servitude. Black history is a history of exploitation, violation, victimization and exclusion. It is true that, compared to 100, or even 30 years ago, Black Americans have made considerable progress on their long voyage to economic, educational and political equality along with their white counterparts, but they continue to experience a much lower quality of life (measured in terms of income, education, health, housing and personal safety) than white Americans (Marshall and Farrell, 2008). Black Americans are much more likely to be victims and offenders of violent crime: they are disproportionately more likely to be incarcerated and about one-third of black males are under some form of criminal justice supervision. Most of the focus of criminal justice researchers has been on this particular minority group. It should be noted that the current study is an exception by not including a question on “race” and also by not including a sizeable group of blacks in the sample.

Because of changing immigration patterns, however, Blacks are no longer the largest minority group in the United States. In 2000, about 35 million people (about 12.5%) were Hispanic, the fastest growing minority group. The category of Hispanics (or Latinos) includes a wide variety of Spanish-speaking groups: people of Mexican heritage, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, people from Central or South America; a mixture of long-term inhabitants of the US and newcomers, Latino immigrants and refugees, and their descendants (Parrillo, 1996) Most of the research and political interest has focused on Mexican-Americans (about 21 million) who account for the largest proportion of both legal and undocumented inhabitants. Paralleling the experiences of black Americans, Hispanics as a group are relatively powerless: they have been (or are) seen as “different” often threatening, problematic, or even deviant; they have been subject to discriminatory laws and regulations, prejudice and negative stereotyping; the focus of public fear and violence, and targets of political campaigns. On average, Hispanics living in

the US are less educated, more likely to be unemployed, poorer, and less healthy than the non-Hispanic population. The picture with regard to their involvement in the criminal justice system – either as offenders or as victims – is less bleak than that of Black Americans, but they are somewhat more likely to be in prison, or to be victimized than their non-Hispanic counterparts. Important to note is that the current fixation with undocumented workers in the US has largely targeted Hispanics, many of whom are detained in federal facilities. The Hispanics are of particular interest to the current study, since the main “minority group” in the US ISRD-2 sample consists of Mexican Americans.

### 10.2.2 Education

The ethnic, racial and economic divisions in the American society are reflected in the American school system. There are three types of schooling in the United States: public (government-funded) schools, private schools, and home schooling (which accounts for a very small part). Families do not pay to send their children to the public schools, and these schools admit all students (with few exceptions). Public schools vary tremendously in terms of quality – typically, the funding is tied to local property taxes, which means that poor neighbourhoods tend to have underfunded, overcrowded schools with few resources and poorly paid teachers, while the more well-to-do areas have better funded schools, with a lower student-to-teacher ratio, higher-paid faculty and staff, and better equipment. Many inner city public schools are –by necessity – more focused on security (i.e. keeping the students and teachers safe) than on education. There are an increasing number of public schools with security personnel on the premises, where students have to go through metal detectors in order to check for weapons. Interesting to note is that the highly publicized school and campus shootings (e.g. Columbine) have taken place in rural and suburban white, middle class communities rather than in the big city schools. Also, contrary to public perception, American schools remain safe places for students (Bureau of Justice Statistics, NCJ 219553). Public high schools in different areas vary significantly in terms of their graduation rates, and – even if students complete high school – there are substantial variations in terms of their ability to actually

read and write and to be prepared to enter the work force or continue to go on to college. Actually repeating a grade is much less likely to happen in the United States than, for example, in the Netherlands. It should be noted that there are many excellent public schools in the United States, but quality is typically associated with income level (and thus tax base) of the neighbourhood. This is much less true for private schools, where families must pay tuition to send their children. The tuition to go to private schools varies greatly, from a token contribution to some parochial schools to tens of thousands of dollars to selected secular high schools. In sum, true equal access to high quality education remains an elusive ideal in the United States; kids with more prosperous parents are at an undeniable and continuous advantage. Recent data from the National Center for Education Statistics show a total of 86,792 (2005–2006 school year data) public and 28,384 (2003 data) private elementary and secondary schools in the nation.

As in most countries, American schools are typically divided by age. One designation has elementary (primary) schools with grades Kindergarten through six, junior high schools with grades seven through nine, and high schools with grades ten through twelve. Another designation has elementary schools with grades Kindergarten through five, middle schools with grades six through eight, and high schools with grades nine through twelve. Compulsory school ages vary by state (typically beginning age is from 5 to 7 years old and ending age is from 16 to 18 years old). Tracking, that is dividing students based on their performance, intelligence, or educational aspirations, is also different from one school district to another. Some school systems have tracking while others do not. Tracking does not typically emerge until high school where in some school districts vocational schools exist. Students and their parents make the decision of whether they will enter a college preparatory track or a vocation school with the assistance and recommendations of school staff members. The availability and requirements for these different course levels differs not only from one school district to the next, but also from school to school within school districts. No census data exists at national level to provide the most accurate and recent data on this matter. In a survey based on 912 public secondary schools conducted in 1993 (Carey and Farris, 1994) only 15% of schools described themselves as having traditional “tracking” policies,

reporting that they offer differentiated courses and do differentiated grouping in their core curriculum. The majority of schools (71%) indicated that they offer differentiated courses, but give students open access to any course provided they have taken the prerequisite course(s). Thus, unlike some European systems (i.e. the Dutch or the German systems), it is virtually impossible to describe the levels of the American secondary educational system beyond the simple distinction between college preparatory or vocational. More important in the United States is the distinction between public versus private school, in combination with the socio-economic characteristics of the particular area where the school is situated. The US ISR2-2 sample includes both public and private schools, which turns out to be a very important factor as will be discussed in the remainder of this chapter.

### **10.2.3 Alcohol and Drug Policy**

American alcohol and drug policy stand apart from most other western nations’ approaches in their pre-occupation with promoting prohibition and abstinence (Boekhout van Solinge, 2004). Writings on the history of drug and alcohol policy in the United States have highlighted the efforts of zealous “moral entrepreneurs” (see Becker, 1963) to create a society free of the vices of mind-altering substances. With regard to the “devil rum”, these efforts started in the beginning of last century with the era of Prohibition (the actual outlawing of alcohol sales that took place around 1919), and continue till today with the strict regulation of alcohol use, in particular its prohibition of use under the age of 21. This is rather ironic in view of the fact that American youth – in most states – can begin to learn to drive by the age of 15, and may get a driver’s license by the age of 16 (but note that here are some recent restrictions), undoubtedly related to the reality that lack of public transportation and the need to travel long distances make use of a car a virtual necessity in the United States. Alcohol policies differ by state and by municipality, but generally speaking, the age limit is not negotiable. This means that even 18-year old college students who live independently from their parents, or married 20-year olds with a job and a child, or 19 year old soldiers fighting in Iraq are not allowed to purchase alcohol. For all practical purposes, that

frequently means that popular leisure time activities (such as going out to night clubs, bars and so on) are not appealing to the under 21-year crowd. The age limit on alcohol use has resulted in criminalizing large numbers of young people: that is, a considerable proportion of juvenile arrests involve use of false identification card, public intoxication, and driving under influence. Thus, many under-age (i.e. below 21) Americans drink outside their home, outside the company of adults, in their cars or at parties with their peers. It is quite unusual in most families to allow youngsters to have any liquor during family gatherings such as dinner or parties. The social context of the use of alcohol by the youth reflects the prohibition model – it has become a formally deviant activity, although it is quite normal and routine in the daily lives of American youth. According to the large national survey *Monitoring the Future*, in 2007, 44% of the 12th graders (last class in high school) had used alcohol in the last month (33% of the tenth graders and 16% of the eighth graders). The life-time prevalence rates were 38.9% of the eighth graders, 61.7% of the tenth graders, and 72.2% of the 12th graders. Almost 18% of the 8th graders indicated that they had been drunk, 41.2% of the 10th graders, and over half (55.1%) of the 12th graders.<sup>2</sup>

By now it is a pretty well-accepted fact that the zero tolerance American drug policy has been largely a failure. Some modest victory may be claimed by referring to the slow decline in the number of young people who admit to use of marijuana or hash, or “hard” drugs such as cocaine or heroin. According to the 2007 *Monitoring the Future* Survey of high school students across the United States, there is a gradual decline in the proportions use of illicit drugs: “The proportion of 8th graders reporting use of an illicit drug at least once in 12 months prior to the survey...was 24% in 1996 but has fallen to 13% by 2007, a drop of nearly half. The decline has been less among tenth graders, from 39% to 28% between 1997 and 2007, and least among 12th graders, a decline from the recent peak of 42% in 1997 to 36% this year” (University of Michigan News Service, 2007). The “war on drugs” has relied heavily on strict law enforcement and harsh sentences for large scale traffickers, small-time dealers and users alike. In addition, public education and school prevention programs have emphasized the dangers of drug

use and the need to absolutely “just say no”, a sharp contrast to the more pragmatic and moderate approach used in countries such as the Netherlands (Leuw and Marshall, 1994). Unfortunately, the prohibitive American “war on drugs” has also been responsible for an escalating spiral of systemic violence related to drug trafficking and – dealing in the urban ghettos, as well as for a significant portion of the large increase in the prison population. Although research has failed to show a link between drug use and race or ethnicity, most of the “war on drugs” has been targeting Black and Hispanic populations, thereby further widening the racial and ethnic divide in the US.

### 10.3 Research Methodology

As the previous paragraphs have suggested, the US provides a very challenging context for doing social science research, due to its vastness, its huge and very diverse population, its complicated and decentralized government structure, and – last but not least – it’s rather politicized research environment. The ISRD-2 study in the US was challenged (probably more so than its European counterparts with the exception of Russia) by a number of unique factors.

First, the huge population numbering more than 300 million makes it a true challenge to draw a representative sample of 12–15 year olds (the target group, which consists of some 20 million youth). The ISRD-2 design opted for selecting seventh, eighth and ninth grade classrooms, assuming that these include most of the 12–15 year olds. Drawing a representative sample of the large and very diverse US population requires very sophisticated sampling techniques, and very sizeable samples. This is particularly the case when studying relatively rare events such as (serious) offending or criminal victimization. For example, the Crime Victimization Surveys in the US is based on samples of some 45,000 households including some 100,000 respondents. The considerable expenditures and work involved in drawing nationally representative youth samples is the reason why there exist only a very small number of such studies (examples are *Monitoring the Future* and the *Youth Risk Surveillance System*).

Second, true to the original ISRD-2 sample design, the US research team opted for a city-based sample design. However, selecting a handful of municipalities

<sup>2</sup><http://www.monitoringthefuture.org>

out of the large number of cities and towns spread over a huge geographic region (the US has a total of 3,034 counties, 19,429 municipalities and 16,504 townships) provides enormous logistic, theoretical and budgetary challenges. Although selecting research sites that represent “the” typical town or city is difficult for all countries, no matter what their size is, these problems are exacerbated in very large countries (such as the US or Russia).

A related problem is the very complicated school structure of the United States. The ISRD-2 sample uses classrooms as the (secondary) sampling unit, which requires access to a sampling frame of all classrooms (in the cities and towns selected). America’s educational system is highly differentiated across municipalities, regions and states. According to the most recent US Census statistics, there are 13,506 district schools, 178 state-dependent school systems, 1,330 local-dependent school systems and 1,196 education service agencies (providing support services to public school systems) in the country. Each of the school district and system appears to have its own unique administrative structure and line of authority, and the centralized lists of seventh, eighth and ninth grade classrooms are either not available or are not provided to outside research teams.

The problems listed thus far are basically of a methodological nature and may be overcome by some ingenious solutions and adjustments. Much more challenging problems encountered in our study are related to the political context of doing school-based research in the United States. Asking young people questions about private matters, including delinquency, victimization, alcohol and drug use, and family life is viewed as a very sensitive matter, and researchers need to be able to document that the subjects of their research, particularly those considered most vulnerable including children, are protected. Research protocols are closely scrutinized by the federal agency which funds the research, the university where the research takes place, and often by participating schools. A major requirement (and hurdle to obtain the desired sample participation and response rate) is the need to obtain active (rather than merely passive) parental consent. American education is quite politicized, has strong local roots, and parents often are very vocal in expressing their dissatisfaction with the school administration. In addition to worrying about public discontent or even law suits about research considered a waste of precious class time or viewed as

inappropriate or threatening to their students, school officials also are concerned that research may reveal an unflattering picture of their school and students (notwithstanding promises of confidentiality of the results). In some of the school districts, there are major order maintenance problems, and large proportions of students have poor reading and comprehension skills. Last but not least, American anti-intellectualism (see Hofstadter, 1963) may be responsible for the apparent lack of appreciation for the value of scholarly research, where it is felt that nothing really is gained by the schools by participating in this research – and potentially a lot may be lost.

Although all countries had to deal with unique methodological challenges in executing the ISRD2 study, the problems of scale, structural complexity and cultural resistance faced by the ISRD2 study in the United States were very pronounced and magnified, once again confirming the notion of American “exceptionalism” among its western counterparts.

## 10.4 Study Design

Data collection for the US portion of the ISRD-2 study was carried out in the fall of 2006 and spring of 2007 in four states, five cities and fifteen middle and high schools. The US tried to follow the ISRD2 city-based sampling protocol in as much as possible, but – in view of some of the issues listed above – some significant deviations from the standardized design were inevitable. Although we had to make some adjustments, the final sample may be considered fairly representative of US youth. In this context, it is important to emphasize that the primary ambition of the US component of the ISRD2 study was to test theoretical correlates of offending and victimization, rather than to provide exact estimates of prevalence and incidence, which makes the representativeness of the sample of lesser importance. The initial sample design for the United States was a city-based, purposeful sampling plan, requiring the selection of one large city, one medium-sized city, and three small towns. We selected the initial research sites based on geographic location (large city in the southwest, medium city in the Midwest, and the small towns in the northeast) and logistic considerations (i.e. presumed access to schools, and available research assistance). Because of refusal to participate



by the originally selected school districts, the medium and small towns were replaced by others in the same geographic area and a revised sampling plan was developed (including two rather than three small towns). Also, because of issues of privacy and confidentiality, we are not able to specify the names of the participating cities and towns, beyond “large southwest city”, “medium Midwest city”, and “small north-eastern towns”.

Details on the sampling procedures are provided in our technical report. A total of 4,045 seventh to ninth grade school youth was included in the sampling frame. We need to point out that the large southwestern city proved the most challenging – but also the most interesting – research site. In order to gain access to the large southwestern city, we went through lengthy reviews by each of the several school districts Institutional Review Boards (consisting of school administrators, teachers, community members and parents), and ultimately we were denied access in all but one of its school districts. This particular school district serves a predominantly Hispanic minority population and is one of the poorest school districts in the city. Although not ideal from a representativeness perspective, we were excited to be able to include this “at risk” Hispanic youth population – a group which has not received sufficient attention from researchers in this country. We followed a modified stratified random sampling approach of 7 to 9th grade classrooms in this school district, and we ultimately were able to obtain a total of 493 useable questionnaires, at a considerable effort and expense. One factor that made the research in this particular city very time-consuming and expensive was the active parental consent required by the school district. It proved to be very difficult to obtain the signed parental consent forms from the parents, for a variety of reasons (e.g. students did not give the form to the parent, the parents could not read English, and so on). Ultimately, the response rate from the selected school district in the large Southwestern city was 30.8% (see Table 10.1).

The medium mid western city and the two small northeastern towns required passive (i.e. parents only had to respond if they did not want their child to participate), rather than active parental consent, resulting in a higher participation rate (respectively 88.9, 91.7 and 81.5%). The largest source of non-response in the US ISRD-2 was refusal by the originally selected school districts to allow access to their students, followed

by the non-response resulting from the (active) parental consent procedures. The overall survey completion rate of students with parental consent was quite high with 93.4%. A response rate of 63.6% was achieved for all students sampled regardless of the types of parental consent. Overall, the US sample ( $n = 2,571$ ) included students from 11 public schools from three geographically diverse regions (southwest, Midwest, and northeast), three private parochial schools (Northeast and Midwest), and one private non-parochial school (Midwest).

The standardized English paper and pencil version of the questionnaire was used. No changes were made to the design or content of the original questionnaire, nor were there any specific language problems. The survey instrument itself was not translated into other languages, although in the large southwestern city, research assistants and site coordinators helped some students by translating questions for them. There were no changes to response options on the questionnaire, and no changes were made to the order of questions. No additional country-specific questions were included on the questionnaire.

## 10.5 Sample Characteristics

Because of the considerable problems encountered in drawing the sample, and the adjustments that were needed to obtain a large enough number of completed questionnaires, before analyzing the findings, we need to closely examine the characteristics of the achieved ISRD2 US sample. Examination of Table 10.2 shows that the US sample deviates somewhat from the proposed sample in terms of demographics. The sample protocol asks for 700 seventh, eighth and ninth graders (representing the 12–15 age group), in equal proportions, for, respectively the large, medium, and small cities.

There is a slight overrepresentation of males (52.3%). The sample is also slightly biased in the direction of older students (only 34.1% of the sample consists of 12–13 year olds, mean age is almost 14). In view of the age bias, it is not surprising that there is an overrepresentation of 9th graders (almost half, instead of one-third). Over one-fifth of the sample consists of private school students, which is larger than the national proportion of students who attend private schools



**Table 10.1** Response rate

School	[A] # Sampling frame students	[B] # Non- consent	% Non- consent $100 \times B/A$	# Absent with consent	% Absent with consent	[C] # returned questionnaires	% C completion with consent $100 \times C/(A - B)$	% Participation rate of frame $100 \times C/A$
<i>Medium City</i>	1,213	23	1.9	112	9.4	1,078	90.6	88.9
MS 1	263	11	4.2	24	9.5	228	90.5	86.7
HS 1	391	8	2.0	50	13.1	333	86.9	85.2
AS	25	0	0.0	13	52.0	12	48.0	48.0
HS 2	105	0	0.0	7	6.7	98	93.3	93.3
MS 2	429	4	0.9	18	4.2	407	95.8	94.9
<i>Small Town 1</i>	481	39	8.1	0	0.0	441	99.8	91.7
HS	221	2	0.9	7	3.2	212	96.8	95.9
JH	260	37	14.2	0	0.0	229	100.0	88.1
<i>Small Town 2</i>	648	74	11.4	46	8.0	528	92.0	81.5
MS	445	42	9.4	33	8.2	370	91.8	83.1
HS	203	32	15.8	13	7.6	158	92.4	77.8
<i>Large City</i>	1,703	1,157	67.9	22	4.0	524	96.0	30.8
HS 1	236	160	67.8	9	11.8	67	88.2	28.4
HS 2	270	216	80.0	6	11.1	48	88.9	17.8
MS 1	346	169	48.8	0	0.0	177	100.0	51.2
MS 2	283	202	71.4	6	7.4	75	92.6	26.5
MS 3	340	236	69.4	0	0.0	104	100.0	30.6
MS 4	228	174	76.3	1	1.9	53	98.1	23.2
<i>Total</i>	4,045	1,293	32.0	180	6.5	2,571	93.4	63.6

**Table 10.2** U.S. Sample characteristics ( $n = 2,401$ )

<i>Gender</i>	<i>School type</i>	
Male	1,253 (52.3%)	Private 526 (21.9%)
Female	1,144 (47.7%)	Public 1,875 (78.1%)
<i>Age</i>	<i>City size</i>	
12	285 (11.9%)	Large 493 (20.5%)
13	532 (22.2%)	Medium 946 (39.4%)
14	719 (30.0%)	Small 962 (40.0%)
15	756 (31.6%)	
16+	103 (4.3%)	
<i>Grade</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>	
7th	606 (25.2%)	First generation 90 (3.8%)
8th	600 (25.0%)	Second generation 327 (13.6%)
9th	1,195 (49.8%)	Native born 1,981 (82.5%)

(about 10%). Only one-fifth of the final sample comes from a large city, with about equal proportions drawn from medium and small towns (39.4 and 40.1% respectively). Another possibly confounding factor is that almost the entire large city sample is Hispanic, which complicates efforts to disentangle the effects of city size and ethnicity. The selected school district in the large city was 97% Hispanic (compared to 57.5% in the other school districts in the selected large city). Making the picture even more complicated, 94.5% of the families in the sampled large city school district are considered “disadvantaged” (compared to 56.9% in the other school

districts of the large city). Almost 20% of the students in the large city school district are bilingual (use English as a second language) (compared to 7.5% in the other school districts of that city). The large city school district also had a lower graduation rate (71.9% compared to 86.7% of the large city). Thus, the large city subsample incorporates a mixture of poverty and immigration status, and as such is distinctly different from the small and medium size city samples. Table 10.3 provides a more detailed picture of the basic differences between the large, medium and small city samples. Table 10.3 indicates that there are no private school students included in the large city sample, which further shapes the distinct character of the large city sample. Public schools tend to be more common in less prosperous areas, and are more likely associated with poorer socio-economic conditions than private schools (which are represented in the small and medium sized city samples).

In order to further explore the extent to which students who attend public school differ from private school students, we compared the two groups on a number of important attitudinal and behavioural characteristics. Table 10.4 shows that the public school ISRD2 sample – without exception – reports lower family affluence, weaker family bonds, more major negative

life events, weaker school bonding, a higher level of school crime, less attachment to neighbourhood, more crime in neighbourhood, lower collective neighbourhood efficacy, a greater sense of neighbourhood disorganization, more pro-violent attitudes and involvement in a greater variety of offences than private school ISRD2 students.

**Table 10.3** Characteristics of small, medium and large city samples (USA)

	Large city		Medium city		Small towns	
<i>Gender</i>						
Male	235	47.7%	501	53.1%	517	53.8%
Female	258	52.3%	442	46.9%	444	46.2%
<i>Age</i>						
12	98	19.9%	22	2.3%	166	17.3%
13	158	32.1%	103	10.9%	271	28.2%
14	157	31.9%	244	25.9%	318	33.1%
15	68	13.8%	491	52.1%	197	20.5%
16+	11	2.2%	82	8.7%	10	1.0%
Mean	13.47		14.55		13.60	
<i>Grade</i>						
7th	196	39.8%	116	12.3%	294	30.6%
8th	185	37.5%	114	12.1%	301	31.3%
9th	112	22.7%	716	75.7%	367	38.1%
<i>School type</i>						
Private	0	0.0%	86	9.1%	440	45.7%
Public	493	100.0%	860	90.9%	522	54.3%
<i>Native</i>						
First generation	37	7.5%	31	3.3%	22	2.3%
Second generation	143	29.1%	73	7.7%	111	11.5%
Native	312	63.4%	840	89.0%	829	86.2%
<i>Language at home</i>						
English	326	74.8%	895	95.2%	926	96.9%
Other	123	25.2%	45	4.8%	30	3.1%

A similar set of differences can be seen when comparing the subsamples from the large city, medium and small city (see Table 10.4). Overall, the large city sample reports more negatively on most dimensions, albeit noted that in some cases the medium city scores more poorly than the large city (for example on family and school bonding). On the other hand, the smaller city sample consistently reports the most positive experiences and attitudes. These observations need to be kept in mind when comparing the findings between the different subsamples.

### 10.5.1 Comparison of ISRD2 Sample with Two Other US Youth Surveys

Drawing a sample in a random fashion definitely increases the likelihood that the resulting sample is representative of the larger population, but it does not guarantee representativeness. Likewise, deviating from the ideal sampling design increases the likelihood, but does not guarantee that one ends up with a totally biased sample. We believe this latter scenario to be the case for the ISRD-2 sample. The representativeness of a sample may be evaluated by comparing it against other (representative) samples with known findings. We compare some of the ISRD2 results with regard to reported alcohol and drug use with two other well-known nationally representative youth surveys: The *Youth Risk Behaviour Survey* (YRBS) and *Monitoring the Future* (MTF). Table 10.5 presents selected comparative figures on self-reported alcohol

**Table 10.4** Selected sample characteristics by type of school and city size

	School		City size		
	Private	Public	Large	Medium	Small
Family affluence <sup>a,b</sup>	93.77	83.72	69.71	89.96	90.28
Family bonding <sup>a,b</sup>	81.45	76.28	78.90	74.47	79.55
Life event total <sup>a,b</sup>	21.62	27.97	28.15	27.56	24.76
School bonding <sup>a</sup>	74.07	71.69	72.28	71.72	72.69
School crime <sup>a,b</sup>	26.64	48.85	54.18	47.64	34.69
Neighbourhood bonding <sup>a,b</sup>	75.30	68.77	68.66	69.05	72.27
Neighbourhood collective efficacy <sup>a,b</sup>	72.75	60.33	51.59	64.06	68.33
Neighbourhood disorganization <sup>a,b</sup>	7.19	22.11	36.82	16.06	11.89
Pro-violent attitude <sup>a,b</sup>	36.75	45.08	50.35	42.36	40.42
Life-time versatility <sup>a,b</sup>	4.66	8.19	10.78	8.36	4.51
Last-year versatility <sup>a,b</sup>	2.58	4.52	5.65	4.89	2.36

<sup>a</sup>and <sup>b</sup> indicate statistically significant group differences at 0.05 level of school type and city size, respectively

use among the ISRD2 sample, YRBS, and MTF. The YRBS includes national, state and local school-based surveys of high school students in grades 9–12. In addition, some states and cities conduct a school based YRBS among middle schools (sixth, seventh and eighth grade) students. In 2005, 10 states and 11 cities conducted a middle school YRBS. In our comparisons, we make use of data from 5 state and 8 local middle school surveys (grades seven and eight) with weighted data, as well as the 9th grade YRBS data. The MTF Study asks a nationally representative sample of nearly 50,000 secondary school students in approximately 400 public and private schools (grades eight, ten and twelve) to describe their drug use patterns through self-administered questionnaires. We use only the eighth grade data from MTF. Unfortunately, it is not possible to compare the three surveys on all dimensions for all three grades.

With regard to “ever” alcohol use, it appears that the 7th and 8th graders in the ISRD2 sample are fairly comparable to those in the MTF and YRBS surveys. About 31% of the ISRD-2 7th graders reported that they had ever used alcohol, which falls on the lower side of the range reported by their counterparts in the middle school YRBS. The picture for the 8th graders is even more convincing: 40.7% of the ISRD-2 respondents reported “ever” alcohol use compared to 40.5% (2006) and 38.9% (2007) of the MTF respondents in the same grade. The 40.7% reported by the ISRD-2 eighth graders also is compatible with the range of eighth grade responses for “ever”

**Table 10.5** Life time and last month alcohol prevalence ISRD-2, *Monitoring the Future* (MTF), and *Youth Risk Behaviour Survey* (YRBS)

		ISRD-2	MTF	YRBS
<i>Lifetime alcohol use</i>				
Grade	7	30.9	NA	28.3–41.7 <sup>a</sup> 26.3–49.8 <sup>b</sup>
	8	40.7	40.5 (2006) 38.9 (2007)	43.5–51.9 <sup>a</sup> 35.2–66.1 <sup>b</sup>
	9	47.3	NA	65.5
<i>Lifetime drunk</i>				
Grade	7	10.7	NA	NA
	8	16.6	17.9	NA
	9	23.8	NA	NA
<i>Last month use</i>				
Grade	7	7.9	NA	NA
	8	12.8	15.9	–
	9	17.5	–	35.7

<sup>a</sup>Range for the states

<sup>b</sup>Range for the cities

alcohol use in the YRBS study (35.2–66.1 for the cities, and 43.5–51.9 for the states – a little higher than the ISRD-2 eighth grade sample). The case to be made for the ninth grade is weaker: 47.3% of the ISRD-2 ninth graders reported to “ever” have used alcohol, compared to 65.5% of their counterparts in the YRBS. Comparing the responses on the question of “ever” having been drunk, there is a very close correspondence between the responses of the ISRD-2 eighth graders (16.6) and their MTF counterparts (17.9). The same is true for last month alcohol use: 12.8% of the ISRD-2 eighth grade sample versus 15.9% of the MTF eighth graders, a rather close match.

When looking at self-reported illegal drug use (Table 10.6), it appears that the results with regard to marijuana use (both “ever” and “last month”) are quite compatible between the three surveys. About twelve (12.3%) per cent of the ISRD-2 seventh graders report to ever having used marijuana, compared to between 8.5 and 11.7% (state samples) and 8.0 and 18.0% (city samples) in the YRBS. The eighth grade responses for lifetime marijuana use are even more comparable between the ISRD-2 sample (16.0%), and the MTF sample (15.7% in 2006, 14.2% in 2007). The ISRD-2 eighth grade results also are quite consistent with the

**Table 10.6** Life time and last month drug use prevalence ISRD-2, *Monitoring the Future* (MTF), and *Youth Risk Behaviour Survey* (YRBS)

		ISRD-2	MTF	YRBS
<i>Lifetime</i>				
marijuana use	7th	12.3	NA	8.5–11.7 <sup>a</sup> 8.0–18.0 <sup>b</sup>
	8th	16.0	15.7 (2006) 14.2 (2007)	12.7–21.3 <sup>a</sup> 12.9–38.2 <sup>b</sup>
	9th	17.8	NA	27.5
<i>Last month</i>				
marijuana use	7th	5.1	NA	NA
	8th	8.4	6.5 (2006) 5.7 (2007)	NA
	9th	9.1	NA	NA
<i>Lifetime drug use</i>				
other than marijuana	7th	2.1	NA	NA
	8th	4.9	12.2 (2006) 11.1 (2007)	NA
	9th	3.7	NA	NA
<i>Last month drug</i>				
use other than marijuana	7th	1.1	NA	NA
	8th	2.1	3.8 (2006) 3.6 (2007)	NA
	9th	1.6	NA	NA

<sup>a</sup>Range for the states

<sup>b</sup>Range for the cities

ranges reported for the YRBS state samples (12.7–21.3%) and city samples (12.9–38.2%). As was the case for “ever alcohol use”, the ISRD-2 9th graders report lower prevalence (17.8%) than their YRBS counterparts (27.5%). Last month marijuana use prevalence can only be compared between the ISRD-2 eighth grade sample (8.4%) and the eighth grade MTF sample (6.5% in 2006 and 5.7% in 2007).

The results with regard to drug use other than marijuana show a greater discrepancy between the ISRD-2 and MTF (YRBS does not provide comparable data). Again, only the 8th grade responses may be compared between the two surveys, showing a lower prevalence for the eighth grade ISRD-2 sample. That is, 4.9% of the ISRD-2 eighth graders reported “ever” having used illegal drugs other than marijuana, compared to 12.2% (2006) or 11.1% (2007) of their MTF counterparts; 2.1% of the ISRD-2 eighth graders report last month illegal drug use other than marijuana, compared to 3.8% (2006) and 3.6% (2007) of the MTF eighth graders. This difference may be due, in part at least, to the different way of measuring this variable: the MTF specifies in total 19 drugs (including prescription

drugs, in addition to marijuana or hash), compared to the ISRD-2 survey, which lists four drug categories.

The results of this preliminary set of comparisons (which will be expanded on a later date, by also making comparisons between reported victimization and offending prevalence between the ISRD-2 and other major US youth surveys) provides some reassurance that our sample has a reasonable degree of comparability with other randomly selected youth samples in the US. However, because of the significant differences between the characteristics of the three subsamples, in the remainder of the chapter, we will primarily report our findings separately for, respectively large, medium and small cities.

## 10.6 Risk Behaviour, Victimization and Delinquency

### 10.6.1 Risk Behaviour

In the preceding paragraphs, we discussed some of the findings with regard to alcohol and drug use. Because of the importance of alcohol and drug use as possible risk factors for delinquency, it is important to take a closer look at the findings for the US sample. About 40% of the sample report having at least once tried beer or wine, with about one-fourth reporting trying strong liquor (Table 10.7). Soft drug use is much less common (16% has “ever” tried it). About 12 out of every 100 students report drinking beer or wine recently (last month); about 9 out of 100 report recent use of hard liquor, and 8 out of 100 students recently

**Table 10.7** Life-time and last month prevalence of alcohol and soft drug use

	Life time		Last month	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Beer/wine	39.9	3.5	12.4	4.3
Strong spirits	25.0	4.7	9.2	5.0
Marijuana, hashish use	16.0	4.5	7.9	4.8

Notes:  $n = 2,401$ ; unweighted data; prevalence based on valid cases

**Table 10.8** Life-time and last year prevalence of risk factors by size of city/town

	Large city ( $n = 493$ )				Medium sized city ( $n = 946$ )				Small towns ( $n = 962$ )			
	Life time		Last month <sup>a</sup>		Life time		Last month <sup>a</sup>		Life time		Last month <sup>a</sup>	
	%	%Missing	%	%Missing	%	%Missing	%	%Missing	%	%Missing	%	%Missing
Alcohol total <sup>b</sup>	48.7	0.8	4.7	0.8	45.7	2.6	17.2	2.6	33.6	4.9	9.8	5.2
Marijuana, hashish use	24.8	1.8	4.8	2.2	17.8	3.7	10.0	3.9	9.5	6.5	5.3	7.0
Truancy	–	–	39.6	0.2	–	–	31.9	0.7	–	–	30.2	1.6
Two risk factors present	–	–	14.3	0.8	–	–	13.8	2.6	–	–	7.7	4.9

Notes: unweighted data; prevalence based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Truancy: last year prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Beer/wine and strong spirits

used soft drugs. Table 10.8 below shows the findings with regard to alcohol and soft drug use according to the size of city. Small town students report less alcohol use (33.6% “ever” and 9.8% “last month”) than the medium and large city youth (respectively 45.7 and 48.7% “ever” and 17.2 and 15.7% “last month”). A similar pattern is found for soft drug use: the small city students report lower lifetime and recent use (9.5 and 6.5%) than the medium (17.8 and 10.0%) and large city (24.6 and 8.9%) students.

Small town youth appear to be less involved in alcohol and drug use behaviour than their medium and large city counterparts. Youth from large cities also appear to be more at risk with regard to skipping school (truancy): 39.6% report to have skipped school last month (compared to 31.9% in the medium size city and 30.2% in the small towns). It should be noted, however, that a considerable portion of the entire sample (roughly one-third) did skip school at least once during the last month. When combining alcohol consumption together with soft drug use and truancy to create an indicator of a risky life style, it is quite evident that small town youth is much less likely to have

a risky life style (7.7%) than either medium (13.8%) or large city (14.3%) youth.

## 10.6.2 Victimization

Almost one-third of the sample report having been the victim of theft, and one out of five students reported being bullied (see Table 10.9). The more serious victimization experiences (robbery/extortion and assault) are reported in much lower frequencies (about 4 out of very 100 students). Overall, it is unlikely that victims go to the police: the likelihood ranges between 16.9% (assault) to 4.7% (bullying). But note that this is for the total sample; analysis of the three subsamples show considerable differences. Indeed, Table 10.10 shows that there are differences in victimization experiences between youth from different city sizes: small town youth appear to be at the lowest risk of victimization, with the exception of bullying (19.1%). Almost 18% of the students from the large city sample are being bullied; the medium city sample indicates the highest level (22.0%). Large city victims appear considerably more likely to go to the police to report their victimization than their medium or small town counterparts. This is most striking in the case of robbery/extortion: 36.4% of the large city victims went to the police, compared to only 5.7% of the medium city victims and 10.7% of the small town victims. Comparable differences are found for assault and theft victimizations. One possible interpretation for the higher reporting rate in the large city may be that the nature of the victimization is more serious in larger cities, compared to the medium and the smaller cities.

**Table 10.9** Last year prevalence of victimization and reporting to the police

	Victimization		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>
	%	% Missing	%
Robbery/extortion	4.5	6.5	13.6
Assault	4.1	6.6	16.1
Theft	31.2	6.0	12.6
Bullying	20.0	6.3	4.9

Notes:  $n = 2,401$ ; unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Percentage based on number of victims; no answer: no reporting assumed

**Table 10.10** Last year prevalence of victimization and reporting to the police by size of city/town

	Large city ( $n = 493$ )			Medium sized city ( $n = 946$ )			Small towns ( $n = 962$ )		
	Victimization		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>	Victimization		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>	Victimization		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>
	%	%Missing	%	%	%Missing	%	%	% Missing	%
Robbery/extortion	4.7	5.7	36.4	5.8	5.6	5.7	3.2	7.9	10.7
Assault	4.8	6.1	21.7	4.6	5.7	17.1	3.3	7.8	10.7
Theft	29.2	5.5	24.8	35.1	4.7	10.4	28.2	7.6	8.8
Bullying	17.7	6.7	7.3	22.0	4.9	4.0	19.1	7.5	4.7

Notes: unweighted data; prevalence based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Percentage based on number of victims; no answer: no reporting assumed

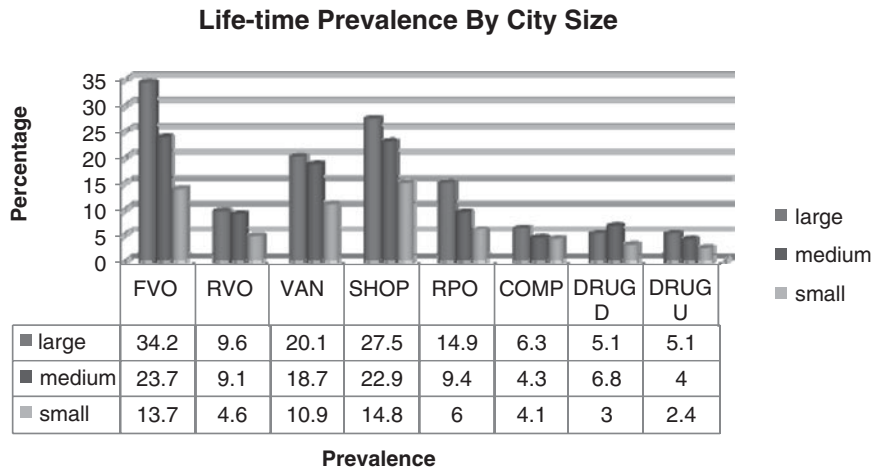
### 10.6.3 Self-reported Offending

Virtually without exception, both lifetime and last year prevalence for all listed offences are lowest for the small town sample. Exception is last month XTC/speed use: 1.3% small town, 0.9% medium city, 0.4% large city. Conversely, the large city sample tends to report the highest prevalence, with the exception of assault (5.1% “ever” and 2.5% “last year” in large city vs. 5.5% and 2.8% in medium city) and drug dealing (5.1% “ever” and 2.9% “last month” in large city vs. 6.8% “ever” and 5.3% “last month” in medium city). In order to more clearly show these differences, Fig. 10.1 presents the lifetime prevalence for grouped offences,

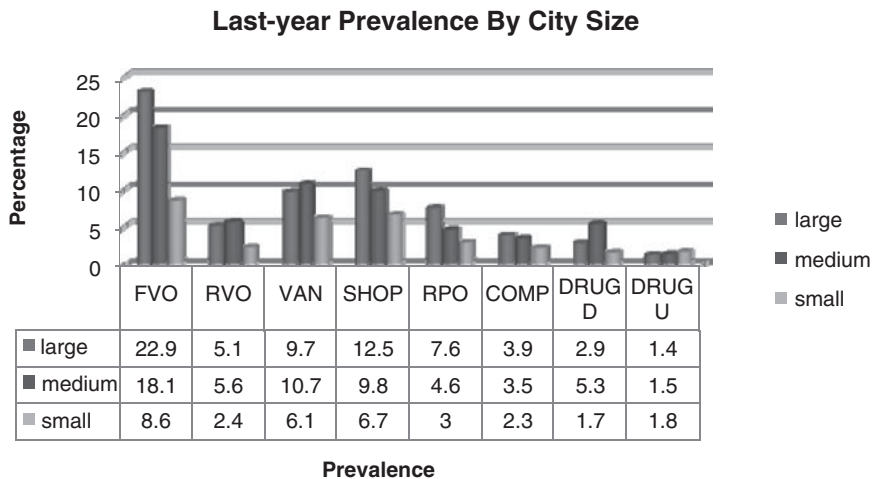
as well as some individual categories (shoplifting, vandalism, computer hacking). Figure 10.2 does the same for last year (or last month – drug use) prevalence.

The prevalence of self-reported offending in the US ISRD-2 sample (for both “ever” and “last year”) fits expected patterns: low prevalence for serious offences and higher prevalence for minor offences (Table 10.11). Shoplifting is the most frequently committed “ever” offence (20.7%), followed by participating in a group fight (16.0%), vandalism (15.9%) and carrying a weapon (14.3%). The more serious offences such as car theft (1.9%), burglary (2.1%), robbery/extortion (3.2%), assault (4.3%), and purse snatching (2.7%) occur relatively infrequent. The figures for the total

**Fig. 10.1** Life-time prevalence by city size. *FVO* group fight/carrying weapon; *RVO* snatching, extortion, assault; *VAN* vandalism; *SHOP* shoplifting; *RPO* burglary, bike theft, car theft, car break; *COMP* hacking; *DRUGD* drug dealing; *DRUGU* hard drug use



**Fig. 10.2** Last-year prevalence by city size. *FVO* group fight/carrying weapon; *RVO* snatching, extortion, assault; *VAN* vandalism; *SHOP* shoplifting; *RPO* burglary, bike theft, car theft, car break; *COMP* hacking; *DRUGD* drug dealing; *DRUGU* hard drug use





sample provide a misleading picture however, since there are significant differences between the three sub-samples (see Table 10.12).

These simple descriptive statistics only tell part of the story; we have to keep in mind that the large city

sample is heavily biased in the direction of public school students, immigrants, and the less affluent ones. It is thus not surprising that we have found that city size appears to be a significant correlate of victimization, self-reported offending, drug and alcohol use and risk behaviour. However, other potential significant correlates of victimization, risk behaviour and offending such as gender, grade (seventh, eighth, ninth), and type of school attended (public vs. private) should be considered also. Table 10.13 provides a summary of the bi-variate correlations between these variables and victimization and life-time prevalence.

*Gender:* As expected, we do find several statistically significant gender differences. Males are more likely than females to have been the victim of robbery/extortion (5.4% vs. 3.6%), and theft (34.1% vs. 28.1%). No gender differences appear to exist with regard to being bullied or assaulted. Boys are more likely to vandalize (20.6% vs. 11.0%), to participate in a “frequent violent offences” – group fight and/or carry a weapon (28.5% vs. 15.0%), in “rare violent offences” – robbery/extortion, purse snatching, assault (9.2% vs. 5.5%), and “rare property offences” – burglary, bike or car theft, car break (12.0% vs. 6.4%). On the other hand, boys and girls appear equally likely to report having shoplifted (about one-fifth each). There are no gender differences with regard to self-reported

**Table 10.11** Life-time and last year prevalence of offences

	Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Group fight	16.0	5.2	9.7	5.6
Carrying a weapon	14.3	4.9	10.0	5.5
Assault	4.3	5.1	2.2	5.6
Purse snatching	2.7	5.0	1.3	5.2
Robbery/extortion	3.2	5.0	2.1	5.2
Vandalism	15.9	4.7	8.7	5.0
Shoplifting	20.7	4.9	9.2	5.5
Bicycle/motor bike theft	5.1	4.7	2.1	5.0
Car break	5.6	4.9	2.8	5.1
Burglary	2.1	4.7	1.2	4.9
Car theft	1.9	4.8	1.1	4.9
Computer hacking	4.6	4.9	3.1	5.2
Drug dealing	5.0	5.3	3.4	5.6
XTC/speed use	2.4	4.5	1.0	4.6
LSD/heroin/cocaine use	2.5	4.8	1.1	4.9

Notes:  $n = 2,401$ ; unweighted data; prevalence based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin use: last month prevalence

**Table 10.12** Life-time and last year prevalences by size of city/town

	Large city ( $n = 493$ )				Medium sized city ( $n = 946$ )				Small towns ( $n = 962$ )			
	Life time		Last year		Life time		Last year		Life time		Last year	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Group fight	26.9	1.2	15.8	1.2	17.0	4.0	11.1	4.8	9.0	8.3	4.9	8.6
Carrying a weapon	21.3	1.0	13.1	1.2	16.6	3.7	13.1	4.4	8.0	8.0	5.0	8.8
Assault	5.1	0.4	2.5	1.0	5.5	3.9	2.8	4.5	2.5	8.7	1.4	8.9
Purse snatching	4.1	1.4	2.1	1.6	2.9	3.8	1.7	3.9	1.7	8.0	0.5	8.2
Robbery/extortion	5.1	0.8	2.9	1.2	3.6	3.9	2.5	4.2	1.7	8.2	1.1	8.3
Vandalism	20.1	1.2	9.7	1.8	18.7	3.8	10.7	4.1	10.9	7.3	6.1	7.6
Shoplifting	27.5	1.8	12.5	2.6	22.9	4.0	9.8	4.4	14.8	7.4	6.7	8.1
Bicycle/motor bike theft	7.4	1.0	2.7	1.2	5.8	3.7	2.6	4.1	3.1	7.6	1.2	7.9
Car break	9.8	0.6	4.9	0.6	5.6	3.9	2.9	4.1	3.2	8.0	1.5	8.3
Burglary	3.3	1.2	1.9	1.6	2.0	3.7	1.0	3.9	1.6	7.4	1.0	7.5
Car theft	3.9	1.4	2.5	1.4	2.0	3.5	0.9	3.6	0.8	7.9	0.5	8.0
Computer hacking	6.3	0.6	3.9	1.2	4.3	4.0	3.5	4.2	4.1	7.9	2.3	8.3
Drug dealing	5.1	0.6	2.9	1.0	6.8	4.2	5.3	4.4	3.0	8.8	1.7	9.1
XTC/speed use	2.3	1.4	0.4	1.4	3.2	3.9	0.9	4.1	1.7	6.7	1.3	6.7
LSD/heroin/cocaine use	4.1	2.0	1.4	2.0	2.6	4.1	1.0	4.2	1.5	6.9	1.0	7.0

Notes: unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

**Table 10.13** Last-year victimization and offence life-time prevalence by gender, grade level, city size, and school type ( $n = 2,401$ ; percentages reported in table)

	Gender		Grade			City size			School	
	Female	Male	7	8	9	Large	Medium	Small	Private	Public
<i>Victimization</i>										
Robbery/extortion	3.6	5.4*	3.2	4.9	5.0	4.7	5.8	3.2*	2.0	5.3*
Assault	4.7	3.5	3.8	4.0	4.3	4.8	4.6	3.3	3.4	4.3
Theft	28.1	34.1*	26.5	28.4	34.8*	29.2	35.1	28.2*	34.6	30.2
Bullying	19.5	20.2	19.9	23.6	18.2*	17.6	22.0	19.1	22.7	19.2
<i>Offences</i>										
Shoplifting	20.4	20.9	21.2	19.1	21.3	27.5	22.9	14.8*	14.6	22.5*
Vandalism	11.0	20.6*	15.2	18.8	15.0	20.1	18.7	10.9*	12.7	16.9*
Marijuana/hash	15.8	16.2	12.3	16.0	17.8*	24.8	17.8	9.5*	6.6	18.8*
Group fight/carry weapon	15.0	28.5*	21.1	23.7	21.6	34.2	23.8	13.8*	14.8	24.3*
Rob/extortion/ snatching/assault	5.5	9.2*	5.5	7.4	8.5	9.7	9.0	4.7*	3.9	8.6*
Burg/bike/car theft/ car break-in	6.4	12.0*	10.5	9.3	8.6	15.0	9.4	6.1*	5.0	10.6*
Ecstasy/LSD/heroin/ cocaine	3.8	3.5	2.1	4.8	3.9*	5.1	4.0	2.6*	2.2	4.1*
Beer/wine/spirits	42.5	41.0	31.1	40.7	47.7*	48.9	46.0	34.0*	36.2	43.4*
At least 2 risk factors	12.1	11.2	7.4	10.9	14.2*	14.5	14.2	7.8*	7.7	12.8*

\* $p < 0.05$ 

soft drug use, hard drug use, or alcohol use. Girls and boys are not different in their likelihood of having been involved in risk behaviour. These observations are not out of line with general expectations drawn from existing research and delinquency theory. An interesting finding is that there are no statistically significant gender differences between the age of onset for the different delinquency measures (results not shown here).

*Grade:* Seventh, eighth and ninth graders report approximately equal levels of having been the victim of a robbery/extortion and assault last year (between 3.2 and 5.0%). Ninth graders report a higher level of theft victimization (34.8%), but they are less likely to have been bullied (18.2% vs. 19.9% for seventh grade and 23.6% for eighth graders). The findings with respect to offending are harder to interpret: since these are life-time (“ever”) prevalence figures, we would expect that higher grades would tend to have higher prevalence of self-reported offending: this is typically not the case (see Table 10.13). However, ninth graders do have a higher level of life-time soft drug use (17.8% vs. 12.3% and 16.0%), alcohol use (47.7% vs. 31.1% and 40.7%) and risk behaviour (14.2% vs. 7.4% and 10.9%). On the other hand, 8th graders report the

highest lifetime prevalence hard drug use (4.8% vs. 2.1% and 3.9%).

*City Size:* As noted before, city size consistently is related to offending, drug and alcohol use, and risk behaviour: large city youth report the higher levels, followed by the medium size city sample, with the small town youth reporting the lowest levels (see Table 10.13). The picture with regard to victimization is less clear cut: here the medium size city sample report the highest levels of being victimized by theft and robbery/extortion, whereas there are no significant differences with regard to assault and bullying.

*School Type:* There is no question that public school students report higher levels of involvement in risk behaviour, alcohol and drugs, and a variety of delinquent behaviour (see Table 10.13). They also report a greater level of being the victim of robbery/extortion (5.3% vs. 2.0%).

## 10.7 Immigrant Status and Delinquency

The preceding analysis shows that size of the city and type of school (public vs. private) are important bi-variate correlates of self-reported offending and

risk behaviour. The large city sample includes a large proportion of immigrant youth, is less affluent, and more likely to include youth who speak a language other than English at home (see Table 10.3). In order to disentangle these potentially confounding effects, we did a preliminary analysis of the impact of immigrant status on self-reported delinquency. As noted in the introduction, Hispanics are the fastest growing minority group in the US, a group which has notoriously been under-examined by US criminologists. The US ISRD-2 sample – unlike the bulk of other American delinquency studies – does not include data on “race” (i.e. Black, White, Asian, Native American and so on), but rather focuses on “immigration status” as a primary factor of interest. It is commonly thought that immigrants differ significantly from the native population in attitudes, socio-demographic variables, victimization experiences and – last but not least – offending. Table 10.14 suggests that – at least in the current ISRD-2 sample – immigrant youth do not differ very much from their native-born counterparts.

The two groups do not differ significantly with regard to their attitudes toward school (i.e. school bonding and perceived level of school crime), levels of self control, or pro-violent attitude. There are no significant differences with respect to their bond to the neighbourhood and the perceived level of neighbourhood disorganization, although the immigrant youth report a lower level of neighbourhood collective efficacy. Not surprisingly, immigrant youth report a lower level of family affluence, and a higher level of negative life experiences. On the positive side, immigrant youth report a somewhat higher level of family bonding (79.1 vs. 77.5), and they are slightly more likely to come from an intact family (77.1% vs. 73.1%). Of course, immigrant youth are much more likely than native youth to speak a language other than English at home (37.7%). Also, immigrant youth report a higher level of perceived discrimination: Although 61.4% indicate to have “never” been treated badly based on skin colour, language or religion, 23.1% answered “sometimes or often”. It should be noted that 14% of the responses of native youth also fall into that category. Nonetheless, immigrant and native youth do not differ significantly with regard to their victimization experiences nor do immigrant youth report higher (or lower) levels of offending (see Table 10.10).

**Table 10.14** Attitudinal, socio-demographic and behavioural (life time) measures by immigrant status ( $n = 2,401$ )

	Immigrant status			
	Immigrants		Natives	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
<i>Attitudinal</i>				
Family affluence*	79.80	22.02	87.24	19.18
Family bonding*	79.11	19.61	77.05	19.30
Life event-total*	24.70	18.34	26.96	17.77
School bonding	72.17	22.89	72.21	21.53
School crime	42.31	27.52	44.18	26.99
Neighbourhood bonding	67.98	29.31	70.66	28.04
Neighbourhood disorganization	20.61	27.52	18.34	26.29
Neighbourhood collective efficacy*	59.83	29.30	63.84	28.95
Self control	58.60	23.11	57.01	22.58
Pro-violence attitude	42.18	24.54	43.41	24.96
<i>Socio-demographic (in %)</i>				
Family				
Intact	77.1		73.1	
Single parent	18.8		23.2	
Other	4.1		3.7	
Language*				
Language of the country	62.3		97.9	
Other language	37.7		2.1	
Discrimination*				
Never	61.4		77.0	
Once	15.4		9.1	
Sometimes/often	23.1		14.0	
<i>Victimization (%)</i>				
Robbery/extortion	4.1		4.6	
Assault	4.6		4.0	
Theft	29.6		31.5	
Bullying	20.4		19.8	
<i>Offending (in %)</i>				
Shoplifting	18.5		21.2	
Vandalism	15.4		16.0	
Marijuana/hash	14.3		16.3	
Group fight/carry weapon	22.1		22.0	
Rob/extortion/snatching/assault	6.5		7.6	
Burg/bike/car theft/car break-in	8.7		9.4	
Ecstasy/LSD/heroin/cocaine	4.3		3.5	
Beer/wine/spirits	43.2		41.3	
At least 2 risk factors	10.7		11.7	

\* $p < 0.05$

## 10.8 Correlates of Versatility: Results of Exploratory Multivariate Analysis

The mostly descriptive (and simple bivariate hypothesis testing) analysis thus far has provided a number of reasonable insights into the attitudes and behaviours of the ISRD-2 sample. It also has become clear that a number of our variables are highly interrelated and most likely confound the results. The logical

next step requires multivariate analysis; we would like to report on the preliminary results of one such effort. Rather than using simple life-time or last year prevalence measures (which are quite informative when presenting initial descriptive results), there is strong support for employing a versatility measure of delinquency instead. Table 10.15 presents the results of baseline OLS regression analysis,<sup>3</sup> using both life-time and last-year versatility measures as dependent variables.

The regression analysis includes the “typical” predictors commonly used in delinquency research: measures related to family (bonding), social class (family affluence), school (bonding, school crime), neighbourhood (bonding, collective efficacy, and disorganization), negative life events, self control, and pro-violent attitude. In addition, the main demographic variables of gender, family structure, grade, school type, and city size were included, as was immigration status. Examination of Table 10.15 shows several noteworthy

results. First, both life-time and last-year versatility measures share almost all of the theoretical predictors. The two exceptions are (1) the perceived level of school crime, which is not statistically significant for the life-time versatility measure; and (2) family affluence, which is not statistically significant for the last-year versatility measure. Second, all the significant theoretical predictors vary in the expected direction. Third, the amount of explained variance is quite respectable ( $R^2 = 0.294$  – life-time and 0.247 for last year). Fourth, immigrant status is not related to delinquency, holding other factors constant, which confirms our initial observations discussed in the preceding section (see Table 10.14). Fifth, low self-control appears to be related to delinquency controlling for a host of other factors (providing initial support for Gottfredson and Hirschi’s general theory of crime). Sixth, pro-violent attitudes appear to play a role in self-reported delinquency, supporting the importance of cultural attitudes as delinquency precursors. Seventh, gender,

**Table 10.15** OLS regression analyses using life-time and last-year versatility as DVs

	Versatility					
	Life time			Last year		
	<i>b</i>	SE	Beta	<i>b</i>	SE	Beta
Family affluence	−0.034*	0.015	−0.050	−0.019	0.011	−0.040
Family bonding	−0.074*	0.015	−0.109	−0.052*	0.011	−0.108
Life event-total	0.088*	0.015	0.119	0.053*	0.011	0.101
School bonding	−0.044*	0.013	−0.072	−0.034*	0.009	−0.080
School crime	0.011	0.011	0.024	0.016*	0.008	0.048
Neighbourhood bonding	0.003	0.011	0.007	0.003	0.008	0.009
Neighbourhood collective efficacy	0.000	0.011	0.002	0.004	0.008	0.012
Neighbourhood disorganization	0.084*	0.012	0.168	0.068*	0.009	0.192
Self-control	−0.086*	0.016	−0.148	−0.039*	0.012	−0.096
Pro-violence attitude	0.082*	0.015	0.155	0.051*	0.011	0.136
Male	2.591*	0.517	0.100	2.071*	0.378	0.112
Intact family	−0.072	0.614	−0.002	−0.179	0.449	−0.008
Immigrant	−0.606	0.679	−0.018	−0.477	0.496	−0.020
Eighth graders	−0.090	0.717	−0.003	−0.023	0.525	−0.001
9 <sup>th</sup> graders	0.102	0.686	0.004	0.000	0.502	0.000
Private school	1.589*	0.720	0.052	1.236*	0.526	0.057
Medium city	2.261*	0.664	0.085	1.508*	0.485	0.080
Large city	1.990*	0.850	0.063	0.301	0.622	0.013
Constant	13.104*	2.408		6.662*	1.761	
Adjusted $R^2$	0.294*			0.247*		
<i>F</i> ratio	47.25			37.33		
<i>n</i>	2,001			1,998		

Note: \* $p < 0.05$ .

<sup>3</sup>These baseline OLS regression models serve more as a diagnostic tool for this report. It’s worth mentioning that no multicollinearity problem was detected in the statistical models. All VIF measures are well under 4.

city size and school type appear to remain significant predictors, even after controlling for the effects of major theoretical predictors and other demographic factors. Finally, the positive impact of “private school” on the dependent variables is the only surprise in our regression models.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, we understand that our sample includes sizeable private school students (526 or 21.9% of total sample size) from two out of three U.S. study sites. Future analyses with sample weight adjustment and site specific comparisons could shed lights to this interesting observation.

In spite of the interesting findings presented above, closer observation of the distributions of both the life-time and last-year versatility measures indicates a potential problem for their inclusion as dependent variables in OLS regression analyses. Both of these dependent variables are not normally distributed (with the majority cases clustered at the value of zero), thus violating a key OLS regression assumption. Consistent to the approach widely used by researchers in similar circumstances, we applied (zero inflated) negative binomial regression analysis (see Table 10.16). The same set of attitudinal and demographic variables is included in the model. The key theoretical findings from the earlier OLS analyses remain largely unchanged. There are two exceptions: (1) family affluence is no longer a predictor for either one of the versatility measures; and (2) family bonding is no longer a statistically significant predictor for the last-year versatility measure. Similar core findings from both types of multi-variate analyses give credence to the robustness of the theoretical relationships under investigation. Future analyses of our data will include different dependent variables and consider interactive effects in the statistical models.

## 10.9 How “Exceptional” is the US?

We started this chapter with a reference to American “exceptionalism”. The degree to which our findings confirm the “exceptional” position of the US can only

<sup>4</sup>Bi-variate correlations between “private school” and life-time and last-year versatility measures are  $-0.114$  and  $-0.090$ , respectively. Both correlations are statistically significant at 0.05 level. Apparently the direction of these relationships had changed when this dummy variable was inserted into the multivariate OLS regression models.

**Table 10.16** Negative binomial regression analyses using life-time and last-year versatility as DVs

	Versatility			
	Life time		Last year	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Family affluence	-0.004	0.003	-0.001	0.004
Family bonding	-0.007*	0.003	-0.007	0.004
Life event-total	0.013*	0.003	0.012*	0.005
School bonding	-0.008*	0.003	-0.010*	0.003
School crime	0.006*	0.002	0.009*	0.003
Neighbourhood bonding	-0.002	0.002	-0.001	0.003
Neighbourhood collective efficacy	-0.002	0.002	-0.001	0.003
Neighbourhood disorganization	0.007*	0.002	0.013*	0.003
Self control	-0.018*	0.003	-0.018*	0.005
Pro-violence attitude	0.016*	0.003	0.023*	0.004
Male	0.554*	0.110	0.692*	0.145
Intact family	-0.191	0.129	-0.265	0.168
Immigrant	0.007	0.142	-0.260	0.185
8th graders	0.210	0.151	0.309	0.198
9th graders	0.226	0.146	0.269	0.196
Private school	0.492*	0.163	0.671*	0.215
Medium city	0.373*	0.146	0.562*	0.196
Large city	0.609*	0.176	0.452	0.231
Constant	2.073*	0.519	0.355	0.684
Ln alpha	1.554	0.047	2.027	0.058
Alpha	4.732	0.224	7.593	0.438
Log likelihood	-4457.872		-3056.829	
Pseudo $R^2$	0.044		0.053	
<i>n</i>	2,001		1,998	

Notes: \* $p < 0.05$

be partly answered at this preliminary point. Only direct comparisons with the findings of the other ISRD-2 partners will allow the conclusion that US youth indeed differs (or does not differ!) markedly from their European counterparts, and that exercise is beyond the current focus of this chapter. But we do think that, from a purely practical perspective, and based on our knowledge of the experiences of our ISRD-2 colleagues in other countries, conducting the school-based ISRD-2 in the US was “exceptionally” difficult. The number of obstacles placed in the search of a truly representative school-based sample in the US is, indeed, exceptional!

There is no question that, in some ways, our sample is exceptional. It covers multiple states, cities and grades; it has an overrepresentation of private school students



(21.9%), and has a sizeable proportion of mostly Hispanic recent immigrants (17.4%). We cannot claim that the sample is truly representative of the US youth population, but we are particularly pleased with the relatively large number of Hispanic youth in our sample, a group notoriously under-studied by American criminologists.

Finally, it is too early to make explicit comparisons of our findings with those of other countries. It is possible, however, to make several so-called “within-country” comparisons (as we did in our comparison of the ISRD-2 sample with the YRBS and MTF surveys), where we contrast the US ISRD-2 findings against those of other US youth studies. Generally speaking, there is little doubt that the US ISRD-2 data do not deviate significantly from the observations reported by most comparable US survey studies of delinquency. Not only are the reports of drug and alcohol use fairly compatible with other US studies, we also found preliminary support for the theoretical relationships derived from social bonding, self-control, and social learning theories. In that sense, our findings are not “exceptional” – at least not for the US. This does not mean, though, that the current data do not suggest some unexpected results. A case in point is the virtual lack of significance of immigration status for self-reported offending and victimization experiences, as well as for a number of attitudinal and behavioural correlates. This finding awaits further exploration as well as explicit comparison with the findings of the other ISRD-2 countries.

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# Northern Europe

# Chapter 11

## Finland<sup>1</sup>

Venla Salmi and Janne Kivivuori

### 11.1 Introduction

Finland is a country in northern Europe with a total population of 5.3 million and a land area of 304,000 km<sup>2</sup>. The population density is 17 persons per square kilometre, and about 60% of the inhabitants live in the cities. The size of these cities is rather small compared to the European average. Finland has only three cities with more than 200,000 inhabitants.

The national age distribution at the end of 2005 placed 17.3% of the population in the 0–14 age group, 12.5% in the 15–24 group, 12.2% in the 25–34, 13.8% in the 35–44, 14.7% in the 45–54, 13.6% in the 55–64 and 16% in the over-65 group. At the moment, it seems that the ageing of the population will be a political and social challenge in the future from the perspective of maintaining the high living standard and providing social welfare services for senior citizens.

Finland is ethnically homogenous. Only 2.2% of the population is foreign. The three largest groups comprising this small percentage are Russian, Estonian and Swedish. Finland has two official languages, Finnish and Swedish. Approximately 6% of the population is Swedish-speaking.

Finland is a constitutional republic with a parliamentary form of government. The country gained independence in 1917 after having been a Grand Duchy under Russia since 1809. Before that date, Finland was part of

Sweden. According to the Constitution, the supreme executive power is entrusted to the President, but the general government of state affairs rests with the Council of State. The Council of State consists of the Prime Minister and seventeen ministers. The President is elected directly by the people for a 6-year term, and he may be re-elected once. The Parliament is comprised of a single chamber of 200 members. The members of parliament are elected for a 4-year term through direct proportional elections.

#### 11.1.1 Socio-economic Situation and Socio-cultural Factors

At the end of 2005, there were 2.4 million households in Finland, 40% of which were one-person households. The average size of households was two persons and the percentage of households with children (at least one child under 18 years old) was 29%. One in five of those households that had children were lone-parent households, a statistic that reflects the 46% total divorce rate of Finland. Almost two-thirds (64%) of the citizens lived in their own dwellings and 32%, in rented apartments.

Finland can boast of one of the highest percentages of women and mothers in paid employment. In 2005, 59% of 15–74 year old women participated in the labour force, while the corresponding figure was 64% for men. Approximately 70% of mothers were in paid employment. This is due partly to the efficient day care and social welfare systems that secure the mothers' position in the labour market and enable fathers to take paternity leave (although this is still rather uncommon). Like all Scandinavian countries, Finland is renowned for her comparatively high level of gender equality.

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In 2006, the unemployment rate among those aged 15–74 was 7.7%, while that among the 15–24 age group was 18.7%. In the same year, the GDP was 30,005 euros.

Sixty-three per cent of the people in the country have an additional degree, besides compulsory schooling. This includes 38% of the population with upper secondary education and 25%, with higher education. One indication of the high Finnish educational standard is Finland's success in the OECD's Program for International Student Assessment (PISA), which measures learning skills among 15-year-olds. Finland has consistently figured at the top of the performances in mathematics, science and reading literacy. It has been suggested that one explanation for Finland's success in such international comparisons could be the high level of equity in education.

### 11.1.2 Facts About Helsinki

The Finnish ISRD-2 is based on a city sample drawn from Helsinki. Helsinki is the capital of Finland and the biggest city in the country with a population of 560,000. Ethnically Helsinki has more foreign citizens than the national average, but still the amount is rather small, only 5.5%.

Compared to the whole country, Helsinki has less privately owned dwellings (45.1%) more one-person households (49%) and more lone-parent households (29% of households with children). In 2005 the proportion of households living in social housing (public housing) was 15.5% and households dependent upon security was 13.6%. The unemployment rate in Helsinki was 8.9%, which was slightly higher than the national average.

Just like the rest of the country, the education level is also high in Helsinki with 69% of the population having a degree beyond the level of compulsory schooling. This includes 34% with upper secondary education and 35% with higher education. Only 0.9% of students do not complete compulsory education and 88.8% of students continue education after completing compulsory education.

### 11.1.3 Alcohol and Drug Policy

Finland has a state alcohol monopoly, allowing sale of alcoholic beverages to those at least 18 years old. For strong spirits the age limit is 21. The age limit for being

served alcohol in bars and nightclubs in the evening time is 18. Mild alcoholic beverages such as beer or breezers may be sold in all kind of shops, but other types of alcoholic beverages such as wine and strong spirits are sold only in stores of the state alcohol monopoly (Alko). The price level of alcohol is regulated by an alcohol tax, which results in a relatively high price level as compared with European averages.

All narcotics are prohibited and the use of them is criminalized. The list of narcotics includes a number of medically used legal drugs.

### 11.1.4 Youth Crime

#### 11.1.4.1 Official Statistics on Recorded Offences

When recorded offences are examined<sup>2</sup>, the proportion of young offenders peaks in status offences related to alcohol possession and identity documents. Additionally, car theft, damage to property and robbery/extortion are often committed by a juvenile offender (between 22 and 47% of suspects is under 18 year old). Twenty five percent of arrests for thefts are comprised of juveniles, while the corresponding figure is 15% for assaults. The number of juveniles suspected of crimes against the Penal Code has been relatively stable in the last two decades. The proportion of juveniles among all persons suspected of these crimes has slowly decreased. The number of homicides committed by persons under 18 years increased in the period 1999–2002 (peaking at 13 offences in 2002), after which the number returned to a very low level (0 in 2003, 2 in 2004, 2 in 2005 and 4 in 2006).

#### 11.1.4.2 Survey-Based Indicators

Together with the other Nordic countries, Finland boasts of one of the longest traditions of self-report delinquency research in the world (Kivivuori, 2007, pp. 1–10; Kivivuori, 2008). Since 1995, Finland has catalogued reports from a national self-report indicator

<sup>2</sup>The information about official statistics is based on the annual NRLP yearbook Rikollisuustilanne (English Summary: Crime Trends in Finland).

system (FSRD) based on repeated survey sweeps among 15–16 year olds (Kivivuori and Salmi, 2005). The FSRD system indicates significant decreases in property offences on a national scale. Involvement in various thefts, especially shoplifting, and in the destruction of property has decreased. The national trend shown by FSRD indicates relative stability in violence. The upward trend in the use of marijuana or hashish seems to have come to a halt. All these trends are basically the same as in other Nordic countries (Kivivuori, 2007, pp. 89–99). Trends of crime victimization indicate stability or a slight decrease of violent victimization.

A recently revived national self-report study of 18 year old males (*Young Male Crime Survey*) indicates relative stability of participation in property crimes among that age group between the comparison years of 1962 and 2006 (Salmi, 2008).

## 11.2 Study Design

### 11.2.1 Sampling Method

The Finnish data are based on a city sample (Helsinki). The city of Helsinki is divided in seven large school districts. From every district the number of respondents relative to the size of the district was randomly selected for the sample.<sup>3</sup> For the sample units we used classes (i.e. classrooms), not schools. The sample contains classes from municipal, state and private schools. From the register of Swedish speaking schools six classes were separately drawn in the sample. Pupils attending language schools and schools for disabled pupils were not included in the sample. The sample contains 23 seventh grade classes, 22 eighth grade classes and 38 ninth grade classes.

### 11.2.2 Data Collection

The data were collected between February and April 2006 in 44 schools in Helsinki. The questionnaires

were completed under outside supervision (research assistants) in school computer classrooms, thus teachers were not present during the data collection. Of all respondents 92% (1,253 pupils) completed computerized Internet questionnaires. Eight per cent of the respondents resorted to the paper and pencil option because of either computer unavailability or Internet failure. No significant differences were found between the Internet responses and paper and pencil responses.

### 11.2.3 Response Rates and Characteristics of Non-response

None of the schools whose classes were drawn as part of the sample refused to participate in the study. The overall response rate of the pupils was 87.4%. There were no significant differences in response rate by school type. Private schools had slightly higher response rates compared to municipal and state schools but that was due to the fact that in the in private school sample there were more seventh grade pupils who had over all higher response rate than those in the other grades (Table 11.1).

The information about pupils' absenteeism during the data gathering was collected from the teachers. Research assistants asked the teacher to evaluate if the reason of absenteeism was acceptable (such as sickness, family vacation etc.) or truancy. Table 11.2 shows the prevalence of absent pupils by cause and non-response caused by computer or server failure. It shows that quite few of the pupils (2.7%) were absent because of presumed truancy while 6.3% had acceptable reason for their absenteeism. The younger the pupils, the less likely they were to be absent because of truancy.

**Table 11.1** Sample size, respondents and response rate by grade and school type

Grade	Planned sample size	Respondents	Response rate (%)
7th (13–14 years old)	446	408	91.5
8th (14–15 years old)	418	348	83.2
9th (15–16 years old)	701	612	87.3
<i>School type</i>			
Private schools	552	487	88.2
Municipal schools	930	805	86.6
State school	83	76	86.7
<i>Total</i>	1,565	1,368	87.4

<sup>3</sup>The Helsinki sample was stratified according to school district to ensure full socio-geographical representation. Differential sampling ratios in the school districts are corrected by weights.

**Table 11.2** Response rate, non-response caused by computer or server failure and the prevalence of absent pupils by cause

Grade	%		Cause for pupils absenteeism (%)		
	Response rate	Computer/server failure	Acceptable	Not acceptable	Not known
7th	91.5	2.9	4.3	0.7	0.6
8th	83.3	2.9	10.0	2.6	1.2
9th	87.3	1.9	5.4	4.0	1.4
Total	87.4	2.4	6.3	2.7	1.2

### 11.3 Delinquency, Problem Behaviour and Victimization

In this section we examine the prevalence of delinquency and victimization. In addition to overall prevalence figures, we compare offending and victimization between males and females.

*Violence and vandalism:* Approximately one in six Helsinki adolescents reported fighting, carrying a weapon, and vandalism at least once in their lifetime (Table 11.3). For the period of the last 12 months prevalence of each of these offences was 7%. These offences were significantly more common for males than females<sup>4</sup>. More serious violence was rather rare among adolescents in Helsinki. Only 2.3% had assaulted somebody with a weapon and 1.2% had committed a robbery/extortion. Less than 1% had committed these offences last year.

*Thefts:* One of the most prevalent offences overall and the most common type of theft was shoplifting (Table 11.3). Among 13–16 year old adolescents in Helsinki 28.3% reported that he or she had at least once stolen something from shop or department store; Last year prevalence for this offence was 7.7%. Committing other types of thefts was less common. The next most prevalent type of theft was stealing a bicycle, moped, or scooter with a lifetime prevalence of 2.9%. Males committed almost all types of thefts significantly more than females.

*Computer hacking:* Participants were asked if they had ever used the computer for hacking and 5.6% of adolescents in Helsinki reported having committed the offence at least once. Females reported hacking significantly less than males.

*Drug use and drug dealing:* Using hard drugs was very rare among Helsinki youth. Lifetime prevalence of ecstasy or speed use was 0.3% and of LSD, heroin or coke it was even lower (0.1%). One of every hundred adolescents had sold or acted as an intermediary for drugs.

*Alcohol and soft drugs:* Drinking alcohol is quite common among Finnish adolescents. Lifetime prevalence of drinking wine, beer or breezers was almost 68%, and of using strong spirits, 39%. The prevalence for the last 4 weeks was, respectively, 28% and 14%. Contrary to the fairly high prevalence of alcohol use, using soft drugs is rather rare. Only 3.6% reported using weed, marijuana or hash. Using alcohol and drugs was as prevalent for females as it was for males. The only significant difference appeared in drinking strong spirits during the last 4 weeks; it was more prevalent among females than among males (Table 11.4).

*Victimization:* In the survey there were four victimization types examined: theft, bullying, robbery/extortion and assault. The most common victimization type among adolescents in Helsinki was theft, with 16% of the samples having reported that somebody had stolen something from them during past 12 months. The second most prevalent victimization type was bullying, which had been experienced by 13% of respondents within the last year. There were no significant prevalence differences between males and females with regard to being victims of theft or bullying. Differently, however, males were significantly more often the victims of two or more serious offences: assault and robbery/extortion. 6.1% of the males had been the victim of robbery/extortion (females 1.9%); 3.7% of the males had been the victim of assault (females 1.6%).

*Reporting victimization to the police:* Theft was the type of victimization most often reported to the police. Of those who were victims of theft, 36.3% reported the

<sup>4</sup> *Chi*<sup>2</sup>-test was used to test significances.

**Table 11.3** Lifetime and last year prevalence of delinquent behaviour among upper grade adolescents in Helsinki (%)

	Large city sample (n=1,368)							
	Life time (%)				Last year <sup>a</sup> (%)			
	Total	Missing <sup>b</sup> (%)	Females	Males	Total	Missing (%)	Females	Males
Group fight	16.8	0.1	6.9	26.5***	7.2	0.1	3.5	10.4***
Carrying a weapon	14.9	–	9.9	19.9***	7.0	–	4.7	9.3**
Assault	2.3	0.1	1.8	2.9	0.8	0.1	0.6	1.0
Snatching of bag/ snatch	2.5	–	2.2	2.8	1.0	–	0.6	1.4
Robbery/extortion	1.2	0.1	0.4	1.9*	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.7
Vandalism	14.2	–	8.2	20.1***	7.1	–	4.0	10.1***
Shoplifting	28.3	0.1	24.6	32.0**	7.7	0.1	6.2	9.3*
Bicycle/moped/ scooter theft	2.9	0.1	0.4	5.4***	1.5	0.1	0.1	2.9***
Car break	2.0	0.1	0.9	3.2**	0.9	0.1	0.1	1.6**
Burglary	2.1	0.1	0.4	3.8***	1.0	0.1	0.1	1.7**
Motorbike/ car theft	0.9	0.1	0.4	1.3	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.6
Computer hacking	5.6	0.2	1.6	9.6***	3.0	0.2	0.6	5.4***
Drug dealing	1.1	0.1	0.6	1.6	0.8	0.1	0.3	1.2
Use of XTC or speed	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1
Use of LSD, heroin or coke	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
Frequent violent offences	25.4	0.1	14.4	36.2***	11.8	0.1	6.9	16.5***
Rare violent offences	5.0	0.1	3.8	6.1	2.0	0.1	1.2	2.8
Rare property offences <sup>e</sup>	5.2	0.3	1.6	8.7***	2.6	0.3	0.6	4.5***
Hard drug use <sup>f</sup>	0.4	0.1	0.4	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1

\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.001$ . Due to weights and rounding, offence specific prevalence levels do not necessarily sum up to sum variable based prevalence levels

<sup>a</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin: last month prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Prevalence of missing data is very low due to a web questionnaire which does not allow skipping questions

<sup>c</sup>Group fight and carrying a weapon

<sup>d</sup>Snatching of bag/snatching, robbery/extortion, and assault

<sup>e</sup>Burglary, bicycle/moped/scooter theft, motor bike/ car theft, and car break

<sup>f</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin/cocaine use

**Table 11.4** Lifetime and last month prevalence of alcohol and soft drug use among upper grade adolescents in Helsinki (%)

	Large city sample (n = 1,368)							
	Life time (%)				Last month (%)			
	Total	Missing (%)	Females	Males	Total	Missing (%)	Females	Males
Beer/wine	67.8	–	68.5	67.2	28.4	–	30.6	26.3
Strong spirits	39.2	–	37.3	41.0	13.9	–	16.5**	11.3
Use of weed/ marihuana /hash	3.6	0.1	3.4	3.8	0.5	0.1	0.9	0.1

\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.001$

incident to the police. Nearly one-fifth of assault victims and one-sixth of robbery/extortion victims reported the victimization to the police. Bullying was most rarely reported; only 4.4% of victims contacted the police because of bullying (Table 11.5).

## 11.4 Risk Factors of Delinquency

In this section, we explore a selection of risk factors of delinquency. We proceed in two steps. First, the bivariate associations of potential risk factors and delinquency



**Table 11.5** Last year prevalence of victimization and reporting to the police among upper grade adolescents in Helsinki (%)

	Large city sample ( $n = 1,368$ )				
	Victimization	Missing (%)	Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup> (%)	Victimization females	Victimization males
Robbery/extortion	4.0	0.1	14.1	1.9	6.1***
Assault	2.7	0.3	18.5	1.6	3.7*
Theft	15.9	0.1	36.3	14.0	17.8
Bullying	13.1	0.2	4.4	13.1	13.1

\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.001$

<sup>a</sup>Percentage based on number of victims

are examined. The actual cross-tabulations are given in Appendix. Second, we explore which of the examined factors emerge as significant correlates when all of them are entered into a multivariate logistic regression equation.

We use three dependent sum variables of delinquent behaviour: six-item scale of different *thefts* (shoplifting, burglary, bicycle/moped/ scooter *theft*, motorcycle/car theft, car break, snatching), four-item scale of *violence* (carrying a weapon, robbery/extortion, group fight and assault) and *traditional crime* scale including all items of other two scales and additional measure of vandalism (Table 11.6).

### 11.4.1 Bivariate Associations

*Static* variables describe aspects of the person that he or she carries with him or her throughout the life cycle. Of these, gender is significantly associated with delinquency, while age and immigrant status<sup>5</sup> are not (Appendix).

Six *family related* variables were explored: family composition (nuclear or other family type), leisure activities with family, eating dinner with family, parents' employment situation, parental knowledge about adolescents' friends, and getting along with mother. In our bivariate examination, only parental unemployment was unrelated to all three types of adolescent delinquency. This may reflect the counterbalancing effects of strain (less money due to unemployment) and control (parental presence and monitoring).

We used five *school related* variables: school type, school achievement, time spent on homework, repeating a grade, and truancy. With the exception of school type and repeating a grade, these variables manifest significant bivariate associations with delinquency: poor achievement and commitment to school are linked with elevated delinquency risk. Finland's egalitarian school system probably explains the lack of school type effect (on repeating a grade, see the discussion of multivariate analysis below).

All three variables, tapping the respondent's association with *peers* were strongly associated with delinquency in the bivariate examination: the more a youngster associates with peers, and the more he or she has delinquent friends, the more delinquent he or she is likely to be. Respondents were asked about *negative events* in their lives including their own serious illness, deaths and illnesses among family members, substance abuse and physical fights in the family. Since we used a separate variable on family composition, we excluded divorce from the definition of "serious" negative life event. Living in a non-nuclear family is very prevalent in Finland, so one may question the "abnormality" of such an experience. Youths who had experienced three or more seriously negative life events had a higher prevalence of delinquency. Having an accident-related injury was also classified as a negative life event, a variable that seems to be strongly associated with delinquency.

*Personality characteristics* of the respondent were measured by two scales: self-control scale (12 items, Cronbach's alpha 0.86) and attitudes towards violence (3 items, alpha 0.77). In a bivariate examination, both were highly associated with delinquency. High impulsivity seems to be an important correlate of delinquency (see below). Not surprisingly, violence-condoning values are related to violent behaviour, even though we cannot control the temporal sequence

<sup>5</sup>Respondent is defined to have immigrant status if he/she or at least one of the parents has born abroad.

**Table 11.6** Risk factors of delinquent behaviour, Helsinki, Finland 2006<sup>a</sup>

Variable block	Variable		Theft	Violence	Total crime
Static variables	Gender	Female	1.0	1.0	1.0
		Male	1.7*	2.0**	1.7**
Family	Relations with mother	Fine	1.0	1.0	1.0
		Rather well	1.8*	1.1	1.4
		Not so well or not at all	1.2	0.4	0.7
School	Achievement	Above average	1.0	1.0	1.0
		Average	2.6**	0.9	1.1
		Not very good	4.4**	1.7	1.7
	Daily homework	1 h or more	1.0	1.0	1.0
		½ h	1.1	1.8*	1.5
		None	1.6	1.4	1.6
	Truancy last year	Never	1.0	1.0	1.0
1–2 times		1.3	1.6*	1.6*	
3 or more times		2.3**	2.5**	2.8***	
Negative life events	Accidents	None	1.0	1.0	1.0
		One	1.3	1.0	1.0
		Two or more	1.3	1.9**	1.4
Peers	Leisure time with (daily)	½ h or less	1.0	1.0	1.0
		1–2 h	0.7	1.3	0.8
		3 h or more	0.5	2.1*	1.2
	Night activities with (weekly)	Once a week or less	1.0	1.0	1.0
		2–3 times a week	0.7	0.8	1.0
		4 time a week or more	1.9*	0.8	1.0
	Number of delinquent peers	None	1.0	1.0	1.0
One		11.0***	1.3	3.2***	
Two or more		15.0***	2.1*	4.8***	
Personality	Self-control	High	1.0	1.0	1.0
		Medium	1.6	1.3	1.5
		Low	3.1**	2.8**	2.9***
	Attitude to violence	Strongly disapprove	1.0	1.0	1.0
		Disapprove	0.9	1.6	1.5
Neighbourhood	Bonding to	Approve	1.2	3.8***	3.2***
		High	1.0	1.0	1.0
		Medium	2.4**	1.1	1.6*
		Low	1.8*	1.3	1.7*
Nagelkerke $R^2$			38.1	33.9	39.9

There were two variables that emerged as significant *protective* factors in the general delinquency model (not shown in Table 11.6 above). These were immigrant status and repeating a grade. That repeating a grade might be a protective factor is initially puzzling, because such a life event is related to cognitive and/or adjustment problems. Possibly, the presence of a separate “achievement” variable taps the cognitive dimension. Repeating a grade might also conceivably reduce delinquency by severing ties to previous friends

<sup>a</sup>The figures are odds ratios based on logistic regression. Variables which were included in three models but remained non-significant are as follows. Static variables: age, immigrant status. Family: non-nuclear family, parental unemployment, leisure activities with family, dinner with family, parental knowledge of friends. School: school type, repeating a grade. Negative life events: experiencing a serious negative life event (other than parental divorce). Neighbourhood: perceived disorder

of these phenomena (values may incite behaviour, be adjusted to justify past behaviour).

Based on the available ISRD-2 questions on neighbourhood, we used two scales measuring *neighbourhood* dissatisfaction (5 items, Cronbach’s

alpha 0.77) and perception of disorder in the neighbourhood (3 items, Cronbach’s alpha 0.67). Disorder refers to drug use, empty or abandoned buildings, and graffiti. Both sum variables were categorized in three roughly equal percentiles.

In a bivariate examination, both were associated with delinquency.

### 11.4.2 Explorative Multivariate Analysis

The analyses above suggested that, at the bivariate level, delinquent behaviour is related to several families, school and peer related social variables as well as self control. In the second step, we entered all of the variables into multivariate models. The above described three sum variables of delinquency were dichotomized (reflecting last year participation in the offence type) and used as dependent variables in logistic regression. For reasons of space, Table 11.6 shows only the variables which emerged as significant risk factors of at least one type of offending/felony.

Male gender remained a robust correlate of theft, violence and the combined traditional crimes measure. Of the family related measures, only the variable tapping relationship with mother remained robust when other variables were controlled (only for theft). Poor school achievement and not spending time doing homework also seemed to be correlates of offending (theft). Playing truant was significantly associated with all three types of offending.

Youths, who had been injured at least twice in an accident, were at risk for violence when compared with youths with no such accidents. We entered this variable in the negative life events block, even though accident proneness probably also taps the personality feature of low self-control and/or risk-taking propensity.

Spending several hours daily with peers, and engaging in late evening activities with them, emerged as risk factors. In this variable block, the strongest correlate, by far, was the number of friends who were known to have committed offences. Youths with 2 or more delinquent friends were much more likely to have participated in theft than youths who had no such friends. The effect was the same in violence and general criminality, with the impact on theft (from having delinquent friends) outstandingly high.

As expected, low self-control emerged a robust correlate of all offending types. Violence justifying attitudes were related to violence and the general criminality measure, which includes violence. Weak

subjective bonds to neighbourhood are associated with elevated delinquency risk.

Some of the variables identified as potential predictors failed to emerge as significant correlates of delinquency. Interestingly, most of the family related factors were not found to be associated with delinquency risk. We wish to underscore that one should not discard family related factors' causal relevance to delinquency given the necessarily tentative nature of the present cross-sectional and exploratory analysis. For example, the non-nuclear family composition may be so normalized in a country like Finland that one should use a different kind of family composition variable to locate delinquency-inducing family structures.

Additionally, it is conceivable that "deeper" causes produce both weak family ties and delinquency. Especially the time spent with delinquent peers may explain away the family effect, plus the inclusion of self-control to the equation. It has been pointed out that the reason why parents do not know where their child is may reflect the child's reluctance to inform the parents about his/her movements. An individual's personal propensity to avoid social control (such as family dinners) can explain why family control fails to emerge as a predictor when self-control and time spent with delinquents are controlled (cf. Kerr and Stattin, 2000).

## 11.5 Juvenile Delinquency in Helsinki 1992 and 2006

Finland participated in the first sweep of the ISRD in 1992. At that time too the Finnish sample was a one-city sample in Helsinki. In this section/chapter, we compare the findings of the two ISRD sweeps in Helsinki. Comparisons are limited to ninth graders (15–16 year olds).

Several caveats and limitations needs to be acknowledged. First, in contrast with the 2006 random sampling, the 1992 sample was a non-random sample. It was a carefully planned sample that was aimed at achieving a full social and geographical coverage of the city (Aromaa, 1994). Second, the 1992 sweep was based on paper and pencil data collection, while the 2006 sweep utilized a computer-based solution. While this is not a major methodological problem as such (Lucia et al., 2007), there were related differences in the sequence of responding, which may introduce

unacknowledged sources of error. Third, there have been some changes in question wordings, which are commented on in the text below. Fourth, comparing the years 1992 and 2006 tells nothing about the intervening period, even though we have reasons to suggest that some core differentials actually reflect relatively linear trends (see below).

Property offending/offences has decreased quite significantly (Table 11.7). Lifetime prevalence of shoplifting and vehicle theft has halved and stealing out or from a car has decreased even more. The amount of adolescents who have snatched a bag or a purse has also declined.

Property destruction has halved since 1992. However, the differences in question type might influence the results. In the 1992 questionnaire, there were a multitude of items measuring vandalism (such as telephone box, bus shelter etc.). In 2006, all variants were merged into one question. It is possible that a multitude of independent items will elicit higher prevalence rates than one single item. On the other hand, the Finnish national self-report indicator system (FSRD) corroborates the finding of decreasing participation in property destruction for the period 1994–2004.

Participation in violence has decreased significantly as well. However, the questions about carrying a weapon were different in the questionnaires of 1992 and 2006. The 1992 question specified a weapon

intended for violent use. The 2006 did not specify any purpose, but described the weapon as a striking instrument or sharp instrument. Moreover, the 1992 question included firearms, which Finnish youths carry extremely rarely.

In contrast with other types of delinquency, the prevalence of alcohol use is stable. In both surveys 84% of 15–16 year-olds in Helsinki reported that they have drunk beer, wine, breezers or strong spirits. This finding is important as it may suggest that the decrease of offending is unlikely to reflect some kind of overall methods effect. Using both soft and hard drugs have decreased if compared to the prevalence in 1992. This may partially explain the decrease in property offending.

In short, it seems that today's ninth graders are significantly more law-abiding than ninth graders 14 years ago. This finding is consistent with other indicator sources. For example, the FSRD indicates a significant decrease in property offences on a national scale for the period 1994–2004. As shown in Fig. 11.1, the national and Helsinki based time series on shoplifting are remarkably similar. The first and the last bar in that figure represent the prevalence of shoplifting in Helsinki as measured in ISRD sweeps. Bars in the middle show the corresponding national figures as measured in FSRD sweeps. Notwithstanding the different geographical coverage of the systems, the results suggest that change between 1992 and 2006 reflects a linear trend, not some kind of random fluctuation. Analogously, it is worth mentioning that the trends of self-reported delinquency are nearly identical in Finland and Sweden (Kivivuori, 2007). In the case of thefts, even official statistics corroborate the trend finding.

**Table 11.7** Lifetime prevalence of delinquency, Helsinki 1992 and 2006<sup>a</sup>

	1992	2006
Property offending		
Shoplifting	60	31***
Vehicle theft	14	7***
Car break	8	3***
Snatching of bag/ snatching	4	3
Property destruction	32	18***
Violence related		
Carrying a weapon	28	19***
Group fight	27	19***
Robbery/extortion	5	1***
Alcohol and drugs		
Alcohol use	84	84
Use of marihuana or hashish	13	8**
Hard drugs use	2	1

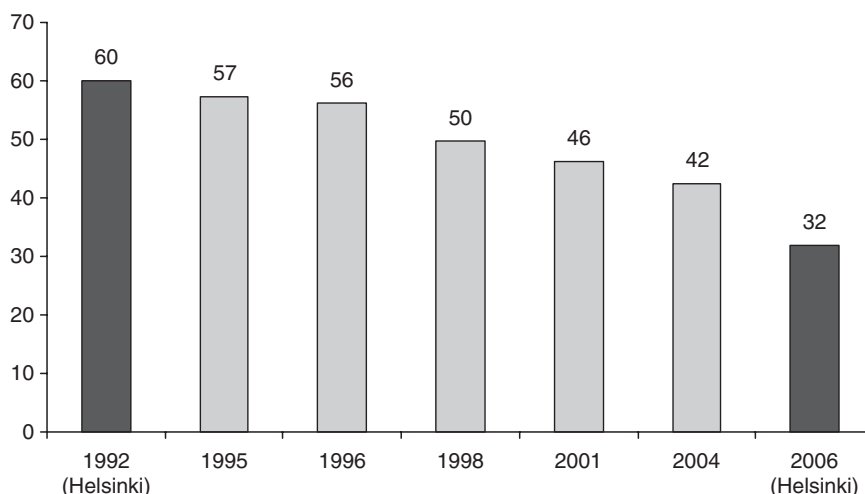
*N*

\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.001$ <sup>a</sup>

We use integers in this comparisons because of the necessarily inexact nature of the estimates

## 11.6 Conclusions

Results of the ISRD-2 survey largely corroborate earlier findings of studies of Finnish juvenile delinquency. Traditional offences such as shoplifting, fighting and destruction of property are amongst the most prevalent types of delinquency. More serious thefts and violence are fairly rare among Finnish adolescents. Drinking alcohol is very common. However, the quantity of alcohol consumed at any one time is not necessary substantial. In many cases drinking is more like just tasting alcohol. Using drugs and especially



**Fig. 11.1** Lifetime prevalence of shoplifting among 15–16 year-old %, in Helsinki-based ISRD sweeps (1992 and 2006) and national FSRD sweeps (1995–2004)

hard drugs is very rare among 15–16 year-old in Helsinki.

The risk factors of delinquency in Helsinki were explored in a tentative manner, using the extensive repertory of potentially explanatory variables in the ISRD-2 instrument. The findings again largely confirm earlier Finnish research along similar lines (Salmi and Kivivuori, 2006), and international results that are often based on larger and longitudinal samples. Four variables emerged as significant correlates (risk factors) of both theft and violence: male gender, frequent truancy, having delinquent friends and having an impulsive personality (low self-control). Low school achievement was a particularly robust correlate of theft, while violence-condoning values were robustly correlated with violent behaviour.

The link between delinquency and delinquent friends was particularly strong in theft, a finding that probably reflects the social nature of stealing. Many family related factors, which were significantly associated with delinquency in bivariate examination, failed to emerge as robust correlates in multivariate analysis. Great caution is called for in interpreting this result based on a single cross-sectional survey with a relatively small sample size. It is possible that the expected delinquency-reducing effect of family control fails to materialize when self-control is controlled because impulsive youth may actively evade family control. However, in an earlier national scale study in Finland, supportive parenting was connected to significantly

lower risk for delinquent behaviour when self-control was held constant (Salmi and Kivivuori, 2006).

When researching the Helsinki based ISRD-2 dataset, we were impressed by how well the questionnaire worked in general and in the computer environment in particular. However, a minor point of criticism seems to be warranted. The future ISRD instruments should measure the socio-economic situation of the respondent by questions better suited for within-country analysis of developed, wealthy, and egalitarian societies. For example, we suspect that in Finland, not having a car might reflect the lifestyle choices of upper middle class parents.

Finland was the only Nordic country to participate in the first ISRD sweep. When the two Helsinki-based sweeps of 1992 and 2006 are compared, the findings suggest a decrease in most offence types. Only the use of alcohol has remained at the same level. The decrease finding is most robust with respect to property offending, because all available sources confirm the decrease hypothesis. There are several possible reasons of this decreasing trend of juvenile delinquency in Finland.<sup>6</sup> General economic situation has improved in Finland and both families and adolescents themselves have more money to spend. Changes in opportunity structure might be reflected in shoplifting especially. The structure of the retail market has concentrated the

<sup>6</sup>This short discussion is based on a more in-depth examination in Kivivuori (2007, pp. 89–99).

retail sector in large malls instead of small shops. At the most general level, the decrease in property crime is likely to reflect the strengthening of both formal and informal social control. Control and surveillance has increased in public spaces such as shopping areas. More efficient methods of policing, such as community policing, may also deter offenders.

The decreasing trend in juvenile delinquency is also likely to reflect changes in juvenile culture and changes in routine activities of the youth. Over the recent years, the Finnish public has become more punitive and less tolerant of juveniles. There is also a new trend in leisure activities. Adolescents spend increasing time using computers and less time in public areas where most forms of traditional juvenile crimes takes place. It is possible that changes in leisure time activities contribute to juvenile crime in the form of new kinds of delinquent acts especially related to new technology and computers. To some extent this transition could explain the decreasing trend of traditional forms of juvenile delinquency.

## Appendix

See Table 11.8.

**Table 11.8** Percentage of respondents who participated in theft, violence or any traditional offending during the last year, by potential risk factor variables

	Thefts	Violence	Total traditional crime
<i>Static variables</i>			
<i>Gender</i>			
Female	6.9	7.1	14.6
Male	12.9***	16.8***	25.9***
<i>Age</i>			
13	7.5	11.7	18.6
14	11.8	11.1	19.6
15	10.0	11.8	21.6
16+	11.0	17.4	24.8
<i>Grade</i>			
7th	9.9	13.2	20.5
8th	10.6	9.1	18.0
9th	9.6	13.8	22.4
<i>Immigration status</i>			
Native Finnish	10.3	12.3	21.1
Immigrant	8.4	10.8	16.7

**Table 11.7** (continued)

	Thefts	Violence	Total traditional crime
<i>Family</i>			
<i>Split family</i>			
No	9.3	9.9	18.0
Yes	11.0	15.7**	24.2***
<i>Parental employment</i>			
Both employed	9.5	11.5	19.5
One unemployed	12.1	13.3	22.3
Both unemployed	5.1	15.3	23.7
<i>Family leisure activities</i>			
>Once a week	5.1	7.7	10.7
Once a week to once a month	9.9	9.9	19.0
<Once a month	13.1*	21.0***	30.2***
<i>Family dinner</i>			
>5 times a week	7.3	8.8	15.9
3–5 times a week	8.7	12.0	19.0
<3 times a week	14.2**	15.5**	26.7***
<i>Parents know friends</i>			
Always	6.0	6.6	12.3
Sometimes	13.6	16.4	26.7
Rarely/never	21.0***	25.8***	48.4***
<i>Getting along with mother</i>			
Fine	7.4	10.2	16.6
Rather well	17.3	17.3	30.8
Not so well or not at all	20.8***	17.0**	33.3***
<i>School</i>			
<i>School type</i>			
State	9.7	9.7	18.1
Municipal	10.3	12.4	21.6
Private	9.2	11.8	18.7
<i>School achievements</i>			
Above average	3.7	7.6	13.3
Average	10.9	11.6	20.4
Not very good	23.8***	28.7***	42.6***
<i>Time spent on homework</i>			
1 h or more	4.8	5.0	9.6
½ h	9.2	12.8	20.9
None	23.5***	24.5***	42.0***
<i>Repeat grade</i>			
No	9.9	12.0	20.4
Yes	8.4	12.8	19.1
<i>Truancy</i>			
Never	6.0	7.0	12.4
Z1–2 times within last year	13.2	17.5	28.8
3 or more within last year	27.7***	31.9***	50.4***
<i>Negative life events</i>			
<i>Serious negative life events</i>			
None	7.5	10.7	17.7
One	10.0	11.2	19.0
Two or more	12.2	14.2	24.4*

(continued)



**Table 11.8** (continued)

	Thefts	Violence	Total traditional crime
Accidents			
None	6.8	8.5	15.5
One	11.3	11.5	21.2
Two or more	16.0***	22.7***	32.4***
Peers			
Leisure time spent w. peers			
½ h or less	6.8	6.5	14.2
1–2 h	8.3	9.3	15.9
3 h or more	13.6**	18.4***	28.8***
Night activities per week			
Once a week or less	6.2	8.1	13.8
2–3 times a week	7.2	10.6	19.2
4 time a week or more	18.0***	19.0***	31.0***
Delinquent peers			
None	1.0	5.3	6.6
One	13.0	11.4	23.7
Two or more	23.8***	26.5***	43.4***
Personality			
Self control			
High	2.7	3.2	6.1
Medium	6.7	7.7	15.3
Low	20.4***	24.9***	39.3***
Attitude towards violence			
Strongly disapprove	5.7	5.0	10.4
Disapprove	11.9	14.2	25.4
Approve	23.0***	35.6***	50.0***
Neighbourhood			
Bonding to			
High	5.5	8.8	13.8
Medium	13.3	12.3	22.7
Low	11.8***	16.3**	26.2***
Perceived disorder			
Low	9.7	8.6	16.9
Medium	7.7	11.1	17.7
High	14.5*	22.5***	33.7***
Participated in the type of delinquency, % of all respondents	9.9	12.0	20.3

\* $p < 0.05$ ,  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.001$ 

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# Chapter 12

## Sweden<sup>1</sup>

Jonas Ring and Lina Andersson

### 12.1 Introduction

This study, conducted at Stockholm University's Department of Criminology, is based on a survey of a sample of youths in secondary education in three Swedish municipalities. The study was conducted in connection with the authors' participation in the research project, "The Second International Self-report Delinquency Study (ISRD2)". The objectives of this chapter include presenting the results from the Swedish study on the prevalence of young adults' participation in crime and other problem behaviours, and on the levels of exposure to theft, assault, mugging and bullying. In addition, the study has the objective of throwing light on the bivariate relationships between involvement in crime and a number of variables relating to different aspects of the youths' backgrounds, including their situation at home and in school, their leisure time activities and peer associations, their attitudes towards violence, and certain other individual factors. The paper also describes the corresponding relationships between these various factors and exposure to crime.

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The next sections of this paper present a short introduction with background information about Sweden, and a description of the conduct of the survey.

### 12.2 Background Information on Sweden

Sweden is the largest of the Scandinavian countries, but with a population of only 9 million, which is rather small from a European perspective. For one of the largest European countries where area is concerned, the population density must be regarded as low.

Sweden has a strong tradition of an extensive welfare economy with a large public sector. Around a third of the workforce is employed by the state or municipalities; healthcare, education and the social services are financed by taxes (SCB, 2006). The school system is divided between compulsory comprehensive school, which children attend between the ages of 6 and 16 years, and 3 years of non compulsory senior high school (Swedish gymnasium), which around 90% of the pupils take up. Characteristic of the Swedish public policy is the restrictive alcohol and drug policy. The retail sale of alcohol in shops is restricted to a state-run monopoly of alcohol retail outlets, and from a European perspective, alcohol duties are high (CAN, 2005). Any (non-medical) involvement with narcotics is illegal. The personal use of narcotics has been criminalized since 1988 (CAN, 2005).

In Sweden, the responsibility for responding to youth involvement in crime is shared by the social services and the agencies of the justice system. The age for criminal responsibility is 15 years. For youth under this age, the primary responsibility lies with the social services. Youth convictions are dominated by convictions for property offences.

## 12.3 Design of the Study

### 12.3.1 The Sample

The present study is based on a questionnaire survey administered to secondary school students from three different municipalities: a metropolitan municipality of 800,000 inhabitants (Stockholm; the capital of Sweden and largest city), a municipality with 92,000 inhabitants, and a sparsely populated municipality of 6,800 inhabitants.<sup>2</sup>

A simple random sample of classes was drawn in the metropolitan municipality and in the municipality with 92,000 inhabitants, respectively. The size of the population in the sparsely populated municipality was so restricted that no sample was drawn, i.e. all the classes were surveyed. For convenience, the three municipalities will hereafter be referred to as the big city, the medium sized town and the rural area (or sparsely populated municipality). The total sample comprises 127 classes and 2,911 students from 76 schools. Prior to the survey, the administrators of the selected schools and the teachers responsible for the classes included in the study were informed by letters of invitation of the study's objectives and how it was to be conducted. The classes received the questionnaires in March of 2006.

The overall response rate for the questionnaire survey was 78.2%. The lowest response frequency was recorded in the big city (76.3%); this was because eight of the selected classes in this part of the sample did not, in the end, participate in the survey. The response rate in the *participating* classes was 81.7% in the big city, and 82.7 in the sample as a whole. More details of the data collection process can be found in the technical report.

The level of internal non-response in relation to the questions on delinquency generally lay around 3%, a

figure which might be regarded as neither completely satisfactory (low), nor completely unsatisfactory (high). As for the victimization questions, the non-response level is a bit higher (generally about 4–5%). One reason for the non-response in this area may be linked to the construction of the question sequence. The non-response in this area means that the results related to the prevalence of victimization should be interpreted with caution. At the same time, it would be unreasonable to assume that *all* of those with missing data on these items have been victims of some form of crime.

### 12.3.2 Questionnaire Items Included in Different Scales

The analyses are in part based on responses from individual items, and also on a number of scales. The items included in these scales are presented below.

The questionnaire includes a battery of questions related to different negative life events, such as a close relative having died or suffered a serious illness, parental alcohol problems or serious discord between parents. The response alternatives have been put together to form a scale entitled "Negative life events".

Another group of items focuses on the relations of young adults with their parents. The "Family bonds" scale has been created by combining responses to questions on how well the respondents get along with their parents (Cronbach's alpha = 0.62). The scale measuring social bonds to school combines responses to the question "Do you usually like school" with those to a number of statements from another set of items included in the questionnaire ("If I had to move I would miss my school", "Teachers notice when I am doing well and let me know", "I like my school") (Cronbach's alpha = 0.72).

The "Neighbourhood attachment" scale focuses on the level of social integration and the extent to which the youths feel happy with their neighbourhood of residence. This scale was created by combining selected items ("If I had to move I would miss the neighbourhood", "I like my neighbourhood", "People around here are willing to help their neighbours", "This is a close-knit neighbourhood", "People in this neighbourhood can be trusted" and "People in this neighbourhood generally don't get along with each other") (Cronbach's alpha = 0.78).

<sup>2</sup>The Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions defines the term "metropolitan municipality" as a municipality with over 200,000 inhabitants, whereas a municipality in a category named "large city municipality" has a population of between 50,000 and 200,000 inhabitants, and more than 70% of urban area (the "medium sized town" in this study belongs to this category). A municipality is defined as "sparsely populated" if the population density is less than seven inhabitants per square kilometre and the population is smaller than 20,000 (Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions).

A scale measuring the extent of the level of criminal experience among the respondents' friends has been created by summing across the dichotomous responses to five statements on the extent to which the respondents have friends who have committed different types of offenses (Cronbach's alpha = 0.74). Another scale focuses on attitudes towards violence and builds on statements, such as "Without violence everything would be much more boring" (Cronbach's alpha = 0.72), and another is employed as a measure of self-control<sup>3</sup> (Cronbach's alpha = 0.86). In the analyses presented below, all these scales are as a rule employed in trichotomized form, with the categories "low", "mid-range" and "high".<sup>4</sup>

The final analysis employs a summary measure focusing on the extent to which the respondents have what might be termed a "risk leisure time lifestyle" (Cronbach's alpha = 0.70). The scale has been created by combining a number of the categorized variables employed in the earlier analysis. Prior to combining the variables to form the scale, the low-risk category has been assigned the value "zero", the medium-risk category has been assigned the value "one", and the high-risk category the value "two".<sup>5</sup> The respondents' variable scores have then been summed. The scale is based on the variables "night activities per week", "time spent with peers", "belongs to group that spend time in public places", "illegal things accepted by the group", "delinquent peers" and "alcohol drunkenness".<sup>6</sup> This summary scale has then in turn been divided into the categories "low risk" (24% of cases), "mid-low" (32%), "mid-high" (25%) and "high risk" (19%).

The dichotomous measure "involvement in traditional crime" means that an individual has committed at least one offence of theft, violence or vandalism. Another measure employed is constructed by summing across the dichotomous responses to the eleven

items concerning traditional crime, i.e. a variety-scale (Thornberry and Krohn, 2000 p. 42; Moffitt et al., 2000, p. 26). A third measure of criminal activity is based on the total number of times an individual reports having committed the offenses over the past 12 months (i.e. offending frequency). The variety and frequency scales have been broken down into four categories.

### 12.3.3 *Involvement in Crime and Problem Behaviours*

Just over one-third of the youths participating in the survey reported "ever" having committed a crime in one of the categories of traditional offenses (Table 12.1). Approximately one-fifth reported having done so in the past year. There are no major differences between the three study areas as regards the prevalence (ever or having done during the past year) of involvement in the traditional offenses covered by the survey (Table 12.2). It should be noted that the prevalence levels reported for the combined offence categories largely reflect the most prevalent behaviour in each category of offenses.

The most commonly reported type of theft is theft from shops or stores. Thefts of cars or motorcycles are the least common type of theft, which under 1% of respondents reported having committed. Slightly under one-fifth of students reported that they have "ever" committed one of the violence-related acts included in the questionnaire. Group fights<sup>7</sup> and carrying a weapon, are substantially more common than assault or robbery/extortion. Generally, the differences between the study areas in the prevalence of violence are relatively small. The proportion of big city youth who report having carried a weapon however, is twice as large (at 12%) as the corresponding proportion of rural youth (6%).

The difference between male and female respondents is substantially greater in relation to violent crime than in relation to thefts from shops. Also, in relation to the more unusual and serious forms of theft, there is a male predominance (Tables 12.6 and 12.7, Appendix).

<sup>3</sup>Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) and Grasmick et al. (1993).

<sup>4</sup>The 33rd and 66th percentiles were used as cut-points in cases where response frequencies were more or less normally distributed. In other cases, different cut-points were employed based on the distribution of responses and the content of the questions. The same tendencies emerge in the results irrespective of the cut-points employed for the categorization of the variables.

<sup>5</sup>The dichotomous variables "belongs to group that spend time in public places" and "illegal things accepted by group", were only assigned the values 0 or 1 prior to the additive process.

<sup>6</sup>The alcohol variable relates to the frequency of drunkenness "ever".

<sup>7</sup>The results relating to the group fights item should be interpreted with some caution, as the question includes amongst other things fights in the school playground, where the intensity of the violence involved may be assumed to vary dramatically.

**Table 12.1** Lifetime and last 12 months prevalence of different behaviours (total sample)

	Lifetime %	% Missing	Last year <sup>a</sup> %	% Missing
Theft from shop or department store	25.1	2.8	8.7	3.3
Theft of bike/moped/scooter	5.9	2.9	2.8	3.1
Theft from car	2.3	3.1	1.0	3.1
Burglary	2.1	3.0	1.2	2.9
Snatching of bag/purse	1.9	2.9	0.9	2.9
Theft of car/mc	0.7	2.9	0.4	2.9
Theft	27.1	2.3	10.5	2.3
Vandalism	14.4	3.0	8.1	3.2
Group fight	13.4	3.3	7.3	3.8
Carrying a weapon	10.4	3.0	6.6	3.3
Assault	3.1	3.3	1.5	3.5
Robbery/extortion	1.8	3.3	1.2	3.3
Violence against persons	19.1	2.4	11.5	2.4
Violence (carrying a weapon excluded)	14.9	3.1	8.0	3.1
Total traditional crime	36.8	2.2	19.3	2.3
Hash/marijuana use	3.9	3.2	1.3	3.2
Sold drugs/act as intermediary	1.8	3.5	1.4	3.5
XTC/speed use	1.0	3.3	0.5	3.3
LSD/heroin/coke use	0.9	3.6	0.2	3.6
Hard drug use	1.3	3.1	0.5	3.1
Drug use	4.4	2.4	1.5	2.3
Theft, vandalism, violence, drugs	37.3	1.8	19.7	1.9
Beer/wine/breezers	53.4	2.7	21.6	3.6
Strong spirits	33.4	3.3	13.3	4.2
Alcohol use	54.3	2.2	22.6	2.2
Computer hacking	7.2	3.0	4.9	3.2
Truancy			30.6	1.0
Total prevalence	63.5	1.5	47.5	0.6

*n* = 2,277; unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Use of hash/marijuana, XTC/Speed, LSD/Heroin/Coke and alcohol; last month prevalence

If the different categories of crime are examined by grade it is difficult to identify any clear pattern, since the results vary between the different study areas and categories of offenses (Table 12.8, Appendix). In the material as a whole, for most of the crime categories, the prevalence tends to increase with grades. Thus the proportion reporting involvement in the various categories of crime is lowest in grade seven and highest in grade nine. There are some exceptions, however, where prevalence is instead highest in grade eight.

The most common drug-related behaviour (lifetime prevalence) is having smoked hash or marijuana. Lifetime prevalence for hash or marijuana use is highest (at 5%) in the big city, with the corresponding proportions being 1 and 2% respectively in the medium sized town and the rural area. The proportion reporting that they have tried other drugs than hash and marijuana also tends to be greatest in the big city. Generally

speaking, sex differences appear relatively small in relation to drug use (Table 12.6, Appendix).

Over half of the youths in the sample as a whole reported to if “ever” having drunk alcohol, and just over one-fifth reported having done so in the past four weeks. A large proportion reported on having drunk beer, wine, cider or breezers than having consumed spirits. The proportion of youth who report having drunk alcohol is largest in the medium sized town. Generally speaking, the differences between the sexes in relation to the proportions reporting they have drunk alcohol are relatively small. The differences are much clearer across the different grades, where the proportion reporting having drunk alcohol over the past four weeks is greatest in year nine and smallest in year seven (Table 12.8, Appendix).

A total of 7% of respondents reported to if “ever” having used a computer for hacking and 5% reported,

**Table 12.2** Lifetime and last 12 months prevalence of different behaviours by study area

	Big city ( <i>n</i> = 1,770) <sup>a</sup>		Medium sized town ( <i>n</i> = 252) <sup>b</sup>		Rural area ( <i>n</i> = 255) <sup>c</sup>	
	Lifetime %	Last year <sup>d</sup> %	Lifetime %	Last year <sup>d</sup> %	Lifetime %	Last year <sup>d</sup> %
Theft from shop or department store	24.4	8.9	28.8	9.9	26.4	6.4
Theft of bike/moped/scooter	5.8	2.5	7.0	3.7	6.0	4.0
Theft from car	2.0	0.8	2.5	1.7	4.0	2.0
Burglary	2.2	1.2	1.6	1.2	2.4	1.2
Snatching of bag/purse	2.2	1.0	0.8	0.8	1.2	0.8
Theft of car/mc	0.8	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.8
Theft	26.3	10.5	30.2	11.5	29.5	10.0
Vandalism	14.4	8.3	14.9	8.3	13.2	6.0
Group fight	13.6	7.6	12.3	6.6	13.6	6.4
Carrying a weapon	11.5	7.5	7.0	2.9	5.6	4.4
Assault	3.5	1.6	2.5	1.3	1.2	0.8
Robbery/extortion	1.8	1.2	2.1	1.2	1.2	0.8
Violence against persons	19.5	11.9	17.6	9.4	18.3	10.8
Violence (carrying a weapon excluded)	15.0	8.2	14.3	7.8	14.8	7.2
Total traditional crime	36.4	19.6	37.6	20.1	38.6	16.3
Hash/marijuana use	4.6	1.7	1.3	0.0	2.0	0.0
Sold drugs/act as intermediary	2.0	1.5	0.8	0.8	1.2	1.2
XTC/speed use	1.1	0.5	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.8
LSD/heroin/coke use	0.9	0.2	0.4	0.0	1.2	0.4
Hard drug use	1.5	0.5	0.4	0.0	1.2	0.8
Drug use	5.1	1.8	1.2	0.0	2.0	0.8
Theft, vandalism, violence, drugs	37.1	20.2	37.8	20.0	38.6	16.3
Beer/wine/breezers	53.3	21.0	61.6	26.9	45.6	20.2
Strong spirits	33.8	13.9	37.0	15.0	26.6	8.1
Alcohol use	54.3	22.2	62.6	26.9	46.4	21.2
Computer hacking	7.2	4.6	8.3	7.1	6.8	5.6
Truancy		31.5		31.3		23.6
Total prevalence	63.6	48.0	69.2	48.4	56.6	42.6

Unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 0.6% and 4.3%

<sup>b</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 0.0% and 5.2%

<sup>c</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 1.6% and 3.1%

<sup>d</sup>Use of hash/marijuana, XTC/speed, LSD/heroin/coke and alcohol; last month prevalence



to having done so during the past 12 months.<sup>8</sup> There is a consistent pattern that hacking appears to be more common among males than among females.

Truancy is one of the more common problem behaviours with a total prevalence rate of 31% last year. The prevalence seems a bit lower in the sparsely populated area, where one quarter of respondents reports this behaviour. This is due to the comparatively low truancy prevalence among females in this region; whereas there are no clear differences between the sexes in the other regions (Table 12.7, Appendix). With regard to grade differences, the proportions tend to be the highest in grade nine (Table 12.8, Appendix).

### 12.3.4 Involvement in Crime and Social and Individual Background Characteristics

This section presents the bivariate relationships between, on the one hand, involvement in delinquency and, on the other, a range of background factors and indicators of the respondents' social situation certain individual characteristics and attitudes. The presentation is based on Table 12.3 below, and also on Tables 12.13 and 12.14 in the Appendix.

*Background factors.* The background factors examined, comprise of grade, age, gender, family type (split family<sup>9</sup>) and national background. Of these various factors, it is gender that presents the clearest correlation with criminality (which is not the same as to say

that it is overtly strong) ( $\gamma = 0.31$ ). Further, the results show that the respondents age ( $\gamma = 0.17$ ), and family type are associated with the risk of offending/felony ( $\gamma = 0.23$ ). The correlation between national background and involvement in crime is weak ( $\gamma = 0.16$ ), but the results show a slight over-risk for persons with an immigrant<sup>10</sup> background to report having committed an offence. When the analysis focuses on the categorized scales concerning the number of different types of crime committed and the frequency of offenses (Table 12.13, Appendix), it is also gender and family type that presents the clearest associations with criminality. The pattern of correlations between the various background factors and alcohol and drug use is somewhat different. No clear correlation emerges between gender and either alcohol or drug use. Of the background factors examined, it is instead age that is most clearly correlated with alcohol use ( $\gamma = 0.38$ ).

*Negative life events.* The results show that the more often a student has experienced negative life events, the greater the likelihood appears to be that he or she will also have committed offenses ( $\gamma = 0.25$ ). That is to say, those students who have experienced a death in the family, conflict between parents, etc. report on involvements in crime somewhat more often than those who have no experience of events of this kind. Negative life events are also correlated with the other measures of crime, with alcohol consumption and with drug use (Table 12.13, Appendix).

*Family relations.* The results indicate that strong social bonds to parents ( $\gamma = -0.38$ ), often having dinner together ( $-0.31$ ), and spending a lot of time with one's family ( $-0.24$ ) may be interpreted as involving a reduced risk for crime. Among the family-related factors examined, it is the extent to which the parents know a given respondent's friend who is most strongly (negatively) correlated with crime ( $\gamma = -0.51$ ). The pattern is the same for the measure of frequency and also for the scale based on the number of different offence types committed by the youth, and for alcohol and drug use.

*School situation.* The students' situation in school also appears to be linked to their criminal behaviour to some extent. Strong social bonds to school ( $\gamma = -0.36$ ),

<sup>8</sup>As regards the question of hacking, it is somewhat unclear if the behaviour being described is illegal. Some respondents wrote comments in relation to the question, where they argued that this need in fact not be illegal. In addition, different encyclopaedias provide different definitions of the Swedish use of the term "hacking" or hackers. According to some definitions, hacking is high-end computer programming, whereas others include illegal behaviours such as illegally accessing others' computer systems in the definition of the term (Norstedts, 2003; Bra böckers lexicon, 2000; Malmström et al., 2002; Svenska Akademin, 2002).

<sup>9</sup>Split families are defined as those where the youth do not live together with both "mum" and "dad". It could also be mentioned in this context that dichotomous variables relating to the employment situation of the parents (permanent job vs. other form of occupation) were initially included in the analyses, but since the correlations were insignificant with regard to both criminal involvement and victimization, these results were excluded from the tables for the sake of brevity.

<sup>10</sup>In this context, the term immigrant background refers to students who were either born in another country themselves, or at least one of whose parents were born in another country.

**Table 12.3** Correlations between various factors and any participation in traditional crime (last 12 months)

	Prevalence	Row %	Total <i>n</i>	Gamma (Chi <sup>2</sup> )	Sig.
Region (urbanization)	Rural area	16.3	251	0.05 (1.61)	n.s. n.s.
	Medium sized town	20.1	244		
	Big city	19.6	1,730		
			2,225		
Grade	7	16.3	790	0.12	**
	8	20.2	810		
	9	21.8	625		
			2,225		
Age	-13	14.0	565	0.17	***
	14	18.7	712		
	15	22.7	695		
	16+	22.5	204		
			2,176		
Gender	Female	14.6	1,152	0.31	***
	Male	24.3	1,073		
			2,225		
			2,170		
Split family	No	16.5	1,349	0.23	***
	Yes	23.8	824		
			2,173		
National background	Non-immigrant	17.3	1,418	0.16	**
	Immigrant	22.3	752		
			2,170		
			2,151		
Negative life events	None	12.8	392	0.25	***
	1-2	18.6	1,331		
	3+	26.2	488		
			2,211		
Family bonds	Weak/rather weak	38.8	116	-0.38	***
	Rather strong	26.5	619		
	Strong	14.8	1,474		
			2,209		
Family leisure activities	< once a month	28.5	474	-0.24	***
	Once/month to once/week	17.3	1,327		
	>Once a week	15.3	380		
			2,181		
Dinner with family	Less than 5 days/week	27.5	466	-0.31	***
	5-6 days/week	23.8	568		
	Daily	13.8	1,152		
			2,186		
Parents know friends	Rarely/never	41.8	67	-0.51	***
	Sometimes	28.8	858		
	Always	11.6	1,200		
			2,125		
School bonds	Weak	30.3	557	-0.36	***
	Medium	17.8	1,108		
	Strong	11.3	558		
			2,223		
School achievement (how well do you do in school?)	Not very well	31.2	125	-0.16	**
	Average	19.3	1,393		
	Above average	16.6	656		
			2,174		

(continued)

**Table 12.3** (continued)

	Prevalence	Row %	Total <i>n</i>	Gamma (Chi <sup>2</sup> )	Sig.
Repeat grade	No	18.4	2,114	0.44	***
	Yes	36.5	104		
			2,218		
Time spent on homework	None	40.3	159	-0.40	***
	½ h to 1 h	19.6	1,451		
	More than 1 h	11.3	513		
			2,123		
Neighbourhood attachment	Low	23.7	498	-0.20	***
	Medium	19.7	1,223		
	High	13.4	494		
			2,215		
Night activities per week	Once/week or less	9.8	779	0.46	***
	2–3 times/week	18.9	760		
	4 times/week or more	33.0	597		
			2,136		
Time spent with peers (on an average school day outside school)	½ h or less	10.0	450	0.33	***
	1–3 h	18.6	1,055		
	4 h or more	27.4	621		
			2,126		
Belongs to group that spend time in public places	No	11.7	1,329	0.55	***
	Yes	31.0	833		
			2,162		
Illegal things accepted by group by group	No	9.9	1,634	0.79	***
	Yes	48.8	490		
			2,124		
Delinquent peers	Low	6.5	1,098	0.73	***
	Medium	21.1	811		
	High	60.0	305		
			2,214		
Positive attitudes towards violence	Low	6.1	683	0.63	***
	Medium	18.1	1,119		
	High	44.3	415		
			2,217		
Self control	Low	40.2	600	-0.63	***
	Medium	14.2	1,094		
	High	6.0	517		
			2,211		
Alcohol use (last 4 weeks)	None	12.4	1,752	0.69	***
	1–2 times	34.9	241		
	3+ times	58.1	191		
			2,184		
Drug use (lifetime)	No	17.0	2,122	0.86	***
	Yes	68.1	94		
			2,216		
Truancy (last 12 months)	0 times	11.9	1,544	0.60	***
	1–2 times	28.1	434		
	3+ times	51.7	240		
			2,218		

*n.s.* non-significant ( $p > 0.05$ )

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ,  $p < 0.05$

being successful in school ( $\gamma = -0.16$ ) and spending a lot of time on homework ( $\gamma = -0.40$ ) are all linked to show that lower levels of participation lead to crime. To have repeated a grade is instead associated with higher levels of involvement ( $\gamma = 0.44$ ). The correlations between the school variables and alcohol and drug use tend to be in the same direction

*Neighbourhood attachment.* The students who report that they are happy in their neighbourhood, and also those who report high levels of social integration in their neighbourhood, are less likely to report involvement in crime than other youth. The differences would not be regarded as substantial however ( $\gamma = -0.20$ ).

*Peer group and leisure time factors.* The degree to which a student's friends participate in crime ( $\gamma = 0.73$ ), as well as whether or not a student has a group of friends who have a tendency for criminal behaviour ( $\gamma = 0.79$ ), are factors that the results show to be comparatively strongly correlated with the students' levels of participation in crime. This applies both to the prevalence and frequency of offending. The pattern is the same with regard to alcohol and drug use. In line with these findings, certain leisure time activities, such as spending a lot of time with friends ( $\gamma = 0.33$ ) and often staying out in the evenings ( $\gamma = 0.46$ ) present significant associations with involvement in crime.

*Self-control and attitudes towards violence.* The results show a relatively strong negative correlation between the self-control scale and of participation in crime ( $\gamma = -0.63$ ). Youths with low levels of self-control seem to be more often involved in crime than youths with high levels of self-control. Attitudes to violence are also clearly related to both the prevalence

and frequency of criminal behaviour within the sample. As could be expected, the students who report an accepting or tolerant attitude towards violence more often report involvement in crime than those with a more intolerant attitude ( $\gamma = 0.63$ ). These variables are also correlated with alcohol and drug use in the expected directions.

The study has also examined the internal relationships between, on the one hand criminality, and on the other problem behaviours in the form of truancy and alcohol and drug use. Here the results indicate that a relatively large number of the students who have often played truant or used alcohol or drugs have also participated in one or more of the categories of traditional crime covered by the survey.

Correlational analyses have also been conducted separately for males and females and for the different study areas (Table 12.14, Appendix). In general, the results are relatively similar and the more substantial correlations tend to tilt in the same direction across these sub-sections of the sample.

### Criminal Victimization and Exposure to Bullying

The crime which the largest proportion of youths have been exposed to over the past 12 months is theft (Table 12.4). In comparison, exposure to robbery/extortion or assault appears to be rarer. The size of the proportion of students victimized by theft varies somewhat between the different study areas. One-quarter of the youths from the big city have been exposed to theft, as against 16 and 18% of the respondents from the medium sized town and the rural area, respectively. The results also possibly indicate that exposure to robbery/extortion is

**Table 12.4** Prevalence of victimization last 12 months by study area and in total sample

	Big city ( <i>n</i> = 1,770)		Medium sized town ( <i>n</i> = 252)		Rural area ( <i>n</i> = 255)		Total sample ( <i>n</i> = 2,277)	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Robbery/extortion	3.2	4.4	1.7	5.2	0.8	3.2	2.8	4.4
Assault	2.6	4.8	2.1	6.0	3.3	3.2	2.6	4.8
Theft	25.3	4.5	16.4	5.6	18.0	2.8	23.5	4.5
Total victimization	27.3	3.4	17.3	3.6	19.9	2.4	25.4	3.4
robbery/assault/theft								
Bullying	9.7	4.7	8.0	6.0	13.1	2.8	9.9	4.7
Total victimization	32.1	3.3	22.2	3.6	27.9	2.0	30.6	3.3

Unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

more common in the larger town or city, whereas no such relationship is found for assault.

In the big city and medium sized town, the same proportion of males and females has been exposed to theft (Table 12.12, Appendix). In the rural area, however, more males than females seem to have experienced this form of victimization (23 as against 14%). Exposure to robbery/extortion appears to be more common among males than it is among females, irrespective of the study area examined. As regards assault, a larger proportion of males than females have been exposed to this form of victimization in the big city, whereas this relationship actually is reversed in the samples from the medium sized town and the rural area.

A positive response to the question on bullying may relate to a variety of different forms of abusive behaviour, ranging across exposure to both physical and psychological violence.

A total of approximately 10% of respondents state that they have been exposed to bullying. Generally

speaking there are no substantial differences in levels of exposure to bullying between the different study areas. There is a tendency that more girls than boys report exposure in the sparsely populated area and medium sized town, whilst there are no such differences in the big city (Table 12.12, Appendix).

### 12.3.6 Victimization and Social and Individual Background Characteristics

Age is significantly correlated with exposure to robbery/extortion ( $\gamma = 0.29$ ) and assault ( $\gamma = 0.37$ ) but not with exposure to thefts (Table 12.5). A similar pattern is found for (male) gender. Weak social bonds to parents tend to be associated with a higher level of prevalence of victimization ( $\gamma = -0.26$ ). Generally, the correlations between the

**Table 12.5** Correlations (Gamma) between different factors and exposure to victimization (last 12 months)

	Robbery/ extortion		Assault		Theft		Total: robbery/ assault/theft		Bullying	
Urbanization	0.45	**	-0.04	n.s.	0.22	***	0.22	***	-0.06	n.s.
Age	0.29	**	0.37	***	0.03	n.s.	0.07	n.s.	-0.10	n.s.
Gender	0.45	***	0.29	*	0.02	n.s.	0.04	n.s.	-0.01	n.s.
Split family	0.05	n.s.	0.12	n.s.	0.13	*	0.14	**	0.08	n.s.
National background	0.07	n.s.	0.18	n.s.	0.08	n.s.	0.07	n.s.	0.12	n.s.
Negative life events	0.08	n.s.	0.36	**	0.18	***	0.19	***	0.34	***
Family bonds	-0.27	*	-0.39	**	-0.24	***	-0.26	***	-0.33	***
Family leisure activities	-0.02	n.s.	-0.08	n.s.	-0.10	*	-0.10	*	-0.08	n.s.
Dinner with family	-0.18	n.s.	-0.22	n.s.	-0.19	***	-0.21	***	0.03	n.s.
Parents know friends	-0.23	n.s.	-0.52	***	-0.28	***	-0.29	***	-0.05	n.s.
School bonds	-0.08	n.s.	-0.24	n.s.	-0.15	***	-0.15	***	-0.11	n.s.
School achievement	-0.10	n.s.	-0.43	**	-0.15	**	-0.17	***	-0.09	n.s.
Repeat grade	0.48	n.s.	0.47	n.s.	0.14	n.s.	0.19	n.s.	0.37	*
Time spent on homework	-0.46	***	-0.35	*	-0.08	n.s.	-0.12	*	-0.01	n.s.
Neighbourhood attachment	0.10	n.s.	-0.07	n.s.	-0.14	***	-0.12	**	-0.18	**
Night activities per week	0.46	***	0.56	***	0.25	***	0.29	***	-0.07	n.s.
Time spent with peers	0.23	*	0.33	**	0.17	***	0.18	***	-0.03	n.s.
Group spend time in public places	0.29	*	0.49	***	0.20	***	0.24	***	0.08	n.s.
Illegal things accepted by group	0.58	***	0.63	***	0.32	***	0.37	***	0.00	n.s.
Delinquent peers	0.49	***	0.64	***	0.38	***	0.41	***	0.27	***
Attitudes towards violence	0.42	***	0.57	***	0.22	***	0.25	***	0.08	n.s.
Self control	-0.36	**	-0.55	***	-0.27	***	-0.30	***	-0.20	***
Alcohol use (last 4 weeks)	0.44	**	0.55	***	0.35	***	0.37	***	0.05	n.s.
Drug use (lifetime)	0.77	**	0.79	**	0.50	***	0.57	***	0.20	n.s.
Truancy (last 12 months)	0.36	**	0.54	***	0.22	***	0.26	***	0.15	*

n.s. non-significant ( $p > 0.05$ )

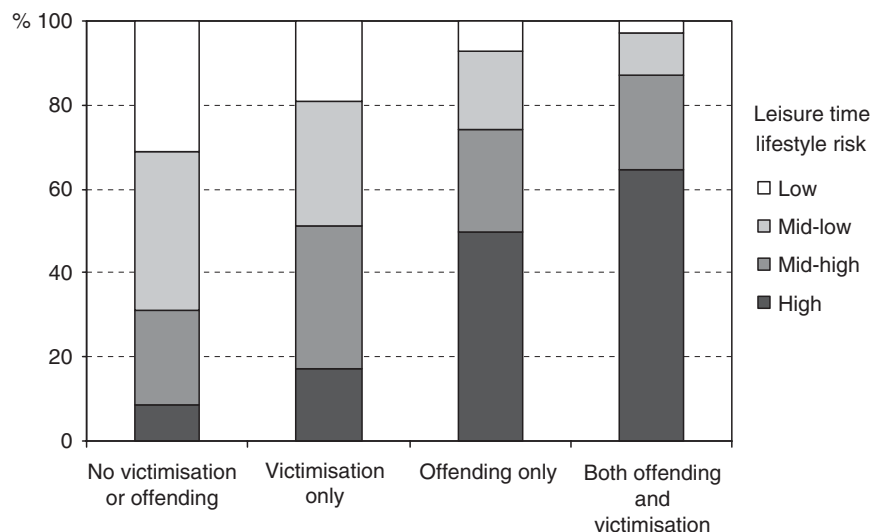
\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

different factors relating to social bonds to parents and school and the combined victimization measure are quite weak. However, there is a relatively clear co-variation between parents' knowledge of the friends the youth associates with and exposure to assault (gamma =  $-0.52$ ). The leisure time variables relating to how often the youth spends evenings outside the home, associates with friends and spends time in public places in the evening are all correlated with exposure to assault, robbery/extortion, theft and the combined victimization measure. The clearest example is found in the association between the number of evenings per week the youths report going out "to a party or a disco, going to somebody's house or hanging out on the street" and exposure to assault (gamma =  $0.56$ ), but this variable is also correlated with exposure to robbing, and also with exposure to theft (gamma =  $0.25$ ). Delinquent peers is relatively clearly associated with higher prevalence of total victimization (gamma =  $0.41$ ). The correlation with exposure to theft offenses is moderate (gamma =  $0.38$ ) whereas the correlations with assault are somewhat clearer (gamma =  $0.64$ ). A similar pattern is found for the associations between victimization and tolerant attitudes towards violence, self-control, alcohol use and truancy.

Generally speaking, there are fewer significant correlations between the various background and risk

factors and exposure to bullying as compared with the other forms of victimization. Bullying co varies to some extent with negative life events (gamma =  $0.34$ ), family bonds (gamma =  $-0.33$ ), delinquent peers (gamma =  $0.27$ ) and levels of self-control (gamma =  $-0.20$ ). Among the boys there is no correlation of any type between the measure of any involvement in traditional crime (over the past 12 months) and exposure to bullying (gamma =  $0.11$ , n.s.), whereas there is a correlation between the two variables among the girls (gamma =  $0.32$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). The correlation between participation in traditional offending/felony and exposure to assault is relatively clear (gamma =  $0.60$ ), as is also the case with exposure to robbery/extortion (gamma =  $0.56$ ), whereas the correlation for exposure to theft is moderate (gamma =  $0.42$ ), as is the correlation with the combined victimization measure (theft, robbery/extortion or assault) (gamma =  $0.44$ ). These results are quite similar for both sexes.

Finally, Fig. 12.1 below shows the proportions of the members of the low-risk and high-risk categories on the combined "risk leisure time lifestyle" scale that are found in four groups based on different combinations of victimization and participation in traditional offending (any participation during the past 12 months). The first group is made up of those who have neither been exposed to crime (theft, assault or robbery/extortion) or committed any of the relevant offence



**Fig. 12.1** Proportions (%) belonging to different categories of the combined leisure time lifestyle risk scale within combination groups of offending and victimization



types (63% of the total sample<sup>11</sup>); the second group comprises of individuals who have only been victimised (17%); the third group have committed at least one offence but have not been victimised (11%), while the final group comprises those who have both committed offenses and been exposed to crime (8%).

The proportions with high values on the risk scale become successively larger as we move from the group which has neither committed nor been exposed to crime, through the groups that have only been victimised and only committed offenses respectively, to the group of individuals who have both been victimised and participated in criminal acts themselves. Within this final group, a majority have high values on the risk scale. Within the group of youths who have only been exposed to crime, on the other hand, high scores on the risk scale are relatively uncommon in comparison with the youth who have themselves committed offenses, and the distribution is more similar to that found in the group who have neither participated in nor been exposed to crime. In total, the scale is also more strongly correlated with participation in offending/felony ( $\gamma = 0.71$ ) than with victimization ( $\gamma = 0.37$ ). However, the correlation between the risk scale and victimization is found both among those who have not committed offenses ( $\gamma = 0.31$ ) and those who have done so ( $\gamma = 0.29$ ).

## 12.4 Concluding Remarks

The general impression given by the results is that the *structure* of involvement in various types of crime and problem behaviours is quite similar among youths from the different municipalities included in the survey. The high and low prevalence behaviours are to a large extent the same across all three municipalities. Males engage in violent offenses, vandalism, and more serious thefts more often than their female counterparts. By contrast, differences between males and females are relatively small in relation to the prevalence of thefts in shops and stores, and alcohol and drug use. There are no differences between the different study areas with regards to the prevalence of traditional crime in total (a combined category). The prevalence of certain violent and drug related behaviours appears to be somewhat higher in the big city.

Since 1995, nationally representative self-report surveys of involvement in crime and other problem behaviours have been conducted in Sweden among the youth in grade nine (Ring, 1999; Svensson and Ring, 2007). As a result of this, amongst other things, differences in the formulation of the questions and the response alternatives, the results from these surveys are not entirely comparable with those from the current study. In many cases, however, the questions relate to similar types of behaviour. One area in which the results correspond relates to the pattern of correlations between various structural and individual-level factors and involvement in crime. Structural background factors are insignificantly or relatively weakly associated with crime, with the clearest correlations being found in relation to gender and coming from a broken home. Variables relating to social bonds to parents and school are somewhat more strongly correlated (moderate to medium strength correlations) with crime. In this category, it's variables relating to parental knowledge of the youths' activities that present the clearest correlations with crime. The strongest correlations with crime however are found among the factors relating to the respondents' associations with delinquent peers, their level of self-control and the youths' attitudes towards crime and problem behaviours. There are also substantial correspondences between involvement in crime, truancy and alcohol and drug use. Similar patterns have been noted in other surveys of school youth (e.g. Wikström and Butterworth, 2006; Boxford, 2006). The results are also in line with findings from other research in this area (see for example Howell, 2003; Andrews and Bonta, 2003).

A number of the factors that are correlated with involvement in crime are also significantly related to exposure to crime among the surveyed youths. It should be mentioned that the design of the study and the analyses conducted generally do not permit conclusions as to whether the correlations involve causal relationships. However, a lifestyle that involves frequently spending time in the evening in public places and locations of public entertainment, drinking alcohol, and often spending time with peers who commit offenses appear to be linked to both participation in and exposure to crime. The same is true of weak parental control and a lack of interest in school, as well as of certain individual characteristics such as low self-control and a propensity for aggression as measured by attitudes towards violence. It seems likely that these conditions tend to work together to produce a situation

<sup>11</sup> Valid per cent.

where youth characterised by high levels of such factors are at clearly increased risk of both participating in crime themselves, and also of being victimised by crime.

The overlap between offenders and victims is often emphasized in the criminological literature. Two general types of crime victims might be identified on the basis of a very broad categorization, where the one group comprises victims who have themselves committed offenses, and the other victims who have *not* themselves reported involvement in crime. These two

groups of victims may have rather *different* social and individual characteristics (as indicated by the results), which should be of relevance as regards prevention strategies. This is one example of an interesting question for more detailed analysis in future studies.

## Appendix

See Tables 12.6–12.14.

**Table 12.6** Lifetime prevalence of involvement in different behaviours by study area and gender

	Big city		Medium sized town		Rural area		Total sample	
	Male (n = 874) <sup>a</sup> %	Female (n = 896) <sup>b</sup> %	Male (n = 105) <sup>c</sup> %	Female (n = 147) <sup>d</sup> %	Male (n = 127) <sup>e</sup> %	Female (n = 128) <sup>f</sup> %	Male (n = 1,106) <sup>g</sup> %	Female (n = 1,171) <sup>h</sup> %
Theft from shop or department store	25.3	23.5	35.1	24.7	31.1	21.9	26.9	23.5
Theft of bike/moped/scooter	9.1	2.5	11.1	4.1	7.3	4.7	9.1	3.0
Theft from car	3.0	1.0	3.1	2.1	6.6	1.6	3.4	1.2
Burglary	3.2	1.1	2.0	1.4	4.9	0.0	3.3	1.0
Snatching of bag/purse	2.8	1.5	1.0	0.7	1.6	0.8	2.5	1.3
Theft of car/mc	1.3	0.3	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0	1.2	0.3
Theft	28.2	24.5	37.4	25.3	33.3	25.8	29.7	24.7
Vandalism	21.0	8.1	27.8	6.2	16.4	10.2	21.1	8.1
Group fight	19.4	7.9	22.2	5.6	22.0	5.5	20.0	7.4
Carrying a weapon	15.6	7.7	14.3	2.1	5.7	5.5	14.3	6.7
Assault	4.8	2.2	4.1	1.4	1.6	0.8	4.3	1.9
Robbery/extortion/violent threat	2.6	1.0	2.1	2.1	2.5	0.0	2.6	1.0
Violence against persons	26.0	13.1	33.3	6.9	26.0	10.9	26.7	12.1
Violence (carrying a weapon excluded)	21.2	9.1	25.3	6.9	23.6	6.3	21.8	8.5
Total traditional crime	41.5	31.5	50.5	28.8	45.5	32.0	42.8	31.2
Hash/marijuana use	4.9	4.4	1.0	1.4	3.3	0.8	4.3	3.6
Sold drugs/act as intermediary	2.5	1.6	1.1	0.7	2.5	0.0	2.4	1.3
XTC/speed use	0.8	1.4	0.0	0.0	2.5	0.0	0.9	1.1
LSD/heroin/coke use	1.0	0.9	0.0	0.7	2.5	0.0	1.0	0.8
Hard drug use	1.3	1.6	0.0	0.7	2.5	0.0	1.3	1.3
Drug use	5.4	4.9	1.0	1.4	3.3	0.8	4.8	4.0
Theft, vandalism, violence, drugs	42.1	32.3	51.0	28.8	45.5	32.0	43.3	31.8
Beer/wine/breezers	50.5	56.1	67.7	57.5	48.4	42.9	51.8	54.8
Strong spirits	29.2	38.3	37.4	36.8	31.1	22.2	30.2	36.3
Alcohol use	50.9	57.6	67.0	59.6	48.8	44.1	52.1	56.4
Computer hacking	11.8	2.7	19.6	0.7	11.4	2.3	12.4	2.4
Total prevalence	64.3	63.0	75.2	65.1	65.0	48.4	65.4	61.6

Note: Unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 1.5% and 4.2%

<sup>b</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 1.5% and 3.3%

<sup>c</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 3.8% and 10.5%

<sup>d</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 0.7% and 3.4%

<sup>e</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 3.1% and 4.7%

<sup>f</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 0.0% and 1.6%

<sup>g</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 1.9% and 4.7%

<sup>h</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 1.2% and 2.7%

**Table 12.7** Prevalence last 12 months (4 weeks for drug and alcohol use) of involvement in different behaviours by study area and gender

	Big city (n = 874) <sup>a</sup> %		Medium sized town (n = 105) <sup>c</sup> %		Rural area (n = 127) <sup>e</sup> %		Total sample (n = 1,106) <sup>g</sup> %		Total sample (n = 1,171) <sup>h</sup> %	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Theft from shop or department store	10.0	7.8	12.4	8.3	4.9	7.8	9.6	7.9	9.6	7.9
Theft of bike/moped/scooter	4.1	1.0	7.1	1.4	4.9	3.1	4.4	1.3	4.4	1.3
Theft from car	1.0	0.6	1.0	2.1	3.3	0.8	1.2	0.8	1.2	0.8
Burglary	1.8	0.6	1.0	1.4	2.4	0.0	1.8	0.6	1.8	0.6
Snatching of bag/purse	1.2	0.8	1.0	0.7	1.6	0.0	1.2	0.7	1.2	0.7
Theft of car/mc	0.6	0.1	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.7	0.1	0.7	0.1
Theft	12.0	9.0	15.2	9.0	8.9	10.9	11.9	9.2	11.9	9.2
Vandalism	12.1	4.7	14.4	4.1	7.4	4.7	11.8	4.6	11.8	4.6
Group fight	11.6	3.7	10.1	4.2	11.4	1.6	11.5	3.5	11.5	3.5
Carrying a weapon	10.1	4.9	6.2	0.7	4.9	3.9	9.2	4.3	9.2	4.3
Assault	2.3	0.9	1.1	1.4	0.8	0.8	2.0	1.0	2.0	1.0
Robbery/extortion violent threat	2.1	0.3	1.0	1.4	1.6	0.0	2.0	0.4	2.0	0.4
Violence against persons	16.7	7.2	15.2	5.5	15.4	6.3	16.4	6.9	16.4	6.9
Violence (carrying a weapon excluded)	12.6	3.9	11.1	5.5	12.2	2.4	12.4	3.9	12.4	3.9
Total traditional crime	24.6	14.8	30.3	13.1	17.9	14.8	24.3	14.6	24.3	14.6
Hash/marijuana use	2.0	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	1.1	1.6	1.1
Sold drugs/act as intermediary	1.9	1.1	1.1	0.7	2.5	0.0	1.9	1.0	1.9	1.0
XTC/speed use	0.6	0.3	0.0	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.7	0.3	0.7	0.3
LSD/heroin/coke use	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.4	0.0
Hard drug use	0.6	0.3	0.0	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.7	0.3	0.7	0.3
Drug use	2.1	1.6	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0	1.9	1.2	1.9	1.2
Theft, vandalism, violence, drugs	25.1	15.4	30.0	13.1	17.9	14.8	24.7	15.1	24.7	15.1
Beer/wine/breezers	19.2	22.8	25.3	28.0	24.0	16.7	20.3	22.7	20.3	22.7
Strong spirits	11.4	16.3	15.2	14.9	8.2	8.0	11.4	15.2	11.4	15.2
Alcohol use	20.1	24.2	26.0	27.6	24.4	18.1	21.2	24.0	21.2	24.0
Computer hacking	7.9	1.4	16.5	0.7	9.8	1.6	8.9	1.3	8.9	1.3
Truancy	28.4	34.5	31.4	31.3	27.9	19.5	28.6	32.4	28.6	32.4
Total prevalence	47.7	48.3	52.4	45.6	48.8	36.7	48.3	46.7	48.3	46.7

Note: Unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 0.5% and 4.7%

<sup>b</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 0.7% and 3.9%

<sup>c</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 0.0% and 10.5%

<sup>d</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 0.0% and 4.1%

<sup>e</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 3.1% and 4.7%

<sup>f</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 0.0% and 2.3%

<sup>g</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 0.7% and 4.7%

<sup>h</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 0.5% and 3.8%

**Table 12.8** Prevalence last 12 months (4 weeks for drug and alcohol use) of involvement in different behaviours by study area and school year-group

	Big city			Medium sized town					Rural area			Total	
	Grade 7 (n = 621) <sup>a</sup>	Grade 8 (n = 657) <sup>b</sup>	Grade 9 (n = 492) <sup>c</sup>	Grade 7 (n = 91) <sup>d</sup>	Grade 8 (n = 85) <sup>e</sup>	Grade 9 (n = 76) <sup>f</sup>	Grade 7 (n = 100) <sup>g</sup>	Grade 8 (n = 83) <sup>h</sup>	Grade 9 (n = 72) <sup>i</sup>	Grade 7 (n = 812) <sup>j</sup>	Grade 8 (n = 825) <sup>k</sup>	Grade 9 (n = 640) <sup>l</sup>	
	8.3	11.1	6.7	10.1	8.8	11.0	7.1	4.8	7.4	8.3	10.2	7.3	
Theft from shop or department store	1.5	2.8	3.3	1.1	3.8	6.8	2.0	3.6	7.4	1.5	3.0	4.2	
Theft of bike/moped/scooter	0.3	0.9	1.0	3.4	0.0	1.4	0.0	3.6	2.9	0.6	1.1	1.3	
Theft from car	0.8	1.4	1.2	2.2	0.0	1.4	0.0	2.4	1.5	0.9	1.4	1.3	
Burglary	0.3	1.4	1.2	1.1	0.0	1.4	0.0	1.2	1.5	0.4	1.2	1.3	
Snatching of bag/purse	0.0	0.5	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	1.5	0.0	0.5	0.6	
Theft of car/mc	7.6	9.0	8.4	5.7	7.5	12.2	4.0	4.8	10.3	6.9	8.4	9.0	
Vandalism	5.1	8.0	10.1	8.0	6.3	5.4	6.1	3.6	10.3	5.5	7.4	9.5	
Group fight	4.7	8.3	9.9	4.5	2.5	1.4	1.0	4.8	8.8	4.2	7.4	8.7	
Carrying a weapon	0.8	2.4	1.5	2.3	1.3	0.0	0.0	2.4	0.0	0.9	2.3	1.1	
Assault	1.0	0.9	1.9	1.1	1.3	1.4	0.0	2.4	0.0	0.9	1.1	1.6	
Robbery/extortion	0.3	1.6	2.9	0.0	0.0	2.7	0.0	2.4	1.5	0.3	1.5	2.7	
Sold drugs/act as intermediary	0.8	1.4	3.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	1.1	2.4	
Hash/marijuana*	0.2	0.5	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	1.5	0.1	0.5	0.8	
XTC/Speed*	0.0	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.2	
LSD/Heroin/Coke*	10.4	20.6	34.7	8.0	33.8	41.3	14.1	14.6	36.4	10.6	21.3	35.7	
Beer/Wine/Breezers*	6.5	13.7	23.2	3.4	19.5	24.0	4.1	7.3	14.7	5.8	13.6	22.4	
Strong spirits*	4.8	4.9	3.8	6.7	11.4	2.7	4.0	6.0	7.4	5.0	5.6	4.1	
Computer hacking	28.2	28.7	39.3	20.2	29.8	46.1	17.2	19.3	38.2	25.9	27.8	40.0	
Tnuancy													

\*Prevalence last 4 weeks

Note: Unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 1.1% and 4.5%<sup>b</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 0.8% and 2.7%<sup>c</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 0.6% and 3.0%<sup>d</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 1.1% and 5.5%<sup>e</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 1.2% and 9.4%<sup>f</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 0.0% and 3.9%<sup>g</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 0.0% and 3.0%<sup>h</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 0.0% and 1.2%<sup>i</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 5.6% and 8.3%<sup>j</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 1.2% and 5.0%<sup>k</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 0.7% and 3.9%<sup>l</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 1.1% and 3.6%

**Table 12.9** Lifetime and last 12 months prevalences (aggregated offenses) (big city sample vs. rest of sample)

	Big city ( <i>n</i> = 1,770)				Rest of sample ( <i>n</i> = 507)			
	Lifetime %	% Missing	Last year <sup>a</sup> %	% Missing	Lifetime %	% Missing	Last year <sup>a</sup> %	% Missing
Frequent violent offences <sup>b</sup>	18.5	2.4	11.5	2.4	16.6	2.6	9.3	2.6
Rare violent offences <sup>c</sup>	5.4	3.0	2.8	3.2	4.0	3.0	2.4	3.0
Vandalism	14.4	2.8	8.3	3.4	14.0	2.8	7.1	3.0
Theft from shop or department store	24.4	2.4	8.9	2.4	27.6	2.4	8.1	2.4
Rare property offences <sup>d</sup>	7.3	3.0	3.4	3.2	9.5	3.0	5.5	3.0
Computer Hacking	7.2	3.4	4.6	3.5	7.5	3.6	6.3	3.6
Sold drugs/act as intermediary	2.0	3.1	1.5	3.1	1.0	3.2	1.0	3.2
Hard drug use <sup>e</sup>	1.5	2.4	0.5	2.4	0.8	2.6	0.4	2.6

Note: Unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Hard drug use; last month prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Group fight and carrying a weapon

<sup>c</sup>Snatching of bag/purse, robbery/extortion, and assault

<sup>d</sup>Burglary, bike/scooter/moped theft, car/mc theft, theft from car

<sup>e</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin/cocaine use

**Table 12.10** Prevalence of victimization last 12 months and reporting to the police (total sample)

	Victimization ( <i>n</i> = 2,277) %	% Missing	Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup> %
Robbery/extortion	2.8	4.4	23.0
Assault	2.6	4.9	14.3
Theft	23.5	4.6	20.7
Bullying	9.9	4.7	4.3

Note: Unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Percentage based on number of victims; no answer: no reporting assumed

**Table 12.11** Prevalence of victimization last 12 months and reporting to the police (big city sample vs. rest of sample)

	Big city ( <i>n</i> = 1,770) %		Reporting to the police %	Rest of sample ( <i>n</i> = 507) %		Reporting to the police %
	% Missing			% Missing		
Robbery/extortion	3.2	4.4	21.8	1.2	4.7	33.3
Assault	2.6	4.8	11.6	2.7	5.1	23.1
Theft	25.3	4.5	21.2	17.2	4.7	18.1
Bullying	9.7	4.7	5.0	10.6	4.9	2.0

Note: Unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Percentage based on number of victims; no answer: no reporting assumed

**Table 12.12** Victimization last 12 months by study area and gender

	Big city		Medium sized town		Rural area		Total sample	
	Male ( <i>n</i> = 874) <sup>a</sup>	Female ( <i>n</i> = 896) <sup>b</sup>	Male ( <i>n</i> = 105) <sup>c</sup>	Female ( <i>n</i> = 147) <sup>d</sup>	Male ( <i>n</i> = 127) <sup>e</sup>	Female ( <i>n</i> = 128) <sup>f</sup>	Male ( <i>n</i> = 1,106) <sup>g</sup>	Female ( <i>n</i> = 1,171) <sup>h</sup>
Robbery/extortion	4.6	2.0	3.1	0.7	1.7	0.0	4.1	1.6
Assault	3.8	1.4	1.1	2.8	2.5	4.0	3.4	1.9
Theft	24.7	25.9	17.9	15.4	22.5	13.6	23.8	23.2
Total victimization robbery/assault/theft	27.3	27.3	19.2	16.0	24.0	16.0	26.2	24.6
Bullying	10.4	9.1	5.3	9.9	9.8	16.3	9.8	10.0
Total victimization	32.9	31.4	23.2	21.5	29.5	26.4	31.6	29.6

Note: Unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 3.9% and 5.6%

<sup>b</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 1.6% and 4.2%

<sup>c</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 5.7% and 9.5%

<sup>d</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 2.0% and 3.4%

<sup>e</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 3.9% and 5.5%

<sup>f</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 2.3% and 3.9%

<sup>g</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 4.1% and 6.0%

<sup>h</sup>Percentage of missing cases ranges between 2.6% and 4.1%

**Table 12.13** Correlations (Gamma) between various factors and measures of involvement in traditional crime (last 12 months), alcohol use (last 4 weeks) and drug use (lifetime)

	Traditional crime variety scale <sup>a</sup>		Traditional crime frequency scale <sup>b</sup>		Prevalence alcohol use (last 4 weeks)		Prevalence drug use (lifetime)	
Urbanization	0.05	n.s.	0.10	n.s.	-0.04	n.s.	0.51	***
Age	0.17	***	0.14	***	0.38	***	0.45	***
Gender	0.31	***	0.32	***	-0.08	n.s.	0.09	n.s.
Split family	0.22	***	0.24	***	0.19	***	0.49	***
National background	0.16	**	0.13	*	-0.15	**	0.13	n.s.
Negative life events	0.24	***	0.26	***	0.24	***	0.43	***
Family bonds	-0.37	***	-0.37	***	-0.39	***	-0.54	***
Family leisure activities	-0.24	***	-0.23	***	-0.24	***	-0.44	***
Dinner with family	-0.30	***	-0.30	***	-0.27	***	-0.47	***
Parents know friends	-0.51	***	-0.51	***	-0.46	***	-0.66	***
School bonds	-0.35	***	-0.34	***	-0.31	***	-0.43	***
School achievement	-0.16	**	-0.12	*	-0.18	***	-0.37	***
Repeat grade	0.39	***	0.41	***	0.11	(n.s.)	0.48	*
Time spent on homework	-0.39	***	-0.39	***	-0.34	***	-0.30	**
Neighbourhood attachment	-0.19	***	-0.20	***	-0.14	***	-0.40	***
Night activities per week	0.45	***	0.45	***	0.52	***	0.71	***
Time spent with peers	0.33	***	0.31	***	0.38	***	0.61	***
Group spend time in public places	0.53	***	0.53	***	0.47	***	0.69	***
Illegal things accepted by group	0.78	***	0.75	***	0.72	***	0.85	***
Delinquent peers	0.72	***	0.70	***	0.59	***	0.82	***
Attitudes towards violence	0.62	***	0.60	***	0.36	***	0.60	***
Self control	-0.62	***	-0.59	***	-0.48	***	-0.65	***
Alcohol use (last 4 weeks)	0.67	***	0.67	***	1.00		0.85	***
Drug use (lifetime)	0.81	***	0.78	***	0.87	***	1.00	
Truancy (last 12 months)	0.59	***	0.57	***	0.52	***	0.71	***

n.s. non-significant ( $p > 0.05$ )

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

<sup>a</sup>Categorized scale (Categories: 0, 1, 2-3, 4+)

<sup>b</sup>Categorized scale (Categories: 0, 1-2, 3-10, 11+)



**Table 12.14** Correlations (Gamma) between various factors and involvement in traditional crime (prevalence last 12 months) by gender and study area respectively

	Boys		Girls		Big city		Medium sized town		Rural area	
Urbanization	0.05	n.s.	0.03	n.s.						
Age	0.19	***	0.13	*	0.16	***	0.15	n.s.	0.25	n.s.
Gender					0.30	***	0.48	**	0.11	n.s.
Split family	0.22	**	0.27	**	0.24	***	0.16	n.s.	0.14	n.s.
National background	0.21	**	0.11	n.s.	0.12	*	0.55	*	0.09	n.s.
Negative life events	0.26	***	0.32	***	0.21	***	0.36	*	0.38	**
Family bonds	-0.42	***	-0.43	***	-0.41	***	-0.27	n.s.	-0.26	n.s.
Family leisure activities	-0.18	**	-0.33	***	-0.22	***	-0.30	*	-0.38	**
Dinner with family	-0.29	***	-0.39	***	-0.32	***	-0.21	n.s.	-0.32	*
Parents know friends	-0.44	***	-0.57	***	-0.53	***	-0.42	**	-0.50	**
School bonds	-0.28	***	-0.45	***	-0.32	***	-0.42	**	-0.59	***
School achievement	-0.13	n.s.	-0.22	**	-0.14	*	-0.26	n.s.	-0.15	n.s.
Repeat grade	0.45	**	0.30	n.s.	0.41	**	1.00	n.s.	0.45	n.s.
Time spent on homework	-0.33	***	-0.43	***	-0.42	***	-0.68	***	-0.03	n.s.
Neighbourhood attachment	-0.15	*	-0.27	***	-0.18	***	-0.30	*	-0.20	n.s.
Night activities per week	0.46	***	0.48	***	0.51	***	0.27	*	0.30	*
Time spent with peers	0.41	***	0.29	***	0.33	***	0.40	**	0.28	*
Group spend time in public places	0.57	***	0.54	***	0.54	***	0.70	***	0.36	*
Illegal things accepted by group	0.79	***	0.77	***	0.80	***	0.85	***	0.68	***
Delinquent peers	0.72	***	0.75	***	0.74	***	0.73	***	0.72	***
Attitudes towards violence	0.58	***	0.62	***	0.60	***	0.66	***	0.79	***
Self control	-0.59	***	-0.66	***	-0.64	***	-0.70	***	-0.48	***
Alcohol use (last 4 weeks)	0.73	***	0.68	***	0.68	***	0.71	***	0.75	***
Drug use (lifetime)	0.84	***	0.82	***	0.84	***	0.34	n.s.	0.78	n.s.
Truancy (last 12 months)	0.61	***	0.64	***	0.61	***	0.55	***	0.60	***

n.s. non-significant ( $p > 0.05$ )

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

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# Chapter 13

## Denmark

David W.M. Sorensen and Nanna Gabrielsen

### 13.1 Introduction

Denmark is a small, northern European country of 5.4 million inhabitants. Its capital city, Copenhagen, is home to just over 0.5 million people. The ISRD-2 survey described herein was carried out in the Copenhagen Metropolitan Area, which has a total population of 1.2 million. Denmark's other large cities include Aarhus (pop. 217,000), Odense (pop. 145,000) and Aalborg (pop. 120,000). The remainder of the Danish population lives in mid-sized towns distributed fairly evenly across the country.

Like her Scandinavian neighbours, Denmark is a welfare state with one of the world's strongest economies and a modern infrastructure. Twenty per cent of Danes are under the age of 18, while 13% are over 65. Almost two-third of all deaths are due to cancer, heart disease or vascular disorders; 1.3% are due to suicide. Handguns are relatively scarce, and the rate of lethal violence is low by both European and international standards (Aebi et al., 2006). Fear of crime, especially violent crime, is also low by international standards (Van Dijk et al., 2008).

Denmark's population is notably homogeneous in terms of socio-economic status and ethnicity. Yet, immigration has increased tremendously in Denmark since 1980, bringing with it increased heterogeneity. In 2007, 8.8% of Denmark's population was comprised of immigrants, three-quarters of whom were first generation. Two-thirds of Denmark's immigrants are of non-Western origin. Turkey is the single most common land of origin. Denmark's immigrants are concentrated

in and around the Copenhagen Metropolitan Area, where they comprise 14% of the population (Statistics Denmark, 2007).

### 13.2 The Sample

This report is based on the findings from a self-report survey of adolescents attending school in the Copenhagen Metropolitan Area.<sup>1</sup> The target area, which consists of 20 municipalities comprising a total of 1.2 million inhabitants, is the most densely populated region of the country. The target population comprises seventh, eighth and ninth grade students, almost all of whom are between 13 and 16 years of age. Since the target area is almost entirely urban, the sample should be considered "city-based", for ISRD purposes.

The survey was administered by computer-based questionnaires. Each student was given a unique log-on code which ensured that students filled out questionnaires only once; it allowed researchers to track each questionnaire to a specific class and school. The codes were distributed in such a way that the participants would remain absolutely anonymous.

Data collection was carried out over Weeks 5–10 (February and March) of 2006. The teachers were allowed to choose the precise date on which the questionnaires would be administered in their classes, but they were asked to pick a date as close to Week 6 as possible. The teachers were responsible for administering the survey; they were the only persons present in the computer room during data collection.

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<sup>1</sup>The municipalities of Copenhagen and Frederiksberg, plus the 18 additional municipalities that comprise Copenhagen County.

The sampling frame was based on a list of all seventh to ninth grade classes in the Copenhagen Metropolitan Area in November 2005. At that time, there were 1,660 such classes (in 272 schools) with an average of 21 pupils per class. One hundred and fifty classes (in 118 schools) were selected at random from the list. No stratification variables were used, so each class had an equal chance of being selected. Eighty-two classes (from 66 schools) ultimately participated in the survey, while 68 classes (from 52 schools) refused to participate. Table 13.1 shows the reasons given by the 68 classes for not participating in the survey.

1,565 students were registered in the 82 classes on the day of the survey and 1,378 students completed the questionnaire. This gives a response rate of 88%. The major reasons for non-response at the individual level were sickness, vacation or some other authorised absence from school on the day of the survey. None of the individual-level non-responses were due to an absence of parental consent – not required for minors to participate in surveys in Denmark. Very little of the non-response appears to derive from an explicit refusal by students to participate.

Approximately 96% of the survey's respondents were 13–15 years old. Forty and 43% of respondents attended the seventh and eighth grades, respectively, while 17% attended the ninth grade.<sup>2</sup> Table 13.2 shows the breakdown of survey respondents by class grade and age.

The sample includes both private and public schools. Special schools and continuation schools are excluded. Excluding these schools deserves mentioning since previous surveys have shown that students, who experience

**Table 13.1** Reasons for non-participation among non-participating classes

Reason for not participating	<i>n</i>	%
Lack of time/resources <sup>a</sup>	28	41
Practical circumstances <sup>b</sup>	7	10
No reason given	4	6
Too late to participate	2	3
No response to inquiries	27	40
Total	68	100

<sup>a</sup>The predominant reason given was that the class or school had already participated in several similar surveys

<sup>b</sup>Moving, mid-terms exams, teachers' notice, etc

<sup>2</sup>Disproportion in sample grade level is due to significantly higher response rates at the class level for seventh and eighth grade classes (61 and 62%, respectively) as compared to ninth grade classes (37%).

**Table 13.2** Class grade and age of survey respondents<sup>a</sup>

	Age					Total
	12	13	14	15	16	
Grade 7	6	397	131	14	3	551
Grade 8	0	9	435	139	7	590
Grade 9	0	3	8	180	42	233
Total	6	409	574	333	52	1,374

<sup>a</sup>Missing = 4; percentages based on valid cases

difficulties adapting to mainstream schools, and are therefore transferred to special schools, are at elevated risk for problem behaviour (Kvsgaard, 1992). Yet given the very small proportion of students attending special and continuation schools in Denmark, it is hard to imagine that their exclusion has any substantive effect on the survey's results.

### 13.3 Young Adolescents in the Copenhagen Metropolitan Area

The following profile, which is derived from the survey, provides a general impression of seventh to ninth grade adolescents living in the Copenhagen Metropolitan Area.

Nearly all (96%) of the students who participated in this survey were between 13 and 15 years of age. Most (95%) were born in Denmark, though only 72% of them have both a mother and father who were born in Denmark. The students who were not born in Denmark were mostly born in another European country (52%).

Almost all (99%) of these Danish teenagers live with at least one of their parents; only two-thirds live with both parents. Most have a good relationship with their mothers and fathers. Ninety-six per cent report having a good or fairly good relationship with their father and 97% say the same regarding their relationship with their mothers. Only 1% report having a bad relationship with their fathers and/or mothers. Ninety-two per cent of the respondents' fathers are steadily employed either by others (75%) or in their own companies (17%). The picture is almost the same for mothers, where 84% are steadily employed.

The survey's seventh to ninth grade respondents are generally positive about school. Three-quarters report that they like school "somewhat" or "very much" while only 7% report not liking school at all. The majority of

the surveyed teenagers (61%) feel that they are doing well in school compared to their classmates. Only 7% feel that they are doing more poorly than their classmates. They also report responsible school attendance: two-thirds claim that they have never skipped school; only 13% say they have skipped school more than twice without a legitimate reason.

Like teenagers everywhere, Copenhagen Metro Area youth spend a great deal of their spare time with friends. Two-thirds of the sample state that they spend most of their spare time with friends, and about one-third say that they go out at least four nights per week. On average, these young Danes spend 3 h per day with friends compared to 1.5 h playing sports, one hour doing homework and 0.6 h reading books.

While Danish teenagers spend most of their spare time with their peers, they also spend time with their families. Just over half (55%) of the sampled youth report eating dinner with at least one parent each day. Only 1% claim that they never eat dinner with either of their parents. Sample teenagers participate in various activities with parents, such as going to the cinema, going for walks, or visiting family. Nearly one-quarter report that they do things together with their parents two or more times each week, and 61% report doing something with their parents at least once per week. Only a small group (6%) say that they do things with their parents only once per year or less.

The parents of the teenagers in this sample seem to have some insight into, and control over, their children's lives. About half (56%) of the sample group report that their parents always know who they are with and when they go out. Only 3% state that their parents rarely have this information. Parents also seem to make demands on the youngsters. Nine out of ten subjects state that their parents tell them when to return home from an evening out. Whether they comply is, however, a different matter since 61% of them indicate that they only sometimes or rarely do as they are told.

In general, these teenagers seem to like their Copenhagen Metro Area neighbourhoods. Eighty-six per cent of the survey's respondents say that they "like" their neighbourhood and 81% say that they would miss it if they had to move. Most of the sample respondents experience their neighbourhood in a positive light: 83% agree that their neighbourhood has enough space for children to play; only 5% say that their neighbourhood suffers from empty or abandoned buildings; and only 13% state that there is a lot of graffiti in their neighbourhood. Most of the survey's respondents

perceive their neighbourhoods as places where people can be trusted (70%) and where residents are willing to help each other (81%). Yet, despite all of this, they do not perceive their neighbourhoods as completely trouble-free; one out of three survey respondents report the presence of crime in their neighbourhood and almost one in five report local drug sales.

### 13.4 Alcohol Use: Prevalence and Frequency

Most Danish teenagers have some experience with alcohol. This undoubtedly reflects the fact that there is no minimum age requirement for the legal consumption of alcohol in Denmark. However, at the time of this survey one had to be 16 years old to buy alcohol in shops and 18 to be served in a bar. These laws applied to both beer and strong spirits.

As can be seen in Table 13.3, 42% of the survey's respondents report having consumed beer, wine, alcopops or liquor during the 4-week period prior to the survey, and 72.3% report having done so at some point in their lives.<sup>3,4</sup>

Table 13.4 shows the frequency of alcohol consumption among those who consumed alcohol during the previous 4 weeks.<sup>5</sup> About one in every six who say they drank beer or wine, and one in every seven who

**Table 13.3** Last month and lifetime prevalence of alcohol use

	Last 4 weeks		Lifetime	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Beer/wine/alcopops	39.8	3.8	70.4	3.3
Strong spirits	28.5	4.9	57.3	3.8
Alcohol total <sup>a</sup>	42.0	3.1	72.3	2.8

*n* = 1,378; prevalence based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Beer/wine and strong spirits

<sup>3</sup>Alcopops refer to alcoholic beverages containing fruit juices or other flavorings, e.g. wine coolers; Barcardi Breezer.

<sup>4</sup>The prevalence of alcohol consumption during the 4-week period prior to the survey is surprisingly high even amongst the sample's youngest members. Prevalence rates by age are: 13 (25.8%); 14 (43.0%); 15 (60.8%) and 16 (64.6%).

<sup>5</sup>Note that the valid *n* for the frequency of alcohol consumption is significantly lower than that for its prevalence. This pattern recurs throughout the survey. The loss of cases is partially due to ambiguous responses, but primarily due to respondents' failure to answer these questions.

say they drank strong spirits, report having done so at least five times within the previous 4 weeks.

Sixty-one per cent of the youngsters who have tried alcohol report having been drunk at least once. Many of them report several instances of intoxication: 42% of those who have tried alcohol say that they have been drunk at least five times, and 61% admit to having been drunk at least three times.

Danish teenagers not only drink alcohol relatively often, but also drink a lot of alcohol when they drink. While just under half of the respondents who consumed alcohol say they drank only one or two units of alcohol the last time they drank, nearly 20% report having drunk six to nine units.

Only a very small group (2%) say they drank alone the last time they drank alcohol. Almost three-fourths drank with their peers and approximately one-fourth did so with their parents.

### 13.5 Illegal Drug Use: Prevalence and Frequency

Table 13.5 shows that just under 12% of the adolescent survey respondents have tried marijuana and/or hash-

ish at some point in their lives, while 2% report having tried Ecstasy and/or amphetamines, and 1.3% say they have tried LSD, heroin and/or cocaine. If we consider the two groups of hard drugs together, we find that almost nine out of ten Danish teenagers have never tried any of them, while 1 out of 100 (0.93%) have sampled substances from both groups.

Just under 25% of those who have tried hash report having done so within the 4-week period prior to the survey. That corresponds to 2.9% of the total sample. Among those who reported using hash within the last 4 weeks, Table 13.6 shows that nearly two-thirds say they did so more than once, and over 11% did so ten or more times.

Thirty-five per cent of those who have taken Ecstasy or amphetamines have done so within the previous 4 weeks. That corresponds to 0.7% of the total sample. Seventy-one per cent of this group has done so only once, while 29% has done so more than once.

When we look at LSD, heroin and cocaine, we see that 38% of those who have taken one or more of these drugs have done so within the last 4 weeks. This corresponds to about 0.5% of the total sample. The majority of those who report using these drugs say they used them only once during the previous month.

**Table 13.4** Frequency of alcohol use during the last month

	1 time	2–4 times	5–9 times	10 + times	Total valid	Valid
	%	%	%	%	%	n
Beer/wine	36.0	47.4	13.8	2.8	100	458
Strong spirits	44.2	41.6	12.9	1.3	100	310
Alcohol total <sup>a</sup>	21.3	50.2	19.5	9.0	100	502

<sup>a</sup>Beer/wine and strong spirits

**Table 13.5** Last month and lifetime prevalence of drug use

	Last 4 weeks		Lifetime	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Marijuana, hashish use	2.9	4.7	11.8	4.4
Ecstasy, amphetamine use	0.7	4.9	2.0	4.6
LSD, heroin, cocaine use	0.5	5.2	1.3	5.0

*n* = 1,378; prevalence based on valid cases

**Table 13.6** Frequency of drug use during the last month

	1 time	2–4 times	5–9 times	10 + times	Total valid	Valid
	%	%	%	%	%	<i>N</i>
Marijuana, hashish use	38.5	50.0	0.0	11.5	100	26
Ecstasy, amphetamine use	71.4	28.6	0.0	0.0	100	7
LSD, heroin, cocaine use	83.3	0.0	0.0	16.7	100	6



### 13.6 Self-reported Delinquency: Prevalence and Frequency

Illegal behaviour is not an unknown phenomenon among young people in Denmark, but nor is it an everyday activity. A relatively large proportion of Danish adolescents have committed less serious offences such as shoplifting and bicycle theft, but only a few have engaged in more serious offences such as car theft, burglary and drug dealing.

Table 13.7 provides *lifetime* and *last year* prevalence statistics for 15 offences. Five offences stand out as particularly widespread. These offences (and their lifetime prevalence rates) are shoplifting (25.5%), group fighting (19.1%), vandalism (18.1%), carrying a weapon (16.5%), and bicycle/motor bike theft (15.0%). The remaining ten offences have lifetime prevalence rates that are far lower – all between 1.3% and 6%.

While the prevalence of shoplifting, vandalism and, to some extent, bicycle theft<sup>6</sup> comes as no surprise, the high rates of reported involvement in group fights and weapons carrying is unexpected. It is, however, unclear whether students reporting “involvement” in group fights have acted as participants or mere spectators. Furthermore, contrary to most other

ISRD countries, pocket knives were not excluded from the question on weapon carrying in the Danish survey. Despite these caveats, the prevalence rates reported seem strikingly high.

Table 13.8 shows the reported frequency of offending among those who say they offended during the last

**Table 13.7** Lifetime and last year prevalence of offences

	Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Group fight	19.1	6.2	11.3	7.2
Carrying a weapon	16.5	5.9	10.7	6.5
Assault	3.0	6.3	1.6	6.5
Snatching of bag/ snatching <sup>b</sup>	3.7	5.6	2.2	5.7
Robbery/extortion	3.6	6.0	2.0	6.1
Vandalism	18.1	4.4	11.5	4.9
Shoplifting	25.5	4.3	8.9	5.0
Bicycle/motor bike theft	15.0	5.2	9.5	5.7
Car break	3.3	5.8	1.5	6.1
Burglary	4.0	4.8	1.8	5.0
Car theft	1.3	5.0	0.6	5.2
Computer hacking	5.9	5.7	3.6	6.0
Drug dealing	3.0	5.8	2.1	6.0
XTC/speed use	2.0	4.6	0.7	4.9
LSD/heroin/ cocaine use	1.3	5.0	0.5	5.2

*n* = 1,378; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin use: last month prevalence

<sup>b</sup>The Danish question for this item made no reference to “snatching” or interpersonal contact, i.e. “Have you stolen a handbag or the like from another person?”

<sup>6</sup>Denmark’s high prevalence of bicycle theft is attributable both to the nation’s high rate of bicycle ownership and the fact that youth are used to using (and unfortunately stealing) bicycles to get home after late nights out on the town.

**Table 13.8** Frequency of self-reported delinquency items during the last year<sup>a</sup>

	1 time	2–4 times	5–9 times	10 + times	Total valid	Valid
	%	%	%	%	%	<i>n</i>
Group fight	35.1	44.7	11.4	8.8	100	114
Carrying a weapon	16.8	19.6	18.7	44.9	100	107
Assault	52.9	17.6	17.6	11.8	100	17
Snatching of bag/snatching <sup>b</sup>	31.8	36.4	27.3	4.5	100	22
Robbery/extortion	30.0	30.0	25.0	15.0	100	20
Vandalism	30.6	38.0	12.4	19.0	100	121
Shoplifting	40.4	32.6	11.2	15.7	100	89
Bicycle/motor bike theft	27.7	43.6	18.8	9.9	100	101
Car break	29.4	29.4	23.5	17.6	100	17
Burglary	23.8	57.1	9.5	9.5	100	21
Car theft	50.0	33.3	16.7	0.0	100	6
Computer hacking	34.1	39.0	2.4	24.4	100	41
Drug dealing	15.0	40.0	15.0	30.0	100	20
XTC/speed use	71.4	28.6	0.0	0.0	100	7
LSD/heroin/cocaine use	83.3	0.0	0.0	16.7	100	6

<sup>a</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin use: last month frequency



year (and provided usable data on their frequency of their offending).<sup>7</sup> The ISRD offence reported as committed most frequently is the carrying of a weapon: Among the 107 sample members who provided information concerning the frequency with which they carried a weapon during the past year, 45% say they did so ten or more times, and 21% ( $n = 23$ ) say they did so every day of the year.

### 13.7 Co-offending

Young teenagers commit crime as they live their lives in groups (McCord and Conway, 2002, p. 20). Table 13.9

**Table 13.9** Co-offending during the most recent self-reported delinquency event

	% committed with others			Number of offences		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total <sup>a</sup>
Group fight	97.0	85.9	93.5	169	78	247
Carrying a weapon <sup>b</sup>	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Assault	69.2	69.2	69.2	26	13	39
Snatching of bag/snatching	76.7	72.2	75.0	30	18	48
Robbery/extortion	74.2	80.0	76.1	31	15	46
Vandalism	92.1	89.5	91.2	152	86	238
Shoplifting	80.1	75.0	77.7	176	160	336
Bicycle/moped theft	77.0	88.6	81.1	126	70	196
Theft from car	85.3	77.8	83.7	34	9	43
Burglary	87.8	91.7	88.7	41	12	53
Car/mc theft	92.3	100.0	94.1	13	4	17
Computer hacking	46.3	50.0	47.4	54	22	76
Drug dealing	53.6	80.0	60.5	28	10	38
XTC/speed use	100.0	100.0	100.0	16	10	26
LSD/heroin/cocaine use	72.7	100.0	82.4	11	6	17

<sup>a</sup>Total is based on those positive for lifetime participation

<sup>b</sup>n.a.: Not applicable; persons carrying weapons were not asked whether they did so alone or with others

<sup>7</sup>As mentioned in a previous footnote, the valid  $n$  for crime item frequencies is in almost all cases much smaller than that for prevalence. On average, 20% of the subjects who say they committed a given offense failed to provide usable information on frequency. The problem was greatest for drug dealing (26% missing) and least serious for robbery/extortion (5% missing).

shows the proportion of each offence type that was committed with one or more co-offenders the last time the respondent committed it. For example, 80.1% (i.e.  $n = 141$ ) of the 176 males who reported shoplifting said they did so with others on their last shoplifting occasion. This means that 19.9% (i.e.  $n = 35$ ) of the 176 did so alone. Looking at the specific items for total respondents, we see that the act most frequently committed with others is the use of XTC/speed (committed with others 100% of the time), while the act most frequently committed alone is computer hacking (52.6% of actions committed alone). These rates of co-offending are quite high overall, a fact that undoubtedly reflects the youthful age of the sample.

### 13.8 Self-report Delinquency Summary Indexes

Table 13.10 provides four summary indexes of the prevalence of offending during the last year. These indexes indicate whether a sample member has reported involvement in any one or more offences in the index.<sup>8</sup> The four summary indexes include property-, violent-, drug-, and all forms of offending.

The Property Index is based on six items: shoplifting, bicycle theft, snatching of bag/snatching, car/motorcycle theft, theft from car (car break), and burglary; 15.2% of the subjects report having committed one or more of these six offences during the past year. Note, however, that the high last year prevalence rates

**Table 13.10** Last year participation in Summary Index activities<sup>a</sup>

	Prevalence (%)	% Missing
Property Index	15.2	4.3
Violence Index	20.8	3.9
Drug Index	2.5	3.8
All Offence Index	27.4	3.8

<sup>a</sup>The Drug Index combines last year and last month prevalence rates

<sup>8</sup>If a subject reports having engaged in one or more index offences, then the relevant index is coded equal to 1. If a subject denies having committed any of the index offences, then the relevant index is coded as 0. If a subject is missing data for one or more of the index offences and has not reported participation on any of the non-missing index items, then the relevant index is coded as missing.

**Table 13.11** Frequency of participation in Summary Index activities during the last year<sup>a</sup>

	1	2–4	5–9	10–19	20–49	50–99	100–199	200–737	Total valid	Valid
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	<i>n</i>
Property Index	28.3	35.6	15.6	13.3	5.4	0.6	1.2	0	100	166
Violence Index	21.4	26.2	19.2	9.6	8.7	2.2	2.6	10.0	100	229
All Offence Index	23.3	27.2	15.3	10.2	9.6	2.9	3.2	8.0	100	313

<sup>a</sup>The All Offence index includes XTC/speed and LSD/heroin use: last month frequency

for shoplifting and bicycle theft mean that these items dominate the index.

The Violence Index is based on five items: carrying a weapon, group fighting, vandalism, assault, and robbery/extortion; 20.8% of subjects report having committed one or more of these five offences during the past year. In this case, the high last year prevalence rates for carrying a weapon, group fighting and vandalism dominate the index. Note that the inclusion of these items means that this index might more accurately be labelled “aggressive behaviour”, since carrying a weapon, spectatorship at a group fight and vandalism do not constitute “violence” per se. This manifests itself in the atypical situation that prevalence for this “violence” index is higher than that for the Property Index.

The Drug Index is based on three items: drug dealing during the past year, past month use of Ecstasy and/or amphetamine and past month use of LSD, heroin and/or cocaine. This index is unique in that it is based on mixed recall periods, i.e. past year and past month. It is interesting to note that despite its past year recall period, drug dealing has the highest prevalence rate of the three offences.

The All Offence Index is based on all the 15 items in Table 13.7. The index is thus heavily influenced by the high prevalence of shoplifting, group fighting, vandalism, carrying a weapon, and bicycle/motor bike theft.<sup>9</sup>

Table 13.11 shows the frequency of reported involvement in the Property (median 3 events; max. 135), Violence (median 5 events; max. 731) and All Offence (median 4 events; max. 737) Indexes. The Drug Index is excluded because of its mixed recall period (past year and past month).<sup>10</sup> Frequencies for

the All Offence Index indicate that just under a quarter (23.3%) of the subjects, who provided information on the frequency of their offending during the past year, said that they committed only a single offence. Meanwhile a second quarter (27.2%) said they committed two to four offences. In all then, half of the subjects (50.5%) who responded to this question reported having committed four offences or less during the previous year. Eight per cent ( $n = 25$ ) of those providing valid frequencies say they offended 200 + times (and actually all of these 25 had reported frequencies between 365 and 737 events). Out of these 25 high rate offenders, 23 reported carrying a weapon every day (i.e. 365 weapon-carrying events), one reported 365 group fights, and one reported 365 computer hackings. The offender with 737 reported events reaches this stellar frequency by having reported 365 group fights and 365 episodes of weapons carrying.

The remainder of this chapter examines the relationship between self-reported delinquency during the last year and four socio-demographic factors using the summary indexes described above. The four socio-demographic factors examined are gender, age, family composition, and immigration status. Statistical significance is assessed using the chi-square test of independence (Fisher’s Exact Test, where appropriate) and presented in the tables as  $p(x^2)$ . The relationship between victimisation and offending is addressed briefly at the end of the chapter.

### 13.9 Gender and Self-reported Offending

Gender is one of the strongest and best known correlates of self-reported criminality; it is no less true in this young sample. Table 13.12 shows that young adolescent males in the Copenhagen Metro Area are

<sup>9</sup>Due to the difficulty of categorising it, hacking is only included in the All Offense Index.

<sup>10</sup>The All Offense Index retains the two drug use items despite mixing recall periods. They are retained here for the sake of consistency. The very low prevalence (and low frequency except for one user) of these items means they are unlikely to have much effect on the frequencies presented for the All Offense Index.

80% more likely than their female counterparts to report participation in one or more offences (i.e. All Index Offences) during the previous year.

### 13.10 Age and Self-reported Offending

Figure 13.1 portrays age-specific patterns in the prevalence of summary index activities. While participation in Violence Index activities rises almost linearly with age, participation in Property Index activities declines after a peak at age 15. Meanwhile, participation in Drug Index offences peaks and declines even earlier; at ages 14 and 15, respectively. On the one hand, the diverging patterns for violent and property crime conform to the well-acknowledged tendency for property offending to peak earlier than violent offending (Farrington, 1986). On the other hand, the decline in property offending at age 16 seems both earlier and steeper than that usually cited in self-report delinquency research. It must be kept in mind, however, that this is a cross-sectional as opposed to longitudinal sample. It is therefore possible that cohort effects, as opposed to maturation, play a part in the patterns observed.

**Table 13.12** Gender and participation in Summary Index activities during the past year

	Male (%)	Female (%)	% Missing		<i>p</i> ( <i>Chi</i> <sup>2</sup> )
	( <i>n</i> = 667)	( <i>n</i> = 707)	Male	Female	
Property Index	18.2	12.4	4.5	3.8	0.0035
Violence Index	28.9	13.1	3.9	3.7	<0.0001
Drug Index	3.9	1.0	3.7	3.5	<0.0001
All Offence Index	35.4	19.8	3.7	3.5	<0.0001

Table 13.13 shows the data used in Fig. 13.1. It may interest readers to know that out of the 15 items that comprise the All Offence Index, 12 had their peak rates of prevalence among 14- and 15-year-old subjects. The only three items with peaks at age 16 were weapons carrying, group fighting, and computer hacking.

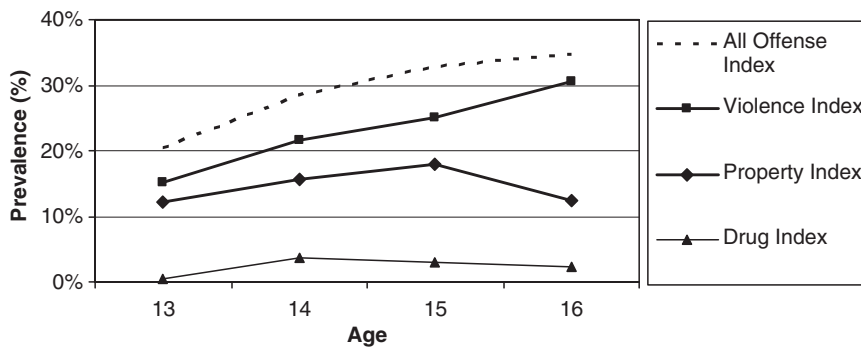
### 13.11 Family Composition and Self-reported Offending

Family composition is defined by four categories: (1) Lives with both parents; (2) Lives with one parent; (3) Lives with one parent and that parent’s new partner; and (4) Lives with others.<sup>11</sup> The sample breakdown for this variable is shown in Table 13.14.

Table 13.15 shows rates of participation in the four summary indexes by family composition. Children with “Living with Others” have by far the highest participation rates on all four summary indexes. This is, however, not surprising since three of these children are living in institutions for troubled youth and the rest are scattered in various untraditional living arrangements.

In general, children living in intact homes with both mother and father fare better than those in other familial settings. Table 13.16 shows a breakdown of summary index participation by intact versus non-intact family

<sup>11</sup>The 339 respondents who “Live with one parent” include 194 respondents where there was no data regarding whether the parent they live with was living alone or with a new partner. The group “lives with others” covers youths who live with other family such as grandparents, uncles or sisters, as well as children in foster care, etc. It is a small, but very heterogeneous group.



**Fig. 13.1** Age and participation in summary index activities during the past year

**Table 13.13** Age and participation in Summary Index activities during the past year

	Age 13	Age 14	Age 15	Age 16	% Missing				<i>p</i>
	( <i>n</i> = 409)	( <i>n</i> = 574)	( <i>n</i> = 333)	( <i>n</i> = 52)	13	14	15	16	( $\chi^2$ )
Property Index	12.2	15.7	17.9	12.5	4.2	3.7	4.2	7.7	0.2960
Violence Index	15.2	21.5	25.0	30.6	3.7	3.5	3.9	5.8	0.0077
Drug Index	0.5	3.6	3.1	2.4	3.2	3.5	3.9	5.8	0.0408
All Offence Index	20.5	28.5	32.8	34.7	3.2	3.5	3.9	5.8	0.0028

*n* = 1,364 (which excludes four cases where gender is missing and six cases where age equals 12)

**Table 13.14** Family composition in the sample

	<i>n</i>	%
Lives with both parents (intact)	896	65.4
Lives with one parent (broken)	339	24.8
Lives with one parent and parent's new partner (blended)	122	8.9
Lives with other (other)	12	0.9
Total	1,369 <sup>a</sup>	100%

<sup>a</sup>Missing = 9

**Table 13.15** Family composition and participation in Summary Index activities during the past year

	Intact	Broken	Blended	Other	% Missing				<i>p</i>
	( <i>n</i> = 896)	( <i>n</i> = 339)	( <i>n</i> = 122)	( <i>n</i> = 12)	Intact	Broken	Blended	Other	( $\chi^2$ )
Property Index	12.8	21.0	12.6	50.0	4.1	4.4	2.5	3.8	<0.0001
Violence Index	18.0	25.9	24.1	60.0	3.8	4.1	1.6	3.8	0.0002
Drug Index	1.7	3.7	4.2	10.0	3.6	4.1	1.6	3.8	0.0542
All Offence Index	24.5	32.0	30.8	80.0	3.6	4.1	1.6	3.8	<0.0001

**Table 13.16** Intact versus non-intact families and participation in Summary Index activities during the past year

	Intact	Not intact	% Missing		<i>p</i>
	( <i>n</i> = 896)	( <i>n</i> = 473)	Intact	Not intact	( $\chi^2$ )
Property Index	12.8	19.4	4.1	4.3	0.0002
Violence Index	18.0	26.2	3.8	3.9	<0.0001
Drug Index	1.7	4.0	3.6	3.9	0.0243
All Offence Index	24.5	32.8	3.6	3.9	0.0018

**Table 13.17** Native versus immigrant status in the sample

	<i>n</i>	%
Danish	1,128	82.6
First generation immigrant	71	5.2
Second generation immigrant	167	12.2
Total	1,366 <sup>a</sup>	100.0

<sup>a</sup>Missing = 12

(which is simply a dichotomisation of family composition above). Differences in participation rates are significantly lower on all four indexes for children in intact families. Why this is true is, of course, less clear. While

the breakup of the family may adversely affect children's behaviour, children's delinquency can also contribute to parental marital problems. Furthermore, the relationship between family composition and delinquency could, in theory, be entirely spurious if, for example, parental alcohol misuse was the true cause of both the marital breakup and the child's delinquency.

### 13.12 Native Versus Immigrant Status and Self-reported Offending

This section examines the significance of native versus immigrant status for self-reported delinquency. A three-prong categorisation scheme is used: "Danish" implies having been born in Denmark of parents who were also both born in Denmark. "First generation immigrant" implies having been born outside Denmark of parents who were born outside Denmark; "Second generation immigrant" implies having been born in Denmark of at least one parent not born in Denmark. Table 13.17 shows the breakdown of the sample by native/immigration status based on this common ISRD definition.

**Table 13.18** Native versus first and second generation immigrant status and participation in Summary Index activities during the past year

	Danish	1st G	2nd G	% Missing			<i>p</i>
	( <i>n</i> = 1,128)	( <i>n</i> = 71)	( <i>n</i> = 167)	Danish (%)	1st G (%)	2nd G (%)	( $\chi^2$ )
Property Index	15.5	19.1	11.9	4.1	4.2	4.8	0.3351
Violence Index	21.0	25.0	16.4	3.6	4.2	4.8	0.2658
Drug Index	2.7	2.9	1.3	3.5	4.2	4.8	0.5555
All Offence Index	27.4	32.4	24.5	3.5	4.2	4.8	0.4740

**Table 13.19** Native versus immigrant status and participation in Summary Index activities during the past year

	Danish	Immigrant	% Missing		<i>p</i>
	( <i>n</i> = 1128)	( <i>n</i> = 238)	Danish	Immigrant	( $\chi^2$ )
Property Index	15.5	14.1	4.1	4.6	0.6848
Violence Index	21.0	18.9	3.6	4.6	0.5286
Drug Index	2.7	1.8	3.5	4.6	0.6395
All Offence Index	27.4	26.9	3.5	4.6	0.9348

Table 13.18 shows rates of self-reported offending by native/immigrant status. First generation immigrants in the sample report higher rates of participation than native Danes, and native Danes report higher rates than second-generation immigrants. Yet, as a whole chi-square tests indicate no significant differences between these distributions and those we might expect to obtain on the basis of chance.

As a secondary check of these relationships, a new variable was defined with just two categories: Danish versus immigrant, where the later group combines both first- and second-generation immigrants. Table 13.19 shows the breakdown for this cross-tabulation as well as the results from Fisher's Exact Test for this 2 × 2 table. Contrary to patterns found in official police statistics, native Danes report slightly higher prevalence rates on all four summary indexes – though none of the differences are statistically significant. Thus, in contrast to gender, age and family composition, ethnicity appears to be entirely divorced from adolescent problem behaviour in this young adolescent self-report sample.

### 13.13 Simultaneous Effects of Gender, Age, Family Composition and Immigrant Status

Logistic regression allows estimation of the simultaneous effects of the demographic variables discussed above on the four summary index measures. Table 13.20

shows adjusted odds ratios and *p*-values for these four models. The independent variables are all specified as indicator (dummy) variables, the effects of which are interpreted in contrast to their respective reference categories. Model results are described only in terms of statistical significance and direction of effect. Odds ratios are, however, relatively straightforward to interpret for those interested.<sup>12</sup>

The results of the four multivariate models closely mirror those of the bivariate analyses. For example, being male and from a broken home are once again consistently associated with higher levels of offending during the last year as compared to being female and living with both parents, respectively. Likewise, immigration status is once again statistically non-significant across all offending indexes just as it was in the bivariate analyses, i.e. neither first nor second generation immigrant status is associated with a higher level of offending than being a native.

<sup>12</sup>An odds ratio greater than 1 implies predicted odds that are higher than that for the relevant reference category. For example, the odds ratio for Male (or = 1.651) in the first column, which is highly significant ( $p = 0.0016$ ), implies that the predicted odds of property offending are 65% higher for males than for females. Likewise, the odds ratio for Male (or = 4.131;  $p = 0.0011$ ) in the third set of columns implies that the predicted odds of drug offending are 313% higher for males than for females. An odds ratio less than 1 implies predicted odds that are lower than that for the relevant reference category. For example, if the odds ratio for Second Generation Immigrant (or = 0.712) in the first column had been statistically significant, it would imply that the predicted odds of property offending were approximately 29% lower for second generation immigrants than they are for native Danes.

**Table 13.20** Odds ratios from logistic regressions of Summary Index activities on demographic variables <sup>a</sup>

	Property Index		Violence Index		Drug Index		All Offence Index	
	Odds ratio	<i>p</i>	Odds ratio	<i>p</i>	Odds ratio	<i>p</i>	Odds ratio	<i>p</i>
Female <sup>b</sup>	1	–	1	–	1	–	1	–
Male	1.651	0.0016	2.902	<0.0001	4.131	0.0011	2.296	<0.0001
Age 13 <sup>b</sup>	1	–	1	–	1	–	1	–
Age 14	1.310	0.1670	1.424	0.0491	6.733	0.0109	1.468	0.0164
Age 15	1.441	0.0922	1.685	0.0084	5.895	0.0236	1.739	0.0019
Age 16	0.888	0.8004	1.983	0.0539	2.910	0.3916	1.729	0.1034
Intact home <sup>b</sup>	1	–	1	–	1	–	1	–
Broken home	1.679	0.0012	1.748	0.0001	2.706	0.0068	1.595	0.0004
Native Dane <sup>b</sup>	1	–	1	–	1	–	1	–
1st G immigrant	1.087	0.8047	1.091	0.7769	0.902	0.8927	1.053	0.8565
2nd G immigrant	0.712	0.2030	0.726	0.1714	0.457	0.2922	0.829	0.3586

<sup>a</sup>*n* = 1,296 to 1,303<sup>b</sup>Reference category

The effects of age are less consistent, but also tend to mirror those found in the bivariate analyses. In the logit analyses presented in Table 13.20, age is measured as a set of three indicator variables (Age 14, Age 15, and Age 16), the effects of which are each compared to that of being Age 13 (the reference category).<sup>13</sup> Age appears to have no effect on property offending in this multivariate context – a surprising result, but one in line with the bivariate analyses presented earlier in Table 13.13. Being ages 14 and 15, respectively, is associated with a higher level of each of the other forms of offending than being age 13 (the reference age). Meanwhile, being age 16 has no statistically significant effect on offending as compared to being Age 13.

### 13.14 Victimization, Reporting to Police, and Self-reported Offending

Like rates of offending, the prevalence of victimisation also peaks in adolescence (Sparks et al., 1977). In all, 36.3% of the sample (missing 6.3%) reported one or more forms of victimisation during the year prior to the survey. Table 13.21 shows the proportion of sample members who say they experienced specific forms of victimisation. Reported rates of victimisation by robbery/extortion (4.1%) and assault (4.4%) are far lower

**Table 13.21** Last year prevalence of victimisation and reporting to the police

	Victimisation		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>
	%	% Missing	%
Robbery/extortion	4.1	5.3	14.3
Assault	4.4	6.0	16.9
Theft	22.8	6.6	13.9
Bullying	15.1	6.2	3.0

*n* = 1,378; prevalences based on valid cases<sup>a</sup>Percentage based on number of victims; no answer: no reporting assumed

than those for theft (22.8%) and bullying (15.1%) – not surprising, given the seriousness of the robbery/extortion and assault items (the latter being assaults serious enough to have required medical attention). Table 13.21 also indicates the proportion of those victimised who say they reported their *last* victimisation to the police. Despite the seriousness of the robbery/extortion and assault items, the proportion of victimisations that respondents say they report to police (14.3% and 16.9%) are just slightly higher than that for theft (13.9%). The rate of reporting for victimisation by bullying is very low (3.0%), which may reflect the comparatively less serious nature of the incidents, the victims' belief that authorities won't take them seriously, a fear of reprisal on the part of those victims, or all of these reasons.

The majority of those victimised during the previous year experienced only one incident. This, however, is not true for bullying/mobbing, where almost a third of the sample experienced ten or more incidents and five persons reported having been bullied every day of the

<sup>13</sup>Given their small group size, the six 12-year-olds in the sample were dropped from the logistic regression analyses.



**Table 13.22** Frequency of victimisation during the last year

	1	2–4	5–9	10–19	20–49	50–99	100–199	200–368	Total valid	Valid
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	<i>n</i>
Robbery/extortion	62.3	30.2	7.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	53
Assault	51.2	27.9	18.6	0.0	2.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	43
Theft	65.5	27.7	4.8	1.6	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	249
Bullying	16.7	32.5	19.2	12.5	8.3	1.7	3.3	5.8	100	120
All four	45.4	30.5	11.1	6.1	3.5	0.4	1.1	1.9	100	377

**Table 13.23** Last year victimisation and participation in Summary Index activities during the past year

	Non-		% Missing		<i>p</i>
	Victim ( <i>n</i> = 468)	victim ( <i>n</i> = 823)	Victim	Non-victim	
Property Index	23.44	10.31	4.3	3.4	<0.0001
Violence Index	27.62	16.4	4.1	2.9	<0.0001
Drug Index	3.79	1.75	4.1	2.8	0.0357
All Offence Index	37.42	21.38	4.1	2.8	<0.0001

year. Table 13.22 shows the frequency of victimisation by type: robbery/extortion (median 1 event; max. 6); assault (median 1 event; max 25), theft (median 1 event; max. 20); and bullying (median 5 events; max. 365). Frequency data are also provided for all four forms of victimisation combined (median 2 events; max. 368).

It has been long established that victims are not always innocent, and as a group generally exhibit elevated rates of offending (Sparks et al., 1977). Such is the case in the current study. Table 13.23 shows that those victimised during the previous year are approximately twice as likely as those not victimised to have engaged in summary index activities during that same year. This is true for each of the summary offending indexes (as shown in Table 13.23) and, in fact, for each of the four specific forms of victimisation (not shown in Table 13.23). The Pearson correlation for any self-reported offending (i.e. All Offence Index) and any victimisation, both of which are coded dichotomously and both of which concerns events during the previous year, is  $r = 0.173$  ( $p < 0.001$ ,  $n = 1,249$ ).

### 13.15 Conclusions

The findings of this study generally conform to well-established patterns in the international self-report delinquency literature. Rates of criminal participation

are elevated among males, crime victims, and children from broken homes, and those rates tend to increase between the ages of 13 and 16. Co-offending is the norm with the proportion of offences committed in groups running between 47.4% (computer hacking) and 100% (use of ecstasy and/or amphetamine). Victimisation is relatively frequent with over one-third of respondents reporting some form of it during the previous year, primarily theft. Victims are, however, not always mere innocents, as illustrated by their rates of criminal participation which are twice that of non-victims. Rates of alcohol use are surprisingly high given the tender age of this study's sample: 42% report alcohol use within the 4 weeks prior to the survey and 72.3% report having used it at some point in their lifetimes. No relationship is found between immigration status and self-reported offending, which is surprising given the presence of such a relationship (amongst slightly older children, i.e. 15–17) in official police data.

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# **Mediterranean Countries**

# Chapter 14

## Portugal<sup>1</sup>

Silvia M. Mendes and Susana Carvalho

### 14.1 Introduction

Portugal is a country with a population of approximately ten and a half million (INE, 2006a), and it is located on the Iberian Peninsula in Southern Europe. It is a relatively young democracy, given that the dictatorial regime was overthrown by a bloodless coup only a little over 30 years ago. Since the restoration of the democratic regime in the mid 1970s, the nation has undergone several substantial socio-economic, demographic, and cultural changes in a relatively short period of time.

With respect to demographics, Portuguese society has witnessed many changes in the age distribution of the population, as well as in the migrant composition. The most significant change is evident in the proportion of the population aged 14 and below, and the proportion of the population aged 65 and above. Between 1960 and 2001, there was a decrease of about 3% in the youth segment, while the senior citizen population almost tripled its proportion in the 1970s (DECP, 2002). This population increase in the oldest segment of the population has put a great strain on the working-age population that is showing no signs of improvement. With the integration of women in the workforce, an increase in the divorce rate, and a decrease in the

marriage rate, among other factors, the birth rate in Portugal has steadily decreased and is today among the lowest in Europe (10.4%). The number of marital unions fell by about 25% in 10 years, sliding from about 65,000 in 1995 to about 49,000 in 2005. On the other hand, the divorce rate nearly doubled during this period, with an increase from 12,000 to about 23,000 (INE, 2006b, 2007). The average family size was about three until the latter half of the 1990s, but in 2005, it dropped to two (INE 2006d).

Another relevant change in Portuguese demographics refers to the change in the migrant composition. Compared to a few years ago, there are many more non-nationals living in Portugal today, most of them hailing from the ex-colonies of Brasil, Cabo Verde, Angola, and Guine-Bissau, as well as from the Ukraine, Moldavia, and Romania. For example, from 2000 to 2005, the percentage of migrants with authorization for permanent residency increased by about 50%, from roughly about 0.02% to 0.03% of the population (INE, 2006c).

In the field of education, youth illiteracy practically disappeared, and that of adults fell below 10% in the latter half of the twentieth century. Despite this, the drop-out rate in elementary and secondary schools is relatively high for today's standards, with about 12% of the student population dropping out of school<sup>2</sup> (INE, 2007). The number of students has grown significantly, particularly with respect to higher education, and is now approximately 20% of the total population (Barreto, 2000).

Economically speaking, Portugal has evolved substantially in the last three decades. While certainly beneficial to the standard of living in Portugal, the economic changes have, nevertheless, generated a

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<sup>2</sup>In Continental Portugal.

sizable gap between the extreme ends of the scale of income. Among the other countries in Western Europe, Portugal is the member state with the greatest wealth gap (Barreto, 2000). Over the last five to six years, the Portuguese economy has been undergoing a crisis, with productivity falling and unemployment increasing dramatically. Since 2001, the unemployment rate has almost doubled, increasing from 4% in 2001 to 7.8% in 2005 (DPP, 2005).

All these changes have led to an increase in drug addiction and trafficking, crime, and social exclusion. In dealing with the drug and alcohol problem, Portugal has come to follow EU policy closely, by adopting a policy package that includes both a relaxing of the repressive model and an emphasis on the harm reduction model. With the adoption of the National Strategy against Drugs of 1999, Portugal proposed and adopted in 2000 (Lei 30/2000 de 29/11) judicial alterations with the intent to clarify and emphasize the difference between drug consumption and other illegal acts related to consumption, as well as the difference between soft and hard drugs. Drug consumption and possession for the purpose of consumption was decriminalized. This means that, although not legal, consumption and possession for that purpose became an offence, punishable with a simple slap on the wrist for non-addicts and rehabilitational treatments for addicts (Maia, 2001). Habitual and occasional consumption is no longer distinguishable, nor is private and public consumption. The substance being abused is a factor only for the purpose of determining the sanction. Harm-reduction measures, such as syringe exchange and hepatitis vaccination programs, were put in motion as a result of this.

Drug prevention and treatment measures for youths distinguish among five groups: children enrolled in school, children who experiment and consume recreationally, socially excluded children at risk, juvenile delinquents, and finally, children with addiction problems in need of treatment. However, measures implemented thus far include only school programs targeted at the first two groups. These programs alert and explain the hazards of drug consumption and offer professional training for students at risk of quitting school. There has been some attempt to identify socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods in need of special attention, but so far no measures have been taken in regard to the latter two groups. Therefore, juvenile addicts are treated at the same centres as adults.

## 14.2 Study Design

A dataset of the population of Portuguese schools was constructed after contacting each of five regional offices of the Ministry of Education in Continental Portugal. Information was provided on the total number of schools, classes, as well as contact information. Table 14.1 shows the distribution of the total number of schools, classes, and students in Portugal in 2005.<sup>3</sup>

Given the geographical requirements of a national sample and the limited budget, we followed a two-step sampling procedure to ensure the selection of more than one class per school. We provide here the basic procedures followed; please consult our technical report for more details. A sample of schools was randomly selected from the population of schools in Continental Portugal<sup>4</sup> in the first stage with a predicted non-response rate of 50%. In the second stage, another sample of classes was drawn from this reduced pool of classes. This left us with a base national sample of 186 classes from 81 schools (an average of two classes per school). The Portuguese sample also includes an oversampling of the classes in two major cities, as recommended by the sampling protocol for national samples for comparability purposes: Lisbon (large city) and Porto (medium-sized city). The classes participating from Lisbon and Porto were then added to the base national sample. The final national sample used in this study consists of 276 classes from 112 schools. In total, 2,617 questionnaires were completed and rated as useful for this study, 84% of which were completed by public school students. Precisely 50% of the selected schools in the national

**Table 14.1** Population of students and classes by region in continental Portugal

Regions	Schools			Classes	Students
	Private	Public	Total		
Norte	61	329	390	5,006	117,399
Centro	39	234	273	2,933	62,987
Lisbon e Vale Tejo	81	358	439	5,415	120,290
Sul	8	130	142	1,267	36,723
<i>Total</i>	193	1,051	1,244	14,621	337,399

<sup>3</sup>The schools on the Portuguese Islands (Madeira Islands and The Azores) were excluded primarily due to the sizable costs visits to these schools would incur, but also due to substantial cultural differences.

<sup>4</sup>The additional cases generated for the remaining towns in Continental Portugal selected in this sample were ignored.

sample accepted to participate in the study. In Lisbon, the percentage was slightly lower (46%) and in Porto much higher (75%). Of the 112 selected schools, 56 were willing to participate in the study. Forty-seven schools are public and nine are private.

Tables 14.2 and 14.3 provide information on the participation per class and student. At the class level, 120 classes participated; i.e. 43% of the targeted number of classes in the sample (85% of which were public). The student participation rate based on the number of students present is 99.3%. In the vast majority of classes, the Portuguese students were very willing to

participate. The typical class had about 23 students registered and, on average, about 22 students per class were present and willing to participate. The average rate of refusal to participate is 0.6%. In most of the cases, the difference between the number of students in the class and the number of students who turned in partial or completed questionnaires is low. The reason for this is the low level of absenteeism; only in 16 classes was there more than one student absent.

### 14.3 Social Background

In this section, we provide a brief description of the social and demographic characteristics of the students surveyed, their families, and in turn, their social and economic situation in regard to employment and living conditions.

Our sample is well balanced with respect to gender with only slightly more than half of the students being of the female sex – 51.2%. A cross-tabulation of gender distribution by grade and school type (not shown) reveals that this approximate equilibrium remains across public and private schools and across grades. Girls outnumber boys by about only one percentage point in private schools as compared to two percentage points in public schools. Except for the ninth grade, where the difference is three percentage points in favour of the girls, the two gender categories are almost equivalent across grades.

Over 80% of the students surveyed are aged 12–14, the most preponderant age group being that of the 13-year-olds. Less than 1% is either younger than 12 or older than 17.

Table 14.4 paints a picture of the family composition (as well as migrant status) of the sample. The first thing to notice is that approximately 79% of the students live with both their parents. Seventy per cent of these families are Portuguese nationals. The second most numerous

**Table 14.2** Participation rates by school, class, and student

	Schools	Classes	Students
Total national sample (1)	112	276	6,383
Non-participation (2)	56	156	3,765
Participation (3)	56	120	2,711 <sup>a</sup>
Students present			2,635
Students absent			76
Students refusing to participate			18
Total number of useful questionnaires (6)			2,617
Participation rate based on the total national sample (%)	50	43	41
Participation rate of students based on the number registered (%)			96.5
Participation rate of students based on the number present (%)			99.3

<sup>a</sup>Registered in class

**Table 14.3** Class participation by grade and type of school

	Private classes	Public classes	Total	Number of students
7	6	39	45 (37.5%)	997 (38.1%)
8	7	37	44 (36.7%)	967 (37.0%)
9	5	26	31 (25.8%)	653 (25%)
<i>Total</i>	18	102	120 (100%)	2,617 (100%)

**Table 14.4** Family type by migrant generation

Family type	Migrant generation			Total
	Native (%)	2nd (%)	1st (%)	
Both mother and father	1,827 (70.0)	189 (7.2)	50 (1.9)	2,066 (79.2)
Sometimes with mother/sometimes with father	68 (2.6)	17 (0.7)	1 (0.0)	86 (3.3)
With mother only	155 (5.9)	39 (1.5)	22 (0.8)	216 (8.3)
With mother and stepfather	54 (2.1)	14 (0.5)	6 (0.2)	74 (2.8)
With father and stepmother	29 (1.1)	7 (0.3)	5 (0.2)	41 (1.6)
Foster or adoptive family/institution	88 (3.4)	26 (1.0)	13 (0.5)	127 (4.9)
<i>Total (%)</i>	2,221 (85.1)	292 (11.2)	97 (3.7)	2,610 (100)

category of family composition is made up of students living with their mothers only (8.3%), followed by students placed in outside protective care (4.9%). Eighty-five per cent are residents of Portuguese origin, as are their parents; fewer than 4% of the students in our sample were born abroad along with at least one of their parents.

Almost three-quarters of the students surveyed have both parents employed and almost half have very good living standards [table not shown]. In about 23% of the households, only one of the parents works, and in these cases more than half report to live in good socio-economic conditions. Only about 2% of the students report greater difficulties.

#### 14.4 Risk Behaviour, Victimization and Delinquency

In this section, we provide a descriptive analysis of self-reported risk behaviour, namely the consumption of drugs and alcohol and truancy. Tables 14.4 and 14.5 show the

**Table 14.5** Lifetime and last month prevalences of alcohol and soft-drug use

	Life-time		Last month	
	%E	% Missing	%	% Missing
Beer/wine	38.9	1.6	14.3	2.0
Strong spirits	25.6	1.0	7.9	1.2
Marijuana, hashish use	1.9	1.2	0.7	1.3

*N* = 2,617; unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

lifetime and last month prevalence of alcohol and soft-drug use. Table 14.4 shows that in 2006, about 39% of the students in the sample had already tried alcohol and 26% had already tried alcoholic beverages stronger than beer or wine. About 14% had consumed beer or wine and 8% had consumed strong spirits in the month prior to the administration of the survey. Only about 2% had already experimented with soft drugs, such as marijuana and/hash and 0.7% had recently used some form of these drugs. Hard-drug use is much less prevalent with 0.7% of the sample reporting use in the case of LSD, heroine, and/or cocaine (0.3% in Lisbon). Table 14.5 shows that the prevalences reported above are roughly the same when comparing Lisbon with the rest of the towns in the sample, differing in some cases only by one percentage point. About 11% of the students revealed that not only had they tried beer and/or wine, but they also got drunk as a result of the experience. In the total sample, about 8% (10% specifically in Lisbon) got drunk on strong spirits.

If one removes Lisbon and Porto from the sample, lifetime alcohol consumption in general increases to 43%. Recent consumption jumps to about 18%, three percentage points higher than in Lisbon and six in Porto.

With regard to another risk factor, truancy, Table 14.6 shows that students in Lisbon and Porto are more likely to skip school than those living elsewhere. Nineteen per cent reported having been truant in the last year in Lisbon, as compared to 20% in Porto and 17% in the remaining towns. Only 5–6% of the students had experienced at least two of the three behaviours across towns (Table 14.7).

**Table 14.6** Lifetime and last month prevalences of alcohol and soft drug use (Lisbon vs. rest of sample)

	Lisbon ( <i>n</i> = 626)				Rest of sample ( <i>n</i> = 1,991)			
	Lifetime		Last month		Life-time		Last month	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Beer/wine	39.4	2.2	13.2	2.2	38.8	1.4	14.6	1.9
Strong spirits	26.3	2.2	6.6	2.6	25.4	0.6	8.3	0.8
Marijuana/hashish use	1.5	2.4	0.7	2.4	2.1	0.8	0.8	0.9

*N* = 2,617; unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

**Table 14.7** Life-time and last month prevalences of risk factors by size of city/town

	Lisbon ( <i>n</i> = 626)				Porto ( <i>n</i> = 235)				Other towns ( <i>n</i> = 1,756)			
	Life-time		Last month <sup>a</sup>		Life-time		Last month <sup>a</sup>		Life-time		Last month <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Alcohol total <sup>b</sup>	41.9	1.9	14.7	1.9	40.0	0.0	11.9	0.0	43.3	0.3	17.5	0.3
Marijuana, hashish use	1.5	2.4	0.7	2.4	1.7	0.9	0.9	0.9	2.1	0.8	0.7	0.9
Truancy	–	–	18.7	1.0	–	–	19.7	0.4	–	–	16.8	0.3
Two risk factors present	–	–	5.9	1.9	–	–	5.1	0.0	–	–	6.0	0.3

*N* = 2,617; unweighted unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Truancy: last year prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Beer/wine and strong spirits



Turning to victimization, the prevalence rate is surprisingly low. In the year prior to the administration of the survey, of those students reporting any victimization of specific offences, most were victims of theft (12%). Six per cent of the students admitted to having been victims of robbery/extortion, 5% of bullying and 1.3% of assault (see Table 14.8). Very few of these victims reported the

**Table 14.8** Last year prevalences of victimization and reporting to the police

	Victimization		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>
	%	% Missing	%
Robbery/extortion	5.7	4.1	28.5
Assault	1.3	4.3	3.0
Theft	12.1	4.3	19.4
Bullying	4.7	4.8	4.2

*n* = 2,617; unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Percentage based on number of victims; no answer: no reporting assumed

incidence to the police. Less than a third of them reported robbery and only about a fifth went to the police in the case of theft. For assault and bullying, this threshold figure drops substantially to less than 5%.

If we examine the prevalence of victimization by city, two substantial differences stand out. Table 14.9 shows that victims of robbery/extortion were more prevalent in the city of Porto, twice as high as in the total sample, whereas in Lisbon, the prevalence rate for theft is about three percentage points higher than the national figure.

Tables 14.10 and 14.11 report on the prevalence of particular offences for the national sample and the Lisbon sample, respectively. As Table 14.11 shows, there is great disparity between the categories of offences, ranging from a lifetime prevalence score of 18% for group fighting to 3% for car theft. At the top of the list of offences in the national sample are group fighting (18%), computer hacking (12%),<sup>5</sup> shoplifting

**Table 14.9** Last year prevalences of victimization and reporting to the police by size of city/town

	Lisbon ( <i>n</i> = 626)			Porto ( <i>n</i> = 235)			Other towns ( <i>n</i> = 1,756)		
	Victimization		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>	Victimization		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>	Victimization		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>
	%	% Missing	%	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	
Robbery/extortion	7.2	5.0	23.3	12.1	4.7	44.4	4.4	3.6	25.7
Assault	1.5	5.6	0.0	0.5	6.4	0.0	1.4	3.5	4.3
Theft	14.7	5.4	18.4	13.4	4.7	40.0	11.1	3.9	16.6
Bullying	4.1	6.4	0.0	3.2	6.8	14.3	5.0	3.9	4.6

Unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Percentage based on number of victims; no answer: no reporting assumed

**Table 14.10** Lifetime and last year prevalences of offenses

	Life-time		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Group fight	17.7	1.5	8.9	1.6
Carrying a weapon	5.3	1.2	3.5	1.2
Assault	0.9	1.5	0.5	1.5
Snatching of bag	2.2	1.1	1.0	1.1
Robbery/extortion	0.5	1.2	0.2	1.2
Vandalism	7.2	1.2	4.2	1.3
Shoplifting	6.7	1.2	2.2	1.2
Bicycle/motor bike theft	1.2	1.3	0.5	1.3
Car break	0.5	1.5	0.2	1.5
Burglary	1.0	1.2	0.4	1.2
Car theft	0.3	1.1	0.2	1.1
Computer hacking	12.4	1.4	9.4	1.4
Drug dealing	1.2	1.5	0.6	1.5
XTC/speed use	0.5	1.3	0.1	1.3
LSD/heroin/cocaine use	0.7	1.3	0.3	1.4

*n* = 2,617; unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin use: last month prevalence

**Table 14.11** Lifetime and last year prevalences (large city sample vs. rest of sample)

	Lisbon ( <i>n</i> = 1,356)				Rest of sample ( <i>n</i> = 2,114)			
	Life-time		Last year		Life-time		Last year	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Group fight	18.3	3.0	9.6	3.2	17.5	1.0	8.6	1.1
Carrying a weapon	7.2	2.4	4.9	2.4	4.8	0.8	3.1	0.8
Assault	1.2	3.0	0.5	3.0	0.9	1.0	0.5	1.0
Pick pocketing/snatch.	3.3	2.2	1.5	2.2	1.9	0.7	0.9	0.7
Robbery/extortion	0.5	2.6	0.2	2.6	0.5	0.8	0.2	0.8
Vandalism	7.7	2.4	4.4	2.6	7.0	0.9	4.1	0.9
Shoplifting	10.6	2.2	3.6	2.2	5.4	0.9	1.8	0.9
Bicycle/motor bike theft	2.1	2.2	1.0	2.2	1.0	1.0	0.4	1.0
Car break	0.7	2.6	0.2	2.6	0.5	1.1	0.2	1.1
Burglary	1.0	2.1	0.7	2.1	1.0	0.9	0.4	0.9
Car theft	0.3	2.4	0.3	2.4	0.4	0.8	0.2	0.8
Computer hacking	11.8	2.7	9.5	2.7	12.5	1.0	9.3	1.0
Drug dealing	0.8	3.0	0.3	3.0	1.3	1.0	0.7	1.0
XTC/speed use	0.3	2.2	0.2	2.2	0.6	1.1	0.1	1.1
LSD/heroin/cocaine use	0.3	2.2	0.0	2.2	0.8	1.1	0.5	1.1

Unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

(11%), vandalism (8%), and carrying a weapon (7%). Last year delinquency is also highest among these five offences, although not in the same order.

A comparison of both Tables 14.10 and 14.11 shows that group fighting is the most prevalent offence committed by the Portuguese students in the sample, followed by computer hacking, irrespective of the city size. With the exception of drug dealing, hard-drug use and computer hacking, both life-time and last year prevalence, are generally greater among Lisbon respondents. The scores for robbery/extortion and burglary are the same in Lisbon as in the rest of the sampled cities.

Table 14.12 shows the aggregated offences according to city size. There are two things to notice from this table. After singling out the city of Porto, Lisbon still takes the lead with respect to both (20%) group fighting and carrying a weapon and especially rare violent crimes (4.1%), such as snatching of bag, robbery/

extortion, and assault, as well as shoplifting (11%). In the latter two cases, the prevalence score is more than twice the score in Porto (2.1% for rare violent offences and 5.2% for shoplifting). In comparison to Lisbon and the rest of the sampled cities, Porto stands out with respect to computer hacking, exceeding all other cities by approximately six percentage points. In contrast, the lifetime prevalence score for drug dealing, as well as hard-drug consumption in Lisbon (0.7% and 0.8%, respectively) is about half of that in the smaller towns (1.4% and 1.1%), and in Porto these scores are less than a third (0.4% in both cases). This appears to be no substantial difference in regard to rare property offences and vandalism.

Finally, analysis of responses to “how many times?” questions (not shown here), suggests that with the notable exceptions of hacking, downloading, carrying a weapon, and shoplifting, reported acts of delinquency happened most often only once in the recent past of these students. Computer hacking and downloading is the one case where most activity is done on a frequent basis. Actually, more than half of the students, in both the national sample and Lisbon alone, who admitted to having hacked or downloaded, committed these acts ten or more times during the 12 months preceding the survey. In the case of carrying a weapon, 36 students admitted to having been in the possession of weapon

<sup>5</sup>In our perception, computer hacking was understood by most students to refer to downloading and selling pirate commercial software or other digital private property, rather than programming and destruction of programs through computer viruses, or the intrusion of private information through unauthorised access. In this sense, computer hacking is one step further from simply downloading information or programs for personal enjoyment. In Portugal, simply downloading without intent to commercialise is not considered a criminal offence.

**Table 14.12** Lifetime and last year prevalences (aggregated offenses) by size of city/town

	Lisbon (n = 626)				Porto (n = 235)				Other towns (n = 1,756)			
	Life-time		Last year <sup>a</sup>		Life-time		Last year <sup>a</sup>		Life-time		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Frequent violent offences <sup>b</sup>	20.4	2.2	11.8	2.2	17.2	1.3	9.1	1.3	19.6	0.6	10.6	0.6
Rare violent offences <sup>c</sup>	4.1	1.9	1.8	1.9	2.1	0.9	0.9	0.8	3.0	0.5	1.5	0.5
Vandalism	7.7	2.4	4.4	2.6	8.2	1.3	3.9	1.3	6.8	0.8	4.1	0.8
Shoplifting	10.6	2.2	3.6	2.2	5.2	1.7	1.3	1.7	5.5	0.7	1.9	0.7
Rare property offences <sup>d</sup>	2.8	2.1	1.3	2.1	2.6	0.9	0.0	0.9	2.0	0.6	1.0	0.6
Computer hacking	11.8	2.7	9.5	2.7	17.8	2.1	14.3	2.1	11.8	0.9	8.7	0.9
Drug dealing	0.8	3.0	0.3	3.0	0.4	1.3	0.0	1.3	1.4	0.9	0.8	0.9
Hard drug use <sup>e</sup>	0.7	2.2	0.2	2.2	0.4	0.9	0.0	0.9	1.1	0.9	0.5	0.9

Unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Hard drug use: last month prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Group fight and carrying a weapon

<sup>c</sup>Snatching of bag, robbery/extortion, and assault

<sup>d</sup>Burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft, and car break

<sup>e</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin/cocaine use

from two to five times, 26 students admitted to having done this more than ten times in the last year.

In closing, the current chapter has focused on a purely descriptive analysis of the ISRD-2 data collected in Portugal. Future analyses will provide a more in-depth exploration of these data, which represent one of the most elaborate and carefully designed self-report study of juvenile delinquency and victimization in Portugal.

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# Chapter 15

## Spain<sup>1</sup>

Cristina Rechea Alberola and Raquel Bartolomé Gutiérrez

### 15.1 Introduction<sup>2</sup>

In 1992, the research group in criminology from the University of Castilla-La Mancha (Spain) participated in the first wave of the ISRD. That is the reason why the Centre, now called Research in Criminology, was interested in participating in the ISRD-2. What follows first is a brief exposition on Spain today.

Spain, together with Portugal, forms the westernmost of the three biggest peninsulas in southern Europe, the Iberian Peninsula. In the extreme southwest of the continent (580,825 km<sup>2</sup>), there exists a big octagonal promontory, almost four-fifths of which is occupied by Spain. Spain is situated in a warm zone, and shares borders with the Cantabrian Sea, France and Andorra in the north; in the south it is bounded by the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean; and in the west, by the Atlantic Ocean and Portugal. Peninsular Spain has a total area of 493,486 km<sup>2</sup> and another 12,489 km<sup>2</sup> more corresponding to the Balearic and Canary islands, and the cities situated in the north of Africa: Ceuta and Melilla.

According to the latest available data (January 2006), the Spanish population has reached 44,708,964,<sup>3</sup> but it was 43,197,684 only 2 years ago. The arrival of foreigners has contributed to this fast growth of the

Spanish population. On 1 January 2004, 3,034,326 foreigners were registered in Spain, comprising 7% of the total population. More than half of these foreigners came from Central and South America (35%) and from the European Union (EU-25) (21%). The Ecuadorians are the foreigners with the largest representation in Spain (15.7%), followed by the Moroccans (13.9%). Among the foreigners, there are more men (52.9%) than women, although there are significant differences depending on their origin. The foreign population is mostly male in the case of Moroccans (66.3%) and Italians (59.8%), and mostly female in the case of Colombians (56.9%) and Peruvians (55%). Foreigners from other countries present a more homogeneous distribution with respect to gender.

Immigration has also changed the average age of the Spanish population. Spanish people are now younger than they were some years ago: the average age of the resident population in Spain in 2004 was 40.4 years (41 for the Spaniards, and 32.8 for the foreign residents). This makes a change in the residents' age pyramid and the growth of the population (number of births minus number of deaths), which increased by 56,134 inhabitants in 2003. This population growth is largely the result of the increase of births from foreign mothers (53,306 births). The 12–15-year-old population makes up about 4.77% of the total population (12–13-years old, 1.80%; 14–15-years old, 1.95%; 16–17-years old, 2.02%).

During the last few years, Spanish families have changed a great deal. The number of marriages has remained nearly constant while the number of divorces

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<sup>2</sup>All data in this section have been taken from the National Institute for Statistics (INE in Spanish).

<sup>3</sup>This population is not homogeneously distributed throughout the country. The average population density is 86 inhabitants/km<sup>2</sup>, with 724 inhabitants/km<sup>2</sup> in Madrid and 32 inhabitants/km<sup>2</sup> in the Autonomous Community of Castilla-La Mancha.

has grown from 21.4% in 2003 to 34.5% in 2005. Women going to work outside of the home is a new characteristic of twenty-first century Spain. In 1997, only 33% of the women worked outside the home, while in 2005, this figure has grown to surpass the 50% mark. The percentage of mothers in paid employment is 44%.

The Spanish economy has been dynamic during the last 5 years, with a higher growth rate than in the rest of the EU, thanks to interior demand. The growth of activity has been accompanied by a significant increase in employment. However, most of this employment is on a temporary basis. Nevertheless, the economic growth is mostly based upon government activity and on high debts of the private sector, thanks to the good credit conditions.

Unemployment has been decreasing slowly during the last few years, to 8.3% of the active population in 2006. Both sexes have experienced the drop in unemployment in a different way: the decrease has benefited women, as the female unemployment rate which was 15.25% in 2001, reached 11.36% in 2006, while during the same period, the unemployment rate for men has decreased only by 1%.

According to official data, the total population between 3 and 15 years (100%) was engaged in compulsory education in 2001. The vast majority (94.3%) of this population continues studying after finishing this compulsory phase (79.6% go on to pursue additional education after age 15, and 14.5% pursue a second cycle of vocational training) (More information on the educational aspect follows in Sect. 15.4). About two-thirds of primary and secondary education is public, and the remainder is private or subsidized. Public health care is universal and includes non-documented immigrants.

## 15.2 Youths in Spanish Society

Spanish youngsters form neither a homogeneous nor a uniform group; there are many different juvenile lifestyles or subcultures. Despite the differences within the present generation of youngsters, there are some common elements that we consider as constituting Spanish youth culture.

Leisure time is one of the clues to understanding the lifestyle of young Spanish people. The most

important activities of young people are undertaken in this context; above all, when they go out at night. Some of the meeting places are the streets and open-air public places, and at night and on weekends, they use these places to enjoy themselves. Data from 2004 show that 92.6% of Spanish youth consider friends as a fundamental element for the enjoyment of leisure time. In Spain, the peer group is a fundamental reference point in social life, even for adults. To belong to a group of friends and to spend every day with its members is a normative experience for any Spanish young person.

Another important aspect of Spanish youth culture is that there is not much concern about the future. Young people in Spain are especially interested in experiences of the present. This leads them to experiment with risk behaviour as they search for amusement and excitement; for example, the consumption of alcohol and other drugs, excessive speed when driving, antisocial behaviour and – *marcha* – or going out at night to the point of exhaustion. This kind of behaviour allows them to transgress the limits existing in the adult world.

This context of peer groups, leisure time and spaces far from the adult world are the spheres where most violent acts are committed by juveniles. Police data, as well as data from self-reports and interviews, show that these violent acts usually take place on the weekends (especially, at night) and in the places where juveniles meet. Moreover, victims of physical and verbal aggression are usually other youngsters, sometimes from their own peer group.

## 15.3 Study Design

The study employs a national sample of all school children in the country aged 12–17 years, belonging to different educational backgrounds. Our sample deviates from the general ISRD agreement to limit sampling to compulsory-school students, as we included students aged 16 and 17, and sometimes even 18. This has, of course, some consequences for the findings we present here, in particular, as the peak of criminal involvement usually takes place at ages 17 and 18. It is clear that in later analysis of the merged dataset these age deviations shall have to be taken into account.

The classrooms were chosen from 201 schools selected according to their type of education (compulsory and non-compulsory), level of type of education (grades), and type of school (state, private and subsidized), proportional to the national distribution, indicated by Autonomous Communities. The planned sample was of 4,200 subjects. The research group in criminology from the UCLM translated the questionnaire. No changes were made to the original questionnaire. At the beginning of the fieldwork process, two school samples were selected: the base sample and the replacement sample, in the case of refusals by the schools. The rate of refusals by schools is shown in Table 15.1

There was hardly any refusal among the students to answer the questionnaire: only in one school, four students refused to answer; three of them said that they were foreigners (one Moroccan and two English), as justification for the refusal; the fourth was mentally handicapped. In another school, some pupils did not finish the questionnaire because they chose not to do so (number unknown). In another school, three students did not complete the questionnaire because they would have missed the school bus. There were some minor problems with language, such as not enough

time to answer all the questions, need for teacher's help, and not knowing the language well enough to answer correctly. The number of refusals is so small that it did not produce any bias.

## 15.4 Sample Description

The fieldwork was carried out by a survey company (Metroscopia). The questionnaire was handed out in the classrooms between 13 September 2006 and 26 October 2006. The fieldwork produced 4,152 questionnaires answered by 2,042 boys (49.2%) and 2,103 girls (50.7%), distributed by age as shown in Table 15.2.

The distribution by school type was as follows: public school, 2,837 subjects (68.3%); subsidized school 1,041 subjects (25.1%); private school, 274 subjects (6.6%).

The Spanish educational system consists of two distinct phases. First, there is compulsory secondary education (ESO) which includes young people from age 12 to 16 (represented in the first four columns in Table 15.3). Second, after ESO, pupils choose between

**Table 15.1** Sampling information

School type	Sample				Total
	Base		Replacement		
	Planned	Achieved	N	%	
Public	140	118	22	15.71	140 (66.7%)
Private	14	12	2	14.28	14 (7.0%)
Subsidized	47	33	14	29.79	47 (23.4%)
Total	201	163	38	18.91	201

**Table 15.2** Age distribution of the sample

	Years							Total
	12	13	14	15	16	17	18+	
Frequency	529	539	576	701	621	632	547	4,145
%	12.7	13.0	13.9	16.9	15.0	13.2	13.2	98.8

**Table 15.3** Sample by educational level and grades on each of the levels

	Grades								Total
	1 ESO	2 ESO	3° ESO	4° ESO	1° College	2° College	1° Vocational training	2° Vocational training	
Frequency	579	634	577	695	536	501	379	251	4,152
%	13.9	15.3	13.9	16.7	12.9	12.1	9.1	6.0	100



“college” (Bachiller, see the fifth and sixth column in Table 15.3) and vocational training (VT, see the seventh and eighth column in Table 15.3), both lasting for 2 years, or leaving school (not represented in our sample). This second stage includes youth of age 16 and above. The fieldwork resulted in the following distribution by the kind of education: ESO, 2,485 subjects (59.9%); college, 1,037 subjects (20%); and vocational training, 630 subjects (15.2%). Within these three types of education, subjects were distributed as shown in Table 15.3. Twenty-three per cent (968) of the pupils live in a small town with fewer than 10,000 inhabitants, and 15.4% (640) are inhabitants of a city with more than half a million inhabitants. The majority (61.3%) of the students live in a town/city with a population between 10,000 and 500,000 inhabitants.

## 15.5 Delinquency and Problem Behaviour

### 15.5.1 Prevalence “Ever” and “Last Year/ Month”

Table 15.4 shows the prevalence for all antisocial and delinquent behaviour studied, for “ever” and for “last year”.<sup>4</sup> Alcohol consumption is one of the behaviours with the highest prevalence “last month” (consumption of low and high alcohol content prevalence of 37.7%, and 34.9%, respectively). This is the result obtained usually in any self-report survey of consumption among young people (Observatorio Español sobre Drogas, 2007; INJUVE, 2007; Comas, 2003). But, the illegal use of computers now ranks higher than alcohol use (downloading music and films, 57.5%; and hacking,

**Table 15.4** Delinquency prevalence, “ever” and “last year” (\*last month”)

Kind of criminal or problematic behaviour	Ever		Last year/month		
	Total	%	Total	% Base ever	% Base total
Drink beer, cider or wine*	2,597	62.5	1,567	60.3	37.7
Drink strong spirits (gin, rum, vodka, whisky)*	2,277	54.8	1,451	63.7	34.9
Use weed, marijuana or hashish*	1,165	28.1	596	51.2	14.4
Use drugs such as XTC or speed*	156	3.8	52	33.3	1.2
Use drugs such as LSD, heroin or cocaine*	184	4.4	59	32.1	1.4
Damage something on purpose, such as a bus shelter, a window, a car or a seat in a bus or train	539	13.0	287	53.2	6.9
Steal something from a shop or a department store	869	20.9	347	39.9	8.3
Break into a building with the purpose of stealing something	117	2.8	49	41.9	1.2
Steal a bicycle, moped or scooter	155	3.7	58	37.4	1.3
Steal a motorbike or car	68	1.6	34	50.0	0.8
Use a computer to download music or films	2,727	65.7	2,389	87.6	57.5
Use your computer for “hacking”	1,311	31.6	1,086	82.8	26.1
Steal something from a car	151	3.6	73	48.3	1.7
Snatch a purse, bag or something else from a person	46	1.1	20	43.5	0.4
Carry a weapon, such as a stick, knife, or chain	386	9.3	217	56.2	5.2
Threaten somebody with a weapon or to beat them up, just to get money or other things from them	65	1.6	32	49.2	0.7
Participate in a group fight on the school playground, a football stadium, the streets or in any public place	917	22.1	338	42.3	8.1
Intentionally beat someone up, or hurt him with a stick or knife, so badly that he had to see a doctor	62	1.5	37	59.7	0.8
Sell any (soft or hard) drugs or act as an intermediary	252	6.1	159	63.1	3.8

<sup>4</sup>Because the Spanish sample included a wider age range than the other ISRD-2 samples, comparable prevalence information may be found in the Annex for the 12–15-year old segment of the sample.

26.1%). This fact is quite relevant because for many years alcohol consumption has been the behaviour with the highest prevalence during young Spanish people's leisure time (Rechea et al., 1995). This fact could be an index of a change in Spanish youth culture (30% of the young people say that they spend three or more hours per day watching TV and/or using the computer). It is relevant also that 81.1% of the young people who used computer in an illegal way, knew that this was an illegal act. With respect to the other kinds of behaviour, consumption of cannabis (ever, 28.1%; last month, 14.4%), vandalism (ever, 13%; last year, 6.9%), shoplifting (ever, 20.9%; last year, 8.3%), carrying a weapon (ever, 9.3%; last year, 5.3%) and group fights (ever, 22.1%; last year, 8.1%) are the only ones with a prevalence higher than 5%. Over 5% of youth also reported selling drugs for "ever", but only 3.8% reported doing this "last year".

On examining the data on frequency of offending (not shown), we find that most of the students, who do commit one or more of the delinquent behaviours, do so not very frequently. Alcohol seems to be an exception, and about half of those that have done both frequent and rare offences did these two or more times. However, "once" is the most common frequency for every offence, except for vandalism and stealing something from a car. There are no statistically significant gender differences in frequency (incidence) of offending, with one exception: Girls have a lower level of substance use, such as alcohol and cannabis, and illicit use of computers. But there are no significant differences between means for the rest of the behaviour patterns. When girls decide to participate in delinquency, they do it with all its consequences and they behave in the same way as boys do.

Table 15.5 shows the frequency of the offending age groups. In the table, some strange and curious results can be found that are not necessarily in conflict with criminological knowledge. First, analyzing consumption data, the means for the use of beverages with low alcohol content increase with age, but this growth slows down in the highest age group (18+ years). Second, in the case of the use of beverages with high alcohol content, the highest mean belongs to the lowest age group (12–13 years), although their median and mode are the lowest. A similar pattern is found when looking at drug consumption. To explain these results, we have to bear in mind that the number of boys and girls in the 12–13 age group who are consumers, is

very small, but children who start very early with these behaviours tend to consume a lot.

Looking at the rest of the behaviours, different trends are seen, depending on age and the kind of behaviour. For instance, the frequency rate for vandalism and group fights initially increases with age but start to decline at age 18+, showing the typical trend of antisocial juvenile behaviour. Stealing a car or a motorbike, with an early turning point, at age 14–15, may be included in the same trend. The rate of involvement in other behaviours, such as the illicit use of computers starts to decline at age 16–17. However, there is some behaviour that does not show any sign of declining rates by age, i.e. shoplifting, breaking into a building to steal something, snatching a purse, carrying a weapon, threatening somebody, and selling drugs. Rates fluctuate in an erratic way in different age groups for stealing a bicycle or motorbike, stealing something out of a car, and hurting somebody with a weapon.

### 15.5.2 Age of Onset

One of the most common beliefs about youth behaviour is that young people start consuming drugs and getting into trouble at an early age. The aim of the question, "at what age did you do it for the first time" is to detect the initial period when all antisocial and/or criminal behaviour started.

Analyzing Fig. 15.1, where the means for the ages of onset are represented in ascending order, we see that adolescents – on average – do not initiate any of these behaviours until they are 13 years old. Between 13 and 13.5 years, young people start vandalizing, participate in fights, commit shoplifting, snatch bags, or use the computer illegally. Between 13.5 and 14.5 years, they start to consume low alcohol content beverages, and carry weapons and break into buildings to steal something. From 14.5 to 15 years, crimes against property become more serious, initiation into cannabis and strong alcohol consumption occurs, and serious violent behaviour develops (threatening, wounding). After the age of 15, a dangerous relationship with drugs starts, and it can be traced further than age 16.

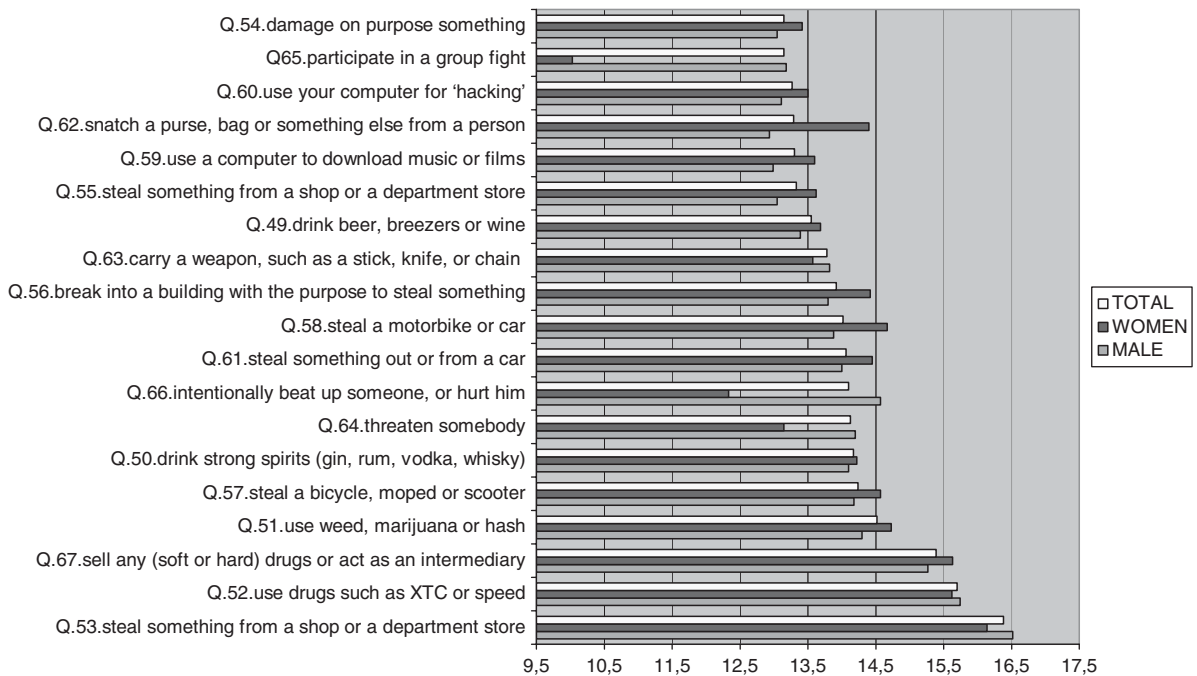
If we analyze the age of onset from a gender perspective, we find that girls start earlier than boys in some behaviours. This result confirms what the crimi-

**Table 15.5** Incidence by age group, last year. Means calculated on respondents that did it last year/last month

Kind of antisocial and/or criminal behaviour	12-13			14-15			16-17			18+		
	Mean	D.E.	Mode	Mean	D.E.	Mode	Mean	D.E.	Mode	Mean	D.E.	Mode
Drink beer, cider or wine <sup>a</sup>	2.70	2.50	2	3.73	4.65	2	4.58	5.87	3	4.82	4.95	4
Drink strong spirits (gin, rum, vodka, whisky) <sup>a</sup>	4.62	4.96	2	4.12	4.98	3	4.02	4.09	3	4.44	4.56	4
Use marijuana or hash <sup>a</sup>	8.94	9.33	4	6.56	8.64	3	5.79	7.28	3	16.53	20.74	7
Use drugs such as XTC or speed <sup>a</sup>	3.33	3.22	2	2.00	2	2	2.11	2.08	2	5.69	5.41	3
Use drugs such as LSD, heroin or cocaine <sup>a</sup>	3.00	3	3	1.00	1	1	2.08	1.50	2	2.83	2.43	2
Damage on purpose something, such as a bus shelter, a window, a car or a seat in a bus or train	3.10	5.33	2	4.43	5.67	3	5.60	11.2	3	3.11	2.49	2
Steal something from a shop or a department store	3.75	5.01	2	3.10	3.32	2	3.16	3.88	2	4.76	6.29	3
Break into a building with the purpose to stealing something	3.40	1.14	3	2.27	2.00	1	3.67	3.75	2	5.50	3.54	5
Steal a bicycle, moped or scooter	2.80	4.02	1	1.55	0.82	1	2.79	5.31	1	1.86	1.47	1
Steal a motorbike or car	4.00	4.24	4	9.20	10.80	2	2.73	2.65	2	1.75	0.96	1
Use a computer to download music or films	51.42	1.31.7	10	86.0	169.5	1.5	17.78	18.3	10	18.83	18.40	10
Use your computer for "hacking"	21.91	57.97	5	35.5	101.8	9	11.94	14.0	6	17.09	18.44	10

Steal something from a car	3.67	2.52	4	1	2.00	0.89	1	1	3.05	3.57	2	2	3.50	4.17	2	1
Snatch a purse, bag or something else from a person	1.00		1	1	2.00		2	2	9.00	5.83	10	10	12.50	16.26	12	1
Carry a weapon, such as a stick, knife, or chain (not a pocket-knife)	6.37	9.19	3	3	7.80	15.76	3	2	17.00	29.38	5	1	29.10	38.23	9	1
Threaten somebody with a weapon or to beat them up, just to get money or other things from them	2.00	1.41	2	1	1.25	0.50	1	1	3.64	4.33	2	1	4.00	4.24	4	1
Participate in a group fight in the school playground, a football stadium, the streets or in any public place	3.74	4.49	2	1	3.02	3.92	2	1	3.11	3.71	2	1	2.49	2.51	2	1
Intentionally beat someone up, or hurt him with a stick or knife, so bad that he had to see a doctor	4.00	1.41	4	3	1.83	0.98	1	1	4.40	3.89	2	2	1.25	0.50	1	1
Sell any (soft or hard) drugs or act as an intermediary	2.00	1.41	2	1	4.00	4.32	2	1	6.35	14.52	2	1	10.97	16.73	4	4

<sup>a)</sup>Last month



**Fig. 15.1** Mean age of onset by gender

nological literature teaches us: although there are fewer delinquent girls than delinquent boys, when girls get involved in delinquent behaviour, they start earlier, and they get into violent acts as deeply as boys (Bartolomé, 2001). It should be mentioned that the noted differences are only suggestive, since the differences are not statistically significant.

In conclusion, even though our sample includes subjects who are 12 and 13 years old and who have been involved in some of the behaviours analyzed, once we carefully consider the mean starting age, it seems that, in general, they are neither so precocious nor so dangerous.

## 15.6 Risk Behaviour

Another way of analyzing delinquent behaviour among young people is to distinguish between adolescents in a “trial period” (trouble makers), and young people whose behaviour goes further than mere troublesome acts as some criminological theories suggest (Moffitt, 1993; Moffitt et al., 1996, 2002). Variety and seriousness of behaviour are fundamental criteria to

distinguish between those young people who may be considered dangerous in the future, and those who are simply going through a difficult adolescence (Vassallo et al., 2002).

Among the behaviours that are not crimes, but that are considered by most criminologists as risk factors for later delinquent behaviour by juveniles, are drinking alcohol (we include getting drunk as an index of alcohol abuse), cannabis consumption, and truancy. We created a “Risk index” that includes those that have done two or more of these problem behaviours.

Table 15.6 shows that the only difference between boys and girls is in cannabis use (boys use it slightly more often than girls). It can be seen also that over one-fourth (26.6%) of the sample shows involvement in risk behaviour. Table 15.7 (below) shows – not surprisingly – that age is related to all the risk behaviours.

The size of the town only makes a significant difference in the likelihood of truancy: Twenty-seven per cent of small-town youth report having been truant in the previous year, compared to about one-third of the kids from larger cities (table not shown). Tighter control and fewer opportunities in small cities do not seem to be related to alcohol and drug consumption among young people, but tighter control may explain the

lower levels of truancy. Overall, we may conclude that alcohol use is widespread among youngsters, and this behaviour is part of the youth lifestyle that takes place in youth leisure time and is out of adults' control.

When analyzing the relationship between level of school and risk behaviour, we have to realize that – in our sample – the level of school is strongly related to age. Young people in Compulsory Secondary Education (CSE) are 12–15 years old, while subjects in college, Bachiller or vocational training (VT), are 16–18 years old. It is, thus, to be expected that – overall – youth in CSE show significantly lower levels of risk behaviour than their counterparts in the more advanced levels of

schooling. Interestingly, we find that – among the 16–18 year olds – youth in vocational training show a higher risk in all behaviours studied (Table 15.8).

There are three types of schools in Spain: first, state schools that are national schools where education is free; second, schools subsidized by the state, usually private religious schools, where students pay part of their education and the school is obliged to receive any student living in their neighborhood; and private schools, where students have to pay for the whole of their education. Attending a private school makes a social and economic difference. The reasons for attending a subsidized school are quite diverse: religion, proximity to home

**Table 15.6** Problem behaviour by gender

	Gender						Significance level
	Boys		Girls		Total		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Alcohol total - last month	828	40.5	864	41.1	1,692	40.8	$\chi^2 = 0.12; df = 1; n.s.$
Marijuana, hashish use- – ast month	320	15.7	275	13.1	596	14.4	$\chi^2 = 5.67; df = 1; p = 0.017$
Truancy - last year	687	33.6	648	30.8	1,335	32.2	$\chi^2 = 3.80; df = 1; n.s.$
Two or three risk factors	562	27.5	542	25.8	1,104	26.6	$\chi^2 = 1.62; df = 1; n.s.$
Getting drunk total (Lifetime <sup>a</sup> )	827	40.5	864	41.1	1,691	40.8	$\chi^2 = 0.147; df = 1; n.s.$

<sup>a</sup>"Did you ever get drunk?" is not asked for 1 month period

**Table 15.7** Problem behaviour by age groups

	Age groups										Significance level
	12–13		14–15		16–17		18+		Total		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Alcohol total – last month	86	8.1	437	34.2	761	60.7	407	74.4	1,691	40.8	$\chi^2 = 959.00; df = 3; p < 0.001$
Marijuana, hashish use – last month	27	2.5	132	10.3	273	21.8	164	30.0	596	14.4	$\chi^2 = 302.81; df = 3; p < 0.001$
Truancy – last year	94	8.8	327	25.6	585	46.7	328	60.0	1,334	32.2	$\chi^2 = 607.02; df = 3; p < 0.001$
Two or three risk factors	32	3.0	224	17.5	537	42.9	311	56.9	1,104	26.6	$\chi^2 = 783.86; df = 3; p < 0.001$
Getting drunk (Lifetime)	60	5.6	402	31.5	788	62.4	442	80.8	1,692	40.8	$\chi^2 = 1,208.59; df = 3; p < 0.001$

**Table 15.8** Problem behaviour by the level of studies

	Level of studies								Significance level
	CSE		Bachiller		Vocational training		Total		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Last year									
Alcohol – total	593	23.9	658	63.5	443	70.3	1,694	40.8	$\chi^2 = 742.69; df = 2; p < 0.001$
Marijuana, hashish use	182	7.3	225	21.7	189	30.0	596	14.4	$\chi^2 = 270.87; df = 2; p < 0.001$
Truancy	477	19.2	496	47.8	363	57.6	1,336	32.2	$\chi^2 = 495.19; df = 2; p < 0.001$
Two or three risk factors	305	12.3	455	43.9	345	54.8	1,105	26.6	$\chi^2 = 675.45; df = 2; p < 0.001$
Getting drunk (Lifetime)	541	21.8	668	64.4	485	77.0	1,694	40.8	$\chi^2 = 953.52; df = 2; p < 0.001$



and the control the school exerts upon its students. Each neighbourhood in a town or region is assigned to a state school which means that every state school, as well as subsidized schools, is representative of the neighborhood where they are located.

Table 15.9 shows the differences among the three kinds of schools in Spain. The significant differences between private and subsidized schools are high, with the state schools occupying a midway position, except for truancy. This result can be explained because subsidized schools are run by religious orders, and young people studying there come from more conservative families. Private schools seem to exert more control on truancy than on the other behaviours studied.

In sum, there are virtually no differences in problem behaviour between girls and boys, but the differences related to age are significant, showing a large difference between youngsters of age 12–13 and the rest, and not showing any sign of desistance with age.

There are no important differences between rural and urban populations. Those in vocational education and those in private schools show more problem behaviour than those in subsidized schools.

## 15.7 Delinquent Behaviour

When we analyze the differences between girls and boys in the categories of delinquent behaviour (see Table 15.10), we see that the only non-significant difference between them is in shoplifting. A slightly higher proportion of girls (9%) than boys (7.7%) reported shoplifting “last year”, but this difference is not statistically significant. In all remaining categories, boys report significantly more involvement than girls. The greatest differences are found in frequent violent offences, i.e. frequent violence and vandalism.

**Table 15.9** Problem behaviour by the kind of school

	Type of school								Significance level
	State		Private		Subsidized		Total		
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	
Alcohol total – last month	1,224	43.1	169	61.7	301	28.9	1,694	40.8	$\chi^2 = 116.79; df = 2; p < 0.001$
Marijuana, hashish use – last month	447	15.8	56	20.4	93	8.9	596	14.4	$\chi^2 = 37.66; df = 2; p < 0.001$
Truancy – last year	1,048	36.9	84	30.7	204	19.6	1,336	32.2	$\chi^2 = 105.28; df = 2; p < 0.001$
Two or three risk factors	848	29.9	95	34.7	848	15.6	1,105	26.6	$\chi^2 = 89.81; df = 2; p < 0.001$
Getting drunk (Lifetime)	1,243	43.8	160	58.4	291	28.0	1,694	40.8	$\chi^2 = 116.90; df = 2; p < 0.001$

**Table 15.10** Delinquency by gender<sup>a</sup>

	Gender						Significance level
	Boys		Girls		Total		
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	
Last year							
Drug dealing	104	5.1	55	2.6	159	3.8	$\chi^2 = 17.24; df = 1; p < 0.001$
Rare property offences <sup>b</sup>	120	5.9	26	1.2	146	3.5	$\chi^2 = 65.65; df = 1; p < 0.001$
Rare violent offences <sup>c</sup>	58	2.8	13	0.6	71	1.7	$\chi^2 = 30.39; df = 1; p < 0.001$
Computer hacking	665	32.6	418	19.9	1,083	26.1	$\chi^2 = 86.44; df = 1; p < 0.001$
Frequent violent offences <sup>d</sup>	346	16.9	150	7.1	496	12.0	$\chi^2 = 94.68; df = 1; p < 0.001$
Shoplifting	157	7.7	190	9.0	347	8.4	$\chi^2 = 2.43; df = 1; n.s.$
Vandalism	212	10.4	74	3.5	287	6.9	$\chi^2 = 78.82; df = 1; p < 0.001$
Hard drugs use <sup>e</sup>	54	2.6	25	1.2	79	1.9	$\chi^2 = 11.74; df = 1; p = 0.001$

<sup>a</sup>Unweighted data; prevalence based on valid cases

<sup>b</sup>Burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft, and car break

<sup>c</sup>Pickpocketing/snatching, robbery/extortion, and assault

<sup>d</sup>Group fight and carrying a weapon

<sup>e</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin/cocaine use; last month prevalence

The above results show, once again, that girls participate less often in delinquent behaviour, but they are reaching the boys' level in behaviour that is considered common to young people, such as shoplifting and risk behaviour.

When offence categories are analyzed with respect to age (see Table 15.11), predictions from different criminological theories are confirmed. Prevalence shows a growing trend from age 12 to 13 culminating at age 16–17, then the trend changes and some of the delinquent behaviour is abandoned by older youth. Two of the three categories where this trend is not shown are related to drugs, both HD use and drug dealing. This is a result that has been found in the other research before (Barberet et al., 1994) and indicates that although drug consumption starts as juvenile behaviour, it continues when young people reach adulthood. The other offence category that shows increase with age is the “rare property offences”.

It is a popular belief that people living in big cities are more prone to delinquency. But things are changing in a global world and life in small towns and villages is not so different from life in big cities. For the Spanish sample, youth in the large city had a significantly higher prevalence of “hacking”, “rare property offences” and “shoplifting” (table not shown).

These are behaviours that are related to opportunities that can be more easily found in big cities than in smaller ones. Prevalence rates for the other categories were similar between cities and towns. In the light of these results, we might say that young people behave in the same manner, independent of the place where they live. Some differences may arise from the difference in opportunities or in control.

As said above, in Spain compulsory education lasts until adolescents are 16 years old. Once they have finished Compulsory Secondary Education (CSE), they may choose whether to stop studying or continue some form of higher education – Bachiller or Vocational Training (VT).

Table 15.12 presents the differences among the three school levels by offence categories. At first glance, it can be seen that there are differences among the groups, the CSE group being the one with a smaller prevalence in any delinquency category (this may be an effect of age), even if there are no significant differences between the groups in frequent violence and vandalism. If we look at the categories of drug use and dealing, there is a clear difference between those who are in vocational training and the two other groups. Frequent violent offences have a higher prevalence among the VT group, but the magnitude of this difference is the smallest among the significant differences.

**Table 15.11** Delinquency by age groups

Last year	Age groups										Significance level
	12–13		14–15		16–17		18+		Total		
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	
Drug dealing	5	0.5	33	2.6	68	5.4	53	9.7	159	3.8	$\chi^2 = 97.67; df = 3;$ $p < 0.001$
Rare property offences <sup>a</sup>	16	1.5	46	3.6	54	4.3	31	5.7	146	3.5	$\chi^2 = 22.43; df = 3;$ $p < 0.001$
Rare violent offences <sup>b</sup>	5	.5	26	2.0	29	2.3	11	2.0	71	1.7	$\chi^2 = 13.60; df = 3;$ $p = 0.003$
Computer hacking	119	11.2	358	28.1	434	34.7	173	31.8	1,086	26.2	$\chi^2 = 182.13; df = 3;$ $p < 0.001$
Frequent violent offences <sup>c</sup>	66	6.2	181	14.2	184	14.7	66	12.1	497	12.1	$\chi^2 = 48.56; df = 3;$ $p < 0.001$
Shoplifting	33	3.1	129	10.1	145	11.6	40	7.3	347	8.4	$\chi^2 = 61.36; df = 3;$ $p < 0.001$
Vandalism	37	3.5	109	8.5	105	8.4	36	6.6	287	6.9	$\chi^2 = 29.26; df = 3;$ $p < 0.001$
Hard-drugs use <sup>d</sup>	6	0.6	10	0.8	28	2.2	35	6.4	79	1.9	$\chi^2 = 78.71; df = 3;$ $p < 0.001$

<sup>a</sup>Burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft, and car break

<sup>b</sup>Pickpocketing/snatching, robbery/extortion, and assault

<sup>c</sup>Group fight and carrying a weapon

<sup>d</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin/cocaine use; last month prevalence

If we consider property crimes, there are significant differences for shoplifting, the “bachiller” group having the highest prevalence, and for rare property offences, the VT group having the highest prevalence.

Youth in Vocational Training is different from the other two groups. This group seems more violent than the others, but has abandoned some of the juvenile behaviours, such as vandalism, fights and shoplifting, although continuing to use drugs. The “bachiller” group starts from a different point and continues to behave as young adolescents, shoplifting and using computers illegally. It is relevant to point out that the CSE group, even if its members are the youngest, are as violent against people as the “bachiller” group (no differences in other violent behaviours).

The differences among the three types of schools can be seen in Table 15.13. There are no significant differences among school type with regard to shoplifting, hacking and rare violent offences. The rest of the categories show significant differences. Subsidized schools are higher in frequent violent offences (fighting and carrying a weapon), while private schools are high in the rest of the categories, including vandalism. This means that students at private schools commit more property crimes, and use and sell drugs more often than students in other school types. One might say that students from private schools have more opportunities to commit property crimes, and have more money to get drugs.

**Table 15.12** Delinquency by the level of studies

Last year	Level of studies								Significance level
	CSE		Bachiller		Vocational training		Total		
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	
Drug dealing	47	1.9	51	4.9	61	9.7	159	3.8	$\chi^2 = 87.29; df = 2; p < 0.001$
Rare property offences <sup>a</sup>	73	2.9	39	3.8	35	5.6	146	3.5	$\chi^2 = 10.28; df = 2; p = 0.006$
Rare violent offences <sup>b</sup>	43	1.7	10	1.0	18	2.9	71	1.7	$\chi^2 = 8.37; df = 2; p = 0.015$
Computer hacking	528	21.3	363	35.2	195	31.0	1,086	26.2	$\chi^2 = 80.54; df = 2; p = 0.001$
Frequent violent offences <sup>c</sup>	284	11.4	122	11.8	91	14.4	497	12.0	$\chi^2 = 4.39; df = 2; n.s.$
Shoplifting	178	7.2	120	11.6	49	7.8	347	8.4	$\chi^2 = 18.90; df = 2; p < 0.001$
Vandalism	163	6.6	75	7.2	49	7.8	287	6.9	$\chi^2 = 1.34; df = 2; n.s.$
Hard-drugs use <sup>d</sup>	20	0.8	18	1.7	41	6.5	79	1.9	$\chi^2 = 87.79; df = 2; p < 0.001$

<sup>a</sup>Burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft, and car break

<sup>b</sup>Pickpocketing/snatching, robbery/extortion, and assault

<sup>c</sup>Group fight and carrying a weapon

<sup>d</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin/cocaine use; last month prevalence

**Table 15.13** Delinquency by the kind of school

Last year	Type of school								Significance level
	State		Private		Subsidized		Total		
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	
Drug dealing	111	3.9	18	6.6	30	2.9	159	3.8	$\chi^2 = 8.18; df = 2; p = 0.017$
Rare property offences <sup>a</sup>	94	3.3	21	3.7	32	3.1	146	3.5	$\chi^2 = 14.74; df = 2; p = 0.001$
Rare violent offences <sup>b</sup>	43	1.5	5	1.8	23	2.2	71	1.7	$\chi^2 = 2.20; df = 2; n.s.$
Computer hacking	740	26.2	82	29.9	264	25.5	1,086	26.2	$\chi^2 = 2.37; df = 2; n.s.$
Frequent violent offences <sup>c</sup>	300	10.6	36	13.1	161	15.5	497	12.0	$\chi^2 = 17.67; df = 2; p < 0.001$
Shoplifting	231	8.1	31	11.3	85	8.2	347	8.4	$\chi^2 = 3.35; df = 2; n.s.$
Vandalism	190	6.7	29	10.6	68	6.5	287	6.9	$\chi^2 = 6.14; df = 2; p = 0.046$
Hard-drugs use <sup>d</sup>	54	1.9	13	4.7	12	1.2	79	1.9	$\chi^2 = 14.99; df = 2; p = 0.001$

<sup>a</sup>Burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft, and car break

<sup>b</sup>Pick pocketing/snatching, robbery/extortion, and assault

<sup>c</sup>Group fight and carrying a weapon

<sup>d</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin/cocaine use; last month prevalence

## 15.8 Conclusion

To sum up, this research shows that a large part of Spanish young people has been involved in substance use, both alcohol (40.8%) and other drugs, especially hashish or marijuana (14.4%). They also report a high prevalence in hacking (26.1%), frequent violent offences (fights and carry a weapon, 12%), shoplifting (8.6%) and vandalism (6.9%). But, when we look at the variety indexes of rare and serious crimes, the number of youngsters involved in them is quite low: 1.7% for violent crimes; 3.5% for property crimes; 3.8% for drug dealing, and 1.9% for hard-drug consumption.

The results confirm also that girls participate less often in antisocial and/or criminal behaviour, but when they do participate their incidence levels are the same as boys, a result that we have also found in the data of ISRD I (Bartolomé, 2001). The only differences in incidence (i.e. frequency) found were in alcohol and cannabis consumption and in hacking. In general, girls start later than boys with their antisocial and/or criminal behaviour, but they are earlier starters in violent behaviour (see Fig. 15.1). If we move to the variety of antisocial and/or criminal behaviour, girls differ significantly from boys in the three important indexes. These results show the differences between boys and girls in risk and protective factors.

Antisocial behaviour as well as dangerous and rare offences, show a growing trend with age. This includes hard-drug use and drug dealing, rare property and rare violent offences. The rest of the analyzed categories show the traditional trend, an increase from 12 years to a turning point at 16–17 years, and then a decrease at age 18 (vandalism has the turning point at 14–15 years).

Our data show that there are not any large differences among young people living in big cities, median size cities or more rural ones. Differences appear as a consequence of more opportunities in big cities for shoplifting and rare property offences.

With respect to the relation between age and the level of studies, the only interesting comparison is the one between young people at the “bachiller” level versus vocational training. Young people in vocational training report higher levels of consumption of any drug (alcohol, cannabis and hard drug), higher levels of selling drugs, and higher levels of rare property and rare violent offences. “Bachiller” young people are only higher in hacking and shoplifting. Differences between the two

groups could partly be explained because a large number of the group in vocational training belong to the age group of 18+ (71.3% of age 18+ are studying a VT kind of teaching), while only 28.7% of the “bachiller” students belongs to this age group.

In the absence of other information about social class, we may use the fact of studying in a private school as an index of upper and upper-middle class. If the relationship between different school types and offending is considered, the significant differences point to private schools as the most delinquent. In other studies, we have found differences among socio-economic levels (Rechea et al., 1995) but we did not find that the upper and upper-middle class young people commit more offences than the rest of the youngsters.

## 15.9 Appendix

In the appendix, prevalence rate on alcohol and drug use, truancy, victimisation and self-reported delinquency among respondents aged 12–15 are presented ( $n=1,789$ ). These rates allow comparisons with other chapters and countries using this age-group.

**Table 15.14** Life-time and last month prevalences of alcohol and soft-drug use

	Life time		Last month	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Beer/wine	41.4	2.1	15.6	2.3
Strong spirits	28.2	6.4	12.3	6.5
Marijuana, hashish use	12.6	4.1	6.7	4.2

Notes:  $n = 1,789$ ; prevalences based on valid cases

**Table 15.15** Lifetime and last month prevalences of risk factors

	Life time		Last month <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Alcohol total <sup>b</sup>	43.1	1.8	16.6	1.8
Marijuana, hashish use	12.6	4.1	6.7	4.2
Truancy	–	–	17.5	3.6
Two risk factors present	–	–	9.7	2.0

Notes:  $n = 1,789$ ; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Truancy: last year prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Beer/wine and strong spirits

**Table 15.16** Last year prevalences of victimization and reporting to the police

	Victimization		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>
	%	% Missing	%
Robbery/extortion	6.5	1.1	1.0
Assault	3.6	1.1	0.6
Theft	14.8	1.2	2.6
Bullying	14.7	1.1	0.8

Notes:  $n = 1,789$ ; prevalences based on valid cases

Percentage based on number of victims; no answer: no reporting assumed

**Table 15.17** Lifetime and last year prevalences of offences

	Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Group fight	19.4	4.2	9.4	4.6
Carrying a weapon	8.6	4.1	4.7	4.3
Assault	1.5	5.0	0.9	5.0
Pickpocketing/ snatching	1.5	4.3	0.6	4.4
Robbery/extortion	1.1	6.3	0.6	6.3
Vandalism	11.4	4.6	6.8	4.8
Shoplifting	13.2	4.8	5.9	4.8
Bicycle/motor bike theft	3.0	4.7	1.2	4.9
Car break	2.4	4.4	1.4	4.4
Burglary	1.9	4.5	1.1	4.7
Car theft	1.5	4.9	0.8	4.9
Computer hacking	23.1	4.2	17.6	4.5
Drug dealing	2.3	4.9	1.8	5.0
XTC/speed use	1.4	5.0	0.7	5.0
LSD/heroin/ cocaine use	1.4	5.5	0.7	5.5

Notes:  $n = 1,789$ ; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin use: last month prevalence

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# Chapter 16

## Italy

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### 16.1 Introduction

We report the results of the second self-reported juvenile delinquency survey (ISR2), carried out in Italy 14 years after the first (ISR1) survey (Gatti et al., 1994). The second survey differs from the first in some important respects: the questionnaire, which was drawn up by the international coordination group, has partly been changed, the sample surveyed is much larger and has been extended to 15 towns, as opposed to 3 in the first study; in addition, the current sample includes 7th-, 8th-, 9th- and 10th-grade students, while the 1992 sample comprised students from the 9th to the 13th grade. A comparison of the results of the two surveys is, therefore, particularly complex (though not impossible) and, for the moment, will not be considered.

It should be pointed out that the mean age of the Italian sample is higher than that of most of the samples examined in the ISR2 survey. This is because it includes the 10th grade, while the samples considered in the other countries are generally limited to the 7th, 8th and 9th grades. In order to compare the results of the Italian study with those of the other countries, it will therefore be necessary to exclude 10th-grade students from the analysis.

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### 16.2 Demographic and Economic Features of Italy

Italy has a surface area of 301,303 km<sup>2</sup>. and a population of 58,751,711 (in 2006). The capital is Rome (population 2.5 million). Other main cities include Milan, Naples, Turin, Genoa, Palermo, Bari, Florence and Bologna. The population density is 195 per km<sup>2</sup>. Throughout Italy's history, its various regions have undergone widely differing patterns of development. In very approximate terms, the north of the country is economically and industrially well developed, while the south lags far behind, with fewer industries and a higher rate of unemployment. The post-war period in Italy witnessed a considerable economic boom, which prompted considerable migration from the south to the north and from the rural areas to the cities. In recent years, the new phenomenon of immigration from non-EU countries has been witnessed in Italy, giving rise to a wide range of problems that the society is unprepared to tackle. The number of immigrants in possession of a regular residence permit is 2,286,024 (as on 1 January 2006), while the number of illegal immigrants is difficult to estimate. Among the foreign nationals, most are Romanians, Albanians, Moroccans, and Ukrainians. An increasing number of marriages in Italy end up in divorce; the number of divorces in 2005 was 47,036: 74% higher than 10 years before.

About 25% of the population (aged 25 years or more) have a high-school diploma, and 10% of the same age-range have a university degree. The rate of unemployment is 7.7% of the active population (in 2005).



The education system is, for the most part, public. In the first 8 years of their school career, all pupils attend the same type of school. At the end of this period (5 years at primary school and 3 years at lower middle school), the pupils take an examination; once this has been passed, obligatory schooling, in the strict sense, ends. The obligation to continue some form of education or training, however, remains with the pupil until the age of 18 years. This may take the form of attendance at an upper middle school or apprenticeship in a trade. At the end of lower middle school, almost all the pupils move on to upper middle school. The upper middle schools are divided into three broad categories: vocational schools, which are oriented towards rapid entry into the world of work, technical institutes, and high schools. Every type of school diploma qualifies the student to attend university, though entry to some faculties (medicine, architecture, psychology, etc.) depends on the student's passing an entrance examination.

### 16.3 Study Design

The Italian survey used a city-based sample. The sample comprised 15 cities/towns (see Fig. 16.1).

A multistage stratified design was drawn up for population sampling. This involved three stages: in the first stage, 15 towns were selected (as the Primary Sampling Unit). In the second stage, 95 schools (Secondary Sampling Unit) were selected within the Primary Sampling Units. In the third stage, 375 classes were selected within the Secondary Sampling Units.

In Stage 1, the towns were chosen according to a non-probabilistic method, by considering the size (number of inhabitants) and the availability of research units willing to collaborate. The cities were also chosen on the basis of their geographical location along the North-South axis (see Appendix Table 16.26). Indeed, it is well known that social phenomena in Italy must be observed with particular reference to geographical location, as there are often marked economic, social and cultural differences from one region to another. For this reason, two metropolitan areas (Milan in the North and Naples in the South) were considered rather than one; likewise, medium-sized cities and small cities/towns located in different areas of the country were chosen.

The second step involved randomly selecting the schools in each city sampled in the previous stage. Since the target population attends two different types of schools, it is first of all necessary to distinguish between students attending compulsory schools (primary grade: age group 12–14) and those attending voluntary schools (secondary grade: age group  $\geq 14$ ).

In addition, secondary school students display different social and cultural features according to the course of study that they undertake. Here, the three types of educational institution are: high school, technical institutes and vocational institutes.

Overall, for each city, four school sampling frames were drawn up:

- a sampling frame of compulsory schools (primary schools)
- a sampling frame of “high schools” (secondary schools, higher secondary education)

<i>type</i>	<i>range of inhabitants</i>	<i>italia n sample</i>	<i>cities and n. of inhabitants in the italian sample</i>
metropolitan cities	> 600,000	3	<b>Milano</b> (1,309,000); <b>Napoli</b> (984,000); <b>Genova</b> (620,000)
large cities	300,000 - 600,000	1	<b>Firenze</b> (367,000)
medium sized cities	100,000 - 300,000	6	<b>Messina</b> (246,000); <b>Padova</b> (211,000); <b>Brescia</b> (191,059); <b>Perugia</b> (161,000); <b>Sassari</b> (128,000); <b>Bergamo</b> (116,000)
small towns	<100,000	5	<b>Lecce</b> (93,000); <b>Brindisi</b> (90,000); <b>Siena</b> (54,000); <b>Ventimiglia</b> (26,000); <b>Cormano</b> (19,000)

**Fig. 16.1** The 15 cities/towns

- (c) a sampling frame of “technical institutes” (secondary schools, technical education)
- (d) a sampling frame of “vocational institutes” (secondary schools, vocational education)

From each sampling frame – produced by a local team – the national team randomly selected a number of schools. For each course of study (a), up to seven schools (eight in metropolitan areas) were selected, and for each of the courses (b), (c) and (d), up to six schools (seven in metropolitan areas) were selected. Normally, for each city, three primary schools and three secondary schools (one school for each course of study) were sampled.

In Milan and Naples, a larger number of schools were sampled, since the school population differed enormously not only from those of the smaller towns but also from those of the medium-sized cities. Moreover, the greater number of students attending technical institutes in Naples prompted us to include one school more in that city than in Milan.

Finally, in two very small towns (Cormano and Ventimiglia) sampling was not necessary, as all the schools took part.

In the final stage, the sampling unit was the class. On entering the schools, each local team recorded the classes present. In each compulsory school, a list of the second and third classes (7th and 8th grades) was drawn up; in the secondary schools, the first and second classes (9th and 10th grades) were listed.

For each grade, in each school, two classes were randomly selected. A total of 380 classes (95 schools, four classes in each) were expected; however, because some centres and/or classes were too small, the final number was 375.

The participation rates were 84.1% by schools and 98% by students and parents from the schools that agreed to participate. The final sample was composed of 7,278 students: 3,532 boys (48.5%) and 3,746 girls (51.5%); 1,687 of them were in 7th Grade (23.2%), 1,671 in 8th Grade (23.0%), 2001 in 9th Grade (27.5%) and 1,919 in 10th Grade (26.4%). The standard ISRD-2 self-administered questionnaire was used.

Two briefings were organized in Florence to present and discuss the Italian questionnaire and the modality of data entry. One or more representatives of each site attended the briefings, during which the questionnaire was systematically illustrated; the representatives, in turn, instructed their own teams at their local sites.

A pilot study was conducted in the city of Brescia, in order to assess the reactions of students, questionnaire administration time and any difficulties that might arise. The answers recorded in the pilot study were not included in the subsequent analyses. Questionnaires were compiled between 16 February 2006 and 3 June 2006.

## 16.4 Analysis of Results

Overall analysis of the results revealed that 45.7% of the youths surveyed admitted having broken the law at least once in their lives, and 31.3% admitted having done so in the previous year (Table 16.1; “ever” and “last year” prevalences by city size may be found in Appendix, Tables 16.27–16.28). The offences most frequently admitted were: participation in group fights (27.8% of the total), shoplifting (19.5%), acts of vandalism (16.3%), computer hacking (10.8%) and carrying a weapon (10.5%). The percentages of other crimes admitted were lower, but not negligible: 5.0% reported stealing bicycles or scooters, 4.9% stealing from cars, 4.0% breaking and entering, 3.9% snatching of bag, 3.4% physical assault on another person, 2.9% robbery/extortion or mugging, sometimes with the aid of a weapon, and 1.3% car or motorbike theft.

**Table 16.1** Lifetime and last year prevalences of offences

	Lifetime		Last year	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Group fight	27.3	1.1	15.5	1.6
Carrying a weapon	10.0	1.1	5.9	1.4
Assault	3.1	1.4	1.7	1.5
Snatching of bag	3.6	1.2	1.7	1.3
Robbery/extortion	2.7	1.2	1.7	1.2
Vandalism	15.7	1.2	10.2	1.5
Shoplifting	18.9	1.2	8.3	1.4
Bicycle/motor bike theft	4.6	1.0	2.4	1.1
Breaking into car	4.5	1.2	2.1	1.3
Burglary	3.6	1.3	1.7	1.4
Car theft	1.1	1.1	0.6	1.1
Computer hacking	10.4	1.4	8.3	1.5
Drug dealing	3.7	1.1	2.6	1.2
XTC/speed use <sup>a</sup>	1.6	1.1	0.8	1.2
LSD/heroin/cocaine use <sup>a</sup>	1.8	1.2	0.7	1.2
1 or more offences	45.6		31.4	

Notes:  $n = 7,179$ ; unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin use: last month prevalence

With regard to drug-related crimes, the survey recorded a prevalence of 4.2% of drug dealing; the use of LSD/heroin/cocaine was admitted by 2.3% of respondents, while that of XTC/speed was admitted by 2.0%.

Offences committed in the year prior to the administration of the questionnaire obviously displayed lower percentages than those committed during the respondents' lifetime; in most cases, however, the differences were not particularly marked.

Table 16.1 shows a breakdown of the overall results. Below, we will report the data on illegal behaviours divided into eight categories of offence; only behaviours enacted in the last year are considered.

### 16.4.1 Gender and Age

Table 16.2 shows that male respondents commit delinquent acts more frequently than females. In the last year, 40.2% of boys admitted committing at least one offence, as opposed to 23.0% of girls.

These differences, however, are far smaller than the differences between the numbers of male and female minors reported to the judicial authorities: 83% boys versus only 17% girls (2004, latest available statistics). In the self-reported survey, the number of girls who had committed offences was slightly more than half of the number of boys, while in the official statistics the

number of female offenders is only about one fifth of that of male offenders. This smaller difference between the sexes in self-reported surveys has often been noted in previous analyses in other countries and in other social contexts. It may be explained both by a lower vulnerability to prosecution among girls and by the fact that girls tend to commit less serious crimes, and are therefore less likely to be prosecuted. Indeed, most of the offences committed by girls are property offences; few are crimes of violence.

It is noteworthy that the differences between the sexes are not homogeneous; rather, they vary according to the type of behaviour considered. Greater differences are seen with regard to acts of violence, while they are less marked with regard to vandalism, computer hacking and, especially, shoplifting (the prevalence of this last offence being similar).

Table 16.3 reveals that the prevalence of delinquent involvement in the last year increases as the age of the respondents increases. Indeed, the figures progressively increase from 17.0% among 12-year olds (and younger) to 53.3% among 17-year olds (and older). The numbers of 11-year olds and 18-year olds were limited; these subjects were included in the research because, being either a year ahead or a year behind the normal schedule, they attended the classes sampled.

The same age-related pattern emerges within the individual categories of offences. Drug-related crimes (both dealing and using) increase particularly markedly in the older age-groups, and are extremely rare among the youngest subjects.

In order to compare our results with those of other countries, which limited their samples to the 7th, 8th and 9th grades, we subdivided the prevalence of delinquent behaviour according to grade (Table 16.4); the prevalence values that emerged clearly confirm the age-related progression.

### 16.4.2 Type of School

With regard to the type of school attended (Table 16.5), the pattern already observed in the sample broken down according to age is confirmed; markedly fewer offences are committed by middle-school pupils, who are aged between 11 and 14 years, than by youths attending higher institutions, who are normally over

**Table 16.2** Last year<sup>a</sup> prevalences of offences by gender

	Male ( <i>n</i> = 3,465)	Female ( <i>n</i> = 3,714)	$\chi^2$ Significance
Frequent violent offences <sup>b</sup>	26.6	9.6	<0.001
Rare violent offences <sup>c</sup>	6.2	1.8	<0.001
Vandalism	14.3	6.5	<0.001
Shoplifting	8.3	8.3	0.935
Rare property offences <sup>d</sup>	7.9	2.6	<0.001
Computer hacking	11.6	5.3	<0.001
Drug dealing	3.7	1.5	<0.001
Hard drugs use <sup>e</sup>	1.7	0.6	<0.001
1 or more offences	39.4	22.7	<0.001

Notes: *n* = 7,179; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Hard drug use: last month prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Group fight and carrying a weapon

<sup>c</sup>Snatching of bag, robbery/extortion, and assault

<sup>d</sup>Burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft, and car breaking

<sup>e</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin/cocaine use

**Table 16.3** Last year<sup>a</sup> prevalences of offences by age

	12 and younger (n = 1,101)	13 (n = 1,553)	14 (n = 1,701)	15 (n = 1,693)	16 (n = 837)	17 and older (n = 294)	$\chi^2$ Significance
Frequent violent offences <sup>b</sup>	12.9	15.5	17.0	18.6	23.3	32.4	<0.001
Rare violent offences <sup>c</sup>	1.2	2.6	4.2	4.6	5.9	10.5	<0.001
Vandalism	4.2	7.0	11.2	13.7	13.8	14.4	<0.001
Shoplifting	2.7	5.9	8.8	11.1	11.7	13.2	<0.001
Rare property offences <sup>d</sup>	2.1	4.0	5.2	5.8	7.6	12.2	<0.001
Computer hacking	3.8	6.6	9.7	9.4	10.3	14.0	<0.001
Drug dealing	0.3	0.5	2.0	3.3	5.9	10.9	<0.001
Hard drugs use <sup>e</sup>	0.2	0.5	0.7	1.2	2.4	6.3	<0.001
1 or more offences	17.3	25.3	31.2	36.0	39.10	51.6	<0.001

Notes: n = 7,179; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Hard drug use: last month prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Group fight and carrying a weapon

<sup>c</sup>Snatching, robbery/extortion, and assault

<sup>d</sup>Burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft, and car break

<sup>e</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin/cocaine use

**Table 16.4** Last year<sup>a</sup> prevalences of aggregated offences by grade

	Grade 7 (n = 1,683)	Grade 8 (n = 1,644)	Grade 9 (n = 1,974)	Grade 10 (n = 1,878)	$\chi^2$ Significance
Frequent violent offences <sup>b</sup>	14.2	18.0	18.4	20.1	<0.001
Rare violent offences <sup>c</sup>	1.8	3.9	4.8	4.9	<0.001
Vandalism	5.6	8.3	13.0	13.0	<0.001
Shoplifting	4.5	6.4	10.7	10.8	<0.001
Rare property offences <sup>d</sup>	2.9	5.1	6.1	6.2	<0.001
Computer hacking	4.9	8.0	9.9	9.9	<0.001
Drug dealing	0.5	1.2	3.7	4.4	<0.001
Hard drugs use <sup>e</sup>	0.4	0.4	1.4	2.0	<0.001
1 or more offences	20.4	28.3	34.9	37.5	<0.001

Notes: n = 7,179; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Hard-drug use: last month prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Group fight and carrying a weapon

<sup>c</sup>Snatching of bag/snatching, robbery/extortion, and assault

<sup>d</sup>Burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft, and car break

<sup>e</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin/cocaine use

**Table 16.5** Last year<sup>a</sup> prevalences of offences by type of school

	Middle school (n = 3,341)	Vocational institute (n = 1,174)	Technical institute (n = 1,235)	High school (n = 1,429)	$\chi^2$ Significance
Age	12 and younger–14	14–17 and older			
Frequent violent offences <sup>b</sup>	16.0	25.5	19.8	13.9	<0.001
Rare violent offences <sup>c</sup>	2.8	6.9	5.0	3.1	<0.001
Vandalism	7.0	15.9	14.1	9.9	<0.001
Shoplifting	5.5	12.3	12.9	7.7	<0.001
Rare property offences <sup>d</sup>	4.0	10.2	6.6	2.5	<0.001
Computer hacking	6.4	11.6	10.8	7.9	<0.001
Drug dealing	0.8	5.8	3.8	2.8	<0.001
Hard drugs use <sup>e</sup>	0.4	3.2	1.5	0.8	<0.001
1 or more offences	24.3	43.1	39.7	27.3	<0.001

Notes: n = 7,179; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Hard-drug use: last month prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Group fight and carrying a weapon

<sup>c</sup>Snatching of bag/snatching, robbery/extortion, and assault

<sup>d</sup>Burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft, and car break

<sup>e</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin/cocaine use

14 years of age. The differences among the three types of higher institutions, however, are interesting. A higher involvement in delinquency can be seen among students of vocational institutions (44.9% prevalence in the last year) than among those of technical institutes (40.2%), while the prevalence of offences among high-school students is distinctly lower (28.2%).

Nor are these differences limited to specific types of offence; rather, they emerge over the whole spectrum of offences considered. It should be pointed out that high schools in Italy are mainly attended by students whose academic results are better and whose families are of higher socio-economic status, while the vocational institutions are often attended by pupils with a poor academic record or whose families are of low socio-economic status. The higher frequency of deviant behaviour among the latter could therefore be linked to the low social status of the family and to academic failure, both of which are known to be important risk factors for juvenile delinquency (Maguin and Loeber, 1996).

### 16.4.3 Urban and Geographical Factors

In order to evaluate the effects of urbanisation, we divided the cities in our sample into three categories: large cities (population >400,000), medium-sized

cities (population 100,000–400,000) and small towns (population <100,000). We expected to find a higher prevalence of offences in the larger cities, where social control is less intense and the opportunities to commit crimes are more frequent. In reality, however, our results did not confirm these expectations, in that a marked criminogenic effect of urbanization was absent. Indeed, while some types of offence (violent acts against persons and property offences) are seen to be more frequent in the large cities (Table 16.6), other delinquent behaviours, such as vandalism and drug abuse, are more prevalent among youths from smaller towns. Our data reveal that young delinquents are not particularly concentrated in large cities, and yet the vast majority of crimes are reported in such cities. This apparent contradiction may be explained by the fact that, as reported by Killias (2001), many youths who live in small towns are attracted to large cities, where they are more likely to commit offences as criminal opportunities are greater.

Finally, in view of the historical and cultural differences encountered in the various regions of Italy, we subdivided the cities in our sample according to the geographical area in which they are located (Table 16.7).

This subdivision reveals that there is no clear distinction between North and South, while youths from central Italy are generally seen to be slightly more involved in delinquent behaviours (Table 16.8).

**Table 16.6** Last year<sup>a</sup> prevalences (aggregated offences) by size of city/town

	Large city ( <i>n</i> = 2,620)	Medium-sized city ( <i>n</i> = 2,913)	Small town ( <i>n</i> = 1,646)	$\chi^2$ Significance
Frequent violent offences <sup>b</sup>	21.4	14.3	18.1	<0.001
Rare violent offences <sup>c</sup>	5.5	2.5	4.0	<0.001
Vandalism	11.5	8.9	10.6	<0.001
Shoplifting	11.2	6.6	6.6	<0.001
Rare property offences <sup>d</sup>	7.1	3.3	5.5	<0.001
Computer hacking	8.9	6.7	10.0	<0.001
Drug dealing	3.5	1.9	2.2	0.035
Hard drugs use <sup>e</sup>	1.3	0.7	1.5	0.001
1 or more offences	34.9	26.3	33.2	<0.001

Notes: *n* = 7,179; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Hard-drug use: last month prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Group fight and carrying a weapon

<sup>c</sup>Snatching of bag/snatching, robbery/extortion, and assault

<sup>d</sup>Burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft, and car break

<sup>e</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin/cocaine use

**Table 16.7** Geographical location of the cities

North	Milan, Cormano, Brescia, Bergamo, Genoa, Ventimiglia, Padua
Centre	Florence, Siena, Perugia
South and Islands	Naples, Brindisi, Lecce, Messina, Sassari

Notes:  $n = 7,179$ ; prevalences based on valid cases

**Table 16.8** Last year<sup>a</sup> prevalences of offences by geographical area

	North ( $n = 3,148$ )	Centre ( $n = 1,350$ )	South ( $n = 2,681$ )	$\chi^2$ Significance
Frequent violent offences <sup>b</sup>	17.4	17.8	18.2	0.743
Rare violent offences <sup>c</sup>	3.9	4.0	3.9	0.965
Vandalism	10.2	11.4	9.7	0.232
Shoplifting	8.9	9.0	7.2	0.046
Rare property offences <sup>d</sup>	5.4	5.1	4.9	0.730
Computer hacking	8.2	10.3	7.5	0.011
Drug dealing	2.7	3.6	1.8	0.003
Hard drugs use <sup>e</sup>	1.0	1.9	0.9	0.012
1 or more offences	30.7	33.6	29.2	0.018

Notes:  $n = 7,179$ ; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Hard-drug use: last month prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Group fight and carrying a weapon

<sup>c</sup>Snatching of bag/snatching, robbery/extortion, and assault

<sup>d</sup>Burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft, and car break

<sup>e</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin/cocaine use

#### 16.4.4 Migrant Background

In order to assess the possible impact of foreign immigration on the frequency and type of offences committed, we subdivided our sample into non-migrants (respondents born in Italy, with one or both parents born in Italy as well, or respondents born abroad if both parents were born in Italy), first-generation migrants (respondents born abroad with one or both parents born abroad as well) and second-generation migrants (respondents born in Italy with both parents born abroad). In Italy, foreign immigration is a relatively recent phenomenon. In countries with a longer history of immigration, a correlation has often been found between juvenile delinquency and the condition of being a second-generation immigrant. In Italy, however, another type of “immigration” was seen at the end of the Second World War: internal migration from the South and from poor areas of the country, in general, to cities in the North, where reconstruction programs and industrial development had created a demand for labour. At that time, a correlation was often found between officially reported juvenile delinquency and the condition of being children of migrants.

In Italy today, the scenario of official juvenile delinquency is characterised by the massive presence of foreign immigrants. Official statistics reveal that in recent years foreigners have accounted for more than a quarter of minors reported to the judicial authorities (29% in 2004), and for more than half of the minors incarcerated (61% in 2004).

Compared with their Italian counterparts, the foreign reported minors tend to be younger, more often females and more frequently involved in theft, while they are less often involved in violent crime. The phenomenon of delinquency among foreign minors chiefly involves the northern and central regions of Italy, being less frequent in the south. The foreign minors reported to the judicial authorities mainly come from the countries of ex-Yugoslavia, Albania, Morocco and Romania. A particular problem concerns Gypsies, whose numbers have increased as a result of the war in ex-Yugoslavia.

The large number of foreign minors reported seems to be the result of two different social factors. On the one hand, many foreign minors live in extremely difficult social conditions; they belong to families of illegal immigrants, have difficulty fitting in at school, at work or in society, and live in very poor conditions. Consequently, they run a high risk of marginalisation



and involvement in crime. In some cases, foreign minors are recruited by adults for criminal purposes, such as drug dealing. On the other hand, the large number of foreign minors reported to the judicial authorities may also stem from their greater vulnerability to judicial reaction. In this perspective, foreign minors run a greater risk of being reported than their Italian counterparts who commit the same crimes. Likewise, a higher proportion of those who are reported are likely to be arrested and imprisoned. The greater vulnerability of foreigners is illustrated by the data collected by Barbagli (1995), according to which a foreigner caught stealing in a department store is almost twice as likely to be reported to the police than an Italian; similarly, a foreigner accused of theft or drug dealing is more likely to be convicted than an Italian of the same sex and age and with a comparable criminal record. The same pattern, however, does not emerge with regard to those accused of robbery/extortion (Barbagli, 2002).

With particular regard to minors, a sort of bifurcation (Bortner, 1988) seems to apply to the juvenile justice system, which more often imposes alternative and/or educational measures on Italian minors, while traditional repressive measures are more frequently imposed on foreigners, on account of their unstable or irregular condition.

The results of the self-reported investigation (Table 16.9) confirm that the condition of being a migrant is associated with greater involvement in illegal activity, though the differences between foreigners and Italians

are somewhat limited, and indeed much smaller than those indicated by official statistics. Moreover, as has been seen in previous studies, second-generation immigrants, i.e. those born in Italy of immigrant parents, display the highest prevalence of delinquent behaviours.

It should, however, be pointed out that the higher frequency of deviant behaviours among first-generation immigrants (in comparison with non-immigrants) is probably biased by the fact that their mean age in our sample was 14.69 years, while that of non-migrants was 14.05 years and that of second-generation migrants was 14.03 years. Having established that deviant behaviour increases with age, we can conclude that the slight difference seen between non-migrants and first-generation migrants would diminish or disappear on taking into account the age factor. An exception to this concerns the use of hard drugs, which really does seem to be more prevalent among first-generation migrants.

Moreover, it should be pointed out that the percentage of non-responders was far higher among first-generation immigrants (about 5%) than among non-migrants (about 1.5%) or second-generation immigrants (about 1.5%). This high non-response rate needs to be investigated further, as it introduces an element of uncertainty into the assessment of deviant behaviours among first-generation immigrants, who appear to have greater difficulty in revealing antisocial actions (for reasons which may be psychological, linguistic, etc.).

The fact that the gap between migrants and Italians reported in official statistics is wider than that seen in

**Table 16.9** Last year<sup>a</sup> prevalences of offences by migrant background

	Non-migrant ( <i>n</i> = 6,348)		Second generation migrant ( <i>n</i> = 421)		First generation migrant ( <i>n</i> = 398)		$\chi^2$ Significance
	%	% Missing	%	Significance	%	% Missing	
Frequent violent offences <sup>b</sup>	17.3	0.7	22.0	0.5	21.1	4.8	0.012
Rare violent offences <sup>c</sup>	3.7	0.7	5.5	0.5	6.1	4.8	0.015
Vandalism	10.1	1.2	13.5	1.4	9.4	6.0	0.071
Shoplifting	8.0	1.1	10.2	1.9	11.6	5.0	0.015
Rare property offences <sup>d</sup>	4.9	0.6	7.2	0.5	6.6	4.5	0.058
Computer hacking	8.2	1.2	10.8	1.2	7.2	5.8	<0.001
Drug dealing	2.4	0.9	2.9	1.7	3.4	4.5	0.444
Hard drugs use <sup>e</sup>	1.1	0.6	1.0	0.5	1.3	4.3	0.875
1 or more offences	30.3		36.0		31.4		0.047

Notes: *n* = 7,167; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Hard-drug use: last month prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Group fight and carrying a weapon

<sup>c</sup>Snatching of bag/snatching, robbery/extortion, and assault

<sup>d</sup>Burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft, and car break

<sup>e</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin/cocaine use

our self-reported survey is probably also linked to the sample considered. Our sample was made up entirely of school students, while many of the foreign minors, who come before the juvenile courts, do not attend school, being illegal immigrants without any family support.

#### 16.4.5 Group Phenomena and Deviant Behaviour

It is well known that juvenile delinquency is very often a group phenomenon and that the type of group to which youths belong exerts a significant influence on their behaviour. In the present study, the relationship between deviant behaviour and the type of youth group was examined by adopting the definition and the method used by the Eurogang Network (an influential group of international experts in gang research), which involves using a combination of criteria (or “additional filters”) to classify people as belonging to gangs (Klein et al., 2001; Scott and Weerman, 2005).

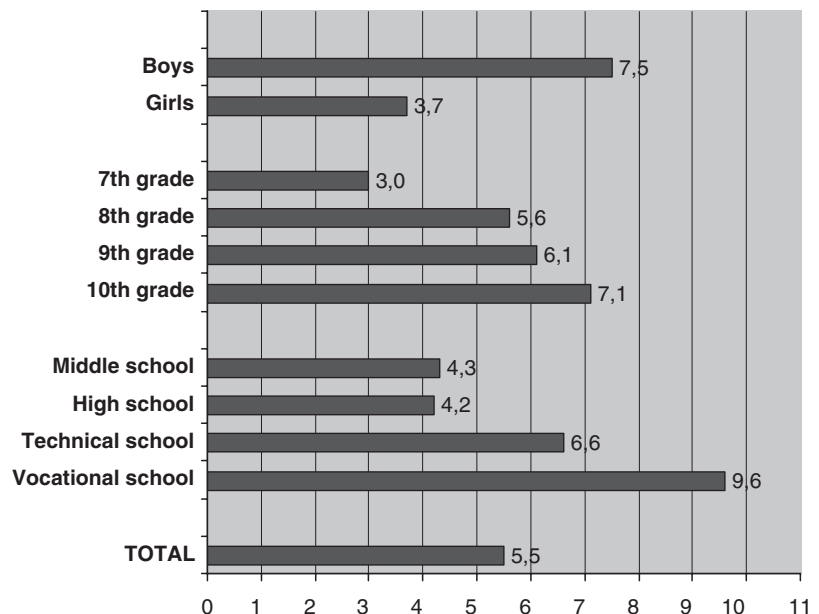
Respondents are asked a range of questions about their group, six of which are used in the construction of a definition: that a group exists; that the group has existed for 3 months or more; that it is street-based; that the group thinks that committing illegal acts is acceptable; that the group has done illegal things together and that the group is considered a gang by the respondent. If the

young person claims to belong to a group and answers “yes” to the five questions that qualify the group as a gang, he or she is regarded as a gang member.

On the basis of this definition, it emerges that 5.5% of respondents are to be considered gang members, gang membership is more common among males, though not negligible among females, and the prevalence of gang membership increases with age. It is interesting that gang membership is related to the type of school attended, being less frequent among high-school students and more frequent among those attending vocational institutions, which, as has already been mentioned, take in students with a poorer academic, family, and social background.

We subsequently compared the prevalence of offences among three groups: (1) gang members, (2) youths who report belonging to a group that commits offences together but who do not fall within the definition of gang members in that not all the filter criteria are met, and (3) all other respondents (Fig. 16.2, Table 16.10).

The impact of gang membership on behaviour, which has often been reported in the USA but more rarely in Europe (Klein et al., 2001), emerges clearly from the Italian data. Indeed, as can be seen, youths who belong to groups involved in illegal activities (but are not gang members according to the definition adopted) commit far more offences than those who are not part of this kind of group. However, those who fulfill all the



**Fig. 16.2** Gang membership prevalences ( $n = 7,059$ )

**Table 16.10** Last year<sup>a</sup> prevalences of offences by deviant group membership

	Not member ( <i>n</i> = 5,630)	Member of group committing illegal acts ( <i>n</i> = 994)	Member of a gang ( <i>n</i> = 380)	$\chi^2$ Significance
Frequent violent offences <sup>b</sup>	12.0	36.5	52.1	<0.001
Rare violent offences <sup>c</sup>	1.8	9.2	20.5	<0.001
Vandalism	5.9	23.7	38.0	<0.001
Shoplifting	4.9	20.2	26.8	<0.001
Rare property offences <sup>d</sup>	2.7	12.3	22.3	<0.001
Computer hacking	5.9	16.4	21.0	<0.001
Drug dealing	0.7	9.4	12.1	<0.001
Hard drugs use <sup>e</sup>	0.4	3.4	5.5	<0.001
1 or more offences	22.4	60.5	72.2	<0.001

Notes: *n* = 7,059; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Hard-drug use: last month prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Group fight and carrying a weapon

<sup>c</sup>Snatching of bag/snatching, robbery/extortion, and assault

<sup>d</sup>Burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft, and car break

<sup>e</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin/cocaine use

**Table 16.11** Lifetime and last month prevalences of alcohol and soft drug use

	Lifetime	Last month
Beer/wine	64.3	35.3
Strong spirits	33.8	16.3
Marijuana, hashish use	13.2	6.2

Notes: *n* = 7,179; prevalences based on valid cases

conditions which define gang membership display an even higher prevalence of offences. These results confirm the criminogenic effect of membership of a gang, which is something more than and different from a group which may occasionally be involved in criminal activity but lacks the identity of a delinquent group. The results also demonstrate that rare and serious violent crimes and drug-related offences display an extremely low prevalence among those who are not part of a deviant group (whether it be a true gang or merely a group that gets involved in illegal activities). Indeed, it seems that membership of such groups is almost a pre-requisite to the emergence of such serious anti-social behaviour.

### 16.4.6 Alcohol, Drugs and Risk Behaviour

Our data reveal a widespread use of alcohol and cannabis derivatives among our respondents. As shown in Table 16.11, more than half of the sample (64.8%) reported having drunk beer or wine at least once in their lives, more than one-third (34.5%) reported hav-

ing drunk spirits, and 13.9% reported having used cannabis. Moreover, it also emerges that about half of the episodes of consumption of these substances took place in the last month. The widespread use of alcohol and drugs among young people has given rise to acute social alarm, as revealed by the mass media, with regard to the dangers involved, especially the unacceptably high number of road accidents involving the young. This finding is all the more alarming in the light of the fact that the sale of alcoholic beverages to minors under 16 years of age is forbidden by law in Italy.

This concern is justified by our data, which reveal higher percentages of alcohol consumption than those reported in other studies. For instance, according to the data gathered by the Central Statistics Institute, only 19.5% of minors between the ages of 11 and 15 years stated that they had consumed alcohol at some time during 2005 (ISTAT, 2005).<sup>1</sup>

A high consumption of alcohol among young people was also documented by the well-known ESPAD (European School Survey Project on Alcohol and Other Drugs) study involving Italian students aged between 15 and 19 years, even though the study revealed in 2004–2005, for the first time after a years-long rising trend, a slight decline in the numbers of youths who had consumed alcohol at least once in their lifetime (91.9% in 2004, 91.2% in 2005) or in the previous 12 months (56.9% in 2004, 55.8% in 2005).

<sup>1</sup>See: Ministry of Health, Parliamentary Report on Programmes Implemented in Conformity with Law No. 125 of 30.3.2001 – Years 2005–2006 of 30 May 2007).

The relationship between alcohol and drug consumption and juvenile crime was recently highlighted in a resolution of the European Parliament, which also provided recommendations for member states as to the preventive strategies that should be adopted.

As will be seen in Table 16.12, the difference between the sexes is less marked with regard to the use of alcohol, marijuana and hashish than with regard to criminal acts. Here again, males outnumber females in all three areas: 68.7% of boys and 61.1% of girls reported having drunk beer or wine; 37.2% of boys and 32.0% of girls reported having drunk strong spirits, and 16.2% of boys and 11.8% of girls admitted having used cannabis derivatives. Contrary to what many people believe, therefore, alcohol consumption is also widespread among girls.

With regard to the age of respondents, it emerges that alcohol and soft-drug use increases with age (Table 16.13). However, some differences can be seen among the various substances. For instance, the consumption of beer and wine is already quite common (13.3%) among 12-year olds, while the consumption of strong spirits, marijuana and hashish is very rare in this age-group. That alcohol consumption begins early among young Italians is also confirmed by the data from the European Commission's "Eurobarometer 2002" survey, which found that minors in Italy had their first contact with alcoholic beverages at an earlier age than in any other European country: a mean of 12.2 years as against 14.6 years in the rest of Europe.

The consumption of spirits increases markedly (about threefold) from the 12-year old to the 13-year old group and from the 13-year old to the 14-year old group, while the use of cannabis derivatives trebles between the ages of 13 and 14 years and doubles between the ages of 14 and 15 years.

Predictably enough, when alcohol and soft-drug use is analysed in relation to the type of school attended (Table 16.14), it emerges that the percentages of middle-school pupils who use these substances (22.5% for alcohol, 5.6% for strong spirits and 1.7% for marijuana and hashish) are distinctly lower than the percentages of upper school students.

Among the latter, the consumption of beer and wine is highest among those attending technical institutes (50.0% in the last month), while that of strong spirits and soft drugs is most frequent among students attending vocational institutions (31.4% for strong spirits and 17.7% per cannabis derivatives). High-school students consume less of all three substances.

When the sample cities are subdivided according to size, no significant differences emerge for marijuana and hashish use; alcohol use is more frequent in large cities (Table 16.15).

A migrant background seems to have a certain influence on the use of alcohol and drugs (Table 16.16). Second-generation migrants appear to make greater use of alcoholic beverages (in particular, beer and wine), while first-generation migrants consume less, as if they were more strongly conditioned by

**Table 16.12** Lifetime and last month prevalences of alcohol and soft drug use by gender

	Lifetime			Last month		
	Male (n = 3,465)	Female (n = 3,714)	$\chi^2$ Significance	Male (n = 3,465)	Female (n = 3,714)	$\chi^2$ Significance
Beer/wine	68.2	60.8	<0.001	40.7	30.3	<0.001
Strong spirits	36.2	31.5	<0.001	18.3	14.6	<0.001
Marijuana/hashish use	15.2	11.3	<0.001	7.6	5.0	<0.001

Notes: n = 7,179; prevalences based on valid cases

**Table 16.13** Last month prevalences of alcohol and soft drug use by age

	12 and younger (n = 1,101)	13 (n = 1,553)	14 (n = 1,701)	15 (n = 1,693)	16 (n = 837)	17 and older (n = 294)	$\chi^2$ Significance
Beer/wine	13.3	23.2	37.4	47.4	50.7	56.7	<0.001
Strong spirits	1.8	4.8	14.5	25.3	33.9	42.6	<0.001
Marijuana, hashish use	0.4	1.0	3.8	9.1	16.3	25.2	<0.001

Notes: n = 7,179; prevalences based on valid cases

**Table 16.14** Last month prevalences of alcohol and soft drug use by kind of school

	Middle school ( <i>n</i> = 3,341)	Vocational institute ( <i>n</i> = 1,174)	Technical institute ( <i>n</i> = 1,235)	High school ( <i>n</i> = 1,429)	$\chi^2$ Significance
Age	12 younger–14	14–17 and older			
Beer/wine	22.2	46.5	49.2	44.5	<0.001
Strong spirits	5.3	29.9	24.2	24.2	<0.001
Marijuana, hashish use	1.4	15.8	8.6	7.7	<0.001

Notes: *n* = 7,179; prevalences based on valid cases

**Table 16.15** Last month<sup>a</sup> prevalences of risk factors by size of city/town

	Large city ( <i>n</i> = 2,620)	Medium-sized city ( <i>n</i> = 2,913)	Small town ( <i>n</i> = 1,646)	$\chi^2$ Significance
Alcohol total <sup>b</sup>	39.2	34.2	37.7	0.001
Marijuana, hashish use	6.9	5.9	5.8	0.245

Notes: *n* = 7,179; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>b</sup>Beer/wine and strong spirits

**Table 16.16** Last month prevalences of alcohol and soft drug use by migrant background

	Non-migrant ( <i>n</i> = 6,348)	Second generation migrant ( <i>n</i> = 421)	First generation migrant ( <i>n</i> = 398)	$\chi^2$ Significance
Beer/wine	35.4	38.1	30.0	0.045
Strong spirits	16.3	18.3	14.5	0.348
Marijuana, hashish use	6.0	7.4	7.7	0.247

Notes: *n* = 7,167; prevalences based on valid cases

**Table 16.17** Last month prevalences of alcohol and soft-drug use by deviant group membership

	Not member ( <i>n</i> = 5,630)	Member of a group involved in illegal activities ( <i>n</i> = 994)	Member of a gang ( <i>n</i> = 380)	$\chi^2$ Significance
Beer/wine	28.4	62.7	66.9	<0.001
Strong spirits	9.7	42.0	47.0	<0.001
Marijuana, hashish use	2.0	21.9	26.8	<0.001

Notes: *n* = 7,004; prevalences based on valid cases

prohibition in this area. Indeed, prohibition, whether cultural or religious, may well be of importance to some groups of migrants, but not to others; it would be useful to conduct a more detailed analysis of this aspect

Membership of a deviant group is associated with a far higher prevalence of alcohol and drug use than that seen among youths who do not belong to such groups (Table 16.17). In particular, the use of cannabis is ten times higher among gang members and those who belong to deviant groups than among the rest of the sample population.

### 16.4.7 Victimization

This final section reports some data concerning victimisation suffered by the respondents and the percentages of these offences reported to the judicial authorities (Table 16.18). Theft of personal property was suffered by 17.2% of respondents, and was reported to the authorities in 21.2% of cases; 12.5% of the interviewees stated that they had been the victims of bullying, though only 4.8% of cases were reported to the authorities; of the 3.3% who said that they had been assaulted, 12.0% reported the offence to the police; finally, 2.7% stated

having been the victims of extortion, 33.5% of whom reported the matter to the authorities.

When these figures are broken down according to the gender of the respondents (Table 16.19), it emerges

**Table 16.18** Last year prevalences of victimization and reporting to the police

	Victimization	Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup> %
Robbery/extortion and extortion	2.6	32.6
Assault	3.2	12.0
Theft	17.0	21.3
Bullying	12.5	4.7

Notes:  $n = 7,179$ ; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Percentage based on number of victims; no answer: no reporting assumed

**Table 16.19** Last year prevalences of victimization by gender

	Male ( $n = 3,465$ )	Female ( $n = 3,714$ )	$\chi^2$ Significance
Robbery/extortion and extortion	4.3	1.3	0.000
Assault	4.5	2.1	0.000
Theft	18.0	16.3	0.088
Bullying	11.9	13.1	0.118

Notes:  $n = 7,179$ ; prevalences based on valid cases

**Table 16.20** Last year prevalences of victimization by age

	12 and younger ( $n = 1,101$ )	13 ( $n = 1,553$ )	14 ( $n = 1,701$ )	15 ( $n = 1,693$ )	16 ( $n = 837$ )	17 and older ( $n = 294$ )	$\chi^2$ Significance
Robbery/extortion and extortion	2.4	1.8	2.7	2.6	4.0	4.1	0.028
Assault	3.5	3.1	2.7	3.4	3.6	4.6	0.537
Theft	14.6	15.2	15.9	18.2	20.6	25.6	<0.001
Bullying	17.2	15.5	12.2	8.6	10.5	8.9	<0.001

Notes:  $n = 7,179$ ; prevalences based on valid cases

**Table 16.21** Last year prevalences of victimization by kind of school

	Middle school ( $n = 3,341$ )	Vocational institute ( $n = 1,174$ )	Technical institute ( $n = 1,235$ )	High school ( $n = 1,429$ )	$\chi^2$ Significance
Age	12 and younger–14	14–17 and older			
Robbery/extortion and extortion	2.1	2.5	2.5	4.2	<0.001
Assault	3.5	4.4	2.1	2.7	0.011
Theft	15.4	20.8	16.2	18.5	<0.001
Bullying	16.2	11.3	8.7	8.3	<0.001

Notes:  $n = 7,179$ ; prevalences based on valid cases

that boys are more frequently the victims of extortion, assault and theft.

With regard to age (Table 16.20), robbery/extortion and theft are more prevalent among the older age groups (particularly 16-year olds and above), while bullying chiefly involves the younger respondents. Similar data emerged from a few previous studies conducted in Italy. In a 1997 survey of 5,000 elementary and middle-school pupils, Fonzi (1997) found that the percentage of students who reported having been the victims of bullying fell from 41.6% in elementary schools to 26.4% in middle schools.

The same trend was seen in an investigation conducted by Baldry (2001) among the students of a technical institute in Rome; bullying declined significantly during the senior school years.

For what concerns the type of school attended by those suffering episodes of victimization (Table 16.21), high-school students more frequently stated that they had been the victims of robbery/extortion and extortion (4.3%), while those from vocational institutes more often suffered assault (4.5%) and property theft (20.9%). As expected on the basis of the data regarding age, the highest percentage of bullying (16.2%) was indicated by pupils attending the middle school.

An analysis of victimisation in relation to the size of the city/town of residence (Table 16.22) reveals that



the prevalence of victimisation correlates positively with the size of the urban area, and that this correlation is particularly marked with regard to robbery/extortion which is suffered much more often by respondents living in large cities.

On subdividing the sample into geographical areas (Table 16.23), it can be seen that the youths attending schools in the South of Italy are more frequently the victims of robbery/extortion (4.7%), but less frequently the victims of theft.

Migrants, both first- and second-generation, seem to be more often the victims of theft and bullying. Overall, first-generation migrants are seen to be more vulnerable than those of the second generation (Table 16.24).

Membership of a gang, or of a group involved in illicit acts, increases the risk of victimisation with

regard to robbery/extortion, theft and assault; by contrast, it appears to protect against bullying (Table 16.25). Indeed, it is well known that gang members are less likely to be the victims of bullying; evidently, the same is true, at least in part, of those who belong to deviant groups.

## 16.5 Conclusions

The present study attempts to assess the diffusion and features of deviant behaviour among youths in Italy by analysing a large, representative sample of students in 15 cities/towns of different sizes located in different geographical areas. It should be pointed out that the ISRD2 survey is the result of a collective effort by

**Table 16.22** Last year prevalences of victimization by size of city/town

	Large city ( <i>n</i> = 2,620)	Medium-sized city ( <i>n</i> = 2,913)	Small town ( <i>n</i> = 1,646)	$\chi^2$ Significance
Robbery/extortion and extortion	5.0	1.3	1.2	<0.001
Assault	3.9	2.9	2.7	0.061
Theft	21.2	15.2	13.5	<0.001
Bullying	13.5	12.9	10.3	0.009

Notes: *n* = 7,179; prevalences based on valid cases

**Table 16.23** Year prevalences of victimization by geographical area

	North ( <i>n</i> = 3,148)	Centre ( <i>n</i> = 1,350)	South ( <i>n</i> = 2,681)	$\chi^2$ Significance
Robbery/extortion and extortion	1.8	0.7	4.6	<0.001
Assault	3.3	3.4	3.1	0.913
Theft	19.1	18.1	14.0	<0.001
Bullying	13.0	13.2	11.7	0.276

Notes: *n* = 7,179; prevalences based on valid cases

**Table 16.24** Last year prevalences of victimization by migrant background

	Non-migrant ( <i>n</i> = 6,348)	Second generation migrant ( <i>n</i> = 421)	First generation migrant ( <i>n</i> = 398)	$\chi^2$ Significance
Robbery/extortion and extortion	2.6	1.8	3.8	0.194
Assault	3.2	3.3	3.7	0.896
Theft	16.1	19.6	29.3	<0.001
Bullying	11.9	16.0	18.0	<0.001

Notes: *n* = 7,167; prevalences based on valid cases

**Table 16.25** Last year prevalences of victimization by deviant group membership

	Not member ( <i>n</i> = 5,630)	Member of a group that commits illegal acts ( <i>n</i> = 994)	Member of a gang ( <i>n</i> = 380)	$\chi^2$ Significance
Robbery/extortion and extortion	2.2	4.3	5.0	<0.001
Assault	2.5	5.4	7.8	<0.001
Theft	15.5	23.4	22.0	<0.001
Bullying	13.3	9.4	7.8	<0.001

Notes: *n* = 7,004; prevalences based on valid cases

experts in more than 30 countries. In Italy, researchers from ten universities participated generously and enthusiastically in a common work, which proved to be extremely fruitful, not least with a view to the further development of this area of research.

The results reported are descriptive; it is not claimed that they provide any observations of a causal nature, which would require the application of multivariate analyses. What emerges from these results is that deviant behaviours are more widespread than the official statistics indicate; they are more frequent among males than females; they increase with age; and they are more common among youths attending vocational institutions and less common among high-school students. Moreover, deviant behaviours are seen to be more prevalent among second-generation migrants, while first-generation migrants do not differ from non-migrants (although the high non-response rate among first-generation migrants makes this finding uncertain). Being a member of a youth gang or deviant group implies a far greater likelihood of committing crimes and of using alcohol and drugs; it also seems to constitute a significant risk factor for victimisation (with the exception of bullying).

The prevalence of unlawful behaviours does not appear to be correlated in a homogeneous, systematic and significant manner with the size of the city/town of residence or with its geographical location (north, south or centre), in that some deviant behaviours are prevalent in some cities and others in others.

The data indicate that alcohol consumption is widespread among the youths interviewed and that the difference between males and females is less marked than that observed for other deviant behaviours. Alcohol consumption increases proportionally with age and, in the context of secondary education, is more common among students attending technical and vocational

institutions than among high-school students. The use of cannabis displays a similar pattern, though the levels of consumption are decidedly lower.

Victimisation appears to be correlated with the size of the city/town of residence, being more frequent in the large cities. With regard to geographical location, a higher proportion of youths living in the South are victims of robbery/extortion, while those living in the North are more likely to be the victims of theft. Moreover, more males than females state that they have been the victims of theft, extortion and assault, and these percentages increase with age. By contrast, bullying is more frequently reported by girls, among the lower age groups, and among non-gang members. Victimisation is more frequent among migrants than among native Italians and, within the subgroup of migrants, it is even more frequent among first-generation migrants. Thus, while second-generation migrants commit more offences and are, at the same time, the group more frequently victimized, those of the first generation display similar offence rates to native Italians, but are more frequently the victims of crime. In any case, the differences in deviant behaviour between Italians and migrants are far smaller than those indicated by the official statistics on prosecutions, convictions and imprisonment.

## Appendix

In order to compare the Italian results with those from other countries participating in the ISRD-2 study, we have included three tables showing the data regarding 7th, 8th and 9th grade students; as the samples from other countries do not comprise 10th grade students, data on these students have been excluded from this analysis (Fig. 16.3).



**Fig. 16.3** Geographical distribution of the Italian sample

**Table 16.26** Lifetime and last year prevalences of offences (grade 7, 8, 9 only)

	Lifetime		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Group fight	25.5	1.2	15.2	1.8
Carrying a weapon	8.9	1.2	5.1	1.4
Assault	2.6	1.5	1.6	1.6
Snatching of bag/snatching	3.2	1.4	1.6	1.4
Robbery/extortion	2.4	1.3	1.6	1.4
Vandalism	14.1	1.4	9.2	1.6
Shoplifting	16.6	1.3	7.4	1.5
Bicycle/motor bike theft	3.9	1.1	2.3	1.2
Car break	4.3	1.3	2.1	1.4
Burglary	3.1	1.5	1.5	1.5
Car theft	1.1	1.3	0.7	1.3
Computer hacking	9.4	1.5	7.7	1.6
Drug dealing	2.7	1.2	1.9	1.3
XTC/speed use	1.1	1.3	0.5	1.4
LSD/heroin/cocaine use	1.2	1.3	0.5	1.4

Notes:  $n = 5,301$ ; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin use: last month prevalence

**Table 16.27** Lifetime and last year prevalences (large city vs. rest of sample - grade 7, 8, 9 only)

	Large city sample (n = 1,886)				Rest of sample (n = 3,415)			
	Lifetime		Last year <sup>a</sup>		Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Group fight	30.6	1.1	18.9	1.6	22.7	1.3	13.1	1.8
Carrying a weapon	10.8	1.2	6.4	1.5	7.9	1.2	4.5	1.3
Assault	3.4	1.2	2.3	1.3	2.1	1.7	1.3	1.8
Snatching of bag	4.5	1.2	2.4	1.2	2.5	1.5	1.2	1.5
Robbery/extortion	3.6	1.4	2.7	1.5	1.7	1.3	1.0	1.3
Vandalism	16.5	1.2	11.5	1.3	12.7	1.4	8.0	1.7
Shoplifting	22.0	1.2	10.1	1.4	13.6	1.3	5.9	1.6
Bicycle/motor bike theft	6.3	1.1	3.8	1.1	2.6	1.1	1.4	1.2
Car break	6.3	1.2	3.0	1.4	3.2	1.4	1.7	1.4
Burglary	4.8	1.4	2.2	1.5	2.2	1.5	1.1	1.5
Car theft	1.9	1.3	1.2	1.3	0.6	1.3	0.4	1.3
Computer hacking	11.2	1.4	8.9	2.5	8.4	1.6	7.1	1.7
Drug dealing	3.6	1.2	2.6	1.2	2.1	1.3	1.5	1.3
XTC/speed use	1.5	1.3	0.7	1.4	0.9	1.3	0.4	1.4
LSD/heroin/cocaine use	1.5	1.3	0.9	1.3	1.0	1.3	0.3	1.4

Notes: n = 5,301; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin use: last month prevalence

**Table 16.28** Lifetime and last year prevalences by City-Size

	Large city (n = 1,886)				Medium-sized city (n = 2,214)				Small town (n = 1,201)			
	Lifetime		Last year <sup>a</sup>		Lifetime		Last year <sup>a</sup>		Lifetime		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Group fight	30.6	1.1	18.9	1.6	21.2	1.3	12.3	1.7	25.5	1.2	14.7	2.1
Carrying a weapon	10.8	1.2	6.4	1.5	7.6	1.2	4.2	1.4	8.4	1.2	4.9	1.2
Assault	3.4	1.2	2.3	1.3	2.3	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.9	2.1	0.8	2.2
Snatching of bag	4.5	1.2	2.4	1.2	2.0	1.6	1.0	1.6	3.5	1.2	1.5	1.4
Robbery/extortion	3.6	1.4	2.7	1.5	1.4	1.4	0.9	1.4	2.4	1.2	1.2	1.2
Vandalism	16.5	1.2	11.5	1.3	12.0	1.4	7.7	1.6	14.1	1.6	8.6	1.9
Shoplifting	22.0	1.2	10.1	1.4	12.7	1.4	6.3	1.7	15.1	1.2	5.2	1.5
Bicycle/motor bike theft	6.3	1.1	3.8	1.1	2.1	1.0	1.1	1.1	3.5	1.2	1.9	1.2
Car break	6.3	1.2	3.0	1.4	2.9	1.5	1.6	1.5	3.9	1.2	1.8	1.2
Burglary	4.8	1.4	2.2	1.5	1.9	1.4	1.1	1.5	2.7	1.6	1.1	1.6
Car theft	1.9	1.3	1.2	1.3	0.5	1.2	0.2	1.2	0.9	1.3	0.7	1.3
Computer hacking	11.2	1.4	8.9	2.5	7.7	1.6	6.2	1.8	9.9	1.4	8.8	1.5
Drug dealing	3.6	1.2	2.6	1.2	1.9	1.4	1.3	1.4	2.5	1.0	1.8	1.2
XTC/speed use	1.5	1.3	0.7	1.4	0.8	1.2	0.4	1.2	1.1	1.6	0.6	1.7
LSD/heroin/cocaine use	1.5	1.3	0.9	1.3	0.9	1.4	0.2	1.4	1.2	1.2	0.4	1.2

Notes: n = 5,301; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Hard drug use: last month prevalence

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# Chapter 17

## Cyprus

Andreas Kapardis

### 17.1 Introduction

The study reports on research conducted by a research team headed by Professor Andreas Kapardis of the Law Department, University of Cyprus. It is based on a survey of a sample of adolescents in junior secondary education in all the major cities in the free areas of the Republic of Cyprus. The study was conducted in connection with the author's participation in the Second International Self-report Delinquency Study (ISR2). This chapter describes the methodology used in the school survey, and presents the survey results, which are focused in particular on the prevalence of juvenile delinquency, analysing the levels of secondary school pupils' involvement in drug-use, theft, burglary, assault, mugging, as well as anti-social behaviour such as alcohol use and bullying.

#### 17.1.1 Cyprus

A former British colony, Cyprus gained independence in 1960, following years of resistance to British rule. Shortly after the founding of the Republic, serious differences arose between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots about the implementation and interpretation of the constitution. In 1963, when Makarios, the first president of Cyprus, advanced proposals to amend the constitution in order to facilitate the functioning of the government, the Turkish side rejected

them, and Turkish Cypriot extremists all over the island fortified themselves in enclaves. This gave rise to inter-communal tension and occasional violent clashes during the period 1963-June 1974. On 20 July 1974, Turkey invaded Cyprus, purportedly, to restore constitutional order. It seized 35% of the territory of Cyprus in the north and forced a de facto partition of the island, resulting in large numbers of Greek-Cypriot refugees fleeing to the south; at the same time, the Turkish-Cypriot community was transported and forced to live in the occupied areas. The international community condemned this act and declared it both illegal and invalid. The Republic of Cyprus is the only internationally recognised government in Cyprus.

The Republic of Cyprus is situated in the eastern Mediterranean and has been a member of the European Union since May 2004. Cyprus has an estimated total population of 689,565 inhabitants (July 2007). The ethnic diversity in the sovereign territory of the Republic of Cyprus is reported as 80.7% Greek Cypriot, 11% Turkish Cypriot and 8.3%, others. Seventy per cent of the population lives in urban centres and 30%, in rural areas. The population distribution by age is estimated by the government Statistical Service as follows: 11 or younger (16.7%), 12–17 (9.3%) and 18+ (73.6%). The major cities where the survey was carried out are the capital Nicosia (300,600), Limassol (219,900), Larnaca (128,000), Paphos (73,600) and Famagusta (42,200). The last 15 years or so have seen a significant number of foreigners, largely on fixed-term employment permits, working in various sectors of the economy in Cyprus, as well as an increasing number of illegal immigrants and asylum seekers. In addition, since its becoming a full member of the EU on 1 May 2004, there have also been a significant number of workers from EU member states residing in Cyprus. As far as the involvement of

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non-Cypriots in crime is concerned, official police statistics on serious offences reported and investigated show the following levels of involvement: homicide/attempted homicide (30%), rape (29%), arson (7%), robbery/extortion (25%), drugs (44%), burglary (11%), theft (8%), and “other” serious offences (35%). The average involvement of non-Cypriots in serious crime is 19%. However, these figures most likely underestimate the real involvement levels of foreigners because they are more likely to be involved in undetected crime (how is this known?).

Regarding comparative crime rates, drawing on Aebi et al. (2006) *European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics-2006*, in Cyprus there were 944 offences per 100,000 inhabitants compared with 697 in Malta, 10,343 in Finland and 3,490 in the Czech Republic. In addition, Cyprus had 20 offenders per 100,000 of the population in 2002 compared with 178 for Malta, 484 for Finland and 60 in the Czech Republic. Despite such comparatively low crime rates, as in other European countries, crime in Cyprus is a major cause for concern for the public at large and, in fact, one-third of Cypriots considers drugs the most serious problem faced by the country after the country’s political problems (Cyprus Barometer, 2006, p. 73). Furthermore, frequent media reports of increasing illicit drug use among juveniles have been instrumental in creating moral panics, highlighting the significance of the ISRD-2 survey in ascertaining the extent and nature of delinquent behaviour and its correlates.

While the economy of Cyprus has been robust enough for the country to be admitted to the Euro zone in July 2007, it is well established in criminological research that there is a correlation between juvenile delinquency and belonging to a large-size, low socio-economic status family (West and Farrington, 1973, 1977). According to a recent study of poverty in Cyprus by the Economic Research Centre of the University of Cyprus, adopting the EU definition of “households in poverty” as those that are 60% below the median income, it is found that the following percentages of households were “in poverty” in 2003: 21.4% of households generally; 13% of couples with three or more children; and 37% of single-parent families. Interestingly enough, the same research report found a second and third child in a family increases the likelihood of being in the poverty category by 8 and 19.5% respectively.

## 17.2 The Design of the Study

### 17.2.1 The Sample

The present study is based on a questionnaire survey among school students from a big city, a medium sized town and a smaller community. The survey was conducted in all major cities of the free areas of the republic of Cyprus (Nicosia, Larnaca, Limassol, Famacusta, Paphos)

Five main variables were used to stratify the sample and to ensure its representativeness: gender; grade level; urban versus rural areas; socioeconomic status (SES) of locality; and size of school.

With the cooperation of the 16 schools participating, a representative sample of 2,500 students (oversampling 5%) aged 12–15 years was drawn for the survey. Mainly due to a small number of students being absent on the day the survey was administered at a particular school, the survey sample actually included was 2,358 (i.e. 94.3%).

### 17.2.2 The Survey Questionnaire: Content and Development

The questionnaire was translated into Greek with the intention of staying as close as possible to the original (English) version of the instrument, although some degree of adaptation to Greek conditions was necessary. The Greek version included an additional question at the beginning of the questionnaire regarding the number of cars a family owns.

The standardised questionnaire was used with minor adjustments to the phrasing of certain questions after pilot testing. Pilot testing included 25 secondary school students. The students were asked to question anything they didn’t understand or felt was difficult, but very few pupils raised such concerns. A paper and pencil method was used to administer the survey. The only negative comment from participating pupils was that the questionnaire “is too long” and, consequently, “one school period is barely enough to complete it”. For those pupils who were of ethnic background and needed help with the language to complete the questionnaire, help was at hand in the classroom. In order to avoid teachers intervening in one way or another

when pupils were completing the questionnaire, teachers were requested (and complied) not to be in the classroom at the particular time.

The questionnaire was administered during regular class time, with one school period lasting 40 min. Appointments were arranged ahead with the schools and interviewers visited all schools to agree on the logistics of the survey with the headmaster/mistress and the interviewers themselves administered the survey in each class selected at each school in the sample. All students present in a class participated in the survey.

Start and end dates for fieldwork were September–November 2006. All schools except one that were approached participated in the survey. The total number of schools that participated in the survey was sixteen.

The research was conducted with the written consent and the full cooperation of the Ministry of Education and Culture and the passive consent of parents. The response rate by schools, students and parents was very high (see below).

### **17.2.3 Response Rate and Composition of the Sample**

The overall response rate for the questionnaire survey was 2,385 students (95.4%). The composition of the sample was as follows: 49.7% males and 51.3% females; aged 12 (25%), 13 (32%), 14 (34%), 15 (7%) and over 15 (2%). Most of the student respondents (89%) had been born in Cyprus. Of the respondents, 14% had a mother and 11% had a father who had been born overseas. Twelve-percent were not living with both their parents; at home 6% spoke a language other than Greek. As far as the job situation of their parents is concerned, the father and mother respectively had a permanent job in 69 and 62% of the responses respectively, and were managing their own business in 22 and 9% respectively. Also, of the mothers, 22% were described as not employed, rather looking after the household. The majority of the respondents reported that they had their own room (75%), a mobile phone (92%), a computer in the house (89%) and that the family owned at least one car (94%).

## **17.3 Youth Delinquency in Cyprus**

A major event in the recent history of Cyprus, which has impacted that society immensely was the 1974 Turkish invasion, which resulted in 40% of the island being occupied, the displacement of one-third of its Greek-Cypriot population to the southern part of the island as refugees, and the de facto partition of the country. Bearing in mind that the population of the Republic of Cyprus was, in 2006, approximately three-quarters of a million people, drawing on annual official criminal statistics for the period 1985–2006, we find that serious crime in Cyprus has, generally speaking, increased significantly over the past 20 years, especially arson, robbery/extortion, narcotics offences and burglary. However, annual police statistics pertaining to juveniles involved in serious offences show a significant increase in 2006 but no consistent trend over the last 6 years: 2002 (377), 2003 (325), 2004 (194), 2005 (246), 2006 (474). When interpreting these figures one needs to bear in mind the importance of reporting behaviour, which is often effected by media coverage of juvenile offending creating “moral panic”. Such factors also impact policing and police recording practices as well.

As far as the distribution of juvenile crime across administrative districts in Cyprus is concerned, police statistics show that in 2006, the Nicosia district accounted for 59% of juvenile cases investigated, followed by Limassol (16%) and Famagusta (5%). As is generally known, juveniles tend to offend in the company of peers, hence the number of offenders is greater than the number of cases. When examining the type of offenders involved and the offences committed in 2006: 97% were boys; 20% aged 7–13, 80% aged 14–16; 66% lived in cities; 14% of the respondents’ had separated or divorced parents; and, the great majority (86%) of these students were still at school, 6% were apprentices, and 8% were unemployed. Furthermore, the vast majority (85%) of juveniles committed property crime (i.e. theft, burglary, and have possessed stolen goods). Only 1% committed assault involving grievous bodily harm, 3.3% arson, 2.9% forgery, 1.2% drug offences, and 0.4% firearm offences. A number of small-scale, self-reported delinquency surveys in Cyprus since the 1990s show increasing involvement of juveniles in offending and, as would have been expected, that this is greater than what is reported to the police.

The ISRD-2 survey was the first national self-reported delinquency study in Cyprus. Table 17.1 shows the lifetime and last-year prevalence of a range of anti-social behaviours by city size. It should be noted here that the city of Famagusta itself has been occupied by the Turkish army since 1974 and the reference to Famagusta in the ISRD-2 survey is to the free area of Famagusta which includes the town of Paralimni.

Considering lifetime prevalence, Table 17.1 shows that group fighting and computer hacking are almost as high in Nicosia as in the free area of Famagusta. Lower secondary school pupils from Nicosia lead the way in vandalism. The area of Famagusta also has the highest prevalence of drug use, drug dealing and carrying a weapon, assault, extortion and car theft. This finding confirms the well-established link in criminology between drugs, violence, and serious property crime. Illicit drugs and violence have become a social problem of great concern to the local community in the Famagusta area and to the Cypriot authorities. Both phenomena are directly related, to a considerable

extent, to the high divorce rate in the area and the impact of large-scale overseas tourism over the past 2 decades which has been the main source of income for the local population, but which has also had an adverse impact on and has weakened the family bond and the bond with society at large.

Using last-year prevalence figures, we see that they are generally lower across offences and across the three areas than lifetime prevalence. However, while group fighting and vandalism are high in all three areas, the Famagusta area, once again, shows higher last-year prevalence for drug use, drug dealing, extortion and carrying a weapon. It is interesting to note that the medium-sized city of Larnaca generally shows lower lifetime and last-year prevalence. A possible explanation for this finding is that, in contrast to the free area of Famagusta, Larnaca has not experienced either long-term, large-scale tourism and the concomitant proliferation of nightclubs, which have been accompanied by higher-than-average divorce rates in the Famagusta area. Alternatively such findings may suggest that the serious problem of

**Table 17.1** Life-time and last-year prevalence (%) by city size

	Large city ( <i>N</i> = 800)				Medium-sized city ( <i>n</i> = 1,064)				Small towns ( <i>n</i> = 449)			
	Life time		Last year		Life time		Last year		Life time		Last year	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Group fighting	18.7	10.5	13.6	10.9	14.8	8.9	10.9	9.1	17.4	7.8	13.6	8.2
Carrying a weapon	4.8	9.4	2.8	9.6	3.5	8.9	2.3	9.1	6.1	8.7	3.4	8.9
Assault	3.3	7.9	1.9	8.1	1.7	8.4	1.1	8.5	3.9	8.0	3.2	8.5
Snatching of bag	1.5	7.6	0.7	7.9	1.4	8.2	0.7	8.4	1.2	8.2	0.7	8.2
Robbery/ extortion	1.3	10.5	0.8	10.6	1.8	8.8	0.9	9.0	2.9	8.0	2.4	8.0
Vandalism	7.7	7.8	3.3	8.5	6.2	7.4	3.2	7.6	5.8	7.8	3.4	7.8
Shoplifting	5.7	7.6	2.6	8.0	3.3	8.1	1.0	8.5	4.4	8.2	1.9	8.2
Bicycle/motor Bike theft	2.2	7.4	1.3	7.4	2.3	8.0	1.4	8.1	2.4	7.8	1.4	7.8
Breaking into car	1.9	7.5	1.4	7.5	1.5	8.3	1.0	8.3	1.2	8.5	1.2	8.5
Burglary	1.9	7.3	1.2	7.5	0.9	7.9	0.7	7.9	1.4	7.8	0.7	7.8
Car theft	1.3	7.3	0.8	7.5	1.0	8.0	0.9	8.0	2.4	7.3	1.0	7.3
Computer hacking	4.8	8.0	3.4	8.1	3.1	8.1	2.2	8.1	4.8	8.0	4.4	8.2
Drug dealing	1.5	8.5	1.1	8.6	1.6	8.5	1.3	8.5	1.9	7.8	1.2	8.0
XTC/speed use	2.2	7.3	1.5	7.4	2.3	7.6	1.7	7.7	2.7	7.8	2.2	7.8
LSD/heroine/ cocaine use	1.4	7.6	1.1	7.8	1.7	7.7	1.4	7.7	2.4	8.5	1.7	8.5

*Note:* Unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases; Large city – Nicosia (300,600); medium-sized city – Larnaca (128,100); small city – Famagusta [area] (42,200)

ideologically-tainted football hooliganism (see Kapardis et al., 2006), which is so much a feature of juveniles in Nicosia, underpinning a great deal of group fighting in schools.

## 17.4 Risk Factors Towards Youth Delinquency

*Experience with serious problems:* A small proportion of respondents (2.3%) had experienced the death of a sibling but more (38.7%) had experienced the death of a loved person; 8% had to cope with a lengthy or serious illness themselves and (26.5%) of a parent or someone close to them. As far as their parents are concerned, 3.1% had one or both parents described as having a drug or alcohol problem; 12.3% their parents repeatedly argued seriously or quarrelled; and 9.9% had separated or divorced parents.

*Relationship with parents:* Few respondents (7%) did not get on with their parents or their mother/foster mother (3.4%) while more of the respondents (24%) did various common activities with their parents less often than once a week and 6% never had a meal with their parents or guardians, while 93% did so at least once a week. Ineffective monitoring children is generally considered by criminologists to be a risk factor and some delinquency prevention programmes emphasise improving parenting skills, including the effective monitoring of one's children's leisure time (see Farrington, 2007, for a review). It was found that while the parents or adult guardian's of 3.5% were said to not know who their children went out with, more (22%) of the respondents had parents who would not tell them what time to come home when going out.

*Had been victims of antisocial behaviour:* During the previous 12 months, 3.5% had been blackmailed and threatened with violence to extort money or personal property from them; 10% had been bullied (see Smith et al., 2004), while 4% had been victims of theft.

*Leisure time activities:* Given the big emphasis within Cypriot society on educational attainment and the incredible amount of money the average parent spends on coaching lessons for their children to do well in university entrance examinations most of the year there is little free time left outside school hours

for adolescents to enjoy. Thus it was surprising to find that a small number (6%) never go out, while 71% reported that they every day go to a party, a disco, visit a friend, or play with friends in the street and 22% go out at least once a week. Also, the majority of respondents (74%) reported that they study for 1 hour or less every day. As many reported that they (42%) do not read a book, and one-third do so study for less than 30 min daily. Half (52%) of the respondent report that they spend 3 hour or more with their friends, 47% do sport for 2 hour or more and, finally, the great majority (80%) do not play a musical instrument. A significant proportion (45%) spend most their free time with their family and fewer do so with 1–3 (25%) or four or more (15%) friends. There is a minority (14%) who spend most of their free time by themselves and, of the rest, a significant proportion (44%) do so with their family and 40% with at least one friend. (I'm not quite sure what they are trying to say here, or even a bit before. Perhaps a small conclusion to each section would be helpful?)

*Belonging to a social group:* As would have been expected, most (81%) of the adolescents have a group with which they spend their free time, especially in a public place (54%), and such a group has most often (38%) been in existence from 1 to 4 years and for 41% includes both boys and girls, although 6% belong to social groups that include young people from other ethnic communities. These same respondents who report that they have friends from other communities also report that this practice is approved in only about half of the time (47%) by their parents. The last finding may point to prejudice and discrimination by some parents against non-Greek-Cypriots. Interestingly, while 69% have friends who are of the same age, 13% have older friends ranging in age from 16 to over 25 years. Parents worldwide worry their child may be wrongly influenced by his or her peer group. Such a concern would seem to have some foundation when for 19% of the respondents their peer group approves of illegal acts and 12% report that they commit offences together.

Social group activities usually mean sometimes going to a disco or pop concert for approximately one-third (31%), playing in a band (15%), drinking beer or taking drugs (9%), destroying property for fun (18%), shoplift (6%), playing sports (75%), playing electronic games or chatting on the internet (80%) and, finally, 28% report that they annoy or scare people for fun.

*Attitudes and behaviours conducive for anti-social behaviour:* Half of the respondents report that they usually find it difficult to speak with a calm voice if in disagreement with someone and a significant proportion (44%) lose their cool very easily and when they are angry others stay away (31%). While more than a third (36%) report that they act on the spur of the moment and do so even at the expense of long-term goals (35%), a significant proportion (45%) report they are concerned about what is happening to them at the present rather than in the long run. Thirty-six percent report that they take a risk for fun, 32% consider enthusiasm and adventure more important than safety, Half of the respondents report that they take care of themselves first even if it means making life difficult for others and as many report that they will try to get what they want even if that creates problems for other people. Thirty-eight percent of the respondents report that if their behaviour annoys other people it is other people's problem and not their own. Accident proneness is a correlate of anti-social behaviour. Almost one in four (24%) of the respondents had been involved in a serious accident for which they needed to see a doctor, with 9% having had more than one such accident.

*Attitudes towards violence:* Attitudes are considered important by social psychologists for they are said to correlate with behaviour. While a small minority of our respondents (10%), believed that by using violence one gains the respect of others, (15%) held the view that a little violence is part of having a good time, while under a third (28%) felt life would be boring without violence. More than half of the respondents (57%) reported that they would hit back if attacked and 53% considered it normal for boys to want to distinguish themselves by winning physical contests.

*School achievement:* Not doing well at school, absenteeism, and dropping out of school is a correlate of delinquency (Farrington, 2007). Almost half of our respondents believed themselves to perform better at school than most of their classmates, while 44% perceived themselves to be of average performance and 6% admitted to having very serious difficulties in class. When asked if they generally like their school, 44% answered in the affirmative but when asked to respond to the statement "I like my school", less (28%) responded in the negative. This demonstrates one of the difficulties in doing social surveys, the importance of how a question is phrased. The answer to the question probably lies somewhere between the two responses. A

small number of respondents (7%) had repeated a class and 21% had been absent from school without an acceptable reason (with 6% on three or more occasions).

*The neighbourhood:* A minority of our respondents commented negatively about their neighbourhood. Specifically, one-fifth referred to a lot of offensive graffiti on walls, almost one in five (19%) said their neighbours generally do not get on well with each other, for 16% there are many fights, and for 14% there are many empty and deserted buildings. Nonetheless, the great majority (82%) like their neighbourhood and would miss it if they had to move; for 68% it is a neighbourhood with social cohesion and trustworthy people (71%), where people (74%) willingly help their neighbours, although fewer (46%) of the respondents have neighbours who notice if they misbehave and tell them about it.

*Having friends who have committed criminal offences:* About one in ten of the respondents (11%) had friends who had shoplifted, used drugs (7%), broke into a house with the intention to steal (7%), seriously assaulted or seriously injured someone with a piece of wood or a knife (5%) and had friends who had threatened someone with some form of a weapon or assaulted them in order to take their money or some other possession, i.e. who had committed robbery/extortion or armed robbery/extortion (4%).

*Relationship with school:* The majority of respondents (68%) reported that they like their school and (79%) would miss it if they had to change school. These respondents also report that teachers notice and praise (77%) them when they do well, and three-quarters report can do music, sport, drama and so forth in addition to their normal classes at school. Finally, half of the respondents report they intend to continue with their education in order to get into a university, while 17% would look for a job and 10% would somehow learn a trade.

*Intoxicants:* Drinking alcohol is quite common among Cypriot adolescents. Lifetime prevalence of drinking wine, beer or breezers was 43 and 20% for strong spirits. However, using drugs and especially hard drugs is very rare among Cypriot junior secondary school students. Only 3.4% reported using marijuana or hashish. Using ecstasy or speed was extremely rare (2.8%) as was the lifetime prevalence of LSD, heroine or cocaine (2.1%).

Summarising the results obtained about criminal offences committed by the respondents, Table 17.2



**Table 17.2** Life-time prevalence of addictive substance use overall and by city size (%)

	Nationally	Large	Medium	Small
Alcohol	42.9	46.6	42.9	46.3
Strong alcohol	20.2	22.4	20.6	21.5
Marijuana, hashish etc.	3.4	3.7	2.8	3.4
Ecstasy or amphetamines	2.8	2.6	2.1	4
LSD, heroine etc.	2.1	1.7	1.7	3.4

*Note:* Large city – Nicosia; medium city – Larnaca; small city – Famagusta

show the life-time prevalence both of addictive substance use as well as for offences against property and against the person.

Table 17.2 shows that alcohol use is alarmingly high in all cities surveyed while the free areas of the District of Famagusta present as the greatest use of hard drugs as reported by this sample of students.

## 17.5 Conclusion

Compared to other European countries the Republic of Cyprus still enjoys low crime rates for both adult and juvenile offending. Interestingly enough, however, crime in general and offending by juveniles in particular is a cause of major concern for the public at large, highlighting the significance of the ISRD-2 for Cyprus.

Using the ISRD-2 questionnaire, slightly adapted for use in Cyprus, a representative stratified sample of 2,358 junior secondary school pupils in grade seven to nine were surveyed during the period September-November 2006. Without forgetting the weaknesses of such surveys, it was found that a rather small minority can justifiably be termed “high-risk” pupils and, inter alia, had the following characteristics: had drug-addicted or alcoholic parent’s or guardians, belonged to families with a lot of intra-familial conflict, came from broken families, did not get on with their parent’s or guardian, did not share common activities with their parent’s or guardian’s, and had parents who are incompetent or disinterested in supervising them. A greater proportion of the high-risk respondents had additional characteristics such as: peers who approved of illegal acts, had committed offences with their friends, consumed alcohol, took drugs, caused criminal damage to property, had attitudes that are conducive for anti-social behaviour, played truant from school, and were attending a junior secondary school with a high level of anti-social behaviour.

Finally, the lifetime prevalence of a number of offences against property, against the person, and addictive substance abuse was comparatively very low indeed (<5%). However, the prevalence of computer-related offences was very high. It was interesting to observe that the lifetime prevalence of hard drugs was higher in the free areas of Famagusta district, a region with a great deal of tourism, a very high rate of urbanisation and, finally, a higher divorce rate than elsewhere in Cyprus.

The juvenile delinquency problem identified by the survey is complex in its etiology but it lends itself to effective intervention with high-risk focused programmes such as the well-known “Communities that Care” approach. The challenge for the ISRD-2 research team is now to convince the relevant authorities in Cyprus to utilise the survey findings and to implement an effective juvenile delinquency intervention programme that will address both the needs of high-risk pupils themselves as well as their needs in relation to their school, families and local communities. Finally, there is a need for more research into juvenile delinquency in Cyprus to test further criminological theories and to inform future government policy.

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# **Eastern and Central European Countries**

# Chapter 18

## Estonia

Anna Markina and Jüri Saar

### 18.1 Geographical Situation, Demographic and Socio-economic Background

Estonia is one of the three Baltic States, bordering Russia in the east, Latvia in the south, and the Baltic Sea in the north and the west. Estonia regained its independence in 1991 after a period of Soviet occupation that lasted five decades. Since gaining control over their own country, the people of Estonia have made strenuous efforts to rebuild the democratic institutions and the free market economy that was destroyed in the Soviet time. In April 2004, Estonia became a member of NATO and since May 2004, Estonia has been a full member of EU.

In early 2007, Estonia had a total population of 1.34 million. The local population has decreased by 14% because of emigration and low birth rate since 1991. In addition to Estonians, there are a lot of people living in Estonia who belong to other ethnic minorities and who constitute a substantial part of the population. According to the last census (31.03.2000) data, the ethnic composition in Estonia is as follows: Estonians, 68%, Russians, 26% and others, 6%. The proportion of Estonians decreased significantly during the Soviet occupation. As part of the Soviet Union, Estonia had experienced intense migration from other regions of USSR. Yet, the intensive immigration in the Soviet period helped preserve a relatively young population. Since the 1990s, however, the Estonian population has been steadily aging. In 1991, those of age 60 and above constituted

15% of the population; at the beginning of 2007, the respective proportion was 21% (Statistical Office of Estonia, 2003, p. 31).

The process of urbanisation started from the middle of the last century. This process of urbanisation has continued after Estonia's regaining independence from USSR. In 1974, the urban population constituted 68% of the total population, and in 2007, it was 70% (Statistical Office of Estonia, 2007). A substantial part of the population (30%) of Estonia lives in the capital Tallinn

Since 1991, the GDP of Estonia *per capita* has grown rapidly, increasing from 2,485 USD in 1995 to 4,106 USD in 2000 and 12,412 USD in 2006. A relatively high unemployment rate existed in Estonia until the end of the last century (in 2000, it was 13.6%), but it has decreased substantially. In early 2007, the unemployment rate was 5.9%. In the 2006 UNO Human Development Report, Estonia was placed among countries of high human development, ranking 40th among 177 countries (United Nations Development Programme, 2006). The level of income inequality in Estonia is average (Gini index 35.8 in 2006); however, it is above that in the majority of the former socialist states. On this basis, it is possible to claim that the intensive reforms and liberal economic policy in Estonia have resulted in a relatively high level of inequality. The female economic participation rate in 2004 was 52.2%. The proportion of single parent households was 12.1% in 2007; the average household size was 2.36. The divorce rate was 2.84.

Rates of alcohol and tobacco consumption of the Estonian population are relatively high. In 2006, the level of alcohol consumption was 12 l of absolute alcohol *per capita* (Martens, 2007). Thirty per cent (26% every-day smokers and 6% occasional smokers) of the Estonian adult population smoked in 2006 (Ahermaa, 2007). According to the Estonian law, consumption as well as possession of alcohol by underage people

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(younger than 18 years) is prohibited (Alcohol Act – RT I, 2002, 3, 7). Similar restrictions in connection with tobacco products are also in force for underage people (Tobacco Act – Rt I, 2005, 29, 210). In 2005, The National Drugs and Psychotropic Substances Act (NSPDD) and Associated Acts Amendment Act was adopted (RT I, 2005, 24, 180). This act imposed additional restrictions on the illegal handling of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances and their precursors and the amendments led to the establishment of the National Drug Treatment Database (NDTD). If one evaluates the Estonian alcohol and drug policy, it becomes clear that it has moved from a relatively mild position of the state (*laissez-faire*) in the 1990s towards relatively strong measures today. For example, the rules for alcohol and tobacco trade and consumption in public places have become substantially more severe during the last couple of years. Likewise, the sanctions for drug crimes have become much more serious than before.

Since the beginning of the 1990s, the club (international youth) culture connected with music and drug consumption has started to spread in Estonia. Prior to that time, only a small number of fans of electronic dancing music were known in Estonia; thereafter, however, these relatively small events changed to mass events (e.g. raves), where thousands of young people were taking part. Later, drug consumption spread out of the club culture and a so-called normalising process has taking place with regard to drug use (Parker et al., 1998).

## 18.2 Study Design and Description of Sample

A national simple random sampling method was utilised, using the Survey Manager. The sampling frame identified all compulsory school students from 7th, 8th and 9th aged 12–16 years (except schools for children with special needs). The sample was stratified by grade. A list of all the 7th, 8th and 9th classes in the population was obtained from the Ministry of Education and Research.

Data were collected in two phases: first in spring term from April 12th until May 30th, and then in the autumn term from September 11th until October 25th. 189 classes from 155 schools were approached which

**Table 18.1** Number of students by grade level in the population and in the achieved sample

	Population	%	Minimum aim	Achieved sample	%
Grade 7	17,163	31	700	857	33
Grade 8	18,247	33	700	992	38
Grade 9	19,553	36	700	764	29
Total	54,963	100	2,100	2,623	100

in the school year 2005/2006 had 4,322 students registered. In total, 100 of the 155 sampled schools and 129 (with 3,155 students registered in them) of the 189 sampled classes agreed to participate in the study.

In the first phase in spring, 1,815 questionnaires were collected; additional 808 were collected in the autumn which resulted in 2,623 questionnaires collected in total. After cleaning procedure 2,613 questionnaires remained for analysis (Table 18.1).

As the sample used in Estonia was nationally based, it also included schools where the language of instruction is Russian. In total, 22% of all questionnaires were completed in Russian. During the field work interviewers noted that fairly often students from families with Russian background were attending schools where the language of instruction was Estonian. In each class there were at least one or two of such students. These students were offered the opportunity to complete the questionnaire in Russian. However, they usually refused. Only 4 students used this possibility. For the rest, the Estonian language questionnaire was more preferable.

For this reason the language of the questionnaire is not an exact measure of ethnicity. Yet, we find it is the best approximation of socio-cultural integration of a student. An alternative ethnicity indicator, previously used in analysis of ISRD data would be to define ethnic group by country of birth, or parents' country of birth if at least one parent was born abroad (Junger-Tas et al., 2004, p. 336). However, as may be seen Table 18.2 below, in the Estonian context such indicator does not reflect the degree of socio-cultural integration of a person. Over 37% of Russian-speaking respondents are at least third generation migrants. By the criteria suggested by Junger-Tas and colleagues, they are native-born persons, but they still receive education in minority language and are not integrated with the majority culture.

While interpreting data for different ethnic groups slightly different age distribution should be taken into account. For Estonians the average age is 14 years

while for Russian speakers the average age is 15 years. The age distribution between the capital city and the rest of the sample does not differ.

Family composition is an important factor in explaining problem and delinquent behaviour. Two-thirds (62%) of respondents live with their own father and mother. This proportion is higher in the smaller towns and the countryside compared to the capital city. A relatively high proportion of respondents (22%) lives in one-parent household. These, as a rule, are single mother families.

Social-economic status of the respondents was measured with the help of four variables: whether respondent has a bedroom of his own, whether there is a computer at respondent's home, whether respondent has a mobile telephone and whether family has a car. These variables, though, did not distinguish between different socio-economic levels. Nearly all respondents have mobile phones (95%) and computer (91%) at their disposal. Nearly all families have a car (80%) (Table 18.3).

**Table 18.2** Ethnicity of sample respondents

	Estonian language questionnaire ( <i>n</i> = 2,030) %	Russian language questionnaire ( <i>n</i> = 583) %
First generation migrant	0.8	5.0
Second generation migrant	6.8	57.8
Native born	92.4	37.2

**Table 18.3** Family composition, parents' work and language of questionnaire

	Large city sample ( <i>n</i> = 772) %	Rest of sample ( <i>n</i> = 1,841) %	Total sample ( <i>n</i> = 2,598) %
Family composition			
One parent family	23.4	21.3	21.9
Core family complete	58.2	63.2	61.7
Core family re-constituted	15.2	12.5	13.3
Other	3.1	3.0	3.0
Stable work (family)			
No	3.4	4.5	4.2
Yes	96.6	95.5	95.8
Language of questionnaire			
Estonian	72.7	79.8	77.7
Russian	27.3	20.2	22.3

In respect to social economical status it would be more fruitful to look at whether parents have stable employment. The proportion of youth whose parents did not participate in the labour market is relatively low, nearly 4%. This percentage reflects the economic situation in Estonia in 2006, when economy was booming and the unemployment rate dropped to the lowest level since the restoration of independence.

## 18.3 Self-reported Delinquency and Risk Behaviour

### 18.3.1 Violent Acts

Table 18.4 shows life-time and last year prevalence for all types of studied offences and use of hard drugs. Table 18.5 shows the same, but presenting the data separately for the large city (Tallinn) and the rest of the sample. The most frequently reported offence among adolescents in Estonia is carrying a knife. This is true for life time as well as last year prevalence. 15% of respondents reported participation in a group fight at least once in their life and 7% did so during the last year. Both types of such aggressive behaviour, hereafter referred to as "frequent violent events", are more often reported by the respondents from large city.

Other types of violent behaviour such as robbery/extortion and assault are quite rare. Less than 4% of all respondents have reported committing assault during their lifetime and 2% did so over the last year. Robbery/extortion is even a more rare event, reported by less

**Table 18.4** Life-time and last year prevalence rates of offences

	Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Group fight	15.1	1.6	7.3	2.0
Carrying a weapon	15.8	1.5	9.6	1.7
Assault	3.8	1.4	1.8	1.6
Snatching of bag	0.8	1.4	0.5	1.5
Robbery/extortion	0.8	1.5	0.5	1.5
Vandalism	11.9	1.1	5.5	1.3
Shoplifting	11.4	1.3	1.8	1.5
Bicycle/motor bike theft	0.4	1.4	0.2	1.4
Car break	2.0	1.7	0.6	1.8
Burglary	1.5	1.2	0.5	1.3
Car theft	1.3	1.4	0.9	1.5
Computer hacking	10.4	1.5	6.9	1.8
Drug dealing	2.7	1.5	2.0	1.6
XTC/speed use <sup>a</sup>	3.1	1.7	1.0	1.7
LSD/heroin/cocaine use <sup>a</sup>	1.5	1.9	0.4	1.9

*n* = 2,613; unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin use: last month prevalence

**Table 18.5** Life-time and last year prevalence rates (large city sample vs. rest of sample)

	Large city sample ( <i>n</i> = 772)				Rest of sample ( <i>n</i> = 1,841)			
	Life time		Last year		Life time		Last year	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Group fight	15.7	2.8	8.5	2.8	14.8	1.1	6.7	1.6
Carrying a weapon	18.0	2.7	10.1	2.7	15.0	0.9	9.4	1.3
Assault	3.9	2.6	2.0	2.8	3.8	0.9	1.8	1.0
Snatching of bag	1.6	2.6	1.1	2.6	0.5	0.9	0.3	1.0
Robbery/extortion	0.9	3.1	0.7	3.1	0.7	0.8	0.4	0.9
Vandalism	10.7	1.8	4.9	2.2	12.4	0.9	5.8	1.0
Shoplifting	12.7	2.1	1.7	2.3	10.9	1.0	1.8	1.1
Bicycle/motor bike theft	0.3	2.3	0.0	2.3	0.5	1.0	0.2	1.0
Car break	2.0	3.2	0.8	3.2	2.0	1.1	0.5	1.2
Burglary	0.9	2.2	0.1	2.2	1.8	0.8	0.7	0.9
Car theft	0.8	2.5	0.3	2.5	1.5	0.9	1.1	1.0
Computer hacking	11.3	2.7	6.8	3.0	10.0	1.0	7.0	1.4
Drug dealing	3.9	2.7	3.1	2.8	2.2	1.0	1.5	1.1
XTC/speed use <sup>a</sup>	3.7	2.5	0.8	2.5	2.9	1.4	1.0	1.4
LSD/heroin/cocaine use <sup>a</sup>	2.8	2.5	0.4	2.6	1.0	1.6	0.4	1.6

Unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin use: last month prevalence

than 1% of respondents. There is almost no difference in prevalence of these serious violent acts between large city and the rest of the sample.

Comparing prevalence of violent acts among Estonian-speaking and Russian-speaking adolescents, we found significant differences between the two groups. Carrying a weapon and group fights are more widespread among Russian youth, while assault is more often reported by Estonian adolescents.

Respondents were also asked whether they have friends who ever assaulted somebody or who engage

in extortion. In total, 12% of the respondents reported having one or more friends who did beat someone up or hurt someone badly with something like a stick or a knife. As in the case of self-reported assault, more Estonian-speaking youth (13%) compared to Russian-speaking (9%) reported having friends who committed such act. 6% of all respondents indicated that they have at least one friend who did threaten somebody with a weapon or to beat him up, just to get money or other things from him. Somewhat more Russian adolescents have such friends (7%) compared to Estonians (6%).

In the capital city compared to the rest of the sample more respondents reported having friends engaged in extortion, while there was no difference in regard to friends engaged in assault.

Violent behaviour such as robbery/extortion and assault is often committed in a group. In our sample 57% of all robberies and 44% of assaults committed by adolescents within last 12 months were committed in association with other people.

### 18.3.2 Vandalism

The prevalence of self-reported vandalism is relatively high. 12% of the sample has committed act of vandalism during their life and 6% did so during the last year. Comparing data for Tallinn with the rest of the sample, we notice a lower level of reported vandalism in the capital city and higher level in the rest of the country. Estonian-speaking respondents reported slightly higher level of vandalism (12% for life time and 6% for last year) compared to Russian-speakers (11 and 4% respectively). We think that this difference could be at least partly explained by the fact that the proportion of Russian youth in the capital city is higher compared to the rest of the sample.

Vandalism is definitely a group activity. While asked whether a person committed vandalism alone or with others, 87% of the sample reported doing it with others, mainly with other kids (84% of last year vandalism acts) and in few cases (3%) with adults.

The questionnaire contained another measure for vandalism. Young people were also asked what they usually do when they hang out with friends. One of the activities listed was “smash or vandalise things for fun”. 19% of the sample answered that they do it at least sometimes. Interesting to note here is that the proportion of Russian youth who do sometimes vandalise things for fun is higher compared to Estonians; these results are opposite to the self-reported vandalism acts.

### 18.3.3 Property Offences

Shoplifting is a property offence quite often reported by young people. 11% of the sample reported taking something from a shop without paying at least once in their life. Last year prevalence rate for shoplifting is 2%. More shoplifting during life time was reported by youth from the large city (13%) than by the rest of the sample

(11%). Prevalence rates for last year did not differ in Tallinn and the rest of Estonia. Russian-speaking adolescents reported higher prevalence rate for lifetime shoplifting (16%) compared to Estonians (10%) and also for last year prevalence (3 and 2% respectively).

We received interesting results comparing the way shoplifting is committed by youth from different ethnic groups. It appeared that Estonian adolescents more often took something from the shop on their own (36%), in 5% of cases together with adults and in 60% of cases with other kids. For Russian speaking youths shoplifting is more related to group activities: only 30% have committed shoplifting alone and 70% in groups with other kids. This is an interesting findings, in view of the fact that - when asked whether while hanging out together with friends they steal sometimes things from a shop - only 3% of the sample reported that they do so. The results for both ethnic groups were fairly similar.

One more measure in relation to shoplifting was a question whether the respondent has friends who did steal something from a shop or department store. 27% of the sample reported having such friends. In case of this measure the difference between Estonians and Russians was significant - 21% said they have such friends while for Estonians this proportion is higher, 30%.

Snatching of bag, bicycle or motorbike theft, car theft, car break and burglary are property offences that are rather rare. Table 18.4 presents lifetime and last year prevalence rates for these events. Of the listed events the highest lifetime prevalence is for car break (2%); for the remaining rare offences it is between 1.5 and 0.8%. Last year prevalence rates are all below 1%. With such small numbers of reported events comparison between groups could be inaccurate because the response of just one person could influence rates significantly. Therefore it was decided to compare different groups looking at the combined index, where rare property offences are grouped together. A youth is viewed as having reported involvement in “rare property offences” if he or she reported one of the following acts: snatching of bag, bicycle or motorbike theft, car theft, car break or burglary. 4% of the sample reported “ever” committing one of these rare property events and 2% in last 12 months.

Rare property offences are more often reported by youth outside the capital: lifetime prevalence rates are 4% and 3% respectively. The same is true for the last 12 months period: 1% of adolescents living in Tallinn reported committing at least one of the rare offences, while for the rest of the sample the last year prevalence



rate is 2%. Russian-speakers reported property offences more often than Estonians (lifetime prevalence rates 5 and 4%, last year 1.7 and 1.4%).

9% of the sample reported having at least one friend who entered a building with the purpose to steal something. Here differences between Estonians and Russians were significant: While 8% of Estonian respondents reported having a friend who committed burglary, the rate for Russian-speakers was 12%. One possible explanation would be differences in mean age between ethnic groups. However, when compared within each age group, the difference remains.

### 18.3.4 Computer Hacking

We asked two questions regarding computer-related crime: downloading music and movies from internet and using computer for “hacking”. The first question was rather confusing for the students as they did not consider such downloading being illegal and the question itself did not contain the phrase “unauthorised” downloading or downloading for free. 80% of the sample reported downloading music or films.

Computer hacking was reported by 10% of the sample for lifetime and 7% for last year. No difference between large city and the rest of the sample was observed. However, differences between the two ethnic groups were significant. Hacking is more popular among Russian youths. Life time prevalence rates are 13% for Russians (10% last year) and 10% for Estonians (6% last year).

### 18.3.5 Drug Dealing and Hard Drugs Use

3% of the sample reported ever selling drugs or acting as an intermediary. Drug dealing was more often reported by youths from the large city compared to the rest of the country. No significant difference between Estonians and Russian speakers was found.

Consumption of hard drugs is relatively low. Of all respondents 3% have taken *ecstasy* or *speed* at least once in their life and 1% in last month. LCD, heroin and cocaine are even less popular, only 1.5% reported taking some of these drugs in their life and only some did so last month. Hard drugs are somewhat more pop-

ular among large city youth; however, this difference is not statistically significant. Hard drugs consumption by Estonian and Russian adolescents did not differ significantly.

### 18.3.6 Risk Behaviour

In addition to delinquent behaviour the survey also aimed to measure what we called “risk behaviour”, including truancy, alcohol and soft drugs consumption.

Alcohol is very popular among youth in Estonia. 86% of the sample reported (ever) drinking beer or wine and 61% have consumed (ever) strong spirits. Prevalence rates are high for the last month as well. 43% of the sample has consumed beer or wine (last month) and 24% strong spirits (last month). 8% of the sample reported getting drunk on beer or wine at least once in their life, 27% reported having gotten drunk on strong spirits.

There are no significant differences between the large city and the rest of the sample in life time prevalence rates for beer /wine and strong alcohol consumption. A slightly higher level of strong alcohol consumption during the last month was reported by large city youth. Russian-speakers reported higher level of alcohol consumption and getting drunk more often compared to Estonian subsample.

Soft drugs such as marijuana and hashish are also quite often used by adolescents. 16% of all youths in the study have reported ever trying marijuana or hashish and 5% did so during last month. In respect to soft drug use, differences between the capital and the rest of the sample are significant. 23% of young people living in Tallinn have reported ever trying marijuana or hashish. For the rest of the sample the rate is lower (13%). Soft drugs usage prevalence rates for last month were also different by location: 8% for large city and 4% for the rest of sample.

Soft drugs are more popular among Russian-speaking youth, of whom 20% have reported trying marijuana or hashish compared to 15% for the Estonian sample.

Truancy was measured by asking a student whether she or he did stay away from school for at least a whole day without legitimate excuse in the last 12 months. 55% of the sample confirmed doing so. Truancy was more often reported by students from large city schools

(55%) than in the rest of sample (48%). No significant differences between Estonians and Russian-speakers were found.

To make further analysis more compact, risk consumption of alcohol during last month, consumption of soft drugs in the last month and truancy in the last year were combined into one index. We consider a person belonging to the higher risk group if two risk factors are present. Such youth constitute 30% of the whole sample. Proportion of youth with risk behaviour is higher in large city (34%) compared to the rest of sample (28%).

## 18.4 Victimization

In addition to self-reported delinquency we also studied victimisation of young people. 18% of the sample reported that in the past 12 months something was stolen from them, 7% reported being victim of robbery/extortion and 5% were victims of assault. There were more theft and robbery/extortion cases in the large city compared to the rest of the sample. Russian youth

**Table 18.6** Last year prevalence rates of victimisation and reporting to the police

	Victimisation		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup> %
	%	% Missing	
Robbery/extortion	4.1	10.1	16.0
Assault	4.8	10.3	14.6
Theft	18.6	11.3	17.3
Bullying	23.9	10.8	4.5

*n* = 2,613; unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Percentage based on number of victims; no answer: no reporting assumed

reported being a victim of assault more frequently, while Estonian respondents were more often victims of theft.

Tables 18.6 and 18.7 present prevalence rates of victimization and reporting to the police. A few words need to be said about the high proportion of missing answers. Students appeared to have problems with the particular format used in the ISRD questionnaire for this question. Interviewers reported that children in class often asked for assistance in filling in this question. That is, students had to choose either to put a mark if he or she was not victimised or to write down the number of times he or she was victimised in the past 12 months. The idea to put a mark when NOT victimised seemed confusing to students. We think that in most cases lack of response is an indication of not being a victim.

Most often young people are victims of school bullying. 24% of the sample reported being humiliated, hit or kicked by other students, or excluded from the peer group. In 5% of cases bullying was reported to police. In large city schools bullying was slightly less often self-reported than in the rest of the sample.

School bullying is among most important social problems in Estonia. The ISRD2 data indicated that bullying victimization is highest in the youngest age group, reaching nearly 40% for 13-year-old boys and 30% for 14-year-old girls. Bullying is more characteristic for Estonian schools, where 27% of students reported being a victim. In Russian schools the proportion is lower (14%). We thought that this may partly be explained by the difference in average age of Estonian and Russian-speaking samples. However, when we looked at bullying victimisation in each age group, the difference between ethnic groups remained still significant.

**Table 18.7** Last year prevalence rates of victimization and reporting to the police (large city sample vs. rest of sample)

	Large city sample ( <i>n</i> = 772)			Rest of sample ( <i>n</i> = 1,841)		
	Victimization		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup> %	Victimization		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup> %
	%	% Missing		%	% Missing	
Robbery/extortion	7.1	10.0	26.1	2.9	10.2	3.6
Assault	4.9	9.8	13.7	4.8	10.5	15.1
Theft	22.7	11.5	23.1	16.9	11.1	13.6
Bullying	21.6	11.8	5.6	24.9	10.3	4.0

Unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Percentage based on number of victims; no answer: no reporting assumed

**Table 18.8** Discrimination experience (Estonians vs. Russian-speakers)

	Estonian			Russian		
	1st generation migrant ( <i>n</i> = 17) %	2nd generation migrant ( <i>n</i> = 138) %	native born ( <i>n</i> = 1,871) %	1st generation migrant ( <i>n</i> = 23) %	2nd generation migrant ( <i>n</i> = 285) %	native born ( <i>n</i> = 190) %
Never discriminated	64.7	67.4	93.4	79.3	84.8	87.6
Once discriminated	11.8	9.4	1.4	13.8	5.1	4.6
Sometimes discriminated	17.6	19.6	4.3	6.9	9.2	6.5
Often discriminated	5.9	3.6	0.9	0.0	0.9	1.4

Ten per cent of the sample reported being the victim of discrimination at least once. Ethnicity seems to make a difference: Fourteen per cent of the Russian-speaking respondents and 9% of Estonians reported some experience with discrimination. Even more differences may be observed when the language of questionnaire and migration are combined (see Table 18.8). In the worst situation are first and second generation migrants attending schools with the Estonian language of instruction. Among Estonian speakers as well as Russian speakers native born youth have lower prevalence of experience with discrimination. However, comparing these groups with each other, native born Russians have been discriminated more often.

## 18.5 Social Bonding, Delinquency and Risk Behaviour

### 18.5.1 Family Bonding

First of all, we looked at the assessment given by young people to the relations in their family. In 17% of the studied families conflicts were a persistent feature; 10% of the families had drug or alcohol problems. Five per cent of the sample reported living in a family where both persistent conflicts and parents' alcohol abuse co-existed.

The study differentiated between two dimensions of family social control. The first dimension, indirect social control, is exercised through attachment to adolescent's parents. According to control theory, the stronger the bond with parents, the more family norms and values will be internalised and, consequently, the probability that the young person will refrain from

delinquency will be higher (Hirschi, 1969). In ISRD-2, attachment to parents was measured by asking the young person to evaluate his or her relationship with father and with mother. In general, young people's relationship with parents is rather good. In our sample respondents of both genders judged their relationships with mothers as better than with fathers: 71% got on well with mothers, 64% with fathers.

The second dimension of family social control is supervision, or direct control. In the study it was measured asking whether parents know where and with whom their children were out in the evening, whether parents tell at what time adolescent should return home and whether he or she obeys this order. Family outings are also considered parental supervision. 7% of the sample said they never do anything with their parents. This figure was higher amongst the delinquent (10%) than non-delinquent youths (5%). 27% of the delinquent and 35% of the non-delinquent youths participated in family outings once a week.

The results of the study confirmed (see Table 18.9) that delinquent and risk behaviour was most significantly correlated with parents' familiarity with the friends of their children. In the analysis life-time and last year deviance versatility scores are used to describe person's involvement in crime.

Whether the youth obeyed the times set for coming home in the evening was also very significant. However, there was no link between delinquency and telling the child what time to be home. It is considerably more important that whatever the time, the youngster complies with their parents' expectations. Delinquent and risk behaviour was also related to families' evening meals and leisure time together, as well as to how well children got on with their parents. Getting along with the father predicts delinquent and risk behaviour better than the relationship with the mother.

**Table 18.9** Association between parental control and delinquency/risk behaviour (Spearman's  $\rho$ )

	Life-time versatility	Versatility last year	Sum of risk factors
Getting along with father	-0.143**	-0.101**	-0.157**
Getting along with mother	-0.118**	-0.105**	-0.118**
Leisure together with parents	-0.114**	-0.074**	-0.142**
Dinner together with parents	-0.100**	-0.062**	-0.182**
Parents know friends	-0.260**	-0.205**	-0.301**
Parents tell time	0.000	0.006	-0.046 <sup>b</sup>
Obeying time limit	-0.250**	-0.197**	-0.284**

Notes: A negative association means less control for offenders

\*\*Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

\*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

**Table 18.10** Association of school variables with delinquent and risk behaviour (Spearman's  $\rho$ )

	Life-time versatility	Versatility last year	Sum of risk factors
Like school	-0.166**	-0.159**	-0.190**
Attachment to school	-0.128**	-0.118**	-0.157**
Ever repeated grade	0.139**	0.097**	0.140**
Proficiency level	-0.137**	-0.100**	-0.168**
Oriented toward higher education	-0.160**	-0.129**	-0.134**
School crime	0.181**	0.155**	0.151**

\*\*Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

### 18.5.2 School Bonding

School bonding was measured on three dimensions. First, attachment to school included asking whether the youth liked school and constructing an attachment scale using four attitudinal questions. Second, school achievement was examined by asking the student whether he or she repeated one or more classes, how he or she assessed his or her proficiency level compared to other students in class and whether he or she was oriented toward continuing education after completing compulsory school. The third component in relation to school is a combined scale constructed from four attitudinal questions to what extent delinquent acts such as theft, vandalism, fights and use of drugs are common at school.

5% of the respondents reported they liked school very much, 37% liked it fairly well, 46% did not like school very much, and 13% disliked school a lot. 8% of the respondents had repeated the grade at some stage. During the last year, 50% of the did not stay away from school for at least a whole day without legitimate excuse in the last 12 months, 30% did so one or two times and 20% reported playing truant three and more times. About 10% of the sample judged their proficiency to be lower than their peers, 65% assessed their level about average and 25% said their level to be above average.

66% of the sample is planning to continue attending school to prepare for higher education, 20% will continue education in vocational schools and the rest 10% will look for a job, start training on the job, or start apprenticeship.

All the descriptive characteristics of school life were important predictors of delinquent and risk (see Table 18.10) Liking or disliking school was correlated to both delinquency and risk behaviour. The school crime indicator correlated with both, delinquency and risk behaviour. School attachment indicator is associated more with risk behaviour and less with delinquency.

### 18.5.3 Leisure and the Peer Group

Delinquent behaviour is often a group activity. Therefore, the questionnaire contained questions about how young people spend their leisure time, what they do when they are out with friends, whether they belong to certain group of friends and to what extent this peer group is delinquency oriented.

76% of the youths considered themselves to belong to peer groups. About half (51%) of them claimed that doing illegal things is accepted in these groups and

**Table 18.11** Leisure time contacts by delinquency

Leisure time spent mostly...	Life time		Last year	
	No offences committed (%)	At least one offence (%)	No offences committed (%)	At least one offence (%)
On my own	10	11	10	11
With family	30**	18**	28**	17**
With 1–3 friends	41	38	41	37
With larger group of friends	25**	41**	28**	44**

\*\*Indicates significant difference ( $p < 0.01$ ) between delinquents and non-delinquents

42% reported people in their group actually doing illegal things together.

4% of the respondents belonged to a gang.<sup>1</sup> Whilst 64% of the gang members spent most of their time with their peers, only 30% of the non-gang members did that. There were also important differences in what youngsters did when with their friends: only 9% of the gang members did not use drugs or alcohol; 58% of the non-gang members managed without. Vandalising property was a frequent pastime for 1% of the non-gang members and for 11% of the gang members. In terms of hobbies (sports, making music), there were no such significant differences.

Delinquent youths differ from non-delinquents by their dissimilar patterns of spending leisure time with their families or with larger group of friends. The former characterises the non-delinquent youths; delinquent youths spend more time with four or more friends (Table 18.11).

Delinquency and risk behaviour differed significantly amongst the youths who had described themselves as gang members and those who had not. Not surprisingly, gang members were considerably more delinquent and inclined to risk behaviour than non-gang members.

### 18.5.4 Neighbourhood

For description of the neighbourhood three components were used. The first component is the attachment of a young person to the neighbourhood where he or she is living. Another component called collective efficacy serves as an indicator of the ability of the neighbourhood community to control behaviour of young

people. The third component characterised the degree of social disorganisation in the neighbourhood.

Characteristics of neighbourhood differed in the large city and rest of the sample significantly. Tallinn is characterised by lower bonding, lower collective efficacy of the neighbourhood and higher degree of neighbourhood disorganisation compared to the rest of the sample.

While no significant differences were found in collective efficacy and disorganisation of neighbourhoods where Estonians and Russians are living, significant differences in neighbourhood bonding were found. Estonian youth have stronger neighbourhood bonding compared to Russian youths.

Attachment to neighbourhood has relatively low impact on delinquency. It weakly correlated with rare violent offences, shoplifting and computer hacking. Similar relations characterised also collective efficacy and delinquency, where weak statistical relationship occurred only with shop lifting and vandalism. Disorganisation, however, was significantly related to all types of crime.

In terms of risk behaviour, there were significant relationships between social cohesion and truancy and soft drugs use and to a lesser degree with alcohol consumption. Collective efficacy correlated strongly with truancy and cannabis smoking (Table 18.12).

## 18.6 Concluding Remarks

This analysis gives only first brief look at the results of ISRD-2 study in Estonia. Participation in this international study provided several important lessons to be used in the future. The decision to draw a national sample instead of a city based sample increased the time spent on fieldwork considerably. It also made this study more expensive to conduct. However, even this brief overview of the research results presented in our

<sup>1</sup> According to Eurogang definition criteria.



**Table 18.12** Association of neighbourhood variables with delinquent and risk behaviour (Spearman's  $\rho$ )

	Life-time versatility	Versatility last year	Sum of risk factors
Neighbourhood bonding	-0.050*	-0.026	-0.064**
Collective efficacy of neighbourhood	-0.040*	-0.031	-0.052**
Neighbourhood disorganisation	0.198**	0.182**	0.214**

\*\*Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

\*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

chapter shows us that our decision was the right one. Indeed, some differences in delinquency and risk behaviour have been found comparing behaviour of adolescents living in the large city compared to the rest of the country. We find that this look into the life of youth from all the corners of Estonia, including schools where class was sometimes attended just by a few students is one of the main advantages of our survey.

Another dimension that is very important in the Estonian context is the difference in delinquency and risk behaviour between Estonian and Russian ethnic groups. In our analysis we make a distinction between samples based on the language of instruction at schools that, in our opinion, indicates the degree of socio-cultural integration of Russian-speakers with Estonian culture. We found higher discrimination prevalence for ethnic minority group. We found significant differences in the behaviour of the two ethnic groups. Our results tell that we cannot speak simply about a higher degree of delinquency involvement of one or another group. However, we found that the character of delinquency is different for each ethnic group. We hypothesise that culture-specific attitudes and values, such as attitude towards violence or collectivistic values, may

play an important role here. However, these hypotheses need to be examined in controlled and more in-depth analysis of this rich data set.

It is difficult to evaluate whether prevalence rates for delinquency described in this chapter are high or low without making direct comparisons with other countries. However, we do think that the degree of alcohol consumption by youth in Estonia is very high. We also find that many problems are related to schools: more than half of students dislike school, half played truant during last year and too many students have been victims of school bullying.

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# Chapter 19

## Lithuania

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### 19.1 Introduction: Some Data About Lithuania<sup>1</sup>

Lithuania is the biggest state in the Baltic region, in territory and population. [The other Baltic states are Latvia and Estonia.] Its territory is 65,300 km<sup>2</sup>. On March 11 1990 Lithuania proclaimed the restoration of its statehood. Vilnius is the capital of Lithuania; its population is over half a million. Other big cities are Kaunas (population 360,627); large harbor Klaipėda (population 194,400); Šiauliai (population 129,037); Panevėžys (population 116,247). The other cities have a population of less than 100,000. There are 10 districts in Lithuania; they are divided into 60 municipalities.

At the beginning of 2006, the estimated population of Lithuania was 3,403,300 persons, i.e. less by 22,000 than at the beginning of 2005. At the beginning of 1992 the population was the highest – 3,706,300 persons. However, since 1992 (over 14 years), the population has decreased by 303,000 persons or 8.2%. The decrease in the population was mostly influenced by negative net migration. More than 80% of the citizens of the Republic of Lithuania who emigrated, were unemployed. Most people emigrated to the United Kingdom, Ireland, USA and Germany. The number of students at schools has also changed significantly because of migration.

Lithuania is quite homogeneous with regard to ethnicity – Lithuanians make up 83.5% of the population.

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<sup>1</sup> If not pointed out differently, data is taken from the Department of Statistics to the Government of the Republic of Lithuania (2006).

In the beginning of 2006, 2,268,800 persons (66.7% of Lithuania's population) lived in 103 cities and towns, and 1,134,500,000 persons (33.3% of Lithuania's population), in almost 22,000 rural inhabited localities. Migration has made a great impact on the number of inhabitants in rural localities and small towns. The number of males in Lithuania was 1,586,700 (46.6%), and of females – 1,816,600 (53.4%). With the decrease in population, the age composition of the population has been changing as well. Because of low fertility rates, the number of children (aged 0–14) has been decreasing. The number of elderly people (aged 60 and above) has been increasing. Between 2000 and 2005, the number of live births per 1,000 people decreased from 9.8 to 8.9. Lithuania has a relatively low fertility rate.

The age of women giving birth has been increasing. In 2005, the average age of women giving birth was 27.6 years; and the average age of mothers at the birth of their first child was 24.9 years, about 1 year older than was the case in 2000.

In 2005, the number of extra-marital births was 8,679 (28.4% of live births), in 2000 – 7,713 (22.6%). In the period 2000–2003, more than half (63.8%) of the extra-marital births were registered by the mother's statement, while in the period 2004–2005, it was by both parents' statement (68.1%).

In 2005, the number of marriages contracted was 19.9 thousand, which is more by 808 than in 2004. Over the past 5 years, the number of marriages per 1,000 people has increased by almost one-fifth.

The age of the newlyweds has been increasing. In 2005, the average age at first marriage was 27.0 years for men and 24.9 years for women, which is more by 1.3 and 1.2 years respectively than in 2000. Women contracting a marriage were younger by 3.6 years, on average, than men.

Since 2000, the average number of divorces has been about 11,000, i.e. approximately three divorces per 1,000 people. If the divorce rate remains the same, it is supposed that 46 couples out of 100 will divorce. The number of incomplete families has been increasing. In 2005, as many as 9,900 children lived in incomplete families after the divorce, while in 2000–2005, the number was 62,400.

In 2005, life expectancy for men was 65.4 years, and for women, 77.4 years, while in 2000, it was 66.8 and 77.5 years respectively. Life expectancy for women is, on average, 12 years more than for men.

Lithuania enjoys strong output growth driven by domestic demand and improving exports. The labour market is showing signs of overheating, with a sharp decline in unemployment, and post-accession emigration adding to labour shortages and the pushing up of wages. The unemployment rate has declined steadily. The current facts suggest that unemployment is 8.3% of the total labour force. In 2005, consumption expenditure per one household member was LTL 578 (167 EUR) a month. Expenditure in cash per one household member made up LTL 513 (148.6 EUR), i.e. 89% of all consumption expenditure.

In accordance with the Law on Education of the Republic of Lithuania, attendance of general or other type of schools is compulsory for children under the age of 16. Basic education covers 10 years.

## 19.2 Study Design

### 19.2.1 Sampling Method and Sample Achieved

Lithuania followed the city-based sampling procedure. The primary sampling units were school classrooms that were randomly selected with an equal probability

of selection. Five towns were selected, taking into consideration their population, geographic location and represented region. Vilnius was selected as a large/metropolitan city (the capital city, with a population of 553,391 inhabitants, situated in the Eastern part of the country); Šiauliai was selected as a medium-sized city (population of 129,037 inhabitants, in the northern part of the country), Kretinga (with a population of 23,280), Plungė (with a population of 23,137), and Telšiai (with a population of 31,633), all situated in the western part of the country, were selected as small cities.

After the selection of cities/towns, a general list of secondary schools and a list of grades seven, eight and nine in these schools were drawn up. Classes were selected randomly to take part in the survey. Grade level was used as a stratification variable. The list of classes was drawn up on the basis of data from a year earlier; therefore, during the selection, the estimated number of respondents in certain cases was slightly different from the number found during the data collection in schools.

Table 19.1 shows the structure of the sample of respondents taking part in the survey, according to cities/towns, schools and classes.

In total, 2,188 completed valid questionnaires were received, of which 738 were from Vilnius, 691 from Šiauliai, and 759 from Kretinga, Plungė and Telšiai. During the survey, 54 schools were visited, where 93 classes were surveyed. The proportion of grades in the sample is more or less alike, with a slightly bigger number of ninth grade students and a slightly smaller number of seventh grade students. Age and gender distribution of the sample are shown in Table 19.2. The age of the respondents in the sample ranges from 12 to 17 years, but the majority were juveniles of 13–15 years. The average age of the respondents was 14.01 years.

The survey included 1,148 girls (52.5%) and 938 boys (47.2%). At the national level, males exceed the

**Table 19.1** The Structure of the Sample in Lithuania

	Respondents	Schools	Classes	Grades (classes/respondents)		
				7	8	9
Vilnius	738	21	31	9/223	11/248	11/267
Šiauliai	691	18	30	9/215	9/209	12/267
Kretinga	288	5	11	5/122	3/83	3/83
Plungė	257	5	11	3/78	4/93	4/86
Telšiai	214	5	10	3/63	4/96	3/55
Total	2,188	54	93	29/701	31/729	33/758

number of females up to the age of 29–30 years; thereafter, these numbers become equal (Department of Statistics to the Government of the Republic of Lithuania, p. 50). Statistical data from the educational system show as well that in basic education (five to nine grades), girls make up about 48% (Department of Statistics to the Government of the Republic of Lithuania, p. 108). Thus our sample has some underrepresentation of boys, which might be caused by a greater tendency among boys for missing classes (according to the survey data, boys constituted 67% of pupils who played yruant more than three times a year), as well as by the fact that a comparatively greater number of boys study at special educational institutions, which did not fall under the survey.

### 19.2.2 Survey Instrument and Data Collection

The Lithuanian version of the questionnaire did not contain any essential modifications or supplements. A short questionnaire for the teachers and the person who administered the survey, was completed in every surveyed class as well.

The fieldwork was done in November–December 2006. The data collection and coding was performed by a professional social survey company. Students were surveyed in the classes in the presence of the interviewer. At first, the interviewer briefly introduced the survey, ensured anonymity, and explained how the survey was to be completed. Then the pupils were given the questionnaires, which they had to fill in on their own and return to the interviewer. The survey did not face any major problems with regard to schools refusing to take part in the survey. This was due to letters from the Ministry of Education and Culture sent to the administrations of the schools

**Table 19.2** Distribution of the Sample according to Sex and Age

	Gender		Age group			
	Female	Male	12	13	14	15>
Vilnius	402	336	24	231	243	239
Šiauliai	349	341	13	190	209	279
Kretinga	158	130	23	105	84	76
Plungė	130	126	6	71	95	84
Telšiai	109	105	3	62	90	59

requesting cooperation. At the individual level also, there were no refusals with regard to taking part in the survey; however, a small number (31) of faulty or blank questionnaires was found. They were not used in data analysis.

## 19.3 Delinquency, Group Delinquency, Risk Behaviour and Victimisation

### 19.3.1 Risk Behaviour and Prevalence of Alcohol Consumption, Soft Drug Use, and Truancy

Tables 19.3 and 19.4 show that the most frequent risk behaviour in Lithuania is alcohol use and truancy. More than 83% of respondents have tried alcohol at least once in their life. Table 19.3 shows that soft alcohol drinks (beer/wine) are the most popular among students, but those who have tried strong spirits also comprise a fair part (45.6%). The level of alcohol consumption during the last month is much lower (36.4%), but it remains the most frequent type of risk behaviour.

**Table 19.3** Life-time and last month prevalences of alcohol and soft drug use

	Life-time		Last month	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Beer/wine	82.6	1.0	36.4	2.5
Strong spirits	45.6	1.7	13.4	2.6
Marijuana, hashish use	10.5	1.5	2.9	1.7

*n* = 2,188; unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

**Table 19.4** Life-time and last month prevalences of risk factors

	Life-time		Last month <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Alcohol total <sup>b</sup>	83.3	0.6	37.1	0.9
Marijuana, hashish use	10.5	1.5	2.9	1.7
Truancy	–	–	31.6	0.3
Two risk factors present	–	–	16.8	0.7

*n* = 2,188; unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Truancy: last year prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Beer/wine and strong spirits

The use of soft drugs is much less common in comparison with the level of alcohol consumption. Over 10% of respondents indicated that they have used marijuana/hashish at least once in their life, and only 2.9% of respondents used soft drugs during the last month. These results are interesting for us. In Lithuania the problem of drug use is one of the most pressing and most rapidly developing. The predominant public opinion in Lithuania is the same one as about alcohol consumption; it is commonly believed that the majority of adolescents have already tried soft drugs. But our results show that it is not such a prevalent behaviour as is often thought.

### 19.3.2 Self-reported Delinquency

The data suggest that delinquency in adolescence is much less frequent than risk behaviour.

More than 67% of respondents reported that they have not ever committed any of enumerated offences, and 79.7% of respondents did not commit any during last 12 months. There is a high prevalence of five offences: group fight, carrying a weapon, shoplifting, vandalism and computer hacking. Other ones were reported rarely (their prevalence rate reaches only 1–2%).

The most frequent delinquent behaviour among respondents is group fights and carrying a weapon (knife, stick, etc.). In general 15.4% of respondents at least once in their lives have participated in group fights and 13.3% of respondents reported about carrying a weapon. Prevalence rate of shoplifting is only 9.3%. Therefore violence offences prevail in the juvenile delinquency structure in Lithuania.

Analysing prevalence of delinquency during the last 12 months, we also see a predominance of violence offences. The most frequent offences are: group fight (8.7%), carrying a weapon (8.2%) and vandalism (4.4%). The prevalence rate of shoplifting is only 1.9%. It should be mentioned that most violent behaviours are rather minor. Serious violent offences are rare: the life-time prevalence rate of assaults is 2.4% and during last 12 months – 1.2%, the prevalence rate of robberies – 1.2% and 0.7% respectively (see Table 19.5).

The study shows that computer hacking is quite popular among Lithuanian adolescents in comparison with other types of delinquency. Its life-time prevalence

**Table 19.5** Life-time and last year prevalences of offences

	Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Group fight	15.4	1.2	8.7	1.5
Carrying a weapon	13.1	1.2	8.2	1.6
Assault	2.4	1.1	1.2	1.4
Snatching of bag	1.3	1.2	0.3	1.3
Robbery/ extortion	1.2	1.2	0.7	1.3
Vandalism	7.7	1.2	4.4	1.6
Shoplifting	9.3	1.4	1.9	1.6
Bicycle/motor bike theft	0.5	1.3	0.1	1.3
Car break	0.8	1.3	0.3	1.3
Burglary	0.7	1.3	0.2	1.3
Car theft	0.6	1.0	0.2	1.1
Computer hacking	6.7	1.2	4.5	1.4
Drug dealing	1.6	1.2	0.9	1.4
XTC/speed use	1.2	1.3	0.3	1.4
LSD/heroin/ cocaine use	0.9	1.4	0.2	1.5

*n* = 2,188; unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin use: last month prevalence

rate is 6.7% and slightly lower during last 12 months – 4.5%. Such results were to be expected, because internet and computer games are very popular among adolescents in general. Almost 91% of respondents answered to the question: “about how they spent their leisure time...” that they play computer games or chat on the computer. However, many respondents may misunderstand what hacking means.

The most frequently reported property offence is shoplifting. Its life-time prevalence rate is 9, 3%; only 1, 9% of respondent shoplifting committed during last 12 months. Other property offences are even more rare. Their prevalence rate – for both life-time and during last year – reaches only 1%.

The prevalence rate of drug offences is also low (it does not reach 2%). Interesting detail is that drug dealing is more frequently reported than drug use.

### 19.3.3 Victimization Experiences

Table 19.6 shows that in Lithuania girls and boys most often become victims of bullying and thefts, rather than assault or extortion. There are two times fewer victims

of extortion/robbery among them, and victims of assaults are very rare. It should be noted that although victimization from bullying is reported most frequently, it is least likely to be reported to the police. However, this makes sense in view of the fact that only bullying accompanied by a more serious offence is subject to police intervention. Bullying remains an internal problem of school and adolescents themselves.

When the level of juvenile delinquency (Table 19.5) and their victimisation (Table 19.6) is compared, we see that adolescents become victims of robbery/extortion

(6.6%) more often than they commit this offence against other person themselves (0.7%). In the case of assaults this difference is smaller: Almost 3% of respondents were victims of assaults and 1.2% of respondents reported that they assaulted another person.

### 19.3.4 Prevalence Rates for Large Cities, Medium-Sized Cities, and Small Towns

The results of research show that in Lithuania there is no significant difference of delinquency, risk behaviour prevalence rates and victimisation level in large city, medium-sized city and small towns (see Tables 19.7–19.9). In all cities/towns alcohol use, group fight, carrying a weapon, computer hacking, marijuana/hashish use, vandalism are the most prevalent type of offences and risk behaviour. The differences are minimal and could be explained even by statistical error or accidental variation.

The level of alcohol use in all cities/towns is almost the same. The only difference could be observed in the

**Table 19.6** Last year prevalences of victimization and reporting to the police

	Victimization		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>
	%	% Missing	%
Robbery/extortion	6.6	1.1	16.7
Assault	2.9	1.1	10.8
Theft	12.3	2.2	10.3
Bullying	16.2	2.7	5.7

*n* = 2,188; unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Percentage based on number of victims; no answer: no reporting assumed

**Table 19.7** Life-time and last month prevalences of risk factors by size of city/town

	Large city ( <i>n</i> = 738)				Medium-sized city ( <i>n</i> = 691)				Small towns ( <i>n</i> = 759)			
	Life time		Last month <sup>a</sup>		Life time		Last month <sup>a</sup>		Life time		Last month <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Alcohol total <sup>b</sup>	81.6	0.4	35.7	0.7	83.6	0.4	35.9	1.2	84.6	1.1	39.5	0.9
Marijuana, hashish use	11.8	1.4	3.4	1.2	11.5	1.4	3.4	1.9	8.3	1.7	1.9	2.0
Truancy	–	–	37.1	0.3	–	–	26.3	0.4	–	–	31.0	0.3
Two risk factors present	–	–	19.6	0.3	–	–	13.9	1.0	–	–	16.6	0.9

Unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Truancy: last year prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Beer/wine and strong spirits

**Table 19.8** Last year prevalences of victimisation and reporting to the police by size of city/town

	Large city ( <i>n</i> = 738)			Medium sized city ( <i>n</i> = 691)			Small towns ( <i>n</i> = 759)		
	Victimization		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>	Victimization		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>	Victimisation		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>
	%	% Missing	%	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	
Robbery/extortion	9.2	1.1	14.5	6.4	1.0	21.7	4.3	1.3	14.3
Assault	3.2	1.8	13.0	3.8	0.9	14.3	1.9	0.8	0.0
Theft	17.6	2.2	10.8	11.1	2.5	14.5	8.3	2.1	4.4
Bullying	18.1	1.9	5.3	17.6	2.9	3.9	13.2	3.2	8.4

Unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Percentage based on number of victims; no answer: no reporting assumed



**Table 19.9** Life-time and last year prevalences (aggregated offences) by size of city/town

	Large city ( <i>n</i> = 738)				Medium-sized city ( <i>n</i> = 691)				Small towns ( <i>n</i> = 759)			
	Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>		Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>		Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Frequent violent offences <sup>b</sup>	24.7	1.1	14.0	1.1	23.0	0.7	16.6	0.7	20.0	1.2	11.6	1.2
Rare violent offences <sup>c</sup>	4.1	0.9	2.1	0.9	2.9	0.7	1.3	0.7	4.9	1.2	2.3	1.2
Vandalism	5.9	1.1	3.4	1.2	11.0	1.0	6.2	1.3	6.4	1.6	3.8	2.4
Shoplifting	8.3	1.6	1.5	1.8	9.9	0.7	2.2	0.9	9.8	1.7	2.0	2.0
Rare property offences <sup>d</sup>	1.2	0.8	0.3	0.8	1.6	0.7	0.6	0.7	2.1	1.2	1.1	1.2
Computer hacking	7.7	1.2	5.5	1.5	7.0	1.2	4.5	1.2	5.3	1.3	3.6	1.4
Drug dealing	1.4	1.4	0.5	1.4	2.3	1.0	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.3	0.8	1.4
Hard drugs use <sup>e</sup>	1.0	0.7	0.4	0.7	2.9	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.8	1.4	0.3	1.4

Unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Hard drug use: last month prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Group fight and carrying a weapon

<sup>c</sup>Snatching of bag, robbery/extortion, and assault

<sup>d</sup>Burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft, and car break

<sup>e</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin/cocaine use

use of soft alcohol drinks. In small towns beer/wine consumption is more frequent (39% during last month) than is large city (35%) or medium-sized city (34.8%).

Analysing property offences it could be mentioned that the prevalence rate in small towns and medium-sized city is slightly higher. As exception it should be mentioned snatching of bag, which is more frequent in the large city (Vilnius).

Violence offences are slightly more frequent in large city and medium-sized city. Noticeable are the differences of prevalence rate of vandalism. Life-time and last year prevalence rate of vandalism is the highest in the medium-sized city (see Table 19.9).

Some more significant difference was found in soft drug use. In small towns marijuana/hashish-use prevalence rate during last month was 1.9%, in medium-sized city 3.4% and in large city 3.4% (see Table 19.7).

## 19.4 Social Background Variables and Delinquency, Risk Behaviour

In this part of our chapter we analyse the relation of delinquency and such social-demographic variables as age, gender, and family composition. Because a relatively

small part of respondents in Lithuania self-reported one or another type of risk behaviour and delinquency, for our statistical analysis in the remainder of the chapter a more general scale of risk behaviour and delinquency is used. Offences are grouped as follows: overall delinquency, property offences (burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft, and car break and shoplifting), violence offences (group fight and carrying a weapon, snatching of bag, robbery/extortion, and assault), vandalism, computer hacking and drug dealing.

The onset age of delinquent behaviour in Lithuania could be considered 12–13-years old: 12.3% of 12-years old and 18.8% of 13-years old students mentioned his/her delinquent behaviour during last year (see Table 19.10). Later on the percentage of delinquency is quite stable and reaches 20.3% among 15 years and older students.

The predominant delinquency in different age groups is not the same. The prevalence rate for property offences in the age group of 12 and 13-year-old students are the highest (although still quite low!), and consist primarily of shoplifting. Violence offences are not “popular” among 12-year old students in comparison with other age groups: the prevalence rate among the 12-year olds is more than 4 times smaller than the other age groups.



The data show a notable growth of alcohol consumption through the age groups (“last month”) (see Table 19.11). Almost half of the students 15 years or older reported alcohol use during last month whereas only 7.4% of 12-year old students did. The drug use level slightly grows through the age groups too.

Twice as many boys than girls reported involvement in some form of delinquency during the past year (see Table 19.12). This is different from the official criminal statistics in Lithuania which show that in 2006 girls composed only 6.3% of all juvenile delinquents (Centre for Crime Prevention in Lithuania, 2006). Such difference in numbers supports the idea that delinquency in girls is more latent.

Boys are twice as likely as girls to be involved in violence and property offences. The largest difference is observed in computer hacking. This is probably the result of the boys’ tendency to be interested in computer

and other technical fields. This is the only type of offence that could be called typical for boys and not for girls.

Reported risk behaviour shows a clear correlation between gender and alcohol and drug use (see Table 19.13). A somewhat larger proportion of girls (40.4%) used alcohol during last month, but the boys’ alcohol consumption level is also high (35.1%). Boys used drugs almost three times more often than girls (4.1% vs. 1.5%).

There is not much difference between girls and boys’ level of self-reported delinquency in various size cities/towns (see Table 19.14). However, the highest level of self-reported delinquency by both boys and girls is in the medium-sized city. Boys in the medium-sized city show a significantly higher level of violence offences and vandalism than boys from other cities. A higher level of property offences characterises boys of small towns: they committed them two times more

**Table 19.10** Last year prevalence (aggregated offences) by age

	12 years and younger		13 years		14 years		15 years and more	
	Last year (%)	<i>N</i>	Last year (%)	<i>N</i>	Last year (%)	<i>N</i>	Last year (%)	<i>N</i>
Overall delinquency	12.3*	65	18.8*	627	19.9*	684	20.3*	711
Property offences	3.0	66	3.1	641	2.4	704	2.2	722
Violence offences	3.0 *	67	13.8*	636	14.1*	702	15.6 *	724
Vandalism	1.5	68	4.2	648	5.5	708	3.9	726
Computer hacking	4.4	68	2.9	648	5.3	711	5.2	729
Drug dealing	0	67	0.5	647	1.1	715	1.1	727

Chi square test \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$

**Table 19.11** Last month prevalence of alcohol and drug use by age

	12 years and younger		13 years		14 years		15 years and more	
	Last month (%)	<i>N</i>	Last month (%)	<i>N</i>	Last month (%)	<i>N</i>	Last month (%)	<i>N</i>
Alcohol use	7.4**	68	26.7**	640	39.5**	704	49.4**	707
Drug use	1.5	67	2.0	643	3.0	704	3.2	718

Chi square test \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$

**Table 19.12** Last year prevalence (aggregated offences) by gender

	Girls		Boys	
	Last year (%)	<i>N</i>	Last year (%)	<i>N</i>
Overall delinquency	13.1**	1,116	26.9**	971
Property offences	1.9*	1,131	3.3*	1,002
Violence offences	9.4**	1,130	19.7**	999
Vandalism	3.9	1,134	5.0	1,016
Computer hacking	1.1**	1,135	8.4**	1,021
Drug dealing	0.7	1,135	1.1	1,021

Chi square test \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$

**Table 19.13** Last month prevalence of alcohol and drug use by gender

	Girls		Boys	
	Last month (%)	<i>N</i>	Last month (%)	<i>N</i>
Alcohol use	40.4*	1,126	35.1*	994
Drug use	1.5**	1,130	4.1**	1,003

Chi square test \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$

**Table 19.14** Last year prevalence (aggregated offences) by size of city/town and gender

	Girls						Boys					
	Vilnius		Medium city		Small towns		Vilnius		Medium city		Small towns	
	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>
Overall delinquency	13.9**	396	15.4**	338	10.2**	382	26.1**	307	28.4**	327	26.1**	337
Property offences	2.0	401	3.2	343	0.8**	387	2.5	316	2.4	339	4.9**	347
Violence offences	10.3**	398	10.6**	340	7.4**	392	18.6**	317	23.6**	335	17.0**	347
Vandalism	3.0	402	4.4	343	4.4	389	4.0	326	8.0	339	3.1	351
Computer hacking	1.5**	400	0.9**	343	0.8**	392	10.4**	326	8.2**	340	6.8**	355
Drug dealing	0.7	401	0.9	343	0.5	391	0.3	326	1.8	339	1.1	356

Chi square test \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$

than boys in other cities. Boys from the large city are leading in computer hacking. There were no significant differences among girls' delinquent behaviour in different size cities/towns.

As was mentioned above girls use more alcohol than boys in all cities/towns (see Table 19.15). The largest difference between boys and girls is in small cities where the level of girls' alcohol consumption is significantly higher than in larger cities. In Vilnius, for girls the lower alcohol consumption level is "compensated" by the higher drug use level. Vilnius also has the highest numbers of drug use among both girls and boys.

In Lithuania, the traditional model of family still prevails where children live together with both their parents. Such models as "living sometimes with father and sometimes with mother", "living only with father", "living with father and stepmother" and "living with others" were very rare. Table 19.16 shows that students living with mother and stepfather reported the highest level of overall delinquency. These students reported the highest number of violence offences. Children living together with their own mother and father showed one of the lowest levels of overall delinquency.

Table 19.17 shows that students living sometimes with mother and sometimes with father and also those living with mother and stepfather have the highest level of alcohol consumption – more than

half of them used alcohol during last month. Those who live part of the time with father and part of the time with mother also reported the largest percentage of drug use during last month. Families with both parents still remain a strong factor of social control for their children: alcohol and drug use of students living in these families is low.

## 19.5 Other Correlates of Delinquency and Problem Behaviour

There are several questions in the questionnaire to disclose and check patterns of juvenile delinquent behaviour from the perspective of social control theory. As previous surveys in other countries showed, such factors as relationship with parents and family control, attachment to school and school achievements, leisure and the peer group, are closely related to juvenile problem behaviour and delinquency (Junger-Tas et al., 2003). Is it possible to state that similar patterns are typical for Lithuania too? In this section we are going to present some interesting ISRD-2 results from Lithuania. We limit ourselves to report only on the general indicators of life-time and last year prevalence of (overall) delinquent behaviour.

**Table 19.15** Last month prevalence of alcohol and drug use by size of city/town and gender

	Girls						Boys					
	Vilnius		Medium city		Small cities		Vilnius		Medium city		Small cities	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Alcohol use	38.8	397	37.6	335	44.4*	394	34.0	318	35.7	333	35.6*	343
Drug use	2.2*	401	1.5*	341	0.8	388	5.2*	324	4.8*	333	2.3	346

Chi square test \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$

**Table 19.16** Last year prevalence (aggregated offences) by family composition

	Own mother and father		Sometimes mother and sometimes father		Only mother		Mother and stepfather		Father only/father with stepmother		Other (grand-, foster-, adoptive) family or institution	
	Last year		Last year		Last year		Last year		Last year		Last year	
	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N
Overall delinquency	18.2**	1,563	24.0**	25	19.7**	264	31.6**	174	23.1**	26	11.4**	35
Property offences	2.6	1,597	3.8	26	2.2	271	4.0	177	0	27	0	35
Violence offences	13.4**	1,593	16.0**	25	13.2**	273	23.9**	176	18.5**	27	8.6**	35
Vandalism	4.2*	1,611	15.4*	26	3.7*	273	6.8*	177	0*	28	5.7*	35
Computer hacking	4.6	1,613	3.8	26	5.4	276	2.8	178	3.6	28	2.9	35
Drug dealing	0.9	1,616	0	26	0.7	273	1.1	178	0	28	0	35

Chi square test \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$

**Table 19.17** Last month prevalence of alcohol and drug use by family composition

	Own mother and father		Sometimes with mother, sometimes with father		Only mother		Mother and stepfather		Father only/father with stepmother		Other (grand-, foster-, adoptive) family or institution	
	Last year		Last year		Last year		Last year		Last year		Last year	
	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N
Alcohol use	36.1**	1,585	57.7**	26	38.7**	269	51.1**	176	28.6**	28	41.2**	34
Drug use	2.3*	1,598	12.0*	25	3.3*	272	4.0*	176	0*	26	5.7*	35

Chi square test \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$

### 19.5.1 Attachment to Parents and Family Control

The role and importance of family as the essential factor in the process of primary socialisation is universally accepted and hardly could be overestimated. In the family a child starts learning the words, language and principal models of behaviour. Here the formation of the personality and internalisation of values starts. Failures in this stage of

socialisation may produce undesirable effects which continue throughout a person's entire life.

In this survey, relationships between child and parents were examined through questions about how a child gets along with his/her mother and father. To evaluate direct parental control other questions were used: if parents know with whom their child spends his/her time when she/he is going out and whether generally parents tell him/her at what time to be back. Answers about whether the child actually obeys the parent's set curfew

**Table 19.18** Last year delinquency prevalence by selected parental control variables

	Last year delinquency	
	<i>N</i>	%
<i>Get along with father</i>		
Well/quite well	1,733	19.4
Not very well/not at all	138	26.8*
<i>Get along with mother</i>		
Well/quite well	1,990	19.1
Not very well/not at all	73	28.8*
<i>Parents know with whom child is</i>		
Rarely/never	112	46.4**
Sometimes	927	23.9
Always	1,020	12.6
<i>Parents tell time to come home</i>		
No	239	25.5*
Yes	1,645	19.9
<i>Obeying time limit</i>		
Rarely/never	51	45.1**
Sometimes	814	25.8
Always	796	11.7

Chi square test \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$

(time to be home) may be treated as indicators of efficiency of direct parents' control. Table 19.18 shows how these factors are related to last year delinquency.

Only a small part of the students do not along with their parents (7.4% with father, 3.6% with mother). Despite that, statistical analysis shows significant difference in last year prevalence of delinquent behaviour of this group in comparison with other respondents. The prevalence of reported delinquent behaviour of those students that have bad or not good relationships with their parents is higher. Parallel results may be observed in the dimension of parents' direct control. Among respondents whose parents do not know with whom their children spend their free time when they go out, the prevalence of delinquent behaviour is significantly higher than in other groups. Also, delinquent behaviour is more common for respondents that do not get instructions as to what time to be back, and for those who do not obey such instructions.

### 19.5.2 Attachment to School and School Achievement

In later childhood, during the process of secondary socialisation, the school takes over part of the socialisation. Several variables were used to estimate students' relation

**Table 19.19** Last year delinquency prevalence by selected school variables

	Last year delinquency	
	<i>N</i>	%
<i>Like school</i>		
Not at all	287	32.8**
Not very much	747	20.9
Fairly well	867	15.7
A lot	175	11.4
<i>Would miss school</i>		
Not at all true/not true	342	24.6*
True/very true	1,729	18.6
<i>Ever repeated grade</i>		
Never	2,046	19.2
Once/more than once	38	36.8**
<i>Proficiency level</i>		
Below average	256	26.2**
About average	1,331	18.0
Above average	490	20.2

Chi square test \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$

with school and their school achievement. Respondents were asked whether they like school, whether they would miss the school if they had to move, how well do they do in school compared to other students in the class and did they ever have to repeat a grade. Table 19.19 shows how school's variables are related to last year delinquency.

Data shows that students that do not like school, have lower level of achievements or had to repeat a grade reported delinquent behaviour more often. Additional analysis disclosed that these patterns are even more evident in the sphere of violent delinquency. Failure at school is closely connected with prevalence of other problem behaviour, such as truancy and drug use.

### 19.5.3 Leisure and Group Membership

How to spend leisure time and having (groups) of friends are also an important factor of social control for children. When children are growing up, family's influence is declining, and new reference groups become important. During adolescence the non-formal peer groups become especially significant. Their values and morals often conflict with values and norms declared and accepted by the family and society. Criminologists also recognise that groups characterise

the nature of juvenile delinquency, especially violent delinquency, more than crime of adults.

Over 60% of students indicated that the majority of leisure time is spent with groups of their friends, 32% spend the majority of their free time with family and the remainder (6.6%) spend their free time alone. Almost 82% reported that they have a certain group of friends that they spend time with, doing things together or just hanging out. About 64% of these respondents stated that they – together with friends – spend a lot of time in public places like the park, the street, shopping areas, or the neighbourhood. Most frequently, students belong to a mixed gender group (62.1%); 22.5% of respondents reported that only boys belong to their group, and 15.4% of respondents indicated that only girls are members of the group. About one-fourth of the students (who belonged to a group) stated that illegal things are accepted by their group, and 21.3% reported that people in their group actually do illegal things together. Furthermore, almost 15% of respondents belonging to any group considered their group of friends to be a gang.

Table 19.20 shows the relation between answers to the above-mentioned questions and last year delinquency.

**Table 19.20** Last year delinquency prevalence by selected leisure and group membership variables

	Last year delinquency	
	<i>N</i>	%
<i>Leisure time contacts</i>		
On my own	139	22.3
With family	673	9.2
With 1–3 friends	748	18.7
With larger group of friends	526	33.1**
<i>Belong to group</i>		
No	386	9.6
Yes	1,698	21.8**
<i>Illegal things in group accepted</i>		
No	1,286	17.1
Yes	389	37.3**
<i>Group does illegal things</i>		
No	1,332	15.6
Yes	349	45.3**
<i>Group considered gang</i>		
No	1,447	19.6
Yes	240	35.4**
<i>Gender comp. of group</i>		
All boys	369	23.8
All girls	266	6.8**
Mixed group	1,049	24.9

Chi square test \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$

Respondents who belong to a group of friends and who spend most of their leisure time with friends, show higher levels of delinquency. This is especially evident in cases where illegal things are accepted by the group, or where members of the group do illegal things together. Respondents who spend most of their leisure time with their family show the lowest level of delinquency, which once more confirms the importance of the family as an agent of social control.

All-girl groups show really low levels of delinquency. Members of mixed gender groups and boys' groups reported comparable levels of delinquency, both significantly higher than all-girl groups. Only 12.1% of all-girl group members indicated that illegal things are accepted by their group, and only 10% responded that members of their group do illegal things together.

In short, belonging to a group and spending leisure time in a company of friends must be considered as an important factor of delinquent behaviour. Of course, it could not be stated that any group of teenagers a priori should be treated as “organised crime”. However, our data show that, in certain circumstances, belonging to a group may significantly increase the risk of delinquent behaviour.

## 19.6 Interpretation of the Findings

The results of research in the studied age group (12–15 years) do not prove the popular statement that almost all young persons in the adolescent years commit one or more offence. Our results only partly confirm this statement in the sphere of 12–15-years old students' risk behaviour (alcohol use and truancy). Delinquent behaviour characterises only a small segment of 12–15 years juveniles. Even such typical juvenile offence as group fight was reported only by 8.7% of respondents.

Victimisation data showed that more respondents reported being crime victims than offenders. This could point to the effect of “concentration of delinquency”. Small numbers of juveniles commit offences, but a larger part of them become victims of crime. It is an interesting and important phenomenon, which should be studied more and which may be very important

with regard to the prevention of juvenile delinquency and risk behaviour. Perhaps, this difference may be explained using psychological aspects of the research. For example, to report about your own offence is much harder than to give information in the questionnaire about being a victim of an offence. The experience of becoming a victim (pain, humiliation) may leave a deeper imprint on the memory. Further studies should specify the nature of “concentration of delinquency” effect.

The traditional significant differences between delinquency in large city, medium-sized city and small towns were not found in this study. The structure and prevalence rates of risk behaviour and delinquency are quite similar in all cities and towns. The differences are small and may be influenced by research deviation or random error. This may suggest that there exists one social environment of juvenile delinquency and risk behaviour, possibly related to the great mobility of population in our country.

The results of the study do not support the claim by official statistics that property offences comprise the biggest part of the crime structure. Interestingly, this study shows that violence offences predominate among juvenile offence. One of the reasons of such discrepancy may be the fact that juvenile violent behaviour tends to stay “in the shadow” (i.e. it is rarely reported) and thus remains outside the criminal justice statistics. It could be concluded that violent behaviour, and not offences related to property (as is suggested by the official statistics), are the core of the problem of juvenile delinquency in Lithuania.

The data further show that there still remains a substantial gap in the level of delinquency between girls

and boys in Lithuania. Social control explains part of the gap in delinquency between boys and girls: social control of girls tend to be stronger and tighter, especially in small cities where we have low level of girls’ delinquency. However, it should be mentioned that the gender gap in delinquency in reality is not as big as it seems from the official criminal statistics in Lithuania. It could be explained by the “softer” attitude to girls in society: more people are willing to forget, forgive and not report girls’ wrongdoings to the police.

The data show – consistent with previous surveys in other countries – that problems of relationship with parents and weak relations in the family, problems at school, dislike of school and truancy correlate with delinquent behaviour. Also the influence of peer groups as a factor of delinquent behaviour has clearly been shown. The fact that a great part of free time is spent in a group of friends may reflect estrangement from the family, and it could indicate greater risk of delinquent behaviour.

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## Chapter 20

### Poland<sup>1</sup>

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#### 20.1 Introductory Remarks

Poland is located in Central Europe, has an area of about 312,000 km<sup>2</sup>, a population of over 38 million, and is the sixth biggest Member State in the European Union. Following a lengthy period of communist rule, Poland became a parliamentary democracy in 1989, with a market economy, and observing the principle of the rule of law. Poland has been a member of the Council of Europe since 1991; of the NATO since 1997, and of the EU since May, 2004.

Poland's capital city is Warsaw; population of more than 1.6 million. The country level of urbanisation is modest, and the urban population amounts to 61%. Poland is, ethnically and religiously, a unitary country: 96% of the inhabitants are Roman Catholics and while the rest are ethnic minorities, such as Germans, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Czechs, and Slovaks.

The Polish economy is fast growing, with an average GDP growth rate of more than 4.0% in the last decade (and 6.5% in 2007). The unemployment rate decreased from a high level of over 20.0% in

2003 to 10.5% in 2008. Since Poland's accession to the European Union, more than one million people, most of them young, have migrated to work in other Member States, particularly in UK.

##### 20.1.1 Crime

Official crime statistics indicate that the total number of crimes grew by over 60% at the beginning of the transformation period (1989/1990). This was particularly true for property, and later, for violent crimes. Since the early 1990s, juveniles have committed a substantial proportion of all crimes. It seems that adult criminals have encouraged juveniles to perpetrate car thefts, thefts from cars, and burglary in dwellings. In Poland, the minimum age of criminal responsibility is 17 years, although those who commit serious crimes, like homicide, rape, or robbery/extortion, may be held liable if they are over 15. In other cases, juvenile delinquency is dealt with by special juvenile courts, according to a separate Law on the Treatment of Juveniles. These courts deal not only with delinquency, but also with other deviant behaviour, such as drinking alcohol, truancy and running away from home.

##### 20.1.2 The Education System

Compulsory education applies to all children between 6 and 18 years. Education in primary school covers 6 years. Then children attend lower secondary school (*gimnazjum*) for 3 years. In the study, children from this level of education have been surveyed. After *gimnazjum*, children continue their education in one of three

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<sup>1</sup> In Poland the survey has been carried out by the Institute of Justice. The research team consists of: Andrzej Siemaszko, Beata Gruszczyńska, Marek Marczewski, Katarzyna Drapała, Roman Kulma, Jacek Czabański and Paweł Ostaszewski, who managed the Polish database. The Polish part of ISRD-2 was co-financed by the European Commission's Daphne Program "The International Self-Report Study on Violent Behaviour, Attitudes and Victimization among Youth" (JLS/DAP/2005-1/063/YC 30 -CE-0060386/00-18) and the Institute of Justice.

types of schools. High school (*liceum*) is for 3 years and covers general subjects. In a technical high school, education is spread over 4 years, and students gain occupational qualifications in one of the selected profiles: chemistry, telecommunication, building etc. Vocational schools teach particular skills, and education covers not less than 2 years.

## 20.2 Methodological Notes

In Poland, the sample design was based on a city sample and finally, 3,519 students were drawn. The sample contained schools from seven cities of different sizes and diverse social and demographic features. The following cities have been included in the sample: Warsaw (large sized city), Kalisz (medium sized city) and five small towns – Sanok, Przeworsk, Namysłów, Żary and Międzyrzecz.<sup>2</sup>

In the Polish edition of ISRD-2, three questionnaires were given to the students, teachers and interviewers. All surveys were administered in the original version: the sequence of questions, the number of answer categories and the layout. No additional questions were included.<sup>3</sup>

The core survey was carried out in 2006 (from May through June) by 20 interviewers of the TNS-OBOP polling company. The respondents who were gathered in school classrooms in the previously identified cities completed the questionnaire anonymously. All the students participating in the survey had to have written parental consent.

The average time to complete the questionnaire was 42 min. The shortest duration was 25 min while the longest one was 95 min. In 102 classes (75.6% of 135 classes), a teacher or another school employee was

present (a pedagogue, a head master), in the remaining 33 there was only an interviewer.

The fieldwork was completed in seven towns, 49 schools and 135 classes. Out of all students in the sample, 793 did not obtain their parents' consent and 588 students were absent. As a result 2,138 questionnaires were returned by the students to be used as the basis for this analysis.<sup>4</sup> Following the quality and logical verification of all questionnaires, some of them were rejected and finally 2,114 were analysed.<sup>5</sup>

Finally, in the following descriptions, whenever we refer to “significant” differences, it may be assumed that we are talking about “statistically significant” differences.

## 20.3 The Sample Description

In the Polish edition of ISRD-2, the sample consists of 2,114 students of lower secondary schools (*gymnazjum*). Girls formed 55% of the sample and boys, 45%. The sample was ethnically homogeneous. A total of 99% students were born in Poland.

The largest group in the sample consists of pupils aged 14 and 15 years (67.5%), followed by the group of 16-year-olds (25.6%). Thirteen-year-old pupils are relatively sparsely represented – 5.5%. The percentages of the oldest pupils (17 years) and the youngest (12) form the margins of the investigated sample, at 1.1 and 0.3% respectively. The majority of pupils polled (86%) are raised in intact families.<sup>6</sup> In 11% of families, the parental role is fulfilled by a single mother or father. Only 2% of the pupils polled state that they live in foster families. In the sample polled, 86% of fathers and 75% of mothers have a steady job; 5% of

<sup>2</sup>The last stage was drawing classes with the Survey Manager software. 173 classes were drawn. The register of schools included the following types of secondary schools: public schools (run by local governments), schools founded by social/community organizations of different types, private schools. Secondary schools attended by less than 20 students, as well as those specialised (for mentally or physically handicapped persons) have been excluded.

<sup>3</sup>The questionnaires were translated into Polish by Andrzej Siemaszko and Michał Jankowski. In addition to the translation, the Student Questionnaire was adjusted by using language easily understood by youth.

<sup>4</sup>The response rate in schools was 77.4% (from among 62 drawn schools 48 participated) and the response rate in classes was 78% (135 out of 173 drawn classes). The majority of refusing schools did not substantiate the refusals. Some schools gave as a ground their participation in other surveys or the necessity to obtain consent of the Ministry of National Education.

<sup>5</sup>16 questionnaires were rejected at the national level due to face-tious and unrealistic answers. An additional eight questionnaires were excluded, after merging database on the international level (due to the same reasons).

<sup>6</sup>Families where parental roles were fulfilled by a stepmother or father's partner and/or stepfather or mother's partner were also included in the figures for full families.

men and 3% of women have occasional employment. However, 3% of fathers and 5% of mothers are unable to find work; 6% of fathers and 4% of mothers do not work as a result of illness, pension, or other causes. It is worth emphasising that a relatively large proportion of women, about 13% do not work, rather they take care of the home and children. Sixty-nine per cent of pupils declared that they had a separate room, which they did not share with other members of the family. Almost all pupils (92%) stated that there was a computer in the home, and only a slightly smaller proportion (89%) declared that they had their own mobile telephone. A surprisingly large percentage of those polled (85%) stated that the family had a car.<sup>7</sup>

Traumatic experience, such as a death of someone close, a serious illness, or domestic violence may cause breakdown, a faltering in the belief system, reaching for alcohol and drugs or submissiveness towards peers. In the survey group, a death in the family affected 8% of the children (similar results for girls and boys), and serious illness of someone close affected around 36% (31% of boys and 40% of girls). Injury or their own serious illness affected 65% of pupils, slightly more frequently among boys (69%) than girls (61%), which may be explained by the greater prevalence of risky sports and behaviours among young boys. Parents with alcohol problems, violence, or divorce occurred in the families of 26% of pupils surveyed. Girls (29%) spoke of this more frequently than boys (23%), but this may have been due to their greater sensitivity.

## 20.4 Self-reported Delinquency

### 20.4.1 Delinquency by Gender and School Grade

Life-time prevalence has been found to be substantial. The overall rate of delinquency shows that almost one teenager in three has committed at least one offence during his/her lifetime.<sup>8</sup> Not surprisingly, boys commit

<sup>7</sup>The above results appear to be overestimated. According to the annual statistical report for 2005, 47.4% families owned a car, 38.6% owned a computer, and 65.2% owned a mobile phone.

<sup>8</sup>Overall rate includes all offences listed in Table 20.1.

**Table 20.1** Life-time and last year prevalences of offences

	Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Group fight	13.1	1.2	7.3	1.3
Carrying a weapon	9.9	1.2	6.6	1.5
Assault	1.9	1.1	1.2	1.2
Snatching of bag	1.1	0.9	0.7	1.0
Robbery/extortion	2.6	1.1	1.7	1.2
Vandalism	8.3	1.2	5.1	1.2
Shoplifting	12.0	1.1	3.6	1.3
Bicycle/motor bike theft	0.8	1.0	0.3	1.1
Car break in	1.5	1.0	0.8	1.2
Burglary	2.2	1.1	0.9	1.1
Car theft	0.9	1.2	0.7	1.2
Computer hacking	8.9	1.1	6.7	1.3
Drug dealing	3.1	1.1	2.3	1.1
XTC/speed use	3.2	1.3	1.2	1.3
LSD/heroin/cocaine use	1.7	1.3	0.6	1.3
Total	32.4	0.7	20.3	0.7

*n* = 2,114; unweighted data; prevalence based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin use: last month prevalence

twice as many offences as girls. Close to half of all boys have committed at least one offence during their lifetime, compared to slightly more than one in five girls. However, the starting age of delinquency is similar for boys and girls with both mean and median age of the first time offence being around 12 years (mean and median years of committing the first offence are not shown in the tables).

Group fight (13.1%) is the most common offence, followed by shoplifting (12%), carrying a weapon (9.9%) and computer hacking (8.9%). The least frequent are bicycle/motor bike and car theft (0.8% and 0.9% respectively), followed by snatching of bag (1.1%) and LSD/heroin/cocaine use (1.7%) (Table 20.1).

However, when we look at last year prevalence, the order of offences is different, with group fighting (7.3%), computer hacking (6.7%) and carrying a weapon (6.6%) having the highest prevalence. Noticeably shoplifting is not on the last year prevalence list. This may suggest that this offence, while being quite common, has only been committed once in a lifetime.

Among property offences by far the most popular is shoplifting (with a life time prevalence of 12%), and then burglary (2.2%), car break in (1.5%), snatching of bag (1.1%), motorbike/car theft (0.9%), and bicycle

**Table 20.2** Life-time and last year prevalence of offences (male vs. female)

	Male sample ( <i>n</i> = 949)				Female sample ( <i>n</i> = 1,163)			
	Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>		Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Group fight	20.5	2.1	13.3	2.2	7.3	0.4	2.5	0.6
Carrying a weapon	17.3	2.3	11.7	2.7	4.0	0.3	2.5	0.5
Assault	3.6	2.1	2.3	2.3	0.6	0.3	0.4	0.3
Snatching of bag	2.1	1.9	1.4	2.0	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2
Robbery/extortion	4.3	2.1	2.8	2.2	1.2	0.3	0.9	0.3
Vandalism	13.3	2.1	8.7	2.1	4.2	0.4	2.2	0.5
Shoplifting	15.0	1.8	5.2	2.0	9.5	0.6	2.4	0.7
Bicycle/motor bike theft	1.6	2.0	0.5	2.1	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.3
Car break	2.7	2.1	1.5	2.4	0.5	0.2	0.3	0.2
Burglary	4.2	2.1	1.7	2.2	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.3
Car theft	1.7	2.4	1.5	2.4	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.3
Computer hacking	16.5	2.0	12.5	2.3	2.9	0.4	2.0	0.4
Drug dealing	4.4	2.0	3.4	2.0	2.1	0.3	1.5	0.3
XTC/speed use	3.8	2.2	1.2	2.2	2.8	0.6	1.3	0.6
LSD/heroin/cocaine use	2.3	2.2	1.0	2.2	1.2	0.5	.3	0.5
Total	45.1	1.3	32.0	1.3	22.1	0.2	10.8	0.2

*n* = 2,114; unweighted data; prevalence based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin use: last month prevalence

theft (0.8%). Shoplifting has also been the most unisex offence, with a life-time prevalence of 15% for boys and 9.5% for girls. All other offences have been predominantly committed by boys – have committed all these offences 5–9 times more often than girls.

Shoplifting is also the first offence to be committed in life, with the mean starting age of 11.5 years for boys and 11.1 for girls. Drug dealing is the offence that is being committed last, with the mean starting age of 14 for boys and 14.3 for girls.

One in five boys has at least once committed a violent offence, compared to less than one in ten girls. The sex difference is thus much higher for violent offences than for property ones. But the starting age of violent crimes is quite similar for boys and girls with the mean age of around 12.5.

It is noticeable that offences may be divided into two groups: the first group consists of offences committed by a relatively small group of teenagers (i.e. not more than 5% of all). This includes bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft, snatching of bag, LSD/heroin/cocaine use, car break in, assault, XTC/speed use, robbery/extortion, burglary and drug dealing. Another group of offences are those which are committed by a larger group of respondents

(between 9% and 13%) – it includes vandalism, shoplifting, computer hacking, carrying a weapon and group fighting. There is an apparent gap between these two groups which may suggest that there is a small group (between 1% and 3%) of teenagers who are particularly delinquency prone and another, larger group that is involved in offences that are less serious.

Another finding is that last year prevalence rates are not growing monotonically with age. Among the respondents from grade 7, overall last year prevalence is 17.9%, it rises to 23.1% in grade 8, and drops to 19.4% in grade 9.

Not surprisingly gender plays a big role in delinquency. On average, lifetime prevalence rates for boys are twice as high as for girls (three times greater as regards last year prevalence). The sex discrepancy is not evenly spread over offences, though. XTC/speed use is just 1.4 times more frequent among boys than among girls, shoplifting is 1.6 times more frequent and LSD/heroin/cocaine use is 2 times more frequent. On the other hand, car theft is 8.5 times more frequent among boys, followed by bicycle/motor theft (8 times more frequent), burglary (8.4 times), and snatching of bag (7 times) (Table 20.2).

**Table 20.3** Life-time and last year prevalence (aggregated offences) (large city sample vs. rest of sample)

Poland	Warsaw ( <i>n</i> = 673)				Rest of sample ( <i>n</i> = 1,441)			
	Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>		Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Frequent violent offences <sup>b</sup>	20.2	1.3	11.9	1.5	17.0	0.6	10.8	0.8
Rare violent offences <sup>c</sup>	3.8	1.3	2.7	1.5	4.2	0.6	2.9	0.6
Vandalism	10.0	1.5	5.7	1.6	7.5	1.0	4.8	1.0
Shoplifting	14.4	1.6	3.8	1.8	10.9	0.9	3.6	1.0
Rare property offences <sup>d</sup>	3.8	1.3	1.8	1.3	4.0	0.4	2.3	0.4
Computer hacking	9.2	1.8	6.8	1.9	8.8	0.8	6.6	1.0
Drug dealing	2.6	1.3	1.4	1.3	3.4	1.0	2.8	1.0
Hard drugs use <sup>e</sup>	3.5	1.3	1.5	1.3	4.1	1.0	1.8	1.0

*n* = 2,114; unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Hard drug use: last month prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Group fight and carrying a weapon

<sup>c</sup>Snatching of bag, robbery/extortion, and assault

<sup>d</sup>Burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft and car break

<sup>e</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin/cocaine use

**Table 20.4** Life-time and last year prevalences of offences (large city sample vs. rest of sample)

	Warsaw ( <i>n</i> = 673)				Rest of sample ( <i>n</i> = 1,441)			
	Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>		Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Group fight	13.3	1.6	7.1	1.9	13.0	1.0	7.4	1.0
Carrying a weapon	12.0	2.1	7.2	2.4	9.0	0.8	6.4	1.1
Assault	2.1	1.5	1.4	1.6	1.8	0.9	1.2	1.0
Snatching of bag	1.2	1.6	0.6	1.8	1.1	0.6	0.8	0.6
Robbery/extortion	2.9	1.5	2.1	1.6	2.5	1.0	1.5	1.0
Vandalism	10.0	1.5	5.7	1.6	7.5	1.0	4.8	1.0
Shoplifting	14.4	1.6	3.8	1.8	10.9	0.9	3.6	1.0
Bicycle/motor bike theft	1.1	1.8	0.2	1.9	0.7	0.7	0.3	0.7
Car break	1.8	1.6	0.6	2.1	1.3	0.8	0.9	0.8
Burglary	1.7	2.1	0.8	2.1	2.4	0.6	1.0	0.7
Car theft	0.9	1.9	0.6	1.9	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.9
Computer hacking	9.2	1.8	6.8	1.9	8.8	0.8	6.6	1.0
Drug dealing	2.6	1.3	1.4	1.3	3.4	1.0	2.8	1.0
XTC/speed use	2.6	1.5	1.1	1.5	3.5	1.2	1.3	1.2
LSD/heroin/cocaine use	2.3	1.5	0.6	1.5	1.4	1.2	0.6	1.2
Total	35.9	1.2	21.7	1.2	30.8	0.4	19.7	0.4

*n* = 2,114; unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin use: last month prevalence

### 20.4.2 Delinquency by Town-Size

Generally speaking, there are more offences in big cities than in smaller ones. However, prevalence rates do not show very clear differences. There is more vandalism, shoplifting and frequent violent offences in the big city than in the rest of the sample. Nevertheless, in smaller

cities there is more drug dealing and hard drug use. It seems, contrary to intuition, that drugs pose bigger problems in smaller cities than in big ones. For the same data, for the ungrouped offences, please see Table 20.4.

Table 20.5 shows prevalence rates for more than two groups. For ease of presentation again only aggregated (combined) measures of prevalence have been used.

**Table 20.5** Life-time and last year prevalence (aggregated offences) by size of city/town

	Warsaw ( <i>n</i> = 673)				Kalisz (medium sized city, <i>n</i> = 588)				Small towns ( <i>n</i> = 853)				
	Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>		Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>		Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>		
	%	Missing	%	Missing	%	Missing	%	Missing	%	Missing	%	Missing	
Poland													
Frequent violent offences <sup>b</sup>	20.2	1.3	11.9	1.5	16.7	0.2	9.7	0.2	17.2	0.9	11.5	1.2	
Rare violent offences <sup>c</sup>	3.8	1.3	2.7	1.5	4.6	0.0	3.1	0.0	3.9	0.9	2.7	0.9	
Vandalism	10.0	1.5	5.7	1.6	5.8	0.3	3.9	0.3	8.7	1.5	5.5	1.5	
Shoplifting	14.4	1.6	3.8	1.8	11.4	0.2	4.8	0.3	10.5	1.4	2.7	1.5	
Rare property offences <sup>d</sup>	3.8	1.3	1.8	1.3	3.4	0.0	2.2	0.0	4.4	0.7	2.4	0.7	
Computer hacking	9.2	1.8	6.8	1.9	8.5	0.3	6.0	0.3	9.0	1.2	7.0	1.4	
Drug dealing	2.6	1.3	1.4	1.3	2.9	0.2	2.6	0.2	3.7	1.5	3.0	1.5	
Hard drugs use <sup>e</sup>	3.5	1.3	1.5	1.3	5.6	0.2	2.4	0.2	3.1	1.5	1.3	1.5	

*n* = 2,114; unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Hard drug use: last month prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Group fight and carrying a weapon

<sup>c</sup>Snatching of bag, robbery/extortion, and assault

<sup>d</sup>Burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft and car break

<sup>e</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin/cocaine use

More detailed comparison between a big city (Warsaw), a medium one (Kalisz) and a few small cities (5 towns) shows that delinquency does not increase with the size of the town. While Warsaw has the highest rates for four offences (frequent violent offences, vandalism, shoplifting, and computer hacking), Kalisz is the leader in two categories (rare violent offences, and hard drug use), and small towns have the highest rates in another two (rare property offences, and drug dealing).

Sometimes, differences are very slight: this is the case of computer hacking, where rates are quite equal for towns of all sizes. In other instances, differences are substantial, and counterintuitive. Hard drug use is much more frequent in the medium size town than in others. Drug dealing seems to be inversely correlated with the size of a town, with the highest rate in small towns (this is even more evident for last year prevalence). In case of some offences, prevalence rates are similar in big and small towns: for example, there are none, or very small, differences in last year prevalence rates for rare violent offences, vandalism, and hard drug use (computer hacking is of similar frequency everywhere). It is hard to find any particular pattern – it rather seems that there is no any evident correlation between the size of a town and the prevalence of offences.

## 20.5 Risk Factors

Among experts on juvenile delinquency there is a fundamental agreement that of many factors which cause young people to stray, a crucial role is played by poor family relations, low performance at school, truancy, alcohol, and drug abuse. In the following considerations, these last three risk factors, i.e. alcohol consumption, drugs, and truancy, will be analysed more broadly.

### 20.5.1 Alcohol

The consumption of alcohol is widespread. Three-fourths of the youths admitted drinking alcohol. Notably, gender differences were insignificant in this regard: girls declared drinking even slightly more frequently than boys. When drinking, low alcohol beverages (beer, wine) are preferred. Alcohol is usually being consumed in the company of other children.

Over one-third of students got drunk; also in this regard gender differences were insignificant. However,



boys started drinking earlier than girls (the median age for boys was 12 years, for girls – 13).

### 20.5.2 Drugs

Drugs are used comparably less frequently than alcohol, which is not surprising. Every tenth student declared using any of the drugs listed in the questionnaire. The most used are soft drugs – marihuana/hashish. Their use was admitted by every tenth student. The use of Speed/XTC is much less frequent (3.2%) (Table 20.6).

The least popular are hard drugs, such as heroin/cocaine. The age of initiation into different types of drugs vary slightly: for marihuana/hashish 14.0; for speed/XTC 14.2; and for heroin/cocaine 14.1

### 20.5.3 Risk Factors and Town Size

The size of the town or city has relatively little influence on alcohol consumption (Tables 20.8–20.9)

The consumption patterns of soft drugs are unexpected when we look at the distributions across town size. The number of young people declaring that they used hashish and marijuana decreases in proportion to town size. 11% of students from small towns admitted to using soft drugs,<sup>9</sup> 10% from medium-sized towns, and 9% from Warsaw. More small-town adolescents also used these drugs in the month preceding the survey (4%), compared to those in Warsaw and Kalisz (3%). Therefore, both these measures may point to a greater availability of soft drugs in small towns. The percentages of students engaged in drug dealing negatively correlated with town size. Even more bizarre is the distribution of answers to the question about the

**Table 20.6** Life-time and last year prevalence of alcohol and soft drug use

	Life-time		Last month	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Beer/wine	70.5	1.4	34.6	2.3
Strong spirits	38.5	1.3	19.9	1.9
Marijuana, hashish use	9.9	1.5	3.7	1.6

*n* = 2,114; unweighted data; prevalence based on valid cases

**Table 20.7** Life-time and last year prevalence of risk factors

	Life-time		Last month <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Alcohol total <sup>b</sup>	70.6	0.9	36.0	0.9
Marijuana, hashish use	9.9	1.5	3.7	1.6
Truancy	–	–	37.8	0.2
Two risk factors present	–	–	21.5	0.6

*n* = 2,114; unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Truancy: last year prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Beer/wine and strong spirits

**Table 20.8** Life-time and last year prevalence of alcohol and soft drug use (large city sample vs. rest of sample)

	Large city sample ( <i>n</i> = 673)				Rest of sample ( <i>n</i> = 1,441)			
	Life time		Last month		Life time		Last month	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Beer/wine	73.7	2.4	35.3	3.3	69.0	1.0	34.3	1.8
Strong spirits	41.9	1.8	18.5	2.2	36.9	1.1	20.5	1.7
Marijuana/hashish use	8.7	1.5	3.2	1.6	10.4	1.5	3.9	1.6

*n* = 2,114; unweighted data; prevalence based on valid cases

<sup>9</sup>Further analysis showed, however, that these bizarre and counter-intuitive tendencies were the “responsibility” of two small towns near the German border, in which drug use was, in fact, unexpectedly common. In the remaining small towns, however, drug consumption was at the expected relatively low level.

**Table 20.9** Life-time and last month prevalence of risk factors (large city sample vs. rest of sample)

	Large city sample ( <i>n</i> = 673)				Rest of sample ( <i>n</i> = 1,441)			
	Life time		Last month <sup>a</sup>		Life time		Last month <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Alcohol total <sup>b</sup>	73.8	1.3	36.4	1.3	69.1	0.6	35.8	0.8
Marijuana, hashish use	8.7	1.5	3.2	1.6	10.4	1.5	3.9	1.6
Truancy	–	–	31.4	0.1	–	–	40.8	0.2
Two risk factors present	–	–	19.5	0.7	–	–	22.4	0.5

*n* = 2,114; unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Truancy: last year prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Beer/wine and strong spirits

**Table 20.10** Life-time and last month prevalence of risk factors by size of city/town

	Large city ( <i>n</i> = 673)				Medium sized city ( <i>n</i> = 588)				Small towns ( <i>n</i> = 853)			
	Life time		Last month <sup>a</sup>		Life time		Last month <sup>a</sup>		Life time		last month <sup>a</sup>	
	%		%		%		%		%		%	
	%	Missing	%	Missing	%	Missing	%	Missing	%	Missing	%	Missing
Alcohol total <sup>b</sup>	73.8	1.3	36.4	1.3	73.7	0.3	35.9	0.5	66.0	0.8	35.7	0.9
Marijuana, hashish use	8.7	1.5	3.2	1.6	10.1	0.2	3.2	0.2	10.7	2.3	4.3	2.6
Truancy	–	–	31.4	0.1	–	–	45.0	0.2	–	–	38.0	0.2
Two risk factors present	–	–	19.5	0.7	–	–	22.7	.2	–	–	22.2	0.7

*n* = 2,114; unweighted data; prevalence based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Truancy: last year prevalence;

<sup>b</sup>beer/wine and strong spirits

use of hard drugs. In this case, it is Kalisz (a medium-sized city) that showed considerably more (5.6%) admissions of lifetime use in comparison with both smaller and bigger cities (Warsaw 3.5%, small towns – 3.1%). In comparison with adolescents from smaller cities, Warsaw youth reported truancy significantly less frequently. The respective percentages are 31 and 41, and so the difference is substantial. Once again, the medium-sized town is significantly the worst.

## 20.5.4 Risk Factors and Independent Variables Scales

### 20.5.4.1 The Family

There is a significant relationship between the above-mentioned risk factors and the family,<sup>10</sup> and risk factors

are less frequently present among those who have good relationships with their parents and spend relatively more time with them.

Twice as many lower secondary school students who declared that they had a bad relationship with their parents admitted to using soft drugs (14% vs. 6%). Forty-five per cent of adolescents who could not find common ground with their parents admitted to truancy, while the equivalent result among those having a good relationship with their parents was 15% points lower.

The data indicate, however, that proper parental supervision is more important than a good relationship. Among those surveyed who were better managed by their parents, all three risk factors occurred significantly less frequent in comparison with those who were left to “roam free” (i.e. who had no set time to return home and need not say whom they were with). For instance, twice as many children who were poorly supervised by their parents had consumed strong liquor in the month preceding the survey, and they were also truant one-third more frequently than their counterparts who had better parental supervision.

<sup>10</sup>The rates reported in the Sects. 20.5.4 and 20.5.5 are based on *n* = 2,122.

Symptoms of family disorganisation are also of paramount importance. Significantly more adolescents raised in incomplete or problem families (alcohol, drugs, arguments) use drugs or were truant.

#### 20.5.4.2 School

It has long been known that a positive attitude to school, gaining good marks and, last but not least, the quality of the school itself (lack of delinquency and other symptoms of social pathology) also have a significant impact on limiting the risk behaviours analysed here.

Among the “school” scales, the most strongly correlated with risk factors was the index of school disorganisation. Children who go to “bad” schools – those in which there are theft, fights, graffiti and drug use – each of the three risk factors appears significantly more frequently.

For example: strong alcohol was consumed in the month prior to the study by 13% of adolescent in less disorganised schools, and by 26% in schools with discipline problems. Twenty-eight per cent of students from “better” schools admitted to truancy, while the equivalent percentage for “worse” schools is 49%. Having at least two risk factors occurs more than twice as frequently in more disorganised schools. However, the other scales reflecting the attitude towards school differentiate adolescents with regard to alcohol and drug consumption and truancy far more weakly. Positive or negative attitudes towards school are only significantly and strongly correlated to truancy, which should not come as a surprise.

We have also created an “activity” index which reflects a variety of forms of involvement (i.e. the amount of time spent on homework, extracurricular activities, sport, etc.). This scale correlates extremely weakly with drug and alcohol use and truancy. For example: alcohol was consumed by exactly the same number of more and less involved students (70% for each group). Soft drugs were used somewhat more frequently by less involved students (11%) than by those who declared a higher degree of involvement (8%), although these differences were not statistically significant. There was no statistically significant relationship either between involvement and truancy.

#### 20.5.4.3 Disorganisation in the Neighbourhood

As with the school disorganisation scale, the neighbourhood disorganisation index is also quite strongly correlated with the analysed risk factors. Over the month preceding the survey, weak alcohol was consumed by 26% of students who lived in a relatively “better” neighbourhood, whereas in areas of high disorganisation the figure was 44%. The level of neighbourhood disorganisation differentiates even better with respect to the use of soft drugs. While barely 4% of adolescents from “better” areas had ever smoked hashish or marijuana, the equivalent percentage among those living in “worse” neighbourhoods was as high as 15%. Students from more disorganised neighbourhoods were also truant significantly more often.

#### 20.5.4.4 Bad Companions

The strong positive correlation between the “peers quality” scale and the deviance risk factors analysed here confirms the importance of a bad companion for one’s delinquency. Weaker alcohol is consumed by 53% of lower secondary school students whose peer group is characterised by less deviance, and by as many as 86% of those who are having relatively more deviant friends. More striking similar differences regarding strong alcohol consumption are found. This same tendency has been observed in relation to the two remaining risk factors, i.e. drugs and truancy. Students who mix in bad company also are truant twice as frequently.

#### 20.5.4.5 Self-Control and Aggression

The self-control and aggression scales also differentiate quite well with respect to the analysed risk factors. Significantly more students who gain above-average results on the attitude to the violence scale drink alcohol, use soft drugs, and are truant. Three times as many of them use soft drugs and twice as many play truant.

Self-control also effectively differentiated the surveyed group. For instance, twice as many students with lower self-control admitted to drinking alcohol (both weak and strong) in the preceding month than those with high self-control. Even more strikingly, hashish or marijuana was smoked in the preceding month by less than 1% of those with better self-control, comparing to 7% of those with lower self-control.

### 20.5.4.6 Risk Factors and Delinquency

Alcohol, drugs and truancy are not defined as juvenile delinquency risk factors without a reason.<sup>11</sup> It has been empirically shown many times that there is a very strong relationship between these variables and deviant behaviour. We also find that all the analysed risk factors display a strong relationship with the overall crime scale.

Among students who admitted drinking, 40% scored relatively high on the overall crime scale, while the non-drinking group reached just over 10%.

Barely 1% of non-drinkers committed serious aggressive crimes while the equivalent figure for drinkers is 5%. Only one in a hundred non-drinkers committed acts of vandalism, while among drinkers this was one in nine. Only 3% of non-drinkers admitted shoplifting, whereas the equivalent figure for drinkers is five times higher (over 15%). These differences are therefore considerable and statistically significant.

The same holds true for the next risk factor – soft drug consumption. One quarter of those who had had no contact with soft drugs admitted to any of the crimes forming the overall crime scale, while among those who smoked marijuana or hashish, the figure was three quarters.

In spite of the theory of the tranquilising effect of soft drugs, hash and marijuana users commit aggressive crimes – both non-serious and serious – considerably more frequently. For example: soft drug users committed robbery/extortion eight times more frequent than others.

The third risk factor, truancy, differentiates the survey group somewhat more weakly. Among those who had been truant, crimes were committed by 47%, while for those who declared that they had not missed any schooldays without authorisation, the equivalent figure was 24%.

More serious crimes of violence were admitted by not less than 2% of those surveyed who did not have two risk factors, while those from the group possessing those two factors admitted to such crimes six times more frequently.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> It should be added, however, that in the majority of countries, alcohol consumption, drug use and truancy (obviously at a certain level) are in themselves “juvenile delinquency”, and as such may form the basis of their responsibility. The demarcation line between dependent and independent variables is therefore exceptionally unclear in this case. This inconsistency is obvious in the ISRD project: soft drug use was treated as risk factor whereas hard drug use was considered criminal behaviour.

<sup>12</sup> In spite of this, however, the correlation between two risk factors and criminality in general is fairly weak, although it is stronger in the case of each risk factor separately.

## 20.6 Victimisation

In the ISRD 2, the crime victimisation issue was investigated by questions about being a victim of robbery/extortion, assault and theft. Beside these three offences, students were also asked about being the victim of bullying, meaning the unpleasant or aggressive behaviour against peers. It should be emphasised that victimisation may have an influence on the behaviour of young people. In order to cope with traumatic events they can start or intensify their use of alcohol or drugs, or they can experience problems in schools. On the other hand, participation in criminal activity, alcohol and use of drugs can have an effect on the likelihood of victimisation.

We present the prevalence rate for each form of victimisation, differentiated by demographic and social indicators such as: gender, age or school grade as well as city/town size, attitude towards violence and self-control factors, attitudes to schools, neighbourhood, family control and family problems. The results of correlation analysis may help to explain and interpret the interactions of the variables.

### 20.6.1 Last Year Victimisation

“Overall” victimisation means that students experienced at least one of the following offences: robbery/extortion, assault, theft or bullying. Among gymnazjum students the overall prevalence is 29%, which means that more than one-fourth of the students had been victimised at least once in the last year by robbery/extortion, assault, theft or bullying. As expected, the most frequent victimisation was theft. Almost 18% of students reported a theft of their personal property. Looking at violent victimisation, almost 7% were the victims of assault and robbery/extortion. About 12% of students have encountered bullying.

Boys were more often victims than girls; about 35% of the boys and about 24% of the girls were victims of at least one of four offences. The victimisation rate by type of offence and gender is presented in Table 20.11. There is a bigger gender difference in exposure to violent victimisation than to property victimisation. Boys, rather than girls, were more frequently victims of robbery/extortion (almost 6 times), assault (more than 2 times). They were also more frequently the victim of theft and bullying (Table 20.11).

**Table 20.11** Last year prevalence of victimisation and reporting to the police

	Victimisation		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>	Victimisation	
	%	% Missing	%	Girls (%)	Boys (%)
Robbery/extortion	6.7	13.6	21.1	2.5	12.0
Assault	6.5	13.6	20.3	3.9	9.7
Theft	17.9	12.9	27.7	16.1	20.0
Bullying	11.9	13.7	7.8	9.9	14.4
Total	29.0	12.3	23.6	24.1	35.2

*n* = 2,114; unweighted data; prevalence based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Percentage based on number of victims; no answer: no reporting assumed

**Table 20.12** Last year prevalence of victimisation and reporting to the police by size of city/town

	Large city ( <i>n</i> = 673)			Medium sized city ( <i>n</i> = 588)			Small towns ( <i>n</i> = 853)		
	Victimisation		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>	Victimisation		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>	Victimisation		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>
	%	% Missing	%	%	% Missing	%	%	% Missing	%
Robbery/extortion	8.8	7.3	20.0	8.5	16.3	19.0	3.6	16.3	26.9
Assault	5.9	7.0	13.5	7.8	16.7	18.4	6.1	16.8	27.9
Theft	18.5	6.8	27.6	23.5	14.6	26.3	13.3	16.5	29.5
Bullying	14.4	7.3	5.6	11.9	17.2	8.6	9.7	16.4	10.1
Total	32.5	6.8	19.6	33.1	13.1	25.4	23.0	16.1	26.7

*n* = 2,114; unweighted data; prevalence based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Percentage based on number of victims; no answer: no reporting assumed

## 20.6.2 Victimisation by Town Size

The home town size influences the frequency become victims of crime (Table 20.12). Small towns and villages, in accordance with predictions, appeared to be the most peaceful, and their young inhabitants were considerably less frequently (23%) victims of the analysed crimes than those in the medium-sized city, Kalisz (33%) or Warsaw (32.5%). The differences are even greater for certain types of crime than in the overall figures for victimisation. In small towns, the risk of being robbed or being the victim of extortion (3.6%) was half that of Kalisz or Warsaw. Theft was significantly less frequent in small towns (13%) than in larger cities such as Warsaw (18%) and Kalisz (24%). Assault was least likely to occur in the large city and the small towns. Bullying most commonly affects pupils living in the capital (14%) and its frequency systematically decreases with the town size, i.e. it most seldom occurs in small towns (10%). It is also worth noting that there is a relatively great amount of missing data for small and medium-sized towns, where around 17% of those polled did not answer the questions concerning victimisation.

In Warsaw, this non-response was two and a half times lower.

## 20.6.3 Victimisation by School Grades

Overall crime victimisation rates show that there are no significant differences according to school grades. Violent victimisation (robbery/extortion and assault) is almost the same across grades but a slight increase is observed among senior students. There were 20% more victims of theft among senior than among junior students.

The largest difference was observed in the prevalence of bullying. Junior students had more bullying experiences than older students. Two-dimensional comparison of the crime victimisation rate shows similarities and differences between gender and school grades. Bullying happened more frequently to boys than to girls – and to young students than to older students. Violent victimisation was experienced more often by the oldest group of boys as well as girls. Theft victims have a differential demographic profile; young boys lost their property more often than older ones,



while older females were victims more frequently than younger one.

#### 20.6.4 Reporting to the Police

Reporting incidents to the police is particularly important because it discovers the dark number of crime and limits the impunity of the young perpetrators. Police had information only about the 24% of victims. The most often reported offence was theft (28%), one in five reported robbery/extortion and the same number of victims reported assault. Bullying was very rarely reported, only 8% students, who suffered bullying – reported this to the police.

Town size showed a difference in the frequency of communication with the police. In the small towns the police was most often informed about victimisations, while the greatest dark number (the small reporting rate) was observed among students from Warsaw.

In Warsaw, only one in five students reported robbery/extortion to the police, while in small towns this was one in four. Only one in seven Warsaw's victims of assault report the incidence to the police, while in small cities this was two times more frequently. Six per cent of the victims living in Warsaw reported bullying, while in small cities the reporting rate was almost twice as high – 10%. There were no significant differences in reporting thefts.

It is unknown from the respondents' replies whether the pupils reported the incidents individually, or whether, for example, the school did so. The following regularity is apparent: the smaller the town, the more frequently the police were informed. This confirms the existence of greater social control in small communities.

#### 20.6.5 Victimisation and Social Indicators

*Family control*, in the form of requiring information about respondent's friends and coming-home time did not have any significant influence on the risk of becoming a victim of mugging, theft, or bullying; however, it did correlate with the risk of assault.<sup>13</sup> Young people

whose family exercised less control on them were at a higher risk of being assaulted (8%) than those whose families were more concerned (5%).

*Family bonds*. More family bonding in the sense of more time spent with parents resulted in a lower risk of theft (16%) than that run by children who had less contact with their parents (20%). Other forms of victimisation had similar frequencies irrespective of family bonding time.

*Family problems* had a significant influence on young peoples' risk of victimisation. Pupils who were raised in families where at least one element occurred (a parent's alcoholism, violence or divorce) were more often victims of aggression (9% – robbery; 11% – assault) than children raised in families without these problems. One quarter of the young people from problem families were victims of theft, while 15% of children from problem-free families suffered theft victimisation. The influence of disrupted families was most evident in the case of bullying. Youngsters from such families were victims of bullying than the pupils without such family problems (9%).

Analysis of the relationship between positive attitudes toward violence and the risk of being a victim of aggression showed a positive correlation, which means that young people characterised by a greater tendency towards aggression were more likely to be victims of mugging or assault. This has no significant influence on the likelihood of being a victim of theft or bullying, although children from problem families are more likely to be victims of these offences than other youngsters.

*Self-control* was measured by means of asking opinions about 12 behaviours, including impulsive action without thought, testing oneself in risk activities, lack of concern for the future, taking risks for fun, losing one's temper, egotistical behaviour with no care for others, and so on. The degree of self-control had a significant influence: the more self-control the lower the risk of being a victim of mugging, assault or theft. It was less significant in relation to the risk of falling victim to bullying.

The *peer group* has a significant influence on young peoples' behaviour. So-called bad friends clearly have a bad influence on young people and these youngsters are more frequently victims of aggression and other offences. In the case of victims of mugging, this occurred in over 9% of cases, while youngsters who had no con-

<sup>13</sup> The rates reported in the Sects. 20.6.5 and 20.6.6 are based on  $n = 2,122$ .



tact with peers who use drugs, steal, carry weapons or get into fights, were victims over two and a half times less frequent, i.e. in 3.5% of cases. A similar difference occurred in relation to victims of assault, while in the case of victims of theft, the proportions were: 25% when in bad company versus 10% when this was not so. Contacts with deviant groups increases the risk of falling victim of bullying. Results show that this occurred in 14% of cases, while 10% among young people without “bad friends”.

Students living in *neighbourhoods where delinquency occurs* – fights, graffiti, drug dealing – and where there are abandoned flats, with no places of recreation, were over three times more likely to fall victim to mugging (10% in contrast to 3%), and twice as likely to get into a fight (8% versus 4%) than others. They were also more likely to be robbed (22% vs. 13%) and more frequently were victims of bullying (14% vs. 9%). The second indicator for evaluating the neighbourhood – a positive attitude towards it – did not have such a clear influence on the risk of victimisation. Irrespective of a positive or negative attitude towards the neighbourhood, the percentages of victims of mugging or assault were similar. Nevertheless, students who had a negative attitude to their neighbourhoods were considerably more often victims of theft (20%, in contrast to 14%) and bullying (14% vs. 9%).

*Disorganisation in the school* has a significant influence on the security of students. In “worse” school where many fights, thefts, vandalism and drug abuse occur, it is considerably easier to become a victim of crime. This tendency is confirmed by the Polish results as well. Children who go to “worse” schools, compared to those, who go to “good” schools are more often victims of mugging (8% vs. 5%), assault (9% vs. 4%) and theft (23% vs. 12%). As may be predicted, in “worse” schools, pupils were two and a half times more likely to be affected by bullying, suffered by one in six children, while in “good” schools such incidents had taken place in only 6% of cases. The risks of falling victim to mugging, assault, and bullying were significantly lower in highly valued schools than in those where the attitude towards school was negative. There was no correlation between the attitudes towards the school and the risk of being robbed, but these incidents may have occurred outside the school.

### 20.6.6 *Victimisation and Drinking, Drug Use, and Delinquency*

As might be predicted, pupils who took part in delinquent activity, used drugs, or drank alcohol were more often themselves victims of crime.

Among victims of crime, one in four (25%) carried a weapon or got into fights, whereas among the others such behaviour was characteristic of only 15% of individuals. Twice as many victims of crime as non-victims committed serious crimes of violence, such as robbery/extortion, assault, snatching of bag, (6%, in contrast to 3% of non-victims) theft of cars or bicycles and burglary. Victims also committed twice as many (9% vs. 4.5%) acts of vandalism and shoplifted more frequently (18% vs. 10%) than those who were not victims. Among victims, 5.4% were drug dealers, while the figure was 2.3% among non-victims.

*Drugs and alcohol* Victims of crime used hard drugs over twice more often than the other pupils; in the month prior to the survey the figures were 2.8% versus 1.4% for non-victims. They also used hashish more frequently than the others (5.6% vs. 3.1%). Among victims, significantly more (44%) had drunk alcohol during the previous month, while among the remaining pupils this occurred in 35% of cases.

## 20.7 Main Conclusions

Juvenile delinquency is quite widespread, with almost one teenager in three having committed at least one offence during his/her lifetime. Not surprisingly, twice as many boys as girls commit offences. Gender differences are even more evident in the case of violent crimes. The age of onset of delinquency is similar for boys and girls and is around 12 years.

Offences committed by young people may be divided into two groups: those that are committed by a relatively small (not more than 5%) group of teenagers. This group consists of bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft, snatching of bag, LSD/heroin/cocaine use, car break in, assault, XTC/speed use, robbery/extortion, burglary and drug dealing. The other group of offences are those which are committed by a larger

group of respondents (between 8% and 13%) – it includes vandalism, shoplifting, computer hacking, carrying a weapon and group fight. Interestingly, there is no evident pattern of crime according to city size. It even seems that drugs constitute a bigger problem in small towns. Some risk factors (alcohol consumption, drugs, truancy) have a substantial impact on delinquency. While delinquency is quite common, so is victimisation. The overall victimisation amounts to 29%, which means that more than one in four adolescents was victimised at least once in the last year by robbery/extortion, assault, theft or bullying. Boys were more often victims than girls; about 35% boys and about 24% of girls were victims of at least one of the four offences.

Small towns and villages, in accordance with predictions, appeared to be the most peaceful.

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# Chapter 21

## Czech Republic

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### 21.1 Introduction

The Czech Republic is situated in Central Europe between Germany, Poland, Slovakia, and Austria. Having a size of 79,000 km<sup>2</sup> and a population of 10.3 million inhabitants (2006),<sup>2</sup> it is one of the smaller countries of the European Union. The Czech Republic consists of three historical regions: Bohemia, Moravia, and a part of Silesia; however, now it is divided into 14 regions, one of which is its capital, Prague.

According to a population census carried out in 2001 by the Czech Statistical Office, a great majority of inhabitants claimed to be of Czech *nationality* (94%), and the larger minority groups were Slovaks (2%), Poles (0.5%), Germans (0.4%), Ukrainians (0.2%), Vietnamese (0.2%), and Roma (0.1%). However, in reality, the proportion of the Roma population in the Czech Republic is considerably larger – qualified estimates provided by the government are 1–3%.<sup>3</sup> The *religiosity* of the population is one of the lowest in Europe: 59% of the inhabitants have no religion, 27% are Roman Catholic, and 2% are Protestants.

As in other European countries, the Czech population is aging, and the fertility rate, which is currently 1.3

children per one woman in the reproductive age (2006), does not reach the replacement level (2.1). This fact is also reflected in the *age distribution* of the population: 15% of the population is in the 0–14 years category; 13%, between 15 and 24 years; 30%, between 25 and 44; 28%, between 45 and 64; and 14% is 65 or above (2005).

The majority of the people above 14 years of age have achieved middle-level *education*: 19% have done primary education or lower, 37% have done high school without a diploma, 33% have completed high school with a diploma, and 11% have obtained a university degree. The average *unemployment* rate is 8%; however, it is not distributed evenly across the country and there are several regions where the unemployment rate exceeds 15% (December 2006). The employment rate of women is traditionally high in the Czech Republic and, according to the census data, 73% of the women with dependent children, work (2001).

Generally, not only the birth rate, but also the institution of *marriage* is declining in the Czech Republic, a tendency which is illustrated by the fact that one-third of the children are born out of wedlock (2006) and the divorce rate is estimated to be 49% (2004). Despite these trends, among families with dependent children, only 12% are lone-parent families (2005). Not surprisingly, these families (24% of them) are much more likely to be under the at-risk-of-poverty threshold compared to the 8% of total households with children (2005).

The Czech Republic was for four decades (until 1989) a socialist country under the strong influence of the Soviet Union. After 1989, the criminality rate increased rapidly, not only among adults, but among youth as well; the number of offences committed by

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<sup>2</sup>Unless explicitly expressed, all data in this section were provided by Czech Statistical Office (<http://www.czso.cz>) and the reference year is indicated in the bracket.

<sup>3</sup>The ambiguous result of the census is caused by the fact that many Romanies claim Czech nationality and regard themselves as an ethnic group.

young adults also increased in proportion. Although this negative trend reversed in 1997 (crimes committed by youth accounted for about 10,000 in 2000, and about 3,000 in 2006, according to Police statistics), the current criminality of juveniles is still higher than it used to be during the communist regime. The police statistics for 2006 show that 8% of the crimes committed were by children under 18. The highest proportion of child offenders is for property crimes (14%); for instance, children were responsible for one-third of the pick-pocket thefts, 19% of the car thefts, and 19% of the burglaries, as well. To add to this, violent offences are also relatively frequently committed by children (10%). Police statistics cannot, of course, offer a complete picture of the extent of juvenile delinquency, and since there have been no representative criminological surveys conducted on this subject in the Czech Republic (partial comments in Matousek, 2003; Zoubkova 2001, the local survey in Pilsen conducted by Valkova in 1999) till now, the results of this study will be a substantial contribution.

A great advantage of self-report studies is that they can focus not only on criminal offences, but also on other types of behavioural problems among juveniles (status offences). Although alcohol and tobacco are not officially allowed to be sold to children younger than 18 in the Czech Republic, they are easily accessible; moreover, the tolerance level of the society with respect to these behavioural problems among children is permissive. The regulation of drugs in the Czech Republic is neither severe, nor liberal; production, trafficking, and distribution of drugs are criminalized, but possession of a small amount of a drug for personal use is classified only as a misdemeanour. Despite that, the planting of cannabis as well as its use has become quite popular among young people, and there is relatively strong support for the legalisation of soft drugs among experts and the general public alike. The increase in delinquency and status offences among juveniles was a strong argument for the advocates of a get-tough approach, who especially supported lowering of the age of criminal responsibility from 15 to 14 or even lower. Although a fundamental law regarding juvenile justice, passed in 2003, looks at alternative approaches to delinquent juveniles and also introduces some aspects of restorative justice, the debates on more harsh treatment of delinquents and on lowering the age of criminal responsibility are still continuing.

## 21.2 Study Design in the Czech Republic

The Czech study is based on a *national representative sample*. Over-sampling has been done for Prague, as the capital, and for Pilsen (a medium-size city with 164,000 inhabitants) in order to allow inclusion of the Czech data in the city-based international analysis of results. We selected schools and classes randomly from the official list of schools, while at the same time controlling for key structural proportions:

- Region
- School type (elementary school/grammar school)
- Grade (seventh, eighth, ninth; equal proportions of students from each grade were selected)

The support of the Czech Ministry of Education in getting access to the selected schools was very substantial (regional offices informed the school directors, and we distributed an official letter), and the financial contribution was based on the Daphne programme of EU. A professional agency (Universitas) was hired to collect data from the schools; its interviewers contacted the directors of the selected schools and arranged for the data collection. Parents were asked (via the school directors) to give passive consent to their children's participation. Detailed information on the class and school was usually obtained from a teacher (using the teacher questionnaire). The overall cooperation with schools was qualitatively good, and they often exhibited a keen interest in the results of the survey.

A pilot study was carried out at two schools in June 2005; the data collection started in November 2006 and finished in February 2007 (a few additional classes were approached in March 2007 to correct the final sample). The participating schools were 91 in number (31 from Prague, 13 from Pilsen, and 47 from other regions), and 160 classes were selected from among them. The schools that refused to participate were three in Pilsen and one in Prague – in these cases, a substitute was chosen. The rate of parents who refused was higher in Pilsen, but in general it was very low (Table 21.1).

The Czech sample covers in total 3,255 *respondents*. For the analysis of the Czech situation we use a re-weighted sample to reduce the over-sampling of Prague and Pilsen to adequate proportions and we have obtained a file encompassing 2,283 units.

**Table 21.1** Review of response rates

Refusal at the level of schools	4.4%
Refusal at the level of classes	0%
Refusal of parents <sup>a</sup>	10%
Refusal of students	0%
Students not participating in the survey <sup>b</sup>	17.2%
Unusable questionnaires <sup>c</sup>	0.5%

<sup>a</sup>Proportion estimated by the interviewers

<sup>b</sup>Out of all students registered in the selected classes

<sup>c</sup>Out of all collected questionnaires

The *validity of data* should be satisfactory, since we did not notice any obstacles during completion of the questionnaires in classrooms and only a few inspected questionnaires were evaluated as (slightly) doubtful.<sup>4</sup> We have consulted about the figures of marijuana use with Czech experts on addictology and drug control and they find them realistic.

## 21.3 Prevalence of Problem Behaviour, Delinquency and Victimization

This chapter brings an overview of the basic prevalence measures of problem behaviour, delinquency and victimization for the whole Czech Republic and, furthermore, a comparison of the capital Prague and the rest of the country is made. Various types of behavioural problems, on which we focused in this study, included: alcohol consumption which was divided into drinks with lower amount of alcohol (beer, wine, or breezer) and strong spirits as vodka, rum, whisky, etc; use of soft drugs (marijuana or hashish); and truancy. The main emphasis was, however, on delinquency, various forms of which were measured (for the complete list, see Table 21.4). Furthermore, youth were also asked if they had been a victim of the following crimes during the last year: a robbery or extortion, an assault, a theft, or bullying. Prevalence of behavioural problems and delinquency during the youngsters' life-time, and also for a recent time period (usually during the last year, but during the last month, in the case of alcohol and drug use) were reported.

<sup>4</sup>Nine questionnaires were excluded from the final data set because of their very doubtful usability and, in addition, another six questionnaires were excluded because of too many missing answers.

**Table 21.2** Life-time and last month prevalences of alcohol and soft drug use

	Life-time		Last month <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Beer/wine	85.5	0.6	39.7	2.2
Strong spirits	51.8	0.7	19.5	1.6
Marijuana, hashish use	15.9	0.9	5.5	1.1
Truancy	–	–	4.8	0.2

*n* = 2,283; weighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Truancy: last year prevalence

### 21.3.1 Measures for the Whole Czech Republic

The great majority of children from seventh to ninth grades had tried beer or wine during their lives (86%) and the last month consumption, which can give a better picture about their regular consumption, remained still quite high (40%; see Table 21.2). In addition, if ever strong spirits had been tried (“ever”) by half of all children 35% admitted that they had been drunk. These results show that alcohol consumption among Czech children is widespread and it starts at a very young age (for an analysis of relation to age, see Table 21.8).

The life-time prevalence of marijuana or hashish use is also quite high among children (16%), but the large decrease compared to the last-month use (6%) suggests that the majority were rather likely to have a one-time experiment(s) with soft drugs. Truancy during the last year is low (5%) and only 1% of children admitted that they had been truant more than twice.

Our questionnaire inquired about last-year victimization by four different offences: robbery or extortion, assault, theft, and bullying (see Table 21.3). Whereas victimization by the first two crimes occurred rather sporadically, children became quite often victims of thefts (18%) and also of bullying (11%). Their reporting to the police was infrequent, especially in the case of bullying which was reported only by 3% of victims.

The overview of life-time and last-year prevalences of different delinquent offences is reported in Table 21.4. Out of violent forms of delinquency, involvement in group fights was reported most frequently (20%) and 10% of children also admitted to have carried a weapon (e.g. a stick, or a knife). On the other hand, more serious violent offences, such as assault, robbery or extortion were rare. Among property offences (thefts), shoplifting dominated (23%); if pick pocketing or



**Table 21.3** Last year prevalences of victimization and reporting to the police

	Victimization		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>
	%	% Missing	%
Robbery/extortion	3.2	2.3	13.4
Assault	2.6	2.8	18.2
Theft	18.1	3.1	10.6
Bullying	10.8	3.0	3.1

*n* = 2,283; weighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Percentage based on number of victims; no answer: no reporting assumed

**Table 21.4** Life-time and last year prevalences of offences

	Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Group fight	19.8	1.1	11.3	1.4
Carrying a weapon	10.3	1.0	6.8	1.0
Assault	1.3	0.9	0.6	1.0
Snatching of bag	2.3	0.7	0.9	0.9
Robbery/extortion	1.4	0.8	0.8	0.9
Vandalism	11.5	0.6	7.3	0.7
Shoplifting	22.5	0.5	6.6	0.7
Bicycle/motor bike theft	1.3	0.7	0.7	0.7
Car break	1.9	0.9	0.9	0.9
Burglary	1.1	0.6	0.5	0.6
Car theft	0.8	0.6	0.4	0.7
Computer hacking	7.1	0.7	5.1	0.9
Drug dealing	3.8	1.1	2.6	1.2
XTC/speed use	1.2	0.9	0.3	0.9
LSD/heroin/cocaine use	0.6	0.9	0.2	0.9

*n* = 2,283; weighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin use: last month prevalence

snatching something, and thefts from cars had ever been committed, it was only by 2% of children; other deeds (car theft; bicycle/motor bike theft; burglary) were admitted only by 1% of them. In addition, vandalism had (“ever”) been committed by 12% of children and 7% of youth disclosed that they had (“ever”) used their computer for hacking. On the other hand, experience with use of hard drugs among Czech children is minimal; however, 4% of them admitted that they had (“ever”) sold drugs or acted as an intermediary.

### 21.3.2 Comparison of Prague and the Rest of the Czech Republic

The capital Prague with a population of approximately 1,200,000 inhabitants is the only really big city in the

Czech Republic (the second largest town is Brno with 370,000 inhabitants). Large cities are usually associated with increased frequency of various negative phenomena including higher criminality rate, but it also depends on regional influences – for instance, former highly industrialised areas in the North-West and North-East score also high. It could be assumed that juvenile delinquency in Prague would be higher as well, but police statistics show that it is definitely not the case.

The comparison of problem behaviours between Prague and the rest of country suggests that there are no large differences in alcohol and soft drug use, both during life-time and the last month. Surprisingly, the prevalence of alcohol consumption for youth from Prague was even slightly lower. However, truancy occurred more frequently among children from Prague which might suggest that social control of children is lower in Prague, especially with respect to parental supervision and their communication with school (Table 21.5).

Victimisation by all offences in question, except for bullying, was higher among children from Prague (see Table 21.6), a fact which is likely to be related to the higher crime rate in Prague compared with other regions. Strikingly, reporting to the police was more frequent in Prague, especially in the case of bullying which children from Prague reported more than four times more often than their peers from other regions. This finding suggests that the sensitivity to victimisation is greater in Prague as well as the reliance on formal authorities.

The comparison of delinquent behaviour of youth from Prague and smaller towns, similarly to problem behaviour, did not reveal any large differences (see Table 21.7). With respect to violent offences, the youth from Prague was slightly more likely to commit frequent violent offences (group fight or carrying a weapon) during the last year. On the other hand, vandalism was somewhat more common among children from other towns. Shoplifting occurred more often among children from Prague, as well as computer hacking, especially when the last year prevalence is compared. Lastly, there were no differences in use of hard drugs and drug dealing.

In summary, a comparison of youth from Prague and from other towns of the Czech Republic does not confirm the general assumption that children from big cities are much more likely to be delinquent: they were definitely more frequently truant and slightly more likely to commit some common delinquent offences.



**Table 21.5** Life-time and last month prevalence of alcohol and soft drug use (Prague vs. rest of the Czech Republic)

	Prague (n = 727)				Rest of CR (n = 2,061)			
	Life time		Last month <sup>a</sup>		Life time		Last month <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Beer/wine	84.2	0.7	36.9	4.1	85.7	0.5	40.0	2.0
Strong spirits	51.6	0.6	18.6	2.2	51.8	0.7	19.6	1.5
Marijuana/hashish use	16.6	1.1	5.7	1.4	15.8	0.9	5.4	1.0
Truancy	–	–	7.3	0.3	–	–	4.5	0.2

Unweighted data for Prague, weighted data for the rest of CR; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Truancy: last year prevalence

**Table 21.6** Last year prevalence of victimisation and reporting to the police (Prague vs. rest of the Czech Republic)

	Prague (n = 727)			rest of CR (n = 2,061)		
	Victimization		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>	Victimization		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>
	%	% missing	%	%	% missing	%
Robbery/extortion	4.9	3.7	17.6	3.0	2.1	12.7
Assault	4.6	3.7	25.0	2.4	2.7	16.8
Theft	22.0	4.5	11.1	17.7	3.0	10.5
Bullying	11.0	4.7	10.5	10.8	2.8	2.3

Unweighted data for Prague, weighted data for the rest of CR; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Percentage based on number of victims; no answer: no reporting assumed

**Table 21.7** Life-time and last year prevalences (Prague vs. rest of the Czech Republic)

	Prague (n = 727)				Rest of CR (n = 2,061)			
	Lifetime		Last year <sup>a</sup>		Lifetime		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Group fighting	18.2	1.7	12.3	1.9	20.0	1.0	11.2	1.4
Carrying a weapon	13.0	1.9	9.4	2.5	10.1	0.9	6.5	0.9
Assault	1.8	1.5	0.8	1.5	1.3	0.8	0.6	1.0
Snatching of bag	2.5	1.9	1.0	2.2	2.3	0.6	0.9	0.8
Robbery/extortion	1.8	1.8	1.0	2.1	1.4	0.7	0.7	0.8
Vandalism	9.6	1.1	6.3	1.2	11.8	0.5	7.4	0.7
Shoplifting	25.9	1.4	8.1	1.7	22.2	0.4	6.4	0.7
Bicycle/motor bike theft	0.1	1.4	0.0	1.4	1.4	0.6	0.7	0.6
Breaking into car	2.4	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.9	0.8	0.8	0.9
Burglary	1.4	1.2	0.6	1.2	1.1	0.6	0.4	0.6
Car theft	0.3	1.7	0.1	1.8	0.9	0.5	0.4	0.6
Computer hacking	8.4	1.5	7.4	1.7	7.0	0.6	4.9	0.8
Drug dealing	3.4	1.7	2.5	1.9	3.9	1.0	2.6	1.1
XTC/speed use	1.0	1.4	0.3	1.5	1.2	0.8	0.3	0.9
LSD/heroin/cocaine use	1.1	1.5	0.6	1.8	0.6	0.8	0.2	0.8

Unweighted data for Prague, weighted data for the rest of CR; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Hard drug use: last month prevalence

However, the only substantial differences were found in victimization rates. Therefore, instead of a comparison of Prague and smaller towns, a comparison between regions with high rates of officially registered juvenile delinquency and others may be more interesting in the Czech Republic and we plan to include such analysis into our further publications.

## 21.4 Social Background

This chapter focuses on differences in behavioural problems, delinquency, and victimization by several important social background variables which include gender, age, migrant status, family composition, employment

**Table 21.8** Last year prevalence of problem behaviours, offences, and victimization by gender

	Male ( <i>n</i> = 1,116) %	Female ( <i>n</i> = 1,159) %
Beer/wine <sup>a</sup>	40.1	39.3
Strong spirits <sup>a</sup>	19.7	19.3
Marijuana, hashish use <sup>a</sup>	6.9	4.1
Truancy	4.8	4.8
Violent offences <sup>b</sup>	25.1	8.6
Property offences <sup>c</sup>	10.7	5.6
Vandalism	9.2	5.5
Computer hacking	8.0	2.3
Victimisation: robbery/ extortion	5.2	1.2
Victimisation: theft	18.6	17.8
Victimisation: bullying	9.9	11.7

Weighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Beer/wine, strong spirits, marijuana, hashish use: last month prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Group fight, carrying a weapon, pick pocketing/snatching, robbery/extortion, and assault

<sup>c</sup>Shoplifting, burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft, and car break

of parents, and socio-economic status of the family. Last year or last month prevalence is used in these analyses, and some measures with very low frequencies are omitted (e.g. hard drug use, victimization by an assault), while others are combined into a new measure (see Table 21.8 for the overview of used measures and their description).

### 21.4.1 Gender

The last year prevalence of all types of delinquent behaviour was higher among boys than girls (see Table 21.8). The difference was largest for violent offences (almost triple), but also property offences and vandalism were almost twice as common among boys. A gender difference was also apparent in computer hacking. Surprisingly, there were no differences in alcohol consumption and truancy and the only type of problem behaviour which was reported somewhat more often by boys was marijuana use. In addition, victimisation rates by gender did not differ much, with the only exception of robbery/extortion which happened more often to boys. Surprisingly, girls were more often victims of bullying, though the difference is rather small here.

Our findings are in accordance with Czech police statistics which also suggest that boys commit delinquent

acts much more often than girls. It could be expected that the situation would be similar for problem behaviour, but, with the only exception of marijuana use, this is not the case. The equal consumption of alcohol by boys and girls seems to suggest that it is unrelated to delinquency; alcohol, in particular beer, belongs simply to Czech culture.

On the other hand, higher prevalence of marijuana use among boys suggests the hypothesis that use of soft drugs, unlike alcohol consumption, is true pre-delinquent behaviour; however, this hypothesis is to be tested in the future analysis.

### 21.4.2 Age

All prevalence of problem behaviour shows a tendency to increase with the age of children (see Table 21.9). While the increase in beer/wine consumption during the last month was gradual (approximately 8% per year), a considerable increase in strong spirit consumption started after the 13th year of age. A similar pattern can be also found for marijuana use and truancy. With respect to violent and property offences, a difference can be traced between two lower age categories (12–13) and older children (14+); however, in the case of property offences it was not large. No important differences were found for vandalism, nor computer hacking. Unlike problem and delinquent behaviour, victimisation by all offences tended to decrease with age.

Our research was targeted at age categories in which we expected that problem and delinquent behaviour increase and this assumption proved to be right. Alcohol and soft drug use often belong to the life-style of young adults and, not surprisingly, the older the children, the higher the prevalence of these behavioural problems. On the other hand, higher prevalence of delinquent behaviour start from 14th year of age and do not subsequently increase; therefore, delinquency prevention programmes should be aimed mainly on 13 year-old children or younger.

### 21.4.3 Migrants

The number of migrants in the Czech Republic is generally low and this fact was also reflected in our

**Table 21.9** Last year prevalence of problem behaviours, offences, and victimization by age

	12 ( <i>n</i> = 308) %	13 ( <i>n</i> = 717) %	14 ( <i>n</i> = 819) %	15+ ( <i>n</i> = 426) %
Beer/wine <sup>a</sup>	27.2	35.5	42.3	51.3
Strong spirits <sup>a</sup>	12.2	13.1	21.5	32.0
Marijuana, hashish use <sup>a</sup>	1.7	3.0	6.3	10.9
Truancy	3.3	2.9	5.5	7.5
Violent offences <sup>b</sup>	14.4	14.5	18.7	18.9
Property offences <sup>c</sup>	6.2	7.2	9.3	9.0
Vandalism	7.2	6.3	8.0	7.6
Computer hacking	4.0	4.5	6.1	5.2
Victimisation: robbery/extortion	6.3	3.3	2.9	1.4
Victimisation: theft	20.9	19.5	16.6	16.5
Victimisation: bullying	13.7	13.7	9.1	6.9

Weighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Beer/wine, strong spirits, marijuana, hashish use: last month prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Group fight, carrying a weapon, pick pocketing/snatching, robbery/extortion and assault

<sup>c</sup>Shoplifting, burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft and car break

sample: 92% of children are nationals, 6% are second-generation migrants, and only 2% belong to the first generation. For a comparison, we distinguish only migrants (first or second generation) and nationals. There were no important differences in alcohol consumption and marijuana use between nationals and non-nationals. On the other hand, the level of truancy was considerably higher for migrants: 12% compared to only 4% among nationals. With respect to delinquency, violent offences were more frequent among migrants (24% compared to 16%), as well as property offences (14% vs. 8%) and the difference was considerable even in the case of rather rare offences. In addition, computer hacking was also somewhat more frequent among migrants (8% compared to 5%), but the difference in vandalism was small. Finally, there were no distinctive differences in victimization rates between nationals and migrants. In summary, migrants are somewhat more likely to commit delinquent offences than nationals and they are also more likely to avoid school.

#### 21.4.4 Family Composition

The great majority of children lived with both biological parents (71%), 11% only with their own mother, and 11% with their own mother and a stepfather. Other compositions of the family were infrequent and were

excluded from the following comparison.<sup>5</sup> There were little differences in alcohol consumption and marijuana use between families with both parents and families led only by the mother. However, considerable increase in these types of behavioural problems was among children brought up by their mother and a stepfather. In addition, a slight increase can also be found in truancy (Table 21.10).

The last year prevalence of violent offences, property offences, and vandalism were slightly increased among children living only with their mother compared with those living with both biological parents. And, again, children brought up by their mother and a stepfather committed these delinquent offences more frequently than children from both other groups. A similar pattern can be also found for victimisation by theft, whereas the extent of victimisation by bullying was the same for children living with both biological parents and those who lived only with their mother and considerably higher for children living with their mother and a stepfather.

In summary, our results clearly show that family break-up is positively associated both with delinquent and behavioural problems and with victimization as well. In addition, it seems that children who live only with their mother are less delinquent than those who live with their mother and a stepfather. Further analysis

<sup>5</sup>3% of children lived partly with their father and partly with the mother, 1% only with their father, 1% with their father and a stepmother, and 1% mentioned other possibility.

**Table 21.10** Last year prevalences of problem behaviours, offences, and victimization by family composition

	Both biological parents ( <i>n</i> = 1,621) %	Mother only ( <i>n</i> = 262) %	Mother and stepfather ( <i>n</i> = 253) %
Beer/wine <sup>a</sup>	39.4	38.7	46.6
Strong spirits <sup>a</sup>	18.4	18.1	27.5
Marijuana, hashish use <sup>a</sup>	4.4	4.2	9.9
Truancy	4.1	5.3	7.1
Violent offences <sup>b</sup>	15.1	18.5	23.2
Property offences <sup>c</sup>	6.8	9.2	15.2
Vandalism	6.4	8.0	12.1
Victimization: robbery/extortion	2.9	2.8	3.7
Victimization: theft	16.6	20.3	23.4
Victimization: bullying	9.9	9.2	16.0

Weighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Beer/wine, strong spirits, marijuana, hashish use: last month prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Group fight, carrying a weapon, pick pocketing/snatching, robbery/extortion and assault

<sup>c</sup>Shoplifting, burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft and car break

also showed that children from broken families did not get along with their parents or stepparents as well as children from intact families.

### 21.4.5 Employment of Parents

The proportion of parents who worked was very high: 96% of fathers and 87% of mothers; and the unemployment among them was minimal: only 1% among men and 3% among women.<sup>6</sup> In addition, 8% of women were taking care of the household or were on maternity leave. A comparison was made between children where both parents worked (84%)<sup>7</sup> and the rest of the sample. However, the differences in both behavioural problems and delinquency were minimal; only children where both parents worked drank somewhat more strong spirits during the last month (19% compared to 13%). In addition, the differences in victimization were also not large – somewhat lower victimization by bullying can be found among children whose parents worked (9% compared to 14%).

<sup>6</sup>This section refers only to children living in families with both own parents or in lone-parent households (84% of children).

<sup>7</sup>Or their parent with whom they stayed worked in the case of lone parent households.

### 21.4.6 School Type: Elementary Schools Versus Grammar Schools

Children attending seventh, eighth, or ninth grade of school go to either an elementary school or a grammar school (approximately one-tenth of children). Grammar schools accept children after the fifth grade and after seventh grade on the basis of entrance exams and they provide complete secondary education (8-year or 6-year track). The curriculum is more challenging and is intended as preparation for universities. Children attending grammar schools should be smarter and have higher aspirations and it is expected that they are less delinquent compared to their peers from elementary schools.

While the level of strong spirit consumption was similar for children from both types of schools, a remarkable difference can be found in beer/wine consumption: children attending grammar schools reported last month experience much more often (44%) than children from elementary schools (38%; see Table 21.11). On the other hand, marijuana use was slightly more common among children from elementary schools. The prevalence of violent and property offences was considerably higher for children from elementary schools, but involvement in vandalism or computer hacking was very similar for both groups. Victimization by robbery/extortion was slightly more

**Table 21.11** Last year prevalence of problem behaviours, offences, and victimization by type of school

	Elementary school ( <i>n</i> = 1,980) %	Grammar school ( <i>n</i> = 348) <sup>a</sup> %
Beer/wine <sup>b</sup>	38.3	43.7
Strong spirits <sup>b</sup>	19.1	17.1
Marijuana, hashish use	5.8	4.0
Truancy	4.9	4.3
Violent offences <sup>c</sup>	17.6	9.5
Property offences <sup>d</sup>	8.5	4.3
Vandalism	7.3	6.1
Computer hacking	5.3	5.8
Victimization: robbery/ extortion	3.2	4.3
Victimization: theft	18.6	16.8
Victimization: bullying	11.3	7.2

Weighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Additional weighting was used for students of grammar schools to reduce over-representation of eight and ninth grades

<sup>b</sup>Beer/wine, strong spirits, marijuana, hashish use: last month prevalence

<sup>c</sup>Group fight, carrying a weapon, pick pocketing/snatching, robbery/extortion, and assault

<sup>d</sup>Shoplifting, burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft, and car break

common among children attending grammar schools, but on the other hand, victimization by theft and, especially, by bullying was less frequent in this group compared to children from elementary schools.

In summary, the assumption that delinquency would be more widespread among children from elementary schools was supported by our results and, furthermore, the higher proportion of bullying suggests that the environment of elementary schools is likely to be worse.

Similarly to the results for gender (Sect. 21.4.1.), soft drug use was also more frequent in the more delinquent group, whereas alcohol consumption was not. As was already mentioned, beer drinking is a part of Czech culture and, therefore, its higher consumption by children from grammar schools is not so much surprising; furthermore, grammar schools are attended by children up to the age of 19 and, therefore, the influence of older peers can be relevant in this respect.

### 21.4.7 Socio-economic Status

The questionnaire contained four items presumably related to socio-economic status of the family, but they do not differentiate very well: 97% of children owned a cell phone, 91% could use a computer at home, 90%

of families owned a car, and 64% of children had their own room at home. The majority of children (54%) answered positively to all items (“high status” category), 35% to three of them (“middle status”), and 10% to less than three items (“low status”).

Alcohol consumption was positively associated with higher socio-economic status: beer/wine consumption increased from 31% (low status) to 38% (middle) and 43% (high) and strong spirits increased from 14% to 17%, and to 22%. Marijuana use was somewhat lower among middle-status children compared to the other categories, whereas truancy was most common among children with low status (8%). The differences in all delinquent offences, as well as victimization were minimal. The only delinquent acts which showed some differences were rare property offences (burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft, and car break) which were slightly more common among children with low status (4% compared to 2% in the other groups). Lastly, the only category of victimization with substantial differences was bullying which showed tendency to decrease with higher socio-economical status: the prevalence was 16% in the low status category, 12% in the middle one, and 9% in the high category.

It is quite obvious that these four indicators of socio-economic status do not differentiate much in the Czech Republic and the constructed scale does not measure this variable well. Moreover, this indicator is also partly related to the age of child. However, some tentative conclusions can still be drawn. It seems that delinquency is almost unrelated to socio-economic status of child’s family, but children from poorer families become more frequently targets of bullying. In addition, more frequent alcohol consumption among children with higher status could be interpreted here as something what is perceived as “cool” to do, a kind of status symbol.

## 21.5 Other Correlates of Delinquent Behaviour

### 21.5.1 Personality Factors

On the individual level, a lot of personal factors as needs, tensions, control-mechanism etc., influence the tendency to delinquent behaviour. For the present chapter, we focus our analysis only on key associations



**Table 21.12a** Scales construction Violence

	Component	Mean	Agree !%/!
Violence scale	1	1–4	
Violence is part of fun	0.77	1.7	17
Use force to gain respect	0.70	1.9	25
If attacked, hit back	0.57	2.9	66
Without violence everything boring	0.74	1.6	15
Men prove themselves w/ viol	0.62	2.7	60
Extraction method: Principal Component Analysis.			
Variance%	47.00		

**Table 21.12b** Scales construction Riskfriends

	Component	Yes !%/!
Risky friends scale	1	
Friends using drugs (number)	0.60	41
Friends shop-lifting (number)	0.76	49
Friends burglary (number)	0.63	5
Friends extortion (number)	0.59	5
Friends assault (number)	0.55	5
Extraction method: Principal Component Analysis		
Variance%	39.60	

on the rather descriptive level. In the interest of conserving space, we will work with factor scores<sup>8</sup> extracted by factor analysis of separate scales or blocks of questions. For the delinquency measures we use some common indices, and also some selected items to demonstrate as clearly as possible the weight of particular differences. Although the application of factor scores may be somewhat problematic when used for concrete description, for the purpose of a first hypothesis exploration it will be quite sufficient.

We have constructed a set of such integrated measures as follows: Violence scale (see table 21.12a) a Risky Friends scale (see 21.12b) and a self center scales (see table 21.13).

In the case of Risky Friends scale, we use sometimes separately the first two variables which are relatively frequent in the Czech population. Another important composite measure is the Self-Control Scale. Besides external social control a very important role should be played by internalised self-control as well. We tested the

<sup>8</sup>Factor scores tend to get normal distribution and the mean therefore corresponds to the 0.00 value. The most distinct and interesting divergences from “average” tendencies (which is always close to the group of non-delinquent pupils) have been marked in bold.

**Table 21.13** Factor analysis of the self-control scale

Structure of self-control scale	Component			
	1	2	3	4
Act on spur of moment	0.12	0.17	0.20	0.69
Act for short pleasure	0.24	0.35	0.08	0.61
More concerned w/ short run	0.10	-0.02	0.08	0.74
Do risky things	0.79	0.11	0.10	0.17
Risk just for fun	0.84	0.13	0.14	0.10
Excitement important	0.75	0.17	0.10	0.14
Look out for myself first	0.07	0.76	0.07	0.11
Don't mind upsetting others	0.15	0.73	0.18	0.12
Don't mind causing problems	0.19	0.77	0.17	0.09
Lose temper easily	0.10	0.15	0.73	0.17
People stay away if angry	0.29	0.17	0.68	0.06
Hard to discuss calmly	0.00	0.09	0.75	0.11
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis; Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization				
Variance %	18	17	14	13

internal structure of the Self-Control Scale and we have found four independent factors (for better understanding see Table 21.13). We label them as:

- (F1) Risk taking, preference of risky situations
- (F2) Egocentrism, the ignorance of others
- (F3) Self-control in terms of emotions
- (F4) Impulsivity, short-term profit orientation

We used similar methods to condense the content of further questions. In the variable set focused on school evaluation, we distinguished two components:

F1 – Social deviance at school (four items: there is a lot of stealing at my school; there is a lot of fighting at my school; many things are broken or vandalized at my school; there is a lot of drug use in my school; 29% of variance).

F2 – Attitudes toward school (four items: If I had to move, I would miss my school; Teachers do notice when I am doing well and let me know; I like my school; There are other activities in school besides lessons; 25% of variance).

The ISRD2 questionnaire also includes a number of questions about the student's evaluation of his or her neighbourhood. Our factor analysis resulted in three factors:

F1 – The level of social deviance in neighbourhood (social “pollution” or disintegration).

F2 – Trust in neighbours.

F3 – A positive attitude toward the neighbourhood.

The correlations between these factor scores are shown in Table 21.14. There is a relatively strong correlation between attitudes toward violence and risk-taking behaviour. We observe also the link of that factor to the



**Table 21.14** Factor correlation matrix

Regression factor score	Risk taking	Ego-centrism	Self-control	Impulsivity	School deviance	School attitude	Neighbourhood deviance	Neighbourhood trust	Neighbourhood attitude	Risky friends
Violence scale	-0.39	-0.34	-0.19	-0.15	0.29	-0.10	0.28	-0.09	<b>0.06</b>	0.19
Risk taking	1	<b>0.01</b>	<b>-0.01</b>	<b>-0.01</b>	-0.17	0.10	-0.23	0.05	<b>-0.06</b>	-0.19
Egocentrism		1	<b>-0.01</b>	<b>0.01</b>	-0.21	0.13	-0.21	0.08	<b>-0.02</b>	-0.08
Self-control			1	<b>-0.01</b>	-0.16	<b>-0.01</b>	-0.17	0.08	<b>-0.05</b>	-0.05
Impulsivity				1	-0.07	-0.11	-0.12	<b>-0.01</b>	-0.08	<b>-0.04</b>
School deviance					1	<b>-0.02</b>	<b>0.43</b>	-0.08	0.06	0.21
School attitude						1	<b>-0.02</b>	0.21	<b>0.28</b>	-0.05
Neighbourhood deviance							1	<b>-0.03</b>	<b>0.03</b>	<b>0.26</b>
Neighbourhood trust								1	<b>0.00</b>	-0.07
Neighbourhood attitude									1	<b>0.01</b>
Risky friends										1

Insignificant correlations ( $p > 0.05$ ) signed by grey shadow, most important are bolded

**Table 21.15** Correlation of versatility with selected individual indices

		Violence	Risk taking	Egocentrism	Self-control	Impulsivity	Risk-friends sc.
Life-time versatility	R	<b>0.371</b>	<b>-0.341</b>	-0.183	-0.140	<b>-0.040</b>	<b>0.354</b>
Versatility last year	R	<b>0.328</b>	<b>-0.332</b>	-0.152	-0.125	<b>-0.024</b>	<b>0.350</b>
		Authorities	School deviance	School attitude	Neighbourhood deviance	Neighbourhood trust	Neighbourhood attitude
Versatility last year	R	0.203	0.231	-0.108	0.283	-0.061	<b>0.023</b>
Life-time versatility	R	0.209	0.266	-0.112	0.297	-0.086	<b>0.040</b>

evaluation of school and neighbourhood in terms of the occurrence of deviance. We can only speculate about why these links exist: perhaps this reflects some negativism in attitudes of delinquent respondents.

Looking at Table 21.15, which shows only a subset of the available indices, the influence of personal attitudes on delinquency is demonstrated. We use two composite measures called versatility<sup>9</sup> (life-time, last year); the relationships are not very different for both. Impulsivity and Neighbourhood attitude stayed in grey zone (i.e. are statistically non-significant). The most important “predictors” of self-reported delinquency are attitudes to violence, having risky friends and risk taking as a personal orientation (in bold print). The perceived level of neighbourhood deviance is also related to self-reported delinquency.

A more in-depth examination of the relationship of the different individual (sub) scales and delinquency

and risk-behaviour is provided in Tables 21.16–21.18 below. There is no doubt that these factors enter into relationships with a lot of forms of delinquent behaviour (see Table 21.16–Table 21.18). Table 21.16 shows the factor scores means for grouped delinquency measures. Three factors stand out as most important: a positive attitude towards violence, risk taking, and having risky friends (significant relationships in bold print). A positive attitude toward violence is related to carrying a weapon ( $\eta = 0.32$ ), robbery/extortion ( $\eta = 0.169$ ); There is a positive association between carrying a weapon and risk taking ( $\eta = 0.296$ ), but those who admitted to vandalism and different property offences also had a significantly more positive attitude towards violence.

Those youth who scored high on the risk-taking scale were more likely to carry a weapon and to be involved in vandalism ( $\eta = 0.235$ ). A positive attitude towards risk taking is generally related to delinquency ( $\eta$  for sum of risk factors and risk taking = 0.277). The factor Risky friends is positively associated with self-reported burglary ( $\eta = 0.202$ ), with alcohol use ( $\eta = 0.129$ ), and hash use (“ever”) ( $\eta = 0.320$ ).

<sup>9</sup> Versatility means score of self-reported delinquent behaviour during life-time or last year, it is scaled from 0 to 100, indicating the percentage of the delinquent behaviour investigated that have been committed in the reference period.

**Table 21.16** Factor scores means for grouped delinquency measures

Means	Vio-lence	Risk taking	Ego-centrism	Self-control	Impulsivity	School deviance	School attitude	Risky friends
Carry weapon; group fight: life-time prevalence <sup>a</sup>								
No	-0.18	0.16	0.05	0.06	0.00	-0.13	0.05	-0.11
Yes	<b>0.57</b>	<b>-0.53</b>	-0.12	-0.18	-0.01	0.39	-0.16	0.37
Robbery/extortion; snatching; assault: life-time prevalence								
No	-0.03	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.01	-0.03	0.01	-0.03
Yes	<b>0.83</b>	-0.55	-0.33	-0.44	-0.15	0.56	-0.31	<b>0.81</b>
Burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft, and car break: life-time prevalence								
No	-0.04	0.02	0.03	0.01	0.00	-0.02	0.01	-0.04
Yes	<b>0.91</b>	-0.56	<b>-0.70</b>	-0.31	-0.01	0.50	-0.29	<b>0.99</b>
Life-time prevalence vandal								
No	-0.08	0.08	0.04	0.03	0.01	-0.07	0.04	-0.07
Yes	<b>0.62</b>	<b>-0.66</b>	-0.33	-0.20	-0.12	0.49	-0.31	<b>0.59</b>
Life-time prevalence shoplifting								
No	-0.09	0.10	0.06	0.04	0.02	-0.09	0.01	-0.13
Yes	0.33	-0.35	-0.21	-0.15	-0.08	0.31	-0.06	<b>0.46</b>

<sup>a</sup>We use life-time prevalence for the comparison in order to enlarge the “delinquent” group. However the increase of the reliability in the comparison should be slightly undermined by the intervention of age

**Table 21.17** Factor score means for risk behaviour (alcohol and soft drug use)

Mean	Violence	Risk-taking	Ego-centrism	Self-control	Impul-sivity	School deviance	School attitude	Risk friends
Life-time prevalence hash [51.0]								
No	-0.10	0.11	0.06	0.03	0.02	-0.08	0.04	-0.14
Yes	<b>0.52</b>	<b>-0.59</b>	-0.29	-0.14	-0.11	0.40	-0.17	<b>0.76</b>
Beer/wine; strong spirits: life-time prevalence								
No	-0.30	<b>0.41</b>	0.04	0.13	0.06	-0.26	0.06	<b>-0.31</b>
Yes	0.05	-0.07	-0.01	-0.02	-0.01	0.04	-0.01	0.05

**Table 21.18** Summary measures of risk behaviour by factors

Sum of risk factors		Violence	Risk taking	Egocentrism	Self-control	Impulsivity	School deviance	School attitude	Neighbourhood deviance	Risk friends
0	Mean	-0.18	0.21	0.08	0.07	0.05	-0.13	0.06	-0.14	-0.17
	N	1219	1191	1191	1191	1191	1225	1225	1170	1237
1	Mean	0.14	-0.17	-0.04	-0.08	-0.03	0.08	-0.04	0.08	0.08
	N	815	790	790	790	790	814	814	781	803
2	Mean	0.72	-0.77	-0.40	-0.19	-0.19	0.60	-0.23	0.72	1.10
	N	122	118	118	118	118	122	122	116	112
3	Mean	<b>0.90</b>	<b>-1.00</b>	-0.53	-0.08	-0.28	0.79	-0.61	<b>1.01</b>	<b>1.83</b>
	N	19	19	19	19	19	18	18	18	16

Both Tables 21.17 and 21.18 provide insight into factors related to risk behaviour (drinking, drug use and/or truancy). Table 21.17 (below) shows the factor score means on selected attitudinal measures for “yes”/“no” responses to questions about risk behaviour (alcohol and marijuana/hashish use). Table 21.18 presents the mean values for selected attitudinal factors for

groups with 0, 1, 2, or 3 risk factors (see Table 21.4 above for explanation of these factors).

Impulsivity is a relatively weak factor (with many times a non-significant relation). In the interest of space, we will not discuss all observations. It is important to note that attitudes toward violence, risk-taking, having risky friends as well as the level of neighbourhood

**Table 21.19** Selected correlates of victimization

		Parents know friends			Friends using drugs	Beer/wine last month	Life-time prevalence hash	Life-time prevalence shoplifting
		Always	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
%		Always	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Victim theft	No	44,1	39	38,3	14,3	19,7		
	Yes	34,7	50,3	46,0	23,3	33,7		
Total		42,4	41,0	39,7	15,9	22,2		
		School proficiency level			Friends using drugs	Friends extortion	Life-time prevalence hash	Life-time prevalence shoplifting
		Below average	About average	Above average	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
%		Below average	About average	Above average	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Victim bullying	No	11,9	66,2	21,8	39,8	4,4	15,3	20,9
	Yes	22,6	53,1	24,3	50,4	12,1	21,1	33,5
Total		13,1	64,8	22,1	41,0	5,3	15,9	22,2

deviance appear to be the strongest predictors of delinquency and risk behaviour.

### 21.5.2 Victimization

The set of questions on victimisation has been examined by data reduction procedures. However, the structure of factors in both unrotated and rotated solutions offers an unclear picture. For that reason we have decided to focus on the two most frequent and relatively different forms of victimisation: theft (18% prevalence) and bullying (11% prevalence). [The prevalence of assault and robbery victimisation is rather low (both about 3%).]

Table 21.19 illustrates some correlations, which represent only a part of all tested hypotheses. From that perspective, the victimisation probably acts as an indicator epiphenomenon of delinquent behaviour and/or risk environment. It seems that victimisation shares correlates with self-reported delinquency. The distinction into the opposite blocs of “offenders” and “victims” does not make sense in the Czech Republic. It is interesting that good as well as bad school results slightly increase the risk of bullying.

As shown in Table 21.19, among the factors increasing both the risk of victimisation and delinquent behaviour, the family situation – especially some concrete troubles (such as alcohol/drug problems of parents, intimate violence) – occupies an important position. It appears that social deviance in the family is

associated with limiting family involvement in leisure time contacts and may provide a push in the direction of isolation or risky peer group identification. In Table 21.20 all associations are statistically significant; we have selected only the most interesting observations.

### 21.5.3 The Family and Leisure

The importance of the family in the socialization process is well established. It represents a key agent of social control. But the correlation analysis can seldom offer a picture of the direct (causal) influence on delinquency. Youths’ significance stipulates the relevance of meanings and social norms, which emerges as a criterion for risk evaluation. Problems with parents can open the doors to the peer groups and risk behaviour. The divorce of parents is not necessarily a strong source of delinquent behaviour. Our analysis shows that the relationship with the juvenile’s father is quite important, although the group of pupils clashing with their father involves only about 6% of the sample (see Table 21.21).

Delinquent kids tend to label the school as bad and full of social deviance. Kids whose scores are low at school tend to have a more supportive attitude towards violence and a higher level of impulsivity. It could mean that school outcomes are determined by a certain level of psychological maturity and self-control. But we have to stress that for example attitude toward risk taking is not related to the school proficiency.

**Table 21.20** Family problems, risk behaviour, risk contacts and victimization

	%	Friends	Friends shop-	Life-time	Victim theft		Leisure time contacts			Total
		using drugs	lifting	prevalence shoplifting	Yes	Yes	On my own	w/ family	w/ 1–3 friends	w/ larger group
Parents problem alcohol/	No	39.9	48.5	21.5	17.3	9.9	38.4	31.1	20.6	100
Drugs	Yes	55.1	59.7	37.6	29.7	<b>20.2</b>	<b>27.7</b>	31.1	21.0	100
Total		40.7	49.1	22.3	18.0	10.5	37.9	31.1	20.6	100

	%	Yes	yes	yes	Life-time prevalence shoplifting	Victim theft	Victim bullying	
		Yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
violence between parents	No	39.2	47.7	14.7	20.9	16.6	9.8	100
	Yes	54.8	62.7	25.1	36.8	30.3	20.1	100
Total		40.7	49.2	15.8	22.5	18.0	10.9	100

**Table 21.21** The relationship between family, school outcomes and Individual factors

		Authorities <sup>a</sup>	Violence	Risk-taking	Ego-centrism	Impulsivity	School-deviance	Risk friends
Getting along w/ father								
Not at all	Mean	<b>0,988</b>	<b>0,518</b>	0,083	<b>-0,457</b>	0,048	<b>0,679</b>	0,222
	N	19	22	18	18	18	20	17
Not so well	Mean	<b>0,574</b>	-0,043	<b>-0,355</b>	-0,082	-0,169	<b>0,360</b>	<b>0,275</b>
	N	93	92	91	91	91	96	92
Rather well	Mean	0,318	0,080	-0,174	-0,040	0,009	0,143	0,126
	N	432	439	415	415	415	440	431
Very well	Mean	-0,146	-0,022	0,058	0,025	0,002	-0,073	-0,051
	N	1,487	1,472	1,442	1,442	1,442	1,474	1,477
Total	Mean	-0,004	0,005	-0,010	0,002	-0,004	0,002	0,004
	N	2,030	2,024	1,965	1,965	1,965	2,030	2,017
School proficiency level								
Below average	Mean	0,171	<b>0,304</b>	-0,052	-0,274	<b>-0,153</b>	0,212	0,113
	N	282	288	275	275	275	285	284
About average	Mean	-0,008	-0,032	-0,003	0,029	-0,067	-0,053	-0,032
	N	1,414	1,393	1,366	1,366	1,366	1,407	1,408
Above average	Mean	-0,089	-0,085	0,049	0,067	<b>0,284</b>	0,023	-0,001
	N	479	488	473	473	473	484	471
Total	Mean	-0,002	0,001	0,002	-0,002	0,000	-0,002	-0,006
	N	2,175	2,169	2,114	2,114	2,114	2,175	2,162

<sup>a</sup>The Czech questionnaire contains also special items indicating relevance of opinion of “authorities”: parents, friends, teachers, grand-parents. It enables to compose a factor score of “authority meanings relevance” as one-dimensional scale. Moreover we can define a distance between relevance of parents and of peers (friends) for the further analysis. More detailed analysis see in: Buriánek and Podana (2007, pp. 69–73)

It is worth exploring if perhaps life style is more important than family experiences (see Table 21.22). Some of the measures of leisure time activities (asking what kind

of things do you do, when and where do you hang out with your friends) are closely related to delinquent behaviour. The whole battery of items covers a relatively

simple structure of factors (principal component analysis, Varimax rotation used, variance explained 59%).

In the following analysis (Tables 21.23 and 21.24) we operate with an index (Likerts scale) based on the first component extracted. It covers variables containing clearly deviant action. At the first step we computed the sum of points for these four items of a “deviance factor” and after that we recoded the total sum (from 4 to 16) into five categories<sup>10</sup> variable “Leisure Risk Index”. Not surprisingly, the association with general measures of delinquency is rather high. We are not quite sure what the dependent and independent variable is, of course.

As said above, the role of school attitudes is a bit marginal. Juvenile delinquency is clearly related towards attitude toward school (coefficient gamma = -0.264). We can think about a School – Family – Leisure triangle which in most of cases supports a positive adaptation to the system. The share of pupils below average in the respect of the school proficiency and hating school is the same – 13, 5%.

To sum up our results, we can offer one of our preliminary models integrating most significant correlations. Using multiple regression analysis (Table 21.25) we have proven the key role of risky leisure life style, of risky friends/peers groupings and of attitudes toward violence and risk taking. In the respect of family situation the relationship with the father seems to be crucial. The contribution of other personality fac-

tors as impulsivity or emotional self-control in alternative models of delinquency was only small.

## 21.6 Conclusion

We do not have any aspiration to evaluate the Czech situation outside of the rigorous comparative design of ISRD2. We would like to stress some partial facts which sketch out possible national particularities:

- Some forms of risk behaviour are very common, they establish a part of cultural background (beer drinking, nowadays maybe also marihuana experimenting) but without a direct link to serious delinquent behaviour
- The contacts with risk behaviour (of peers, friends) are frequent and narrow
- The socio-economic conditions of Czech youth are relatively good, thus it could be difficult to reveal a strong influence of (relative) social deprivation and/or social status conditions
- Family break-up has a partial influence on child’s behavioural problem and delinquency; however, the mutual relationships with parents (and especially with the father or stepfather) may be more substantial
- Children attending grammar schools are less delinquent and less victimized by bullying than children from elementary schools
- Child’s school performance within the class is less significant; on the other hand, delinquency is often correlated with very negative attitude toward school and its bad evaluation
- Serious delinquent behavioural characterises a relatively small group of offenders and – due to the linkage to the group activities – tends to be repeated
- Delinquency is supported by risk behaviour and leisure time activities and it is firmly settled on particular attitudes and personal traits or attributes as the acceptance of violence, risk taking behaviour, and egocentrism (not too much in emotional self-control or impulsivity)
- Delinquent or risk behaviour is often accompanied with personal victimization, the social background of victimization is not strongly distinctive in this respect
- Because of the prevailing homogeneity of the Czech society in respect of ethnic minorities or

**Table 21.22** Factor analysis: leisure activities and its structure<

	Component			Mean	1	3–4
	1	2	3		Never %	Often +more
Go to discos etc	0.16	<b>0.77</b>	0.07	1.5	57	6
Play in band	-0.05	<b>0.68</b>	0.00	1.08	95	2
Lot of alcohol/drugs	<b>0.56</b>	0.49	-0.10	1.26	79	4
Vandalize	<b>0.83</b>	0.09	0.05	1.18	85	2
Shoplifting	<b>0.77</b>	0.01	-0.04	1.08	93	1
Play sports	-0.09	0.12	<b>0.77</b>	2.33	16	40
Computer games/chat	0.15	-0.09	<b>0.76</b>	2.22	19	34
Frighten people	<b>0.75</b>	0.04	0.11	1.22	83	4

<sup>10</sup>We made it asymmetrically (“delinquent” means 9 points and more).

**Table 21.23** Interconnections between leisure risks, versatility and personality factors (means)

Leisure Risk Index	Life-time versatility	Versatility last year	Violence	Risk-taking	Ego-centrism	Self-control	Impulsivity	Risk friends	Sum risk fact	Percentage of total
Never	3.17	1.33	-0.28	0.26	0.16	0.08	0.05	-0.20	0.32	65.5
Sometimes one form	7.71	3.73	0.28	-0.33	-0.06	-0.09	-0.06	0.03	0.68	17.5
Medium risk	11.97	7.16	0.63	-0.59	-0.32	-0.24	-0.20	0.40	0.85	7.3
High risk	15.98	9.68	0.83	-0.66	-0.57	-0.15	-0.13	0.74	1.09	7
Delinquent	25.43	15.75	1.15	-1.03	-1.02	-0.25	-0.12	1.86	1.43	2.6
Total	6.10	3.14	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.01	-0.01	0.51	100

**Table 21.24** Crosstabs for leisure risk behaviour and school adaptation

%	Leisure Risk Index					Total
	Never	Some-times one	Medium risk	High risk	Delinquent	
<i>Proficiency level</i>						
Below average	<b>56.8</b>	18.2	<b>11.5</b>	8.8	<b>4.7</b>	100
About average	65.9	18.1	7.0	6.6	2.3	100
Above average	<b>69.3</b>	15.9	5.5	7.3	2.0	100
<i>Like school</i>						
Not at all	<b>43.2</b>	22.1	11.9	<b>15.0</b>	<b>7.8</b>	100
Not very much	64.8	18.2	7.7	6.7	2.6	100
Fairly well	<b>71.2</b>	16.1	5.8	5.4	1.5	100
A lot	<b>72.6</b>	15.6	6.7	4.4	0.7	100
Total	65.5	17.6	7.3	7.0	2.7	100

**Table 21.25** Multiple regression for life-time versatility

Model		Unstandardized coefficients		Standardized coefficients		Sig.
		B	Std. error	Beta	t	
1	(Constant)	0.64	0.60		1.08	0.28
	Gender	2.03	0.37	0.11	5.50	0.00
	Age-group	-0.33	0.19	-0.03	-1.77	0.08
	Leisure Risk Index	2.43	0.21	0.27	11.44	0.00
	Violence FS	1.21	0.21	0.13	5.83	0.00
	Risk-taking FS	-0.96	0.20	-0.10	-4.81	0.00
	Risk friends FS	1.55	0.19	0.16	8.01	0.00
	Sum of risk factors	2.36	0.32	0.16	7.45	0.00
a	<i>Dependent variable: life-time versatility</i>					
	R	0.59				
	R <sup>2</sup>	0.32				

migrant's share, we probably register mainstream trends only; the expected specificity of the delinquency of young Romanians could be hardly explored in this way

Czech data confirmed the relevance of the view that it is important to inspect the period of development

between seventh and ninth school grade. The age about 14 seems to be a critical point in dynamics of social adaptation or alternatively of the delinquent career.

First preliminary cross-national comparisons under the Daphne project<sup>11</sup> (six new EU member states represent countries with comparable historic developments) place

<sup>11</sup>For more detailed review of findings, see Buriánek and Podana (2007, 79pp).



us often at the leading position in delinquency, although not in a dramatic manner (e.g. with regard to serious offences). We could certainly discuss the extent to which the previous regime swung or disrupted values and norms of our society. On the other hand, it seems (on the basis of our experiences in the area of social deviancy studies, e.g. in the area of domestic violence) that the description of the current situation may also reflect the higher degree of openness allowing to discuss and talk about various issues because many deviations or extremes are perceived liberally and in a tolerant manner. We therefore can not exclude that Czech juveniles haven't expressed their opinions with a high degree of trust in the research and took advantage of the guaranteed anonymity – their answers were straightforward without fears and hypocrisy. Thus, our experience concerning attitudes of directors

and teachers, the willingness of pupils to participate in research not only advocates the validity of findings but it signals also the openness of Czech society to discuss these issues as the matter of everyday life. Anyway, we cannot simply conclude that this kind of “normalization” should be taken indiscriminately as a good message.

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# Chapter 22

## Hungary<sup>1</sup>

Orsolya Bolyky, Csaba Gyory, Klara Kerezsi, Katalin Parti, and Eszter Sarik

### 22.1 Geography and Demography

Hungary is situated in Eastern Europe, in the rolling plains of the Carpathian Basin. It covers an area of 93,000 km<sup>2</sup>, which is roughly equivalent to 1% of Europe's territory. There are 3,145 settlements, 289 of which are urban; their number increased by 123 in the last 15 years, and tripled over the past 25 years. Two-thirds of the country's inhabitants live in urban settlements. Hungary has been an EU member state since 2004.

The population of Hungary was 10,077,000 on 1 January 2006 (male: 4.7 million; female: 5.3 million) (HCSO, p. 9). Hungary's population is aging; the total number of people in age cohorts above 60 exceeds the total number of 1-year old to 14-year-olds by about half a million.

On 1 April 2005, at the time of the micro census, the number of households was more than 4 million, 139 thousand higher compared to that in 2001. The total number of marriages is decreasing, consistently below the number registered in 2000. Slight increases may occur: in 2005, 44,100 couples got married, 0.7% more than the year before. Decrease remains the domi-

nant trend, though. There was no significant change in the divorce rate: 24,700 marriages were dissolved in 2005, about the same as the year before. Since people get married later in life, divorces happen at a later age, too (HCSO, p. 9)

#### 22.1.1 Socio-economic Situation: Education Level, Unemployment, Living Standard

##### 22.1.1.1 Education

Between 1990 and 2005, the frequency of those having completed primary education (Grades one to eight) rose from 78.1% to 91.6%. In 2005, 83% of those between age 20 and 24 had secondary qualifications. The rate was 76% for the age group 25–64. Fifteen per cent of the latter have a college degree or equivalent. Each year, five to six thousand people drop out from primary school before reaching age 16. This is about 5% of all juveniles, but the proportion is continuously shrinking. Prospects of finding a job is the worst among these dropouts, most of whom cannot enter the labour market even in the long run (HCSO, p. 13)

##### 22.1.1.2 Employment

The number of employed people – according to labour force surveys – was 3 million 953 thousand in 2006.<sup>2</sup> The distribution of employment by gender has been steady: 54% are male and 46%, female.

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<sup>1</sup> This report draws on a representative self-report survey of juvenile delinquency in Hungary. Data collection for ISRD-2, Hungary was funded by the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (Országos Tudományos Kutatás Alapprogramok, OTKA) under the project „Latent juvenile delinquency [Study on self-reported latent juvenile delinquency: Hungarian case]”, grant number: K 60981. Since Hungary did not participate in the first sweep of the ISRD in 1992, the research was the first such study in the country. We hope that further sweeps are going to follow.

<sup>2</sup> *Gyorstájékoztató a Foglalkoztatottságról* (Quick Report on Employment), HCSO (October–December 2006).

**Table 22.1** Hungary's human development index (2004)

HDI value		Life expectancy at birth		Combined primary, secondary and tertiary gross enrolment ratio		GDP per capita	
Rank	Value	Rank	Years	Rank	%	Rank	PPP US\$
35	0.869	60	73.0	34	87.5	39	16,814

Employment rates for the age group 15–60 crawled to 57% in 2006; however, it is still below the EU-25 average (64%). Hungary still has the lowest employment rate for the age group 15–24 within the EU (21%). The relatively low rates are mostly due to the inactivity of those who never entered higher education; this applies to both genders and to the more active middle-aged cohorts (*Gyorstájékoztató a Foglalkoztatottságról, 2006*).

### 22.1.1.3 Living Standards

Hungary is a member of OECD. GDP (purchasing power parity) for 2005 was \$180.424 million, which ranked 49th worldwide.<sup>3</sup> Gross earnings (€638/HUF 158.315) are relatively high in a worldwide comparison, but still remain below the EU average.<sup>4</sup>

Owing to economic growth and expanding employment, living standards have been rising since the last third of the 1990s. Income disparities have essentially been unchanged in the last 10 years. In 2004, the human development index (HDI)<sup>5</sup> was 0.869, which gives Hungary a rank of 35 out of 177.

The GINI Index<sup>6</sup> was 24.4 for 2003, the most recent reporting year.<sup>7</sup> The coefficient increased in all post-

communist countries during the transition, which can be considered a “natural” side-effect of moving from communist egalitarianism to a market-dominated income structure (Table 22.1).<sup>8</sup>

## 22.2 Study Design

### 22.2.1 Sampling Method

The sample size corresponds to the requirements of the ISRD criteria (a minimum of 2,200 students per country). The number had been raised to compensate for non-responses (projected at 14%, using previous research in educational sociology and criminology in Hungary). The final sample size was 2,500. We divided the sample into groups by population strata, and determined the number of students and school classes required for each stratum using educational statistics for 2005. As a result we had 103 school classes in total. Random sampling was used in each category.

However, due to the diverse administration of schools the application of the initial ISRD sampling design was limited. Most of the schools are of a “mixed” nature, that is, they offer several educational curricula at the same time: elementary and secondary educational programmes; 8, 6, and 4 year secondary educational programmes; vocational and basic educational programmes, etc. Thus, the basic element of education in Hungary is the class, not the school. Therefore, we chose classes as sampling units to compensate for the differences in the size of the school, and this might have caused some distortion in the individual chance of selection.

Classes in the sampling frame were grouped by settlement type (Budapest, county capitals, towns, villages),

<sup>3</sup>[http://www.siteresources.worldbank.org/DATASTATISTICS/Resources/GDP\\_PPP.pdf](http://www.siteresources.worldbank.org/DATASTATISTICS/Resources/GDP_PPP.pdf)

<sup>4</sup>*Labor Market Trends in Hungary*. [http://www.econ.core.hu/doc/mt/2006/en/lm\\_trends2006.pdf](http://www.econ.core.hu/doc/mt/2006/en/lm_trends2006.pdf)

<sup>5</sup>The Human Development Index (HDI) value is a composite index measuring average achievement in three basic dimensions of human development, including a long and healthy life, knowledge and a decent standard of living.

<sup>6</sup>The GINI Index measures the extent to which the distribution of income among individuals or households within an economy deviates from a perfectly equal distribution. The GINI Index of zero equals perfect equality, while an Index of 100 implies perfect inequality.

<sup>7</sup>The United Nations Development Programme (2004).

<sup>8</sup>Dabrowski and Gortat (2002).

then further divided, by school type and grade, into three 16-part substrata. Except for elementary schools, only three settlement types made it into the final sample: Budapest, county capitals and towns. Random sampling (without replacement) was used in each category.

The sample is representative of each stratum and (after weighting according to stratum size) of the whole population.

### 22.2.2 Sample Achieved

The final sample contained 2,219 people. There was an insignificant deviation from the sample frame (2,219 vs. 2,200), allowing us to weigh the sample in a way to achieve full representation (Table 22.2).

We neither corrected inconsistencies in answers, nor did we exclude them, but recorded each response as it was. Inconsistencies were considered to be a part of the research findings. Questionnaires that were deemed unreliable were sorted out beforehand and did not make it into the final sample. 99.5% of the total number of questionnaires was considered reliable, with only 0.5% (12 in total) unreliable or blank.

## 22.3 Delinquency, Group Delinquency (Vandalism, Property Offences, Violence, Computer Offences, Drugs), Risk Behaviour and Victimization

### 22.3.1 Prevalence Delinquency “Ever” and “Last Year”

Comparing lifetime and last year prevalence (Table 22.3), we have found considerable differences in each grade and in each criminal category [See Table 22.13 for individual offences.].

#### 22.3.1.1 Common Property Offences and Rare Property Offences

Only 5% of the respondents said they had committed property offences (non-respondents: 2%; 100% = students in the sample). This value is the same that we find in the “Uniform Statistical Database of the Police and Prosecution”.<sup>9</sup> The proportion of juveniles among perpetrators is usually low in this category in Hungary.

**Table 22.2** Students in the sample by school type, school grade and geographical area

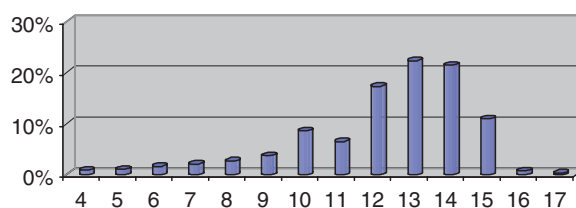
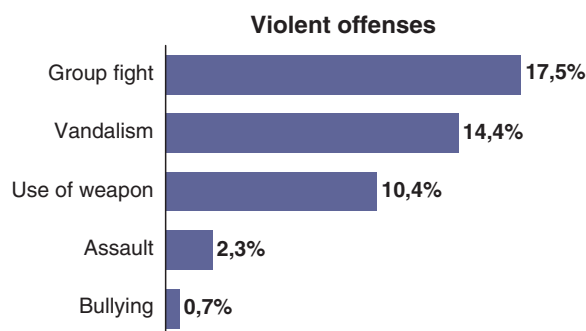
	Grade 7 (age 13)		Grade 8 (age 15)		Grade 9 (age 16)		Total	
	Number of students in sample	% in sample	Number of students in sample	% in sample	Number of students in sample	% in sample	Number of students in sample	% in sample
Elementary school (Bp)	61	2.7	110	5	0	0	171	7.8
Elementary school (Cc)	112	5.1	173	7.9	0	0	285	12.9
Elementary school (T)	254	11.5	156	7.1	0	0	410	18.6
Elementary school (V)	285	12.9	174	7.9	0	0	459	20.9
Technical school (Bp)	0	0	0	0	34	1.5	34	1.5
Technical school (Cc)	0	0	0	0	58	2.6	58	2.6
Technical school (T)	0	0	0	0	76	3.5	76	3.4
Gymnasium (BP)	20	0.9	42	1.9	59	2.7	121	5.5
Gymnasium (Cc)	35	1.6	23	1.0	93	4.2	151	6.9
Gymnasium (T)	21	0.9	23	1.0	110	5	154	7
Polytechnic (Bp)	0	0	0	0	59	2.7	59	2.7
Polytechnic (Cc)	0	0	0	0	141	6.4	141	6.4
Polytechnic (T)	0	0	0	0	100	4.5	100	4.5
Total	788	36	701	32	730	33	2,219	100

Bp Budapest; Cc County Capital; T Town; V Village

<sup>9</sup>Uniform Statistical Database of the Police and Prosecution (Egységes Rendőrségi és Ügyészégi Statisztika, ERÜBS). The USDPP files offences by the date the proceedings ended, not by the date the act was perpetrated. Comparing this data with the research findings yield unreliable results since our research reflects the situation at the date of the offence.

**Table 22.3** Lifetime and last year prevalence of delinquent behaviour among 7–9th graders in Hungary, 2006 ( $N = 2,200$ )

	Lifetime	Last year
Computer offences (downloading)	50.9	40.3
<i>Violent crimes</i>		
Groupfighting	17.5	8.8
Weapon	10.4	5.9
Assault	2.3	1.0
Robbery/extortion	0.7	0.4
<i>Property crimes</i>		
Vandalism	14.4	7.8
Shoplifting	11.6	3.4
Snatching of bag	3.1	1.5
Car theft	0.8	0.4
Car break	1.3	0.4
Burglary	1.1	1.0
Bicycle theft	0.9	0.3
<i>Drug offences</i>		
Weed/Hash	8.2	2.5
Extasy, speed	2.9	0.9
LSD, heroin, cocaine	1.3	0.4
Drug-dealing	2.1	1.3

**Distribution of Age of Onset****Fig. 22.1** Distribution of age of onset**Fig. 22.2** Distribution of violent offences

The data was analyzed by the age of onset, gender, region, and characteristics of accomplices. Based on these results, we differentiated between misdemeanours (vandalism, shoplifting, car break, snatching of bag) and more serious offences (car/motorbike theft, burglary). Typically, less serious, casual, petty thefts were reported. Misdemeanours counted for 87%, and more serious offences to 13% of all reported offences. Among property offences, vandalism (43%) and theft and shoplifting (35%) were most frequent. Among serious offences car break (theft from car) (4%) and car theft (3%) stood out highest.

The perpetrators were predominantly boys. However, the percentage of girls was conspicuously higher in the case of misdemeanours, 40% as opposed to 25% in the category of serious offences.

Age of onset varied between 12 and 14, which means that the youths who were interviewed had been underage when they committed their first offence (Fig. 22.1).

The rate of apprehension was quite low: according to the questionnaires, only 16 out of 100 offences were found out.

### 22.3.1.2 Common and Rare Violent Offences

Results show that group violence is the most frequent in the category of violent offences. Among interviewees, 17.5% has taken part in such an act. Group violence is followed by vandalism (14.4%) as the most frequent act. Assault (Q66) (2.3%) and armed robbery/extortion (0.7%) were low on the list (Fig. 22.2).

Among interviewees, 10.4% has carried a weapon or self-defensive item at least once, which is higher than the expected ratio. There is a noticeable correlation between carrying a weapon and committing armed assault (0.21). Statistical tests also showed a strong correlation between vandalism and other violent offences; 50% of those who had committed vandalism have also taken part in a group fight, and 38% of them have at least once carried weapons. The most frequent offence is carrying a weapon; 15% of those who claimed to carry a weapon do so permanently, and 58% do so whenever they go out.

Latency (i.e. not being discovered) is highest in the case of vandalism and carrying weapons

(82% of cases are never discovered); 47% of group fights are found out. Offences are mostly found out by parents (Fig. 22.3).

Those who reported at least one violent offence are predominantly boys: 75% of them are males, whereas the ratio of boys in the whole sample is 51%. Of perpetrators, 23% live in the capital, and 60% live in cities (including the capital).

The risk of committing violent acts increases with age, the highest ratio of *violent offences* was reported by 15-to-16-year-olds. Their proportion in the whole sample is 41%. Our findings did not support the hypothesis that there is a relationship between family status and violent offences.

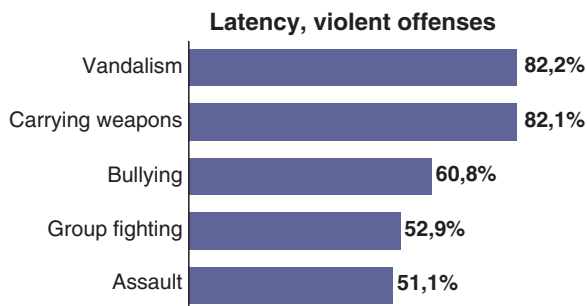


Fig. 22.3 Proportion of violent offences not discovered

### 22.3.1.3 Common Drug use (Hash) and Rare Drug use (Speed, Cocaine, LSD)

All acts of drug abuse/dissemination are considered a crime in Hungary. Sanctions vary according to the type of act: consumption is punished more mildly, dissemination more severely. The penal code does not make a distinction between drugs; abuse of soft and hard drugs is prosecuted with equal force. According to the text of the regulation, consumption itself is not a criminal act, but since consumption entails possession, it constitutes a crime, and consumers are prosecuted accordingly.

Our research shows that the lifetime prevalence index is the lowest among seventh graders in the case of marijuana and hash (1.3%), and highest among ninth graders (4.9%). At the same time, prevalence indices for the previous month (for the same drugs) were 1.3% for ninth graders and 0.5% for seventh graders. Prevalence values for “pill drugs” (extasy, speed) were lower: 0.6% for seventh graders, 1.6% for ninth graders (see Fig. 22.4)

The results confirmed our hypothesis that the number of consumers declines as we move from softer to harder drugs (Table 22.4).

Among interviewees, 8.9% (195 people) used some kind of drug regularly. Non-response was most frequent in the case of hard drugs (2.3%), which indicates that consumers of hard drugs are the most intent on keeping their use a secret.

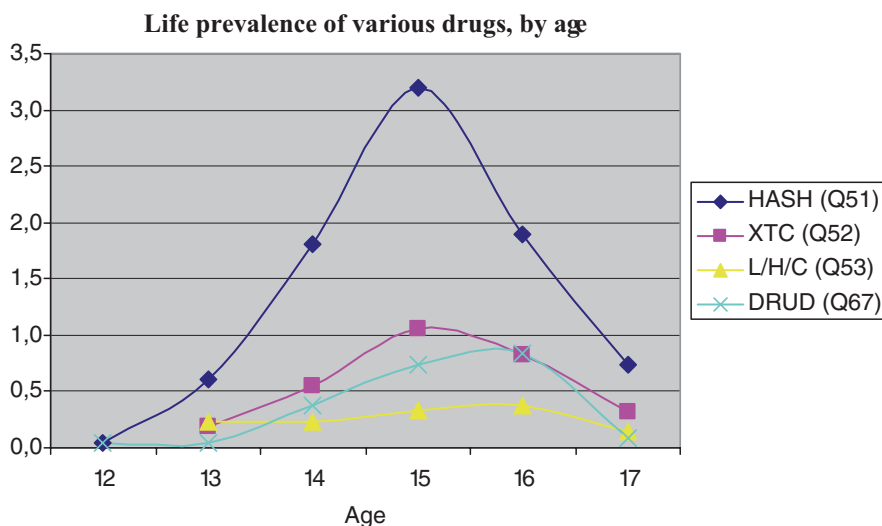


Fig. 22.4 Life time prevalence of various drugs, by age



**Table 22.4** Proportion of consumers and non-consumers by type of drug

Type of drug	Has tried it	Never tried it	Total
Marijuana, hash	179 (8.3%)	1,980 (91.7%)	2,159 (100%)
XTC, speed	64 (2.9%)	2,105 (97.1%)	2,169 (100%)
LSD, heroin, cocaine	28 (1.3%)	2,121 (98.7%)	2,149 (100%)

**Table 22.5** Drug habits according to geographical area

Geographical area	Non-users (100 %)	Users (100 %)
Drugs sold in the vicinity of home	6.4%	37.8%
Derelict buildings in the vicinity of home	12.7%	20%
Drug use in school	6.2%	33.9%

It is impossible to draw conclusions about drug-related crimes on the basis of this questionnaire because the sample size was too small. However, it can be stated that the number of cases where both drug abuse and other criminal offences (typically property crime) were reported is negligible.<sup>10</sup> The reason for that might be that 12-to-15-year-old children only “try” drugs but do not become addicts right away. First use of marijuana and XTC/speed typically occurs around 13–14 years (marijuana: 66%, XTC/speed: 57%), first use of harder drugs typically happens around age 15–16. The most cases of first use were reported for age 14.

Drug habits vary considerably according to geographical area and school environment (Table 22.5). More frequent drug use can be detected in poverty-stricken areas and where drugs are more easily accessible.

One third of marijuana and XTC/speed users consumed some kind of drug in the previous month. However, more than half (63%) of hard drug users took drugs during the same period. Most of the interviewees took drugs once or twice in this period. Frequency was higher for a considerable proportion of LSD, heroin and cocaine users (38%), while 15–20% of the rest of the users took drugs more than twice in the past thirty days. Answers about frequency clearly indicate that marijuana and XTC/speed are typically party drugs which are used occasionally as a complement to leisurely socializing while heroin and cocaine cause serious addiction, and are consumed regardless of the occasion.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup>Both drug abuse and property crime reported: 1.7%, drug abuse and assault or bullying reported: 0.9%.

<sup>11</sup>LSD is not considered to be a hard drug in terms of addictive qualities, but it is treated as a hard drug in every other respect.

There are usually no competent adults who learn about drug abuse, according to interviewees. About one fifth of marijuana/XTC/speed cases and a negligible amount of hard drug cases are discovered. Drug abuse usually has no serious consequences since no official authority learns about it. Even when a competent person discovered what was going on, punishment was very rare (3–5%).

As for the family environment, drug users more frequently reported a bad relationship with their father or stepfather. The relationship with the mother/stepmother tends to be good, however. Alcohol or drug abuse on the part of parents does not influence the child’s attitude about drugs, since only 5% of drug users reported parental alcoholism or addiction.<sup>12</sup>

Divorce or separation of parents was much more frequent among drug users (39.7%) than among non-users (23.5%). These findings confirmed our hypothesis that the stability and status of the family has a strong influence on the drug habits of the children.<sup>13</sup>

Of drug-related criminal acts, distribution and selling are punished most severely. The sample included students who had chosen this means of earning a living. 2.1% of interviewees have sold drugs (“sellers”), most of them did this first when they were between 14 and 16 (76.2% of sellers). It seems that drug dealing occurs earlier as well: 16.7% of sellers were between 12 and 13.

One-third of sellers sold drugs during the last year (31.2%), but half of them reported only one or two such cases. Those who traded more frequently amounted to 18% of sellers. Non-response about selling was exceptionally frequent (55.2%).

It seems that the harder the drugs, the higher the risk of trading. 23% of marijuana users, 35% of XTC/speed users and almost half (47.9%) of LSD/heroin/cocaine users reported selling drugs. The reason for that might be that dealing is a means to support a drug-addicted lifestyle.

#### 22.3.1.4 Computer Use, Leisure Activities

Leisure activities and socialization patterns seem to be seriously affected by the accessibility of computers. Among interviewees, those who have a computer at

<sup>12</sup>Alcoholic/drug addict parents were reported by 15.7% of drug users, by 10.7% of non-users.

<sup>13</sup>Non-response was quite frequent in both groups (7–8%).

home (and spend a lot of time watching television, playing computer games or chatting), spend less time with their friends or in the company of parents. Those having access to computer media were less prone to stay out late than those who have a large group of friends. Hypotheses about computer deviance could not be confirmed, though. So few (171 resp.) reported computer hacking that we could not draw any reliable conclusions.

Most of the interviewees spend thirty to 60 minutes a day doing homework, reading a book or newspaper (Q24). Hanging out with friends and watching television, playing computer games and chatting online have a prominent place in interviewees' daily agenda, most of the students spend 3 or 4 h a day on these activities.

Computers at home have a considerable influence on the time spent doing homework and meeting friends. Predictably, there is a significant correlation between access to a computer and watching television, playing computer games and chatting. Computer access has a marked influence on the overall correlation of leisure activities as well (Chi-square: 0.040) (Q24/Q12).

Almost 51% of the interviewees have downloaded films or music from the Internet (100% = all interviewees; valid total: 98.2%; missing total: 3.6%).<sup>14</sup> Actual computer delinquency (hacking) is much less prevalent, 90.5% of interviewees have never tried hacking in their life (valid total: 98.3%; missing total: 1.7%).

### 22.3.2 Group Delinquency and the Role of Peer Groups

Our sample indicates a relationship between deviant behaviour and peer groups. 14.3% of interviewees claimed that their peer group occasionally engaged in illegal activities.

In the case of underage and juvenile perpetrators, property crimes were committed with a peer group accomplice in 73% of the cases. Crimes were committed alone in 13% of cases, with adult in 1% of the cases (13% of the answers were missing).

Sixteen per cent of interviewees have committed vandalism, and peer group accomplices were strikingly

**Table 22.6** Shoplifting as a social activity (Q55.3.0)

		Frequency	Per cent
Valid	1 on my own	87	4.0
	2 with adults	11	0.5
	3 with other kids	144	6.5
	Total	242	11.0
Missing	8 not applicable	1,901	86.4
	9 no answer	57	2.6
	Total	1,958	89.0
Total		2,200	100.0

frequent in this category. Of the 303 students reporting vandalism, 83.8% were accompanied by one or more members of their peer group.

More than 4% of the students have committed shoplifting (242), see Table 22.6). It is worth noting that the majority (144 valid resp.) of these were accompanied by three or more children during the act.

Of those who reported at least one violent offence (303 valid resp.), 78% perpetrated the act in the company of peer group members. 36% of these perpetrators call their peer group a gang (100% = total sample; 13.8% = total valid answers; 86.2% = missing – not applicable or no answers).

### 22.3.3 Risk Behaviour

There are a number of juveniles on the brink of becoming criminals: those whose daily routine includes loitering, drug and alcohol abuse. We constructed a measure of risk behaviour using various "risk factors" (RF) from the sample: alcohol consumption (RF1), XTC/speed and LSD consumption (RF2), burglary + bicycle theft + car theft + car burglary (RF3), snatching of bag + assault + bullying (RF4) and carrying weapons + group violence (RF5).

Of the 2,200 juveniles in the sample, 46 (2.1%) did not answer the related questions. Of the 2,154 who did, 19.3% (424 students) did not report risk behaviour. Almost 20% of interviewees (435 students) said they had loitered during the past year (100% = total valid resp.). In 13.6% of the cases, at least two RFs were present (100% = total valid resp.), one of which was typically alcohol abuse. Alcohol consumption has been traditionally high in Hungary; our research confirms that children have their first experience with alcohol quite early in life (Table 22.7). Most interviewees first

<sup>14</sup> Computer piracy and other unauthorized use of computer systems is a criminal offence in Hungary as well as in the rest of the EU (Section 300/C.§ of the Penal Code). Downloading films and music for domestic use is not a criminal act.

**Table 22.7** Alcohol consumption prevalences (beer/wine; strong spirits) (Q49.1, 49.3; Q50.1, 50.3)

Answers	Lifetime prevalence			Last month prevalence		
	Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent
0 no	465	21.2	21.3	1,250	56.8	57.9
1 yes	1,724	78.4	78.7	908	41.3	42.1
Subtotal	2,190	99.5	100.0	2,159	98.1	100.0
Missing	10	0.5		41	1.9	
Total	2,189	1,006	100.0	2,200	100.0	

tried alcohol at the beginning of adolescence. First experience with beer and wine occurs typically around age 12, first experience with spirits around 13.

More than 78% of interviewees (1,724 students) have consumed alcohol in their life, 41.3% of them did so during the previous 4 weeks (100% = total valid resp.). Consuming alcohol, carrying a weapon and participating in group violence coincided in 16.2% of the cases (356 students) (100% = total valid resp.).

Excluding non-responses, 22.8% of the students carried a weapon or other object suitable for aggression as well as reporting at least one act of group violence. However, these violent acts occurred during the past one year in only 12.8% of cases.

The majority of respondents in the Hungarian sample did not report any delinquent behaviour ever (62.9%) and more than three-quarters of them (77.8%) reported none for last year (100% = total valid resp.).

## 22.4 Social Background vs. Delinquency, Problem Behaviour, Victimization

### 22.4.1 Gender, Age

The sample is evenly balanced in terms of gender (female: 1,073 = 48%; male: 1,123 = 51.1%). Most of the students were 15 or older, followed by 14-year-olds and 13-year-olds (Table 22.8).

### 22.4.2 Ethnicity

The overwhelming majority of interviewees were born in Hungary (98.1%). The majority came from

**Table 22.8** Age distribution of sample (Q2)

Age group	Frequency	Per cent
12	2	0.4
13	456	20.7
14	785	35.7
15+	947	43.1
Subtotal	2,198	99.9
Missing	2	0.1
Total	2,200	100.0

neighbouring countries (69.2%), and the others' were born of parents who belonged to the Hungarian diasporas (Austria, Germany, Great Britain) and had moved to Hungary at some point. The rest of the students were European (except one who was from Canada).

Most of the parents (mothers 97.1%, fathers 97.3%) were born in Hungary. Those who were not came mostly from Romania (36 mothers and 33 fathers). 24 mothers and 19 fathers came from other European countries, 3 mothers and 8 fathers from outside Europe. In a couple of cases we found Arab countries as the birthplace of children.<sup>15</sup>

Interviewees predominantly speak Hungarian at home (98.8%). Those who do not (1.2%) speak one of the Roma languages. 89.7% of interviewees have never been assaulted because of their background. However, signs of discrimination clearly emerge if we examine them in terms of languages spoken. 50.7% of those who do not speak Hungarian at home reported some ill-treatment brought about by their ethnicity. This is probably explained by the fact that those whose native language is not Hungarian are mostly Roma, a minority who is severely discriminated in Hungary. Simply coming from abroad is no basis for discrimination, though.

<sup>15</sup> It is interesting to note that nobody claimed to be Chinese or reported Chinese parents, despite the fact that a large number of Chinese citizens live in Hungary.

### 22.4.3 Household Composition

More than 74% of interviewees live with their natural mother and father. There are a considerable number of students living with their single mother (10.7%) or with their mother and her partner (8.6%) (Table 22.9).

Family composition seems to be favourable since 96% of students live with their natural mother. However, considerably less interviewees (79%) live with their natural father (100% = total valid resp.).

### 22.4.4 (Un)Employment

Most of the interviewees reported that their (step) father (the male parent living in the household) had a job (Table 22.10). In the majority of cases (86.9%) the father or stepfather was an employee (on a permanent or occasional basis).

Similarly, most of the (step) mothers are permanently employed (Table 22.11). The number of fathers and mothers with permanent employment is roughly equal, but proportionally fewer mothers have jobs than fathers. There are a lot more female parents seeking a job but unable to find one. Sick/disabled female parents also outnumber male parents. 9.4% of step (mothers) are unemployed because of household responsibilities. Those mothers who are “unemployed for other reasons” number twice as high as males in the same category; most of these mothers are at home with a younger sibling.

**Table 22.9** Family composition (Q6)

	Frequency	Per cent
Living with natural father and mother	1,639	74.5%
Living partly with father, partly with mother	33	1.5%
Living with mother	236	10.7%
Living with mother and her partner	189	8.6%
Living with father or with father and his partner	54	2.4%
Living with foster parents or in a foster home	42	1.9%
Total respondents	2,194	99.7%
Missing	6	0.3%
Total	2,200	100%

### 22.4.5 Socio-economic Status

One possible measure of socio-economic status is how many students feel at ease at school and at home. This can be estimated using the attitudes towards school and the neighbourhood (subjective measures - Q 45.1–45.4 and Q47.1–47.3, Q47.10–47.13 – see ISRD2

**Table 22.10** Does your (step)father (the male parent living in the household) have a paid job? (Q9)

	Frequency	Per cent	Has a job (%)
Permanent employment	1,528	69.4	86.9
Own business	278	12.6	
Occasional employment	109	4.9	
Seeking a job but unemployed	42	1.9	Doesn't have a job (%) 6.6
Sick/disabled	27	1.2	
Pensioner	46	2.1	
Unemployed for other reasons	31	1.4	
Ambiguous answer	6	0.3	Missing (%) 6.4
No male parent in household	121	5.5	
No answer	14	0.6	
Total	2,200	100.0	

**Table 22.11** Does your (step)mother (the female parent living in the household) have a paid job? (Q10)

	Frequency	Per cent	Has a job (%)
Permanent employment	1,517	69.0	78.3
Own business	137	6.2	
Occasional employment	68	3.1	
Seeking a job but unemployed	122	5.5	Doesn't have a job (%) 20.3
Sick/disabled	59	2.7	
Running the household	207	9.4	
Unemployed for other reasons	60	2.7	
Ambiguous answer	4	0.2	Missing (%) 1.3
No female parent in household	16	0.7	
No answer	8	0.4	
Total	2,200	100.0	

questionnaire) and objective indicators about school, home environment and economic status (objective measures – Q11–14; 45.5–45.8; 47.4–47.9 - see ISRD2 questionnaire.)

#### 22.4.5.1 Subjective Measures

Most students gave a favourable opinion about their school, indicating an emotional attachment to their educational institution: they would miss school if they had to move; teachers notice and praise good performance; there are a lot of activities going on in school apart from teaching. Most students like their school. The same sentiments apply to their neighbourhoods. Interviewees would miss their home environment if they had to move; all in all they like the place where they live. The majority disagrees with the claim that people in their neighbourhoods are mostly on unfriendly terms. Although neighbourhood culture is based on trust and kindness, “live and let live” seems to be the dominant attitude; mutual sympathy manifests itself in passive acceptance. The majority of interviewees do not think that neighbours notice and praise good behaviour.

#### 22.4.5.2 Objective Measures

Questions about deviance in school, living conditions and material possessions tell us more about children’s social situation than about their attitudes. Objective measures were used to learn more about the situation at school. These measures were defined as fixed variables similar to those describing living conditions. Q45.5 to 45.8 contained negative statements, which the respondents had to appraise; most of them disagreed with them. They gave the most conspicuous reaction about drug abuse; 75.8% of respondents said they strongly disagreed with the claim that drug abuse was frequent in their school. 33–35% disagreed with the claim that theft and vandalism was frequent. The claim that drug consumption is rare stood out as the strongest positive opinion about school.

Objective (value-free) statements about living conditions followed in Q47.4 to 47.9. Overall, respondents gave a favourable view about their neighbourhood. Most of them agreed or strongly agreed with the

claim that there were lots of places for children to play. The majority disagreed or strongly disagreed with the negative statements, e.g. that crimes were frequent, drugs were often sold, violence was common, there were a lot of derelict buildings and there was a lot of graffiti.

Most of the respondents have their own room (79.9%), and about the same number of families have a car (78.9%). Mobile phones are the most common among material possessions (91.3%). Fewer of them have access to a computer at home (84%), but compared to national measures about computer penetration, even this ratio seems conspicuously high. According to national surveys, 38% of households had a computer in 2006: an estimated 1.52 million computers against four million households.<sup>16</sup> Such a poor ratio seems to contradict the answers of interviewees. Possibly, they read the question only cursorily and answered “yes” because there was a computer somewhere in their vicinity – at the neighbour’s, at a relative’s or friend’s home, at a public terminal – which they could use even though they did not have one at home. Another reason might be that interviewees felt embarrassed to admit that they did not have a computer, and misrepresented their situation. Another reason might be that in most households where there is a pupil (or student), the parents obtained a computer too.

## 22.5 Other Correlates of Delinquency/ Problem Behaviour/Victimization

This section is devoted to questions and connections that may be used to test social control theory. Topics include relationship with parents and serious family events, leisure activities, school achievement, group membership and group activities.

<sup>16</sup> World Internet Project: *A digitális jövő térképe. A magyar társadalom és az Internet* [Maps of a digital future: Hungarian society and the Internet], 2006. ITHAKA-ITTK-TÁRKI. – World Internet Project (WIP) is a large-scale international research programme devoted to studying the social consequences of Internet. WIP was launched in the USA in 1999. Hungary joined in 2001, through a cooperation between three research organizations, TÁRKI, ITHAKA and ITTK.



### 22.5.1 Relationship with Parents

Most interviewees have an exceptionally good relationship with their (step) parents (Q16–17, Fig. 22.5). (Step) mothers seemed to perform better; students have a better relationship with them than with their (step) fathers. 8.7% of respondents do not have a male parent, or he was not living with them. The same ratio for female parents was 0.7%.

Family ties seem to be strong and functional in terms of leisure activities: the majority (57.7%) of students go to see a movie, take a walk, visit a relative, or watch a sport event with their family at least once a week (Q18). Of these, a large proportion have family events more than once a week (22.9%). Family dinners are also frequent. It is interesting to note that while a huge number of students claimed to have a family dinner every day (1,007 respondents, 45.8%), very few claimed to have a family dinner six or fewer times per week.

Parental control seems to be adequate since parents almost always know whom their children spend their free time with (always know + usually know = 93.7%) (Q20). Control is strictly enforced, as indicated by the fact that the majority of children who sometimes stay out late are told exactly when they have to be at home (54.7%, 1,203 respondents, Q21.0). Most of the interviewees stick to this deadline (51.8%, 1,139

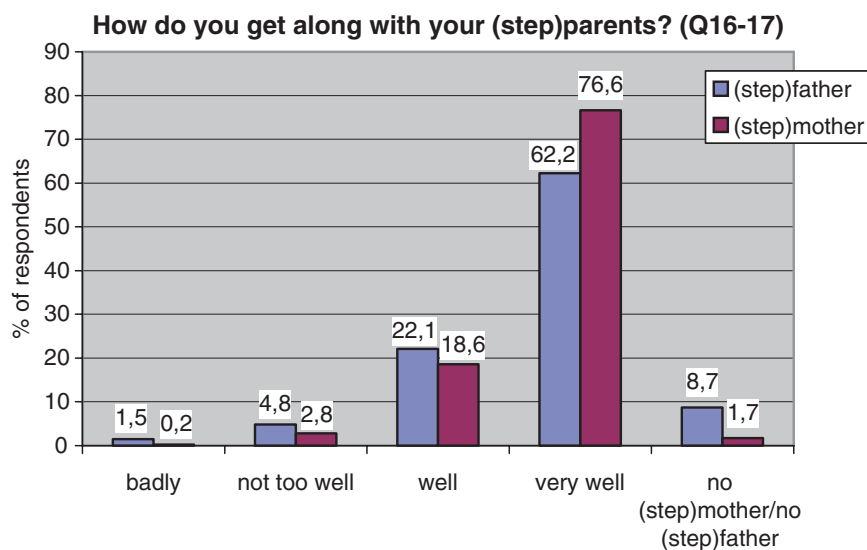
respondents) and only 2.6% (57 people) disregard the word of their parents (Q21.1).

Parents usually do not interfere with their children's choice of friends, they let their children have friends of any religious or ethnic background (77.3%, 1,701 respondents) (Q36).

### 22.5.2 School: School Achievement; Feelings About School

Interviewees had mixed feelings about school, most of them were more reserved (42% quite much and 36.9% not too much, liked their school), and only 8.4% claimed they liked their school very much. 12.4% did not like their school at all (Q41) (100% = total answers together with 0.3% missing answers).

Q42–44 and Q46 dealt with students' successes at school and their plans for the future. 9.6% of respondents (210 students) have had to repeat a grade because of failing in one or two subjects (usually in Grade one or nine), 30 students repeated grades more than once. Almost 15% of respondents (328 students) have played truant once or twice, 4.9% (107 students) more than once. 80.0% (1,761 students) have never played truant, though. The majority of interviewees (63.9%, 1,406 students) claim to be average students, while 22.7%



**Fig. 22.5** Quality of relationship with parents



(498 students) think they are above average and 13.0% (286 students) think they are below average.

Figure 22.6 shows that those who want to continue studying after school (in college, college prep school, vocational school, etc.) form a distinctive majority. On the other hand, almost one fifth of respondents have no idea about their future.

Those who gave an answer that was not originally listed in the questionnaire (Q46.0s) mostly wanted to go to college (63 people), while 10 people said their immediate goal was to get into high school. Some students planned to take part in the family business, start a business on their own, study abroad, study a language or get a job.

There is a significant correlation between performance at school, “decent” (i.e. conforming) behaviour and the extent to which respondents liked their school. (By definition, “decent” or conforming students were those who never played truant and did not have to repeat a grade). However, the correlation showed the inverse of the effect we had expected. We had thought that the better a student performed, the more they liked their school. On the contrary, average and below-average decent students liked their school more than those who were above average. Attitudes about school therefore do not depend on performance but on the social bonds formed there.

There is a significant correlation between school career (performance, repeating, truancy), and future plans (Q42–44/Q46): those who perform well want to find a job or learn a trade, while average and below-average students want to go to a college prep school or find a scholarship. It is interesting that plans were unaffected by attitudes about school regulations (measured by truancy and repeating). It should also be noted that

below-average students are more likely to have plans for the future than average and above-average students.

### 22.5.3 Leisure Activities; Group Membership and Group Activities; Violence Scale

Leisure activities attest to the functionality of family - indicating parental control, adoption of the family values, extent of emotional bonding - while reflecting the relationship to friends and the quantitative and qualitative aspects of leisure activities (Hirschi, 1969).

#### 22.5.3.1 Going Out

The majority of interviewees never go out at night (Table 22.12). Frequency of staying out declines as we move from early evening to late in the night. The age of respondents strongly correlates with the frequency of staying out late. Age cohorts were merged into two groups along the dividing line between elementary school and secondary school, resulting in two age groups, ages 12–15 and 16–17. Merging was carried out to test our hypothesis that friendships intensify and staying out becomes more frequent after leaving elementary school. Our hypothesis was confirmed: although the majority of students in both age groups go out once or twice a week, significantly more students go out every night in the 16–17 group.

What are you going to do when you finish school? (Q46.0)

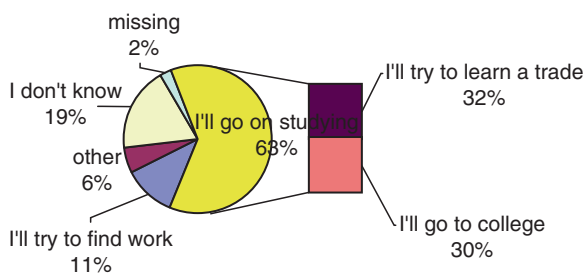


Fig. 22.6 Future plans of sample

Table 22.12 Age and frequency of going out (Q2/Q23)

	Going out				Total
	Never	Once/twice per week	3–6 times per week	Every night	
Age 12–15	600 31.7%	719 38.0%	417 22.1%	154 8.1%	1,890 100.0%
Age 16–17	49 18.3%	99 36.9%	65 24.3%	55 20.5%	268 100.0%
Total	650 30.1%	820 37.9%	482 22.3%	209 9.7%	2,161 100.0%

### 22.5.3.2 Group Membership and Activities

Structural components and functional qualities of friendships were tested in Q26 through Q34. More students spend their free time with a group of friends than alone or with the family (Table 22.13). There are fewer respondents who have a large peer group (four or more people); most of them have up to three close friends.

More than 87% of respondents claimed to have a permanent peer group for leisure time activities. Those who did not, appear to be a minority (10.5%; missing: 2.1%.) Based on Table 22.13 above we may state that most interviewees have a permanent peer group but they do not necessarily spend most of their free time with them.<sup>17</sup> Q28 indicates that most peer groups consist of 12-to-15-year-old students (49.9%). There is a considerable proportion of groups with 16-to-18-year-olds (32.1%), while groups composed mostly of people under 12 (0.3%) or above 25 (1.5%) were relatively rare (100% = total answers with a missing of 11.5%). There was a significant correlation between the age of respondents and the typical age of their peer group. Almost 60% of peer groups appear to be of mixed-gender. 10.6% of those who gave valid answers

claimed to have an all-female, 17.8% claimed to have an all-male peer group. (100% = total proportion of answers; missing: 11.7%) (Q34.0)

Almost 70% of respondents said that illegal acts were not acceptable in their peer group, and 75.7% claimed that their peer group never engaged in illegal acts (Q31 and Q32). Even if illegal acts are tolerated, peer groups act as a safeguard against serious deviance. Chi-square test showed a significant connection between the acceptability of criminal acts in a peer group and criminal activities of the group. Most of the students whose groups tolerated such acts have committed some kind of delinquency. However, if the group disapproves of illegal acts, members refrain from engaging in such activities.

There is a connection between the acceptability/frequency of criminal acts in peer groups and gender composition of peer groups (Q34/Q32). Concerning the frequency, all-female groups are much less prone (227) to commit criminal acts than all-male (329) or mixed groups (1,103). All-male groups seem to be the most deviant; illegal activity is more prevalent among them than among mixed groups. However, all-female groups are more violent in proportion than all-males and mixed groups.

**Table 22.13** With whom do you spend you free time most frequently?

	Frequency	Per cent	Alone or with family total: 41.1%
Alone	128	5.8	
With my family	777	35.3	
With 1–3 friends	712	32.4	With friends total: 57.5%
With a larger group (4 or more friends)	551	25.1	
Subtotal	2,169	98.6	
Ambiguous answer	14	0.7	Missing total: 1.4%
No answer	17	0.8	
Total	2,200	100.0	

<sup>17</sup>The correlation of answers to Q26 and Q27 indicates no logical connection. Results showed that those who have a permanent peer group usually do not spend their free time alone or with family. However, while 87.4% of respondents belong to a stable group of friends, only 57.5% of students claimed to spend most of their free time with them. This means that respondents did not give coherent answers about their peer group and their leisure activities.

## 22.6 Interpretation of the Findings

### 22.6.1 Deviance

Of the deviant acts featured in the study, alcohol consumption appears to be the largest threat: apart from being the most frequent risk factor, it is strikingly prevalent, with 78.8% of respondents having drunk at least one glass of alcohol. Drug abuse, on the other hand, seems to be a minor problem, since only 8.2% of respondents have tried soft drugs.

Alcohol consumption is usually the only deviance reported (52.3%), but it is often accompanied by carrying a gun or engaging in group violence (16.2%). Almost one-fifth (19.3%) of respondents did not report any deviant acts.

Among property crimes, less severe and occasional petty theft was typical. These findings are consistent with the Uniform Statistical Database of the Police and Prosecution. Among violent crimes, group violence

was reported most frequently. Tests of significance showed a strong connection between vandalism and other violent acts: 50% of those who have committed vandalism at least once have taken part in group violence as well, and 38% of them have at some point carried a weapon.

The majority (61.0%) of respondents featured only one risk factor for getting involved in delinquency, 17.5% of them featured two, with a tiny minority three (1.5%).

The onset of delinquency is estimated at 12–14 years of age on the basis of this sample, which means that delinquent respondents were minors at the time of committing their first criminal act. Risk of committing a crime increases with age, peaking in the 15-to-16 cohort. The hypothesis that there is a correlation between family situation and violent crimes is not supported by this survey.

Only a tiny minority of respondents reported drug abuse and another criminal act (mostly property crime). The reason for that might be that 12-to-15-year-old children only “try” drugs, without turning into addicts. First experience with marijuana and XTC/speed usually occurs around the age 13 or 14.

Drug users were more likely to report that their relationship with their (step) father was bad. However, alcohol or drug problems on the part of parents do not influence the children’s attitude toward drugs. These findings confirmed our hypothesis that there is a strong connection between the stability of the family and the drug habits of children.

### **22.6.2 Social Bonding: Social Control**

Most of the respondents like their school. The same attitude prevails about home environments. Most of the students have their own room, and about the same number of households have a car. Mobile phones are the most common among material possessions.

Most of the students in the sample get on very well with their parents. The relationship with the (step) mother is usually better than the relationship with step (father). Parental control seems to be adequate as parents usually know who their children spend their free time with. However, this seems to be

a rather formal control as it focuses on having supper together.

Parents do not make their children discriminate among their friends according to religious and ethnic background. Low ethnic and religious discrimination is probably explained by the fact that the sample includes very few children who belong to a minority. It would be worth investigating whether parents influence their children’s socializing in any other respect (type or place of activity, discriminating among friends on political, economic or other basis).

There is a significant correlation between performance at school, decent behaviour (defined as the lack of truancy and lack of repeating grades) and the extent to which respondents like their school. Average and below-average students like their school more than those performing above average. Therefore attitudes towards school do not primarily depend on performance but on the opportunities to socialize. The majority of students want to go on studying after school. At the same time, about one fifth of respondents have no idea about their plans for the future. It is interesting that plans for the future were unaffected by whether a student complied with school regulations (whether they played truant and had to repeat a grade). It is also worth noting that those whose performance is below average are more likely to have plans for the future than average or above-average students.

We found a significant connection between the age of respondents and the frequency of staying out late. Most students spend their free time in a peer group rather than alone or with family. Most respondents have a permanent peer group, but they do not necessarily spend most of their free time with them. There was a significant correlation between the age of respondents and the typical age of peer group members; respondents usually belonged to a same age group.

Chi-square tests showed a significant connection between the acceptability of criminal acts in peer groups and actual criminal activity of the group. Those who belong to groups where illegal acts are acceptable have usually committed criminal acts themselves.

## **Appendix**

See Table 22.14.

**Table 22.14** Prevalence delinquency “ever” and “last year” by city size

	Large city N = 628		Middle sized cities N = 847		Small cities N = 820		$\chi^2$ p
	%	Missing	%	Missing	%	Missing	
“Ever” prevalence							
Vandalism	16.9	0.3	13.9	1.1	13.3	1.9	0.053
Shoplifting	18.4	0.8	9.8	1.4	9.9	2.6	0.000
Burglary	0.5	0.3	0.6	1.3	1.6	2.1	0.180
Theft of bike	0.3	0.5	1.3	1.4	1.0	2.5	0.042
Car theft	0.8	0.5	0.8	1.4	0.8	2.2	0.270
Hacking	13.0	0.8	8.3	1.6	5.8	2.3	0.000
Theft from car	1.6	0.8	0.9	1.4	1.4	2.6	0.124
Robbery/extortion	4.2	0.3	3.5	1.3	2.4	2.4	0.014
Carry weapon	15.8	0.5	10.1	1.3	8.8	2.3	0.000
Threats with violence	1.3	0.3	0.8	1.6	0.6	2.3	0.067
Group fights	25.7	0.3	17.0	1.6	14.9	2.8	0.000
Assault	2.9	0.3	2.2	1.1	2.2	2.3	0.041
Drugs dealing	3.1	0.5	1.3	1.3	2.0	2.3	0.027
Use of XTC	3.9	0.8	1.9	1.1	3.0	1.9	0.124
Use of L/H/C	1.3	1.0	0.9	1.7	1.3	2.8	0.209
“Last year” prevalence							
Vandalism	10.1	0.5	6.9	1.5	7.3	2.8	0.019
Shoplifting	6.0	0.8	2.5	1.7	2.8	3.3	0.000
Burglary	0.3	0.3	0.3	1.3	0.5	2.3	0.056
Theft of bike	0.3	0.5	0.3	1.4	0.3	2.7	0.078
Car theft	0.3	0.8	0.6	1.4	0.3	2.3	0.249
Hacking	9.9	1.3	5.8	1.6	4.1	2.4	0.002
Theft from car	0.3	0.8	0.5	1.6	0.4	2.8	0.251
Robbery/extortion	1.0	0.3	1.4	1.6	1.4	2.5	0.065
Carrying weapon	9.1	2.1	4.7	2.0	5.4	2.9	0.033
Threats with violence	0.8	0.3	0.3	1.7	0.3	2.3	0.082
Group fights	12.7	1.6	7.7	2.7	7.8	3.7	0.007
Assault	1.8	0.5	0.5	1.4	1.1	2.6	0.017
Drugs dealing	1.6	0.5	0.6	1.6	1.5	2.4	0.060
Use of XTC <sup>a</sup>	1.0 <sup>a</sup>	1.3	0.8 <sup>a</sup>	1.3	0.9 <sup>a</sup>	2.1	0.674
Use of L/H/C <sup>a</sup>	0.3 <sup>a</sup>	1.3	0.3 <sup>a</sup>	2.0	0.4 <sup>a</sup>	3.0	0.355

<sup>a</sup>Last 4 weeks

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# Chapter 23

## Slovenia

Bojan Dekleva and Spela Razpotnik

### 23.1 Introduction

Slovenia is one of the new transition states that emerged as independent state formations at the end of the last century, following the fall of the Berlin Wall and the related wave of transformation of political regimes, as well as geographic boundaries. Slovenia gained independence in 1991 with the secession from the former political formation of Yugoslavia, before the outbreak of bloody conflicts in other regions of ex-Yugoslavia. Having been the first state to secede from Yugoslavia and due to its relative national homogeneity, it managed to escape war and similar long-lasting conflicting states, characteristic of the transformation and emergence of states in other parts of the former Yugoslavia.

Before the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia, Slovenia was one of its six republics, the north-westernmost one. It represented a kind of division line between the West and the socialist East. Owing to its closeness to the West and due to specific historical conditions (contrary to other parts of Yugoslavia, it was part of the Hapsburg monarchy for a considerable period of time), related to different cultural tradition, Slovenia was the most economically developed republic of the former Yugoslavia in the second half of the twentieth century. Its BNP per capita was in 2006 14,811 €. Bordering on Italy, Austria and Hungary, it truly represents the southern part of Central Europe and is therefore located on many crossroads of the connections between the East and the West, as well as between North and South.

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Slovenia is one of the smallest European states, numbering about 2,000,000 inhabitants. Its capital has about 250,000 inhabitants, and its development in the recent decades has been distinctly polycentric. For geographically so small a state, the crossing of which takes only about 3 hours by car, the relatively small differences between urban and rural parts are not surprising.

Slovenia is nationally and religiously rather homogeneous (especially in comparison with the other republics of the former Yugoslavia). According to the 2002 population census data, 83.0% of the population declared themselves as Slovenians, the three other major ethnic groups (Serbs, Croats, Bosnians) each representing only from 1% to 2% of inhabitants, while all other minority groups (e.g. Albanians, Macedonians, etc.) represent less than 0.6% each. The two constitutionally acknowledged minorities (with a special protected status) – Italians and Hungarians together with the Roman community – represented less than 0.4% of the population each, while 11.2% of inhabitants did not declare themselves nationally.

Over 67% of inhabitants declared themselves as religious. About 86% of these are Catholics, the other two most professed religions being Islam (3.6%) and Orthodoxy (3.5%).

The secession of Slovenia from the former Yugoslavia and the accompanying transition processes related to citizenship and religious problems have brought about a specific issue. In the times of ex-Yugoslavia, especially in 1970s, the differences in the level of development of Yugoslav republics gave rise to strong migration currents of the labour force, from the southern republics – Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and others – to Slovenia. Immigrants, mostly aged 15–30, soon got established in Slovenia and established families. When Slovenia gained independence, many of their children were



already of age, having spent all their lives in Slovenia. The issue of citizenship was not important at the time as everyone was a citizen of the former Yugoslavia. However, soon after independence, Slovenia passed a law by which all immigrants wanting to acquire Slovene citizenship had to apply for it within a brief period of time. Many people were ignorant of this law and over 170,000 inhabitants of Slovenia were deprived of citizenship without even being aware of it; consequently, they were erased from the registry. For most of the “erased” people, this meant the “domino principle” – they were denied access to many sources and deprived of many rights. Only a small number of the “erased” managed to acquire citizenship in the appropriate time. Some had to emigrate from Slovenia, while others live here illegally, but most of them suffered a loss – of family, home, employment, etc. The phenomenon of the erased is also relevant for the young, immigrants’ children, as they or their parents lost citizenship and related rights.

Slovene population is one of the fastest aging populations in Europe. In the year 2002, the age group above 64 represented 15%; as compared to the 1991 population census, this share increased by 4% (from 11 to 15). Young population in the age group 0–14 represents only slightly above 15% of the total population.

Compared to some other European states, inhabitants of Slovenia have a lower level of education. In the age group above 14, only 13% have completed tertiary education, while the number of those who completed elementary school is only as high as 33%.

The period of transition brought major changes in the field of employment. While up to 1990 employment rate of men and women was practically full, transition brought about unemployment. According to the population census of 2002, in the age group over 14 years, 49.2% are employed and 7.9% are unemployed. The percentage is similar for both the sexes, as 49.1% of women and 56.1% of men are employed; the numbers of unemployed are 8.3% for men and 7.4% for women.

Drug and alcohol policies are rather liberal in Slovenia. Drug policy is similar to the Czech one, and quite different from the more prohibition-oriented Polish and Hungary policies (to take only four European transition states for comparison; Dekleva, 2002). According to an international comparative study (Kenis et al., 2001) in which average attitudes of the leaders of national drug demand reduction organizations were measured on an permissive-restrictive scale (to gauge national drug policy orientation), the

Slovenian results showed the most permissive attitudes while the Polish ones showed the most restrictive attitudes. Another result from this study showed that although the Slovenian drug policy builds on a number of different pillars of health promotion, law enforcement approach, supply control, penal treatment and harm reduction, the last pillar seemed to be the most strongly emphasized – compared to the other three countries (Dekleva, 2002). Rates of life time prevalence of drug use seem to be very similar to those in Western countries (Sande, 2004). But on the other side all Slovenian experts on drugs emphasize that alcohol represents “the Slovenian national pathology” and Slovenia’s rates of average consumption of alcohol are among the highest in Europe.

Slovenia youth cultures seem to be similarly developed like other neighbouring Western countries. Some political analysts even claim that youth protest movements of the eighties of the last century were an extremely important factor in producing the social climate which enabled the actions for gaining independence of Slovenia from ex-Yugoslavia. After 2000, the most important is the subculture connected to electronic music which blends with the e-way of life and net-surfing cultures in the framework of generally predominant consumerism.

Slovenia did not participate in the first ISRD study but victimization and self-report studies have not been unknown in Slovenia. Although the first self-report study was done in Slovenia in the late seventies (Dekleva, 1978) and the first victimization study in the beginning of the eighties (Pecar, 1981), not many self-report studies have been conducted since and none was exclusively focused on delinquency and representative for Slovenia at the same time. After 1990, a couple of representative studies have been done, which have focused on different specific aspects of youth behaviour like drug use or sexual behaviour or health-related habits, and these studies also covered different aspects of delinquency but not in a comprehensive way (e.g. Dekleva, 1998; Dekleva and Sande, 2003). The study which came closest to this aim was a study on “Lives of second generation immigrants in Ljubljana” (Dekleva and Razpotnik, 2002), which was done as part of an international study on “Violence in the lives of young people” (led by prof. Christian Pfeifer). The limitation of this study was that it collected data only in Slovenia’s capital Ljubljana.



## 23.2 Study Design

The study design basically followed the general design of the ISRD II study.

For data collecting in Slovenia the original ISRD2 questionnaire was used with all (core) questions in the standardized format. The questionnaire was completed manually using a pen or pencil.

It was decided to use a city-based sampling strategy. At first, the capital of Slovenia, the city of Ljubljana was selected, and then, four other cities (one middle-sized and three small-sized) were selected based partly on opportunistic criteria, partly in such a way that they covered different regions of Slovenia. The chosen cities and their size (based on 2002 census) besides Ljubljana (267,369 inhabitants) were Celje (middle-sized, in the eastern region of Slovenia, having 48,081 inhabitants, the fourth biggest community in Slovenia) and small-sized Jesenice, Piran and Kocevje (in the northern, western and southern region of Slovenia, having respectively 21,620, 16,758 and 16,292 inhabitants, being respectively, the 16th, the 30th and the 31st biggest communities in Slovenia).

It was planned that the whole sample size would be about 2,250 as about 750 pupils in each of the size groups of cities should be achieved. It means that it was planned to achieve 750 in Ljubljana and Celje each, and about 250 in each of the three small towns.

In Slovenia – contrary to majority of other countries – only seventh and ninth grade students were surveyed. It was decided to do so because the Slovenian system of compulsory schooling was, at the time of the survey, in the process of reconstruction of the previous eight-grades compulsory schooling to a nine-grade system. It was decided, that by surveying only seventh and ninth grade classes the greatest level of representativeness would be achieved while retaining the needed age span of surveyed pupils.

The units of sampling were classes and random sampling was used on a list of all classes in all schools in each city with a 15% over-sampling to account for pupils missing from the classes, be it for justified (illnesses, etc.) or unjustified (truancy, etc.) reasons. Thus, 36 of 225 existing classes in Ljubljana were chosen for the survey, and all 39 classes in the middle-sized town, and – similarly – almost all classes in the three small-sized towns.

No stratification of schools or classes was done, as in Slovenia in compulsory schooling there is no streaming or there are no schools of differing academic levels, and almost all schools are public schools.

The questionnaire was always administered in classes by trained field workers, who were mostly students of higher grades of psychology or similar study programmes. At the time of the survey only the field workers and students were allowed in classes, so no teachers were present.

The parental consent forms were used only in cases where the school principals were asked to do so. Only two schools required that the parental consent forms should be used. One of the schools asked for active consent, another was satisfied with the passive one. In each of the two schools two pupils were not allowed to participate.

Access to schools was greatly facilitated by a support letter from the Ministry of education and sports which also offered the selected school liaisons some credits which could be used in the process of their promotion.

The response rates on all three levels (schools, classes and individual students) were very good and in line with previous experiences with similar surveys.

In total, 65 of the 67 sampled and approached schools agreed to participate in the study, giving an overall institutional response rate of 97% (at school level). All among the selected classes actually participated, although in two not many students were present because of a para-schooling activity taking place simultaneously. At the level of individuals it was possible to get completed questionnaires from 89.6% of enrolled students (where 4 or 0.2% were not granted parental permissions to participate and another 263 or 10.4% were missing, be it for justified (illnesses, etc.) or unjustified (truancy, etc.) reasons.

In this way 2,265 questionnaires were obtained and in the process of their checking it was decided that 26 questionnaires (or 1.1% of obtained ones) would be excluded from further analyses because of their low quality. At the end 746 usable questionnaires were obtained from the large city, 737 from the middle sized city and 756 from three small sized cities. The distribution of sexes was about equal, and also the age distribution, where 12, 13, 14 and 15-year old pupils are represented by similar percentages of the total sample (27.7, 23.5, 26.0 and 21.9%). The mean age was 13.44. With the presumption that students actually answered

with the number of their completed years of age, their actual age could be up to half-year greater.

### 23.3 Delinquency, Risk Behaviour and Victimization

In this chapter, basic data on the last year and lifetime prevalence are presented. Tables 23.1–23.3 show prevalence of different deviant/delinquent acts, risk behaviours and victimizations/stressful events. Data mostly refer to lifetime or last year prevalence and in some cases to present situation.

Among conventional delinquency the most frequent is still theft from shops and department stores, which has been done in the large city, Slovenia's capital Ljubljana, by 17% of student or one in six. It is interesting to note, that the rate obtained about 30 years ago in a smaller "large" city sample was more or less the same (Dekleva, 1978).

A little bit surprising is vandalism, which is more frequent than theft in smaller cities but less frequent in the large city – but this only apply for the last year prevalence. Among other deviant acts, there are two relatively more frequent: hacking and carrying a weapon. Drug use is rather rare. According to other Slovenian studies (Dekleva and Sande, 2003) drug use "explodes" in the period from 14/15 to 16/17 years, which is in Slovenia the period of transferring from the compulsory elementary school to the secondary school.

Table 23.2 shows behaviours and situations that are not illegal but which imply the loosening of family and school's social control and are indicative of the existence of (deviant) peers and peer cultures. Partly this is so because the questions explicitly asked for friends' behaviour and partly because the nominated behaviours are typically carried on in peer contexts. From 25% to 40% students have friends who have already used drugs or stole from shops, although only 7% and 13% of students did it themselves.

Table 23.3 shows that for Slovenian students' victimization by delinquent acts is rather frequent and almost normative. Up to 33% experienced theft in the last year and about 125% experienced bullying which is again very similar to other Slovenian studies 10 years ago (Dekleva, 1996). Even for many children, family/parental problems are quite frequent, and also,

serious accidents and injuries, which in Slovenia, represent the second most frequent cause of deaths in this age group.

It is surprising that the differences among the large and four smaller cities in all three categories of observed phenomena, deviant/delinquent acts, risk behaviours and victimizations/stressful events are relatively small and only rarely statistically significant. Only in seven of the possible 36 observed phenomena, we found statistically significant differences in the prevalence rates between the large and four smaller cities. But it is true that in all cases they pointed to higher prevalence rates in the large city and so did the majority of others, albeit non significant differences. Our explanation is that Slovenia is so small and distances (among regions, cities, etc.) so short that no big differences in cultures, ways of living and social control characteristics could develop. But still, life in Slovenia's capital Ljubljana is for young people more dangerous and challenging.

### 23.4 Social Background Variables and Delinquency, Risk Behaviour and Victimization

For further analyses eight prevalence scores/indicators were used which indicated whether students had ever performed any of the following delinquent acts:

- Vandalism – "damage on purpose something..."
- Common property offences – theft from shops or department stores
- Rare property offences – either break and enter or stealing a bicycle, scooter, car or stealing from the car or snatching a purse/bag from a person
- Common violence – either carrying a weapon or participating in a group fight
- Rare violence – either threatening somebody to get money or hurting somebody badly
- Common drug use – marijuana use
- Rare drug use – XTC, speed, LSD, heroin or coke use
- Computer offences – hacking

Tables 23.4–23.8 show differences in these eight indicators regarding a set of basic social background variables.

**Table 23.1** Last year and lifetime prevalence (in %) of deviant acts among 12–15 years old students in Slovenia by city size

Deviant act	City size					
	Large city		Medium and small-sized cities		All cities	
	Life prevalence	Last year prevalence	Life prevalence	Last year prevalence	Life prevalence	Last year prevalence
Vandalism	11	7	12	7	11	7
Theft from shops	<b>17<sup>a</sup></b>	<b>8</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>4</b>	13	5
Burglary	1	1	1	0	1	1
Stole a bicycle, moped or scooter	2	1	2	1	2	1
Stole a motorbike or car	1	1	0	0	1	0
Stole something out or from a car	3	<b>2</b>	1	<b>1</b>	2	1
Snatched a purse, bag or something else from a person	0	0	1	0	1	0
Carried a weapon	8	6	7	5	7	5
Threatened somebody with a weapon to get money	1	1	1	1	1	1
Hacking	9	7	12	9	11	8
XTC or speed use	1	0	2	0	1	0
LSD, heroin or coke use	1	0	1	0	1	0
Sold drugs	2	2	2	2	2	2

<sup>a</sup>Bold numbers denote behaviours where statistically significant differences ( $p < 0.05$ ) are found between the largest and four smaller cities

**Table 23.2** Prevalences (in %) of selected risk behaviours among 12–15 years old students in Slovenia by city size

Risk behaviours	City size			
	Large city	Medium and small-sized cities	All cities	Significance
Stayed away from school for at least 1 day in the last year	25	24	24	–
Lifetime prevalence of getting drunk	13	15	15	–
Lifetime prevalence of marijuana use	9	7	7	*
Have friends who used drugs	28	25	26	–
Have friends who stole from a shop	41	35	37	–
Have friends who did burglary	5	4	4	–
Have friends who threatened somebody to get money	12	8	9	–
Have friends who hurt somebody badly	11	10	10	–

\*Statistical significance at the 0.05 level

Table 23.4 shows the very well known and documented finding that crime is more likely to be a male phenomenon. It holds true especially for violence, vandalism, more serious property offences and hacking. In drug use girls are, to the contrary, in this age group more active but not significantly. These findings are in line with other Slovenian studies (Dekleva and Razpotnik, 2002). An additional interesting finding is that girls keep pace with boys also in common property offences, such as shoplifting.

Table 23.5 shows the relations of a “classic” variable – family structure or composition with crime scores. The classical finding is also reproduced in Slovenia: in most cases of all delinquency involvement (where statistically significant differences were found) the smallest delinquency prevalence rates were found in the group of students with an unbroken family – living with own mother and father. On the other side by far the worst situation happens when children live with other people, neither with their mothers nor fathers. In

**Table 23.3** Prevalences (in %) of selected victimizations in 12–15 years old students in Slovenia by city size

Victimizations/stressful events	City size			Significance
	Large city	Medium and small-sized cities	All cities	
Been ever discriminated because of his religion or language	13	11	12	*
Been threatened with violence to give money in the last year	7	4	5	***
Been hit badly in the last year	6	6	6	–
Somebody stole something from him/her in the last year	34	27	29	***
Been bullied in the last year	28	24	25	–
Ever experienced death of a sibling	4	2	3	–
Ever experienced death of mother/father	3	4	4	–
Ever experienced death of another close one	66	66	66	–
Ever experienced death own serious illness	13	11	12	–
Ever experienced serious illness of a parent	36	35	35	–
Ever experienced parents' problems with drugs/alcohol	6	7	7	–
Ever experienced violence among parents	9	8	9	–
Ever experienced parents' divorce	20	16	17	–
Ever experienced serious accident/injury	59	59	59	–

\*Statistical significance at the 0.05 level

\*\*Statistical significance at the 0.01 level

\*\*\*Statistical significance at the 0.001 level

**Table 23.4** Life prevalences (in %) of deviant acts among 12–15 years old students in Slovenia by sex and grade

Delinquency score	Sex		Significance	Grade		Significance
	Male	Female		7th grade	9th grade	
Vandalism	15.0	8.2	**	7.7	15.6	**
Common property offences	13.9	12.8	–	7.8	19.3	*
Rare property offences	5.3	1.9	**	2.1	5.2	**
Common violent offences	23.7	7.5	**	12.0	19.3	**
Rare violent offences	5.0	1.2	**	2.1	4.2	*
Common drug use	7.6	7.8	–	3.0	12.1	**
Rare drug use	2.9	3.2	–	1.9	4.3	–
Computer offences	17.0	4.7	**	8.8	12.7	*

\*Statistical significance at the 0.01 level

\*\*Statistical significance at the 0.001 level

**Table 23.5** Life prevalences (in %) of deviant acts among 12–15 years old students in Slovenia by family structure

Delinquency score	Lives with					Significance
	Own mother and father	Part time with mother, part time with father	Either mother or father	One of the parents and his/her partner/step-parent	Other people	
Vandalism	10.3	20.3	13.4	18.9	21.1	**
Common property offences	12.3	14.5	16.0	23.1	21.1	*
Rare property offences	3.4	4.3	3.3	6.4	5.3	–
Common violent offences	14.6	20.0	17.6	18.1	36.8	*
Rare violent offences	2.5	2.9	6.3	2.1	15.8	***
Common drug use	6.4	13.0	10.3	9.0	21.1	*
Rare drug use	2.8	5.7	2.6	2.1	21.1	***
Computer offences	9.9	11.4	11.5	17.8	31.6	**

\*Statistical significance at the 0.05 level

\*\*Statistical significance at the 0.01 level

\*\*\*Statistical significance at the 0.001 level

all cases where statistically significant differences were found, the greater delinquency prevalence rates were found in this particular group of students. The three remaining family structures had an intermediate position regarding the prevalence scores. Among them, it seems that the worst situation is found in the structure “One of the parents and his/her partner/step-parent” and the best – somewhat unexpectedly – in the lone parent situation.

Two other, also classical variables, socio-economical status (measured by number of goods possessed by the family of child) and parents’ un-employment did not produce any statistically significant differences among the levels of delinquency prevalence.

On the other side, important and coherent relations were discovered between indicators of nationality and delinquency. Three such indicators were tested (Tables 23.6 and 23.7): place of birth of student, place of birth of student’s parents, language spoken at home and the students’ friends’ parents being of a foreign origin. Of possible 24 relations, 16 were statistically significant and all in the expected direction, namely that non-Slovenian attributes was related to higher delinquency rates.

In Table 23.6 it can be seen that immigrants of the first generation show higher rates on all eight delinquency

scores, while in seven the differences are also statistically significant. On an average, the prevalence rates of immigrants are about twice as big as those of the natives. The biggest ratios between the immigrants’ and natives’ prevalences can be found in rare violent offences and rare property offences. These are probably the two most serious groups of criminal acts and point to an especially big risk for children born outside Slovenia. Considering the actual Slovenian situation they are almost exclusively refugees from the Yugoslav wars of the last 15 years (and some children of rare immigrant families from the Western countries).

The other part of Table 23.6 shows the relation of parents’ place of birth, including language spoken at home, with delinquency. The differences between prevalences are unequivocally smaller than regarding students’ place of birth. The least delinquent are children of all-Slovenian families (characterized by both parents born in Slovenia and Slovenian as the home spoken language). Both other groups show a little more delinquency, with the mixed group (at least one national indicator is Slovenian, at least one is non-Slovenian) being the worst. This result points to the situation of culture mixture or conflict to be the most unfavourable regarding behaviour of the offspring.

**Table 23.6** Life time prevalences (in %) of deviant acts among 12–15 years old students in Slovenia by the place of birth of student and his/her parents (combined with the language spoken at home)

Delinquency score	Place of birth of						
	Student			Parents			
	In Slovenia	Not in Slovenia	Significance	Both in Slovenia, AND language spoken at home is Slovenian	Mixed	Neither in Slovenia AND language spoken at home is not Slovenian	Significance
Vandalism	11.1	21.0	**	10.3	14.2	14.1	*
Common property offences	12.9	24.7	**	12.9	15.6	10.3	–
Rare property offences	3.4	8.0	*	2.9	4.6	7.0	*
Common violent offences	15.0	27.6	**	13.6	18.8	24.5	***
Rare violent offences	2.8	5.7	**	2.1	5.4	4.2	***
Common drug use	7.2	12.5	–	7.1	8.6	5.3	–
Rare drug use	2.8	9.2	**	2.5	4.2	3.5	–
Computer offences	10.4	18.5	*	9.6	12.7	11.8	–

\*Statistical significance at the 0.05 level

\*\*Statistical significance at the 0.01 level

\*\*\*Statistical significance at the 0.001 level

**Table 23.7** Life time prevalence (in %) of deviant acts among 12–15 years old students in Slovenia by the part of their friends' parents being of a foreign origin

Delinquency score	Parents of their friends are of a foreign origin		Significance
	None or some	Many or all	
Vandalism	10.2	15.6	***
Common property offences	13.4	13.7	–
Rare property offences	2.8	5.9	**
Common violent offences	13.0	22.6	***
Rare violent offences	2.1	5.9	***
Common drug use	7.2	8.1	–
Rare drug use	2.8	3.4	–
Computer offences	9.9	13.0	*

\*Statistical significance at the 0.05 level

\*\*Statistical significance at the 0.01 level

\*\*\*Statistical significance at the 0.001 level

Again, the biggest ratios between the prevalences of different kinds of families regarding the place of birth of parents can be found in rare violent offences and rare property offences.

Table 23.7 presents similar insight, this time focused on students' perceptions of origin of their friends' parents. Again in cases of all kinds of delinquency higher prevalence rates were found when bigger proportions of friends' parents were of foreign origin. Only five of eight differences are statistically significant, with rare violent offences and rare property offences as those, where the biggest ratios are found.

### 23.5 Other Correlates of Delinquency

In this chapter some other correlates of delinquent behaviour will be analyzed, mostly those related to basic socializing and control agents like family, school, peers and local community. Table 23.8 show correlations between the eight delinquency scores and a composite variable which measures attachment to parents. It is constructed as a factor score of factor analysis of four questions asking about getting along with mother and father, frequency of doing things together with parents and frequency of having dinner together with parents. All correlations are significant at 0.01 level and prove that positive attachment to parents is related to less delinquency of all kinds (including hacking).

**Table 23.8** Correlations between eight delinquency scores and attachment to parents among 12–15 years old students in Slovenia

Delinquency score	Pearson <i>r</i>	Significance
Vandalism	–0.188	*
Common property offences	–0.220	*
Rare property offences	–0.104	*
Common violent offences	–0.117	*
Rare violent offences	–0.113	*
Common drug use	–0.191	*
Rare drug use	–0.122	*
Computer offences	–0.078	*

\*Statistical significance at the 0.01 level

Table 23.9 presents correlations between the eight delinquency scores and four characteristics of students' perception of his/her school. These four variables are constructed as four factors of a factor analysis of 12 items with an OBLIMIN rotation. The four factors are saturated mainly by the following items:

- Attachment to school – by: student likes school (two items), would miss it if moved.
- Deviant phenomena in school – by: in his/her school there is a lot of stealing, fighting, vandalism and drug use.
- Negative school achievement and truancy – by: student has repeated a grade, has been truant in the last year and is less successful in the school compared to peers.
- School does not offer teacher's attention and other activities – by: teachers do not notice the student when he/she is doing well and there are no extra-curricular activities in the school.

It can be seen in the Table 23.9 that almost all obtained correlations are significant, mostly at 0.01 level of statistical error. More delinquency is related to less student's attachment to school, to more perceived deviant phenomena in school, to negative school achievement and truancy and to students' perceptions that school does not offer them teacher's attention and praise and other, extra-curricular activities.

Among the four school factors it seems that the strongest predictive power lies with the factor "deviant phenomena in school", the next is student's "negative school achievement and truancy", while the least predictive is "school does not offer them teacher's attention and praise and other, extra-curricular activities". The power of the fourth most subjective factor "likes school" lies somewhere in between. All data



**Table 23.9** Correlations between eight delinquency scores and four characteristics of students' perception of his/her school among 12–15 years old students in Slovenia

Delinquency score	School factors			
	Attachment to school	Deviant Phenomena in school	Negative school achievement and truancy	School does not offer teacher's attention and other activities
Vandalism	-0.160**	0.194**	0.117**	0.058**
Common property offences	-0.131**	0.182**	0.138**	0.097**
Rare property offences	-0.088**	0.108**	0.152**	0.058**
Common violent offences	-0.147**	0.214**	0.165**	0.064**
Rare violent offences	-0.089**	0.133**	0.082**	0.031
Common drug use	-0.130**	0.180**	0.188**	0.111**
Rare drug use	-0.090**	0.139**	0.179**	0.081**
Computer offences	-0.069**	0.152**	0.089**	0.047*

\*Statistical significance at the 0.05 level

\*\*Statistical significance at the 0.01 level

together show that “school matters” and that probably existence of deviant phenomena in schools leads to more delinquency in general.

The next field of analysis is related to peers life. Table 23.10 shows the differences in prevalence of eight kinds of delinquency in regard to students' answers to two questions: whether they have a group of friends with whom they spend time together and whether they consider this group to be a gang. At this point it should be noted that the expression gang is in Slovenia not in use very often and that there is no appropriate Slovenian translation for “gang”. The first association that would come to students minds would be probably to American gangs as presented in American movies on gangsters.

But nevertheless 79.9% of students declared that they had a group of friends with whom they spend time together and of those 25.8% claimed that they considered this group to be a gang. Table 23.10 shows that these two characteristics are both, but the latter even much more, related to delinquency in this way, that having a group of friends increases the prevalence rates by 1.55–2.64 times, while considering your group to be a gang increases the prevalence rates as much as 1.84–5.73 times. Comparing students who have a group of friends which they consider to be a gang, to students who do not have their own group of friends gives us prevalence multipliers as high as 2.35–6.31 (Table 23.11).

Data in Table 23.11 also support the explanation that having a group mostly facilitate more common

kinds of delinquency like vandalism, common drug use (marihuana) and rare drug use but also rare property offences! While considering own group of friends to be a gang is related mostly to more frequent performing of rare kinds of delinquency like (especially) rare violent offences, rare property offences and rare drug use. Taking both factors together having a gang compared to not having a group of friends heightens the probability of rare drug use and performing rare property offences. This data confirms the old finding that juvenile delinquency is a group phenomenon.

Table 23.12 relates delinquency scores to students' lifestyles. To measure those, we analyzed 15 items, of which 7 items asked about was, how much time per day a student is: doing homework, reading a book, watching TV, playing games or chatting on the computer, reading magazines or comic strips, hanging out with friends, playing sports or playing a musical instrument. Another set of eight questions asked how often students with their friends do the following: go to discos or pop concerts, play in a band, drink a lot of beer/alcohol or take drugs, smash or vandalize things just for fun, shoplift just for fun, play sports, play computer games or chat on the computer, frighten and annoy people around us just for fun.

An OBLIMIN factor analysis of these items gave us six factors which we considered to be the indicators of the following lifestyles:

**Table 23.10** Life time prevalence (in %) of delinquent acts among 12–15 years old students in Slovenia by two characteristics of peers life: having a group of friends and considering this group a gang

Delinquency score	Peers					
	Has a group of friends?		Significance	His/her group is a gang?		
	No	Yes		No	Yes	Significance
Vandalism	5.0	13.2	***	9.2	25.4	***
Common property offences	9.3	14.4	**	11.9	21.9	***
Rare property offences	1.6	4.1	**	2.1	9.9	***
Common violent offences	8.7	17.2	***	12.1	32.0	***
Rare violent offences	2.0	3.3	–	1.5	8.6	***
Common drug use	3.2	8.4	***	6.1	15.9	***
Rare drug use	1.3	3.4	*	1.8	8.2	***
Computer offences	5.9	12.0	***	9.1	20.8	***

\*Statistical significance at the 0.05 level

\*\*Statistical significance at the 0.01 level

\*\*\*Statistical significance at the 0.001 level

**Table 23.11** Multiplier factors concerning comparisons between three groups of students in Slovenia

Delinquency score	How much higher are delinquency prevalence if we compare		
	Students having their groups of friends with students without such groups	Students who consider their groups to be gangs with those who do not consider them to be gangs	Students who consider their groups to be gangs with those who do not have their own groups of friends
Vandalism	2.64	2.76	5.08
Common property offences	1.55	1.84	2.35
Rare property offences	2.56	4.71	6.19
Common violent offences	1.98	2.64	3.68
Rare violent offences	1.65	5.73	4.30
Common drug use	2.63	2.61	4.97
Rare drug use	2.62	4.56	6.31
Computer offences	2.03	2.29	3.53

**Table 23.12** Correlations between eight delinquency scores and six lifestyles of 12–15 years old students in Slovenia

Delinquency score	Lifestyle					
	Deviant	Sports	Active musical	Electronic media	School	Pop outgoing
Vandalism	0.384**	0.044*	–0.026	0.092**	–0.146**	0.187**
Common property offences	0.357**	–0.030	0.031	–0.005	–0.089**	0.112**
Rare property offences	0.280**	0.032	0.011	0.055*	–0.055*	0.107**
Common violent offences	0.310**	0.064**	0.033	0.121**	–0.150**	0.164**
Rare violent offences	0.219**	0.040	–0.034	0.091**	–0.092**	0.095**
Common drug use	0.386**	–0.058**	0.050*	–0.016	–0.157**	0.212**
Rare drug use	0.245**	–0.024	0.013	–0.033	–0.061**	0.190**
Computer offences	0.235**	0.108**	0.094**	0.149**	–0.133**	0.125**

\*Statistical significance at the 0.05 level

\*\*Statistical significance at the 0.01 level

- The deviant lifestyle was saturated by: drink a lot of beer/alcohol or take drugs, smash or vandalize things just for fun, shoplift just for fun, frighten and annoy people around us just for fun
- The sports oriented lifestyle was saturated by: playing sports (two items)
- The active musical lifestyle was saturated by: play in a band, play a musical instrument
- The electronic media oriented lifestyle was saturated by: play computer games or chat on the computer, watching TV (and to a smaller degree by hanging out with friends)
- The school oriented lifestyle was saturated by: doing homework, reading a book, reading magazines or comic strips
- The pop outgoing oriented lifestyle was saturated by: go to discos or pop concerts, drink a lot of beer/alcohol or take drugs, hanging out with friends (and to a smaller degree by reading magazines or comic strips)

Table 23.12 shows that 34 of 48 correlations are statistically significant, mostly at 0.01 level. At least three lifestyles are obviously and consistently related to delinquency. These are:

- The deviant lifestyle is the one which is the most correlated with delinquency scores. This finding comes as no surprise as both variables are logically related and measure more or less the same behaviour (although one measures individual prevalence while the other is based on answers on usual activity while hanging out with friends). This lifestyle is correlated with all eight delinquency scores, up to the value of Pearson  $r = 0.386$ . It correlates most to vandalism and common drug use.
- The second lifestyle most predictive for delinquency is pop outgoing oriented lifestyle which is also related to all eight delinquency scores, but to a smaller degree than the deviant lifestyle. The correlation coefficients go up to 0.212. In this case the content of the lifestyle is not logically related to delinquency, except in the case of drug use (where correlations are indeed the highest). It means that going to discos or pop concerts, drinking a lot of beer/alcohol or taking drugs and hanging out with friends are conducive of all kinds of delinquency.
- The third lifestyle most predictive for delinquency, albeit in a negative way, is the school oriented life-

style. It also correlates significantly with all eight kinds of delinquency scores, again most with common drug use, with a “Pearson”  $r = -0.157$ . It is difficult to be deviant if one mostly is doing homework, reading a book and reading magazines or comic strips.

- Then there are three lifestyles which are related to some kinds of delinquency but not to others. The sports oriented lifestyle is positively related to common violent offences, but negatively to drug use. It sounds logical that sports mostly encourages competitiveness, and many sports also has a behavioural set, which is congruent with some violence, while it (still?) forbids drug use.
- On the other side the active musical lifestyle correlates positively with marihuana use and computer offences (downloading music), but the coefficients are small.
- Also the electronic media oriented lifestyle correlates positively with five of eight delinquency scores but again coefficients are small. These correlations are difficult to explain.

The next field of factors concerns personality related factors which were measured by two scales. The first measured attitudes towards violence. For the five items scale a Cronbach  $\alpha = 0.708$  was obtained and a new composite variable was constructed as a sum of all five items. Table 23.13 shows that the affirmative attitude towards violence correlates positively with all eight kinds of delinquency, always at the 0.01 level. The highest coefficients are obtained with vandalism and common/rare violent offences which all need the strongest ingredient of direct and explicit violent behaviour.

The second scale for measuring the personality related factors consisted of 12 items denoting behaviours which are supposedly related to possibilities of

**Table 23.13** Correlations between eight delinquency scores and attitudes to violence of 12–15 years old students in Slovenia

Delinquency score	Pearson $r$	Significance
Vandalism	0.320	*
Common property offences	0.181	*
Rare property offences	0.144	*
Common violent offences	0.318	*
Rare violent offences	0.210	*
Common drug use	0.188	*
Rare drug use	0.172	*
Computer offences	0.197	*

\*Statistical significance at the 0.01 level

**Table 23.14** Correlations between eight delinquency scores and three factors of self-control of 12–15 years old students in Slovenia

Delinquency score	Self control factors					
	Impulsiveness	Significance	Empathy	Significance	Anger control	Significance
Vandalism	0.315	*	0.242	*	0.204	*
Common property offences	0.263	*	0.167	*	0.127	*
Rare property offences	0.137	*	0.140	*	0.109	*
Common violent offences	0.294	*	0.237	*	0.237	*
Rare violent offences	0.185	*	0.154	*	0.156	*
Common drug use	0.288	*	0.175	*	0.129	*
Rare drug use	0.211	*	0.141	*	0.104	*
Computer offences	0.221	*	0.199	*	0.089	*

\*Statistical significance at the 0.01 level

students self control and self-restraining. The VARIMAX factor analysis gave three factors which were logically interpretable:

- The first was named impulsiveness (or risk taking) and was saturated by five items like: “I like to test myself every now and then by doing something a little risk” or “Sometimes I will take a risk just for the fun of it”.
- The other was named empathy and was saturated by three items like: “I try to look out for myself first, even if it means making things difficult for other people” or “If things I do upset people, it’s their problem not mine”.
- The third was named anger control and was saturated by three items like: “I lose my temper pretty easily” or “When I’m really angry, other people better stay away from me”.

The Cronbach alphas for these sets of five, three and three items were 0.808, 0.728 and 0.700.

Table 23.14 shows that all three self control factors positively correlate with all eight delinquency scores at the level 0.01. However it seems that the contribution of the impulsiveness to the explanation of delinquency is higher than that of empathy and that the contribution of the empathy to the explanation of delinquency is higher than that of anger control. On the other side it seems that vandalism and common violent offences are two kinds of delinquency most related to factors of self control, so maybe they are most personally provoking and environment (including the peers’ context) related.

The last field of factors analyzed in this chapter is related to local community and neighbourhood. For measuring this field a set of 13 items was used and factor analyses were performed. After two items were excluded because of their too low communalities a

three-factor OBLIMIN solution was selected for further analyses. These factors were:

- The first was named good relations in the neighbourhood and was mostly saturated by five items like: “People around here are willing to help their neighbours” and “People in this neighbourhood can be trusted”.
- The other was named deviance in neighbourhood and was mostly saturated by three items like: “There is a lot of crime in my neighbourhood” and “There is a lot of drug selling”.
- The third was named attachment to neighbourhood and was mostly saturated by three items like: “If I had to move, I would miss the neighbourhood” and “I like my neighbourhood”.

Table 23.15 shows that of the three factors, only one is significantly and consistently related to eight delinquency scores and that is the factor of deviance in neighbourhood. It means that in neighbourhoods where more deviance is taking place, there live students who more often perform all kinds of delinquency. However, it is difficult to be sure of the causal links between those two variables as many competing hypotheses explaining these correlations are possible.

## 23.6 Interpretation of Results

Results of ISRD II study in Slovenia confirm (again) many elements of standard criminological and also common sense knowledge of delinquency. Delinquency is quite massive, pervasive and in some aspects almost normative behaviour of children and youngsters (teens).

**Table 23.15** Correlations between eight delinquency scores and three neighbourhood factors of 12–15 years old students in Slovenia

Delinquency score	Neighbourhood factors		
	Good relations in the neighbourhood	Deviance in neighbourhood	Attachment to neighbourhood
Vandalism	-0.046*	0.227**	0.003
Common property offences	-0.053*	0.188**	0.061**
Rare property offences	-0.024	0.165**	0.008
Common violent offences	-0.004	0.253**	0.039
Rare violent offences	-0.056*	0.208**	0.022
Common drug use	-0.061**	0.247**	0.072**
Rare drug use	-0.060**	0.195**	0.031
Computer offences	0.033	0.180**	0.017

\*Statistical significance at the 0.05 level

\*\*Statistical significance at the 0.01 level

Among Slovenian 12–15 years old students the most frequent deviant behaviours (among the studied ones) are vandalism, thefts and hacking, which was in Slovenia for the first time ever included in a self-report study of this size. Although it was known that drug use had emerged in the last 2 decades as an element of mass youth cultures, it is a little bit surprising to learn that almost as many seventh grade students have used marijuana as they have got drunk.

Regarding other kinds of delinquency the available data from other Slovenian studies (which are however comparable to this one only in a limited way) show that delinquency rates have not changed much in the last 2 decades or more. Another new finding for Slovenia is that there are almost no differences among prevalence rates between the capital and four smaller cities. Although such a finding has been confirmed before regarding drug and alcohol use it has not been confirmed before regarding more conventional crime acts. Our interpretation of these small differences points to the fact that Slovenia is small, that all five analyzed cities are relatively small (compared to large cities in other countries) and that in Slovenia – because of the rather polycentric economical and social development – there is not so much cultural and economical difference between cities and rural parts.

Data on victimization show that about one fourth of students experience in one year a theft and the same proportion of them are bullied. Among them boys are much more often victimised. In another study in 2001 (Dekleva and Razpotnik, 2002) it was found that 50% of 15 years old boys experienced in 2 years at least one victimisation as do 28% of girls.

Boys are convincingly more delinquent than girls, except when drug use is concerned, and also in small thefts girls at this age are keeping up with boys. This is probably so because of girls' earlier social maturing. On the other hand sex plays its strongest role in violence, where boys are much more active than girls.

Again, it was found that the two (biological) parents' family is privileged over other forms of families with regard to protection against delinquency. Furthermore, kids who live in families with at least one biological parent are better in this regard than those living with other people.

One of the most consistent finding is that a very similar effect size comparable to that of sex, age (2 years difference, from average 12.48 to 14.49) or family structure (both biological parents vs. all others) can be found regarding national origin or immigration status. Immigrants of first and second generation show more self-reported delinquency, up to two times more (in some kinds of delinquent acts).

Other students' characteristics which are usually dealt with under the headings of control theory, individual "pathology" theories or lifestyle theory also almost unequivocally showed correlations with delinquency in the expected direction. The correlations of the majority of these characteristics (individual, family, school, neighbourhood, lifestyle) with different kinds of delinquency were in the range from 0.00 to 0.20, in some cases up to 0.25 and only in some very rare cases up to 0.30 or slightly above.

To make an overview of characteristics which correlated with delinquency, Table 23.16 was designed. The correlations are calculated as averages of eight

**Table 23.16** Characteristics which correlated (in average) most with the eight delinquency scores

Characteristic/predictor	Average Pearson correlation
Deviant lifestyle	0.30
Impulsiveness	0.24
Attitudes to violence	0.22
Deviance in neighbourhood	0.21
Empathy	0.18
Consider his/her group to be a gang	0.17
Deviant phenomena in school	0.16
Pop outgoing lifestyle	0.15
Negative school achievement and truancy	0.14
Anger control	0.14
Attachment to parents	0.14
Attachment to school	0.11
School oriented lifestyle	0.11

correlations between a characteristic and eight kinds of delinquency (cautioning that such averaging may be misleading since kinds of delinquency might have different correlates). In this table only characteristics which reached an average correlation over 0.10 are listed.

On the top of list in Table 23.16 is deviant lifestyle. High correlation of this characteristic with delinquency is logical as both variables were obtained by asking very similar questions. Among other characteristics there are four person-related, two lifestyle-oriented, three school-oriented, one neighbourhood-oriented and one family-oriented. All other characteristics analyzed in this chapter have not reached the average correlation 0.10. This last statement also embraces nationality and immigrant status, family structure and also sex. The variables in Table 23.16 could be taken as descriptors of (also) the causal field of juvenile delinquency

(with all the limitations connected with only univariate analyses which were done and described in this chapter).

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## Chapter 24

# Bosnia and Herzegovina

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### 24.1 Introduction

Bosnia and Herzegovina was internationally recognised on 6 April 1992 when it regained its independence within its administrative borders. The country is situated in the western part of the Balkan Peninsula, and it is bordered by Serbia and Montenegro to the east and southeast and the Republic Croatia to the north, west and south. Bosnia and Herzegovina has a total area of 51,209 km<sup>2</sup>, land area 51,197 km<sup>2</sup> and 12.2 km<sup>2</sup> of sea.

The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which broke out in April 1992, had enormous consequences for the demographic picture of Bosnia and Herzegovina. A total of 2,200,000 persons were moved from their homes, which makes up over 55% of pre-war domestic population. Out of that number, some 1.2 million persons sought refugee protection in over 100 countries around the world, while at the same time, about a million persons were displaced within Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the period from 1992 to 1995, some 1,200,000 refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina were counted in the reception countries. Industrial production during the war reached only 5% of pre-war production. Towns, city complexes, office spaces, religious buildings, infrastructure facilities and devices, lines of communications, parks, capital goods, and other aspects of the culture were destroyed. Some 80% of the population lived on humanitarian aid. More than one-third of housing stock in Bosnia and Herzegovina was destroyed, out of which 18% of housing units were completely destroyed.

One of the consequences of the war and complicated political situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina was that there was no census after 1991. This created a problem for the development of real social and economic progress in the country. Since there are no official statistical data in Bosnia and Herzegovina, basic sources that have been used in this report are *The Living Standards Measurements Study Survey (LSMS) Bosnia and Herzegovina, Fall, 2001*, by the three statistical organisations in the country (State Agency for Statistics for BiH, the Republic Srpska Institute of Statistics and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina Institute of Statistics) and *Bosnia and Herzegovina Human Development Report/Millennium Development Goals 2003*, by UNDP Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The estimated population of Bosnia and Herzegovina is about 3.8 million, 51.64% are female and 48.36% male. The ethnic composition is 48.3% Bosniaks, 34.0% Serbs, 15.4% Croats and 2.3% other ethnic groups. A little over 18% of the population are between 0 and 14 years of age; 68% is between 15 and 64, and 13.6% is over 65 years. The average life expectancy is 73. There were 21,193 weddings in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2006, a slight decrease of about 2.5%, compared to the same period of 2005. In the same period, the number of divorces was 1,246 (a decrease of 29.3% in the number of divorces compared to 2005). Unfortunately, we have no data about the percentage of single parent families.

The youth literacy rate, or the percent of people aged 15–24 who are literate, is 99.7% for males and 99.8% for females. The population enrolment rate by the level of education for primary education is 98% for males, 96% for females; for secondary education, it is 56.3% for males and 57.5% for females. In higher education, the difference favours females: 21.3% of females in the appropriate age group are enrolled in

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higher education, and 18.4% of the males. A total of 633,860 employed persons were registered at the end of 2001, with 75% employed in industry and 25% in the public sector. Registered unemployment in Bosnia and Herzegovina is 421,198 persons. The narrowly defined unemployment rate is 28.1%, but the overall unemployment rate, considering laid off workers and workers not receiving salary regularly, is much higher, around 43.6%.

After the war-related human and material losses and 7 years of reconstruction and recovery with broad international support, the country is still at a lower level of development compared to earlier periods. In economic terms, the current GDP is \$1,263 per capita – around 50% of the 1990 level. According to the latest data, around 20% of the population live below the general poverty line, while approximately 40% of the population live in insecure economic conditions, on the edge of existence.<sup>1</sup>

There are no data on the percentage of mothers in paid employment, systematic or unique measures of alcohol and drug policy, or the presence of youth culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

## 24.2 Study Design

### 24.2.1 Sampling Method and Achieved Sample

Self-report studies of delinquency are to be seen as an addition to other sources of information on crime. The aim of these surveys is to gather more accurate data on delinquency, especially on crime that most frequently is not reported to police. When the self-report study method is to be applied, there are two important steps to be made: to decide about the target population, and to create a proper sample. As for the first step, the target population within the ISRD2<sup>2</sup> project was youth attending final classes of compulsory education.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, those were pupils of the seventh and eighth grade in primary schools. For the second step, the ISRD2 sampling protocol provided two options for sampling design: city-based sampling or national-based sampling. The research team decided on national-based sampling. The respondents of our sample were chosen through a two-step sample design.

Considering Bosnia–Herzegovina’s administrative structure, with the country being divided into two entities and a district, our research team asked the permission for the ISRD2 study from three authorised ministries of education (Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Republic of Srpska and District Brčko). After these ministries were approached, we had to ask the cantonal ministries of education separately for permission, although the cantonal ministry is within the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (10 Cantons in FBH). In addition, for the purpose of applying an adequate “national-based sampling” frame, we requested the relevant authorities to provide us with lists of all primary schools. The three education ministries provided us with the lists of all public primary schools; in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina there were 386 schools, in the Republic of Srpska 170 and in the Brčko District 12 schools. The official list (so-called “entity list”) of all primary schools, that we received from the ministries listed all schools in an alphabetical order.

Estimating that an average primary school class in Bosnia and Herzegovina consists of 30 pupils, we decided to sample a total of 37 schools. With such methodological approach, we expected our sample to include 2,220 pupils. After applying a table of random numbers, we selected a sample of 20 schools in the Federation B&H, 15 in the Republic of Srpska and 2 in the Brčko District. Owing to the fact that we had sampled schools from all parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, we had to secure consent of a total of 13 ministries of education, namely, the education ministries of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Srpska, the Brčko District of Bosnia and Herzegovina

<sup>1</sup>The United Nations Development Programme (2003, 15).

<sup>2</sup>The second round of International Self-Report Delinquency study (ISRD2) is the very first self-report delinquency study ever conducted in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It has been conducted by the research team of the Faculty of Criminal Justice Sciences, University of Sarajevo and funded by the Swiss Department of Foreign Affairs, with the cooperation of Prof. Dr Martin Killias,

University of Lausanne. It is the first international criminological research after the war in Bosnia, and it is the very first attempt to collect the data on juvenile delinquency from the whole country and without any political influence. The main goals of the research are to evaluate the nature and dynamics of juvenile delinquency in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to attempt to evaluate its dark figure.

and the education ministries of the ten cantons of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Once we were granted permission for the research by all the respective ministries, we directly contacted all 37 schools to set up the dates of visits and other organisational and administrative elements of the research. After being presented with authorisation from the relevant ministry, all schools agreed without hesitation to participate in the research. In some of the schools, we randomly selected classes on the spot, while in others, which did not approve of the above approach, we requested the total number of seventh and eighth grade classes and then randomly selected one class from each group. Only after this step was completed, did we schedule the time to visit the selected classes.

In the end, the total sample included 1,756 pupils of seventh and eighth grade classes. It is important to note that the number of pupils who were absent during the survey was insignificant, so there was no need for repeated visits to selected classes. In about 30% of classes, teachers were present during the survey, while the survey in other classes was conducted without the teachers' attendance. In each class, the survey lasted for 45 min (one school hour). Please note that the survey has been conducted in public schools since the number of private schools is so low as to be insignificant (see Sect. 24.2.4).

### **24.2.2 Survey Instrument: Problems and Possible Adaptations**

Our research team used a paper-and-pencil questionnaire method in the classrooms. We had to translate the questionnaire into three official languages in Bosnia and Herzegovina, namely Bosnian, Serbian and Croatian and to provide it in two letters, namely Cyrillic and Latin. Questionnaires were translated by national participants and then reversely translated by an official interpreter.

Several issues prompted short discussions before the questionnaires were ready to be used. The Bosnian team, after having a spirited debate, decided to introduce only one minor change. Namely, in Q 59.1 (on downloading), we introduced a third possible answer "I do not know". We were of the opinion that this answer was necessary here so that we do not push those who would not know if downloading is illegal or

not to say either "Yes" or "No". By doing this, we ensured that the number of those who would avoid answering this question is lower and that our "Yes" and "No" were cleaned of those who "do not know". We hope that, by taking this approach, we have much a better picture of the number of kids downloading things and knowing it is illegal. At the end, we have to conclude that there were no language problems and all the items have been included in the questionnaire and there were no questions added to the questionnaire.

### **24.2.3 Survey Administration and Data Collection**

#### **24.2.3.1 Administration**

Fieldwork was carried out by the research team of the Faculty of Criminal Justice Sciences, University of Sarajevo. Owing to time constraints, as well as to a very tight budget, we were forced to involve our students of the eighth semester who already passed their exams on "Methodology and Criminology". In any case, the survey was administrated by trained interviewers (BH team trained the students). It should, however, be noted that at least one BH team member (i.e. Budimlic, Maljevic, Muratbegovic) was present in every class.

There was no need for parental consent to conduct the fieldwork, but – as mentioned above – we required consent from the ministries of education. We held interviewer briefings and training sessions before the fieldwork which included general remarks on the ISRD2 project. The main focus of the training was the presentation of all three questionnaires (students' and teachers' questionnaires and the interviewer form). In order to ensure a uniform approach to the fieldwork, emphasis was put on the issues of presentation of the project to the pupils, notes about anonymity, instructions related to the completion of the questionnaire and, especially, pointing out some items contained in the questionnaires that, as we expected, could raise some questions (e.g. Q 3, Q 15, Q 27 and Q 48, which were found to be problematic in the pilot study – see ISRD2 questionnaire). We also pointed out the importance of the project for Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to motivate pupils to take part in the survey. We commented on the need

for objectivity and creativity while completing the teacher questionnaire, and we stressed the importance of the preciseness and validity of the responses on the student questionnaires.

Naturally, we made a detailed plan of fieldwork management and all fieldwork activities, which included information about date, time, interviewers, schools and classes. After each class had completed the questionnaires we checked if all of the interviewers administrated the survey in the same way. As the preparatory work was carried out very carefully, no problems emerged in the course of the administration of the survey. We administered the survey ourselves, with the assistance of trained interviewers, so there was no need for any additional supervision or quality control.

### 24.2.3.2 Data Collection

After permission was obtained from all of the ministries of education, and the sampling was completed we contacted schools by fax, sending them the permission of their respective ministry, basic information about the ISRD2 and informed them that we would contact them via phone to arrange the date for the administration of the survey in that particular school. These were arranged with either a manager or with a pedagogue of the school. Upon arrival at each school we would always go and meet the responsible person to inform them of our presence in the school and we would then proceed with the administration of the survey. We also delivered teacher questionnaires to the responsible teachers and collected them after they were completed. In some cases, teachers were present during the administration of the survey, but most of the time they were absent (out of the class). The fieldwork started on 22 November 2005 and was finished on 17 May 2006. We approached 37 schools and all of them did participate.

The only serious problem we experienced was in obtaining the permission for the survey from the Ministry of Education and Culture of Government of Republic of Srpska to conduct fieldwork in schools in this entity of Bosnia and Herzegovina. As we could not overcome the problem ourselves, we asked for intervention from the University of Lausanne and Swiss cooperation office in Sarajevo. Once they contacted the respective ministry, we got the permission on the

24 February 2006, and thereafter we started the survey in that part of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The budget was extremely limited, so we did not exercise the call-back procedure.

Although we had never used the EPI data entry procedure, with the excellent assistance of Dr. Enzmann of the ISRD-2 Steering Committee, we did not have any crucial problems with the data entry. All the questionnaires were entered by two persons. Once the data entry procedure was complete, these two persons met and discussed the data entry once more. As two or three issues emerged, both of them checked all their questionnaires and made sure that the data were entered consistently. In addition, they randomly selected a certain number of questionnaires and checked if the data were entered correctly. The Bosnian research team did not apply any data weighting procedures.

### 24.2.4 Response Rates and Characteristics of Non-response

The response rate from the schools was 100%, as we had permissions from all the respective ministries of education. All of the schools from our sample participated in the survey without asking any questions. We did not need parental consent, and finally, response rates from the students<sup>3</sup> was

- Based on students actually in attendance (96.4%)
- Based on students in classes participating (90.6%)
- Based on sample planned (76.3%)

## 24.3 Sample Characteristics

### 24.3.1 Gender

The population of pupils who provided information about their gender ( $N = 1,753$ ) shows a very slight over-representation of males (50.5%). Such distribution

<sup>3</sup>Sample planned ( $n = 2,220$ ), Students actually present ( $n = 1,757$ ), Students absent ( $n = 112$ ), Students refusing to participate ( $n = 1$ ), Students completing the questionnaire ( $n = 1,756$ ), Useful questionnaires ( $n = 1,694$ ).

does not differ significantly from the total gender distribution of the Bosnia and Herzegovina's population. According to the Bosnia and Herzegovina Human Development Report estimation from 2003, 51.6% of the Bosnia and Herzegovina population were women. However, there are some estimations according to which, among the citizens aged 14 or less, 49.7% are boys.

Some of the respondents ( $N = 3$ ) did not report their gender or gave an ambiguous answer. The researchers noted that a certain number of students were not able to answer to this question because of the fact that they were mentally handicapped. Later on, researchers were informed by teachers that the educational system in Bosnia and Herzegovina is trying to integrate these pupils with their peers in order to increase their chance for intellectual development.

### 24.3.2 Age

As assumed in the planning stages of the research, the population of pupils in the Bosnia and Herzegovina's sample ( $N = 1,756$ ) was dominated by children in the age range between 13 and 14 years old. The above population makes up 80.3% of the total number of surveyed pupils who provided information about their age. Fourteen year-old children were the most numerous age group ( $N = 794$  or 45.3%), as could have been expected because that is the most common age in the population of pupils in the last two grades of primary schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Cross-tabulation shows that most 14-year-old pupils were in the final year of their primary education, which can be explained by the fact that the children in Bosnia and Herzegovina are enrolled in primary school after turning six (it is allowed and often happens that children of 5.5 years of age are accepted in school) for which reason most of them are 14-years-old when reaching the final year of primary school. As for other age groups, the group of 12-year-old and younger pupils that makes up 2.3% of the sample stands out, which is also explained by the early enrolment in primary schools of the children in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Table 24.1).

**Table 24.1** Age distribution of B–H sample

	Frequency	Per cent	Valid per cent	Cumulative per cent
12 and younger	40	2.3	2.3	2.3
13	613	34.9	35.0	37.3
14	794	45.2	45.3	82.6
15 and older	305	17.4	17.4	100.0
Total	1,752	99.8	100.0	
Missing	4	0.2		
Total	1,756	100.0		

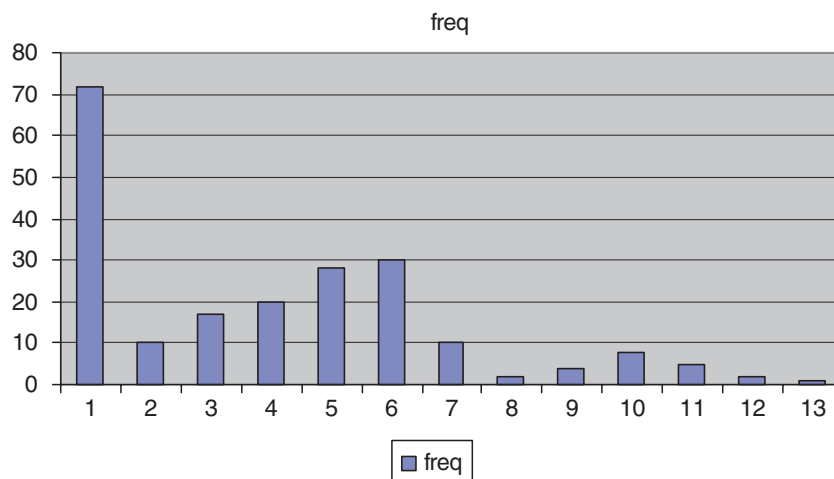
### 24.3.3 Migration

By analysing the responses about the country of birth of surveyed pupils, we established that 86.7% of pupils who responded to this question ( $N = 1,750$ ) had been born in Bosnia and Herzegovina while 13.3% of surveyed children reported being born in another country. This result did not match our expectations considering the migration and major demographic changes due to the 1990s wars in Bosnia and Herzegovina and other countries of the former Yugoslavia. The surveyed population included pupils born in early 1990s, that is mainly in the 1991–1995 period, at which time brutal war had been raging in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In spite of the above circumstances, an unexpectedly high percentage of children born in Bosnia and Herzegovina were found in the sample, which could be explained by a relatively low return rate of refugees and displaced persons or the age structure of the returnees.

Serbia (including Kosovo), Montenegro, Croatia and Germany stand out as the most frequently mentioned other countries of birth having been listed by 195 (83.6%) of surveyed pupils who reported not having been born in Bosnia and Herzegovina. One of the most significant reasons for such a picture might be that the above countries had been affected by war and/or had accepted a large number of refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina during the conflict. Data from the Study on Human Development of Bosnia and Herzegovina shows that 67% of all war-time refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina had found sanctuary in the above four countries. It is also important to mention that the refugee return to Bosnia and Herzegovina over the past 10 years has been the greatest from these countries.

As for the age of the pupils who were not born in Bosnia and Herzegovina, most (70%) of them moved to the country before starting with primary school, that is, before they turned 6 years of age (Fig. 24.1). This





**Fig. 24.1** Age of migration of students in B-H sample

indicates that the settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina had, in most cases, taken place in the 1992–2000 periods, that is, during or in 5 years after the armed conflict. It is our assumption that these migrations were due to the war.

### 24.3.4 Family Composition

During the ISRD2 research, special attention had been given to the respondents' family structure, because family is the social group that bears responsibility for the primary socialisation of young people which is the key to shaping and forming of a personality. Information received by us shows that 83.3% of surveyed pupils who responded to the related questions ( $N = 1,739$ ) live in families with both parents. Therefore, about 16% of respondents live in families which traditionally are seen as deficient, most of them (9.5% or 165) only with mothers. Such situation can be explained by the fact that countless children in Bosnia and Herzegovina have lost their fathers to the war since fathers, as part of the country's male population, had been directly involved in the war. It can also be due the fact that children more commonly stay with mothers than fathers in cases of separation and divorce (Fig. 24.2).

However, information obtained on the family situation shows that a large share of surveyed pupils live in "stable" families at least in terms of having both

parents. This most certainly does not exclude the likelihood of negative influence on children of such complete families in cases when they are out of balance and harmony. To support this above claim, we mention that Bosnia and Herzegovina's society strongly maintains some traditional patriarchal models of behaviour that are likely to have a significant impact on women. Thus, women rarely decide to separate from their spouses even when their marital relationships are disturbed and dysfunctional. The quality of inter-family relationship and their impact on children's behaviour will be given special attention further on.

### 24.3.5 (Un)Employment

As many as 77% of surveyed pupils who responded to the relevant question ( $N = 1,590$ ) said that their fathers had stable jobs. Frequent negative responses to this question included fathers having occasional jobs (10.4%), or being unable to find employment (6.7%). A significant number of respondents from within the entire sample reported fathers not being present in the family (6.6% or  $N = 116$ ).

As many as 49.4% of surveyed pupils who responded to the relevant question ( $N = 1,689$ ) said that their mothers did not have a permanent jobs or self-employment. A high percentage, or 29% of respondents, explained that their mothers did not work because they are housewives, which is the traditional role of women in our



society. Inability to find a job was another significant reason for unemployment of mothers having been reported by 12.8% of respondents (Fig. 24.3).

### 24.3.6 Socio-economic Status

Information about employment status of parents, as well as some symbolic but highly illustrative indicators of the living standard, has been selected for the assessment of respondent's economic status. We have used the information about whether or not they have their own room, access to a computer, personal mobile phone and vehicles possessed by their families. On this set of questions, we find a high level of responding;

over 99% of respondents provide answers to these questions (Fig. 24.4).

Pupils who reported having their own rooms at home account for 78.3% of the respondents who provided an answer to the relevant question ( $N = 1,745$ ). Still, a significant number of respondents (21.7%) reported sharing room with another family member, which affects the quality of their life and directly their behaviour. Analyses of responses about access to a computer revealed what we consider to be a surprisingly high computer availability with 63.2% of surveyed pupils, who provided answer on this question ( $N = 1,749$ ), reporting having access to one. We find the above finding to be surprising considering the low economic standard in our country.

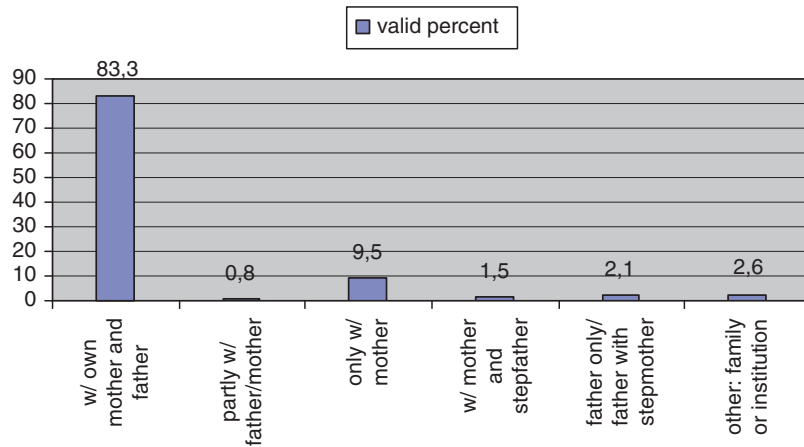


Fig. 24.2 Family composition of B-H sample

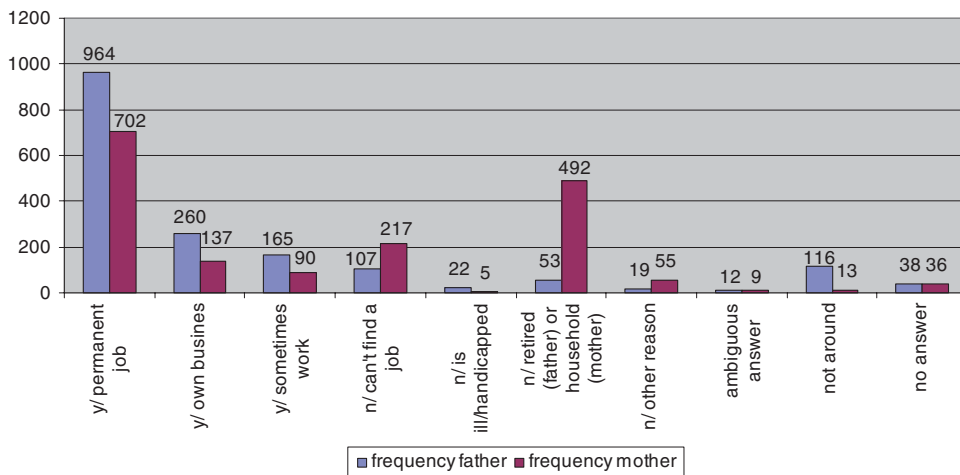
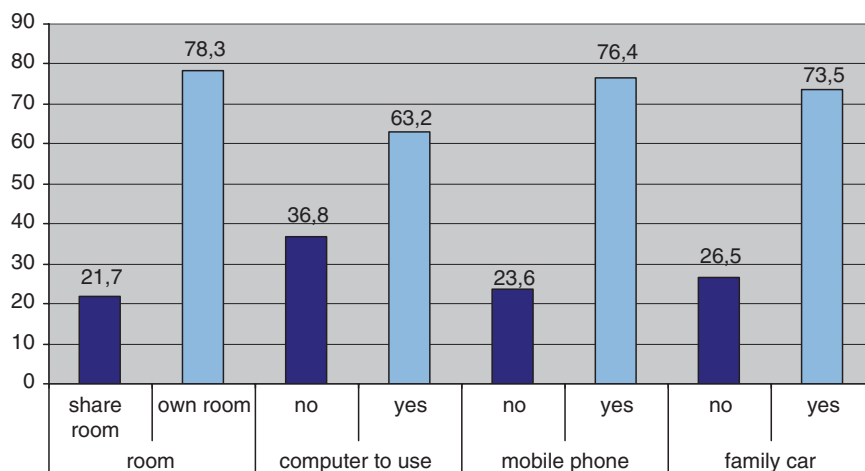


Fig. 24.3 Employment status of father and mother of B-H sample



**Fig. 24.4** Socio-economic status of sample

As many as 76.4% of respondents reported having their own mobile phone. In societies such as ours, burned by numerous socio-pathological phenomena and a relatively high rate of crime, there is an increased need for better social control and one might say that mobile phones are important instruments for parents, enabling them to have information about the whereabouts of their children at any given moment. Besides, it is also important to mention the growing trend of mobile phone use in Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to the World Bank sources, 274 in 1,000 of Bosnia and Herzegovina's residents were using mobile phones in 2004, a number that is higher than that of registered landline users. Just for comparison, we mention that in the year 2000, only 25 of 1,000 Bosnia and Herzegovina's residents had been using mobile phones.

A specific question aimed at obtaining a more complete picture of the respondent's financial situation related to family car ownership. Once again, gathered information was apparently surprising since as many as 73.5% of surveyed pupils who responded to this question ( $N = 1,753$ ) said that their family possessed a personal vehicle. However, we believe that this information is not a reliable indicator of the material status of surveyed pupils' families as we are lacking the information about the real value of owned cars. It is a well known fact that Bosnia and Herzegovina have been flooded after the war by used vehicles imported from Western Europe, which are often older than 15 years. Value of these vehicles is certainly not high for which reason we believe that this question does not provide complete insight in the

material status of Bosnia and Herzegovina's residents, in general, and families of surveyed pupils, in particular.

## 24.4 Victimization

Although the study we conducted was by definition a self-reported delinquency study, we included in the first part of the questionnaire a set of questions that would allow us to measure the respondents' victimisation rates. Following the presumption about most likely forms of juvenile victimisation, we asked whether the respondents had been a victim of robbery/extortion, assault, theft or bullying.

The initial conclusion that can be drawn from the data presented in Table 24.2 is that the juveniles in Bosnia and Herzegovina are most frequently victimised through thefts. According to the data collected, almost one-fifth of all respondents had things stolen from them in the course of the last year. One out of twenty of our respondents were victims of an assault or of bullying and only just over 7% of respondents were victims of robbery/extortion.

Looking at the gender distribution (not shown), it can be said that males are more frequently victimised. The vast majority of the victims of robbery/extortion (84.2%) and assault (72.5%) were males. Females, on the other hand, although still less likely to be a victim than males, are somewhat more likely to be victimised by theft (42.7%) and bullying (44.4%) than by extortion or assault.

**Table 24.2** Last year prevalence of victimisation and reporting to police

	Victimisation		Reporting to police <sup>a</sup> %
	%	% Missing	
Robbery/extortion	7.1	8.3	20.0
Assault	5.0	9.7	22.2
Theft	17.5	8.4	17.7
Bullying	5.1	10.4	11.9

*N* = 1,756, unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Percentage based on number of victims; no answer: no reporting assumed

Taking only the victims into account, it is interesting to see to what extent these victimisations are reported to police in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As Table 24.2 shows, victims of an assault are most likely, whereas victims of bullying are least likely, to report an event to police forces. In any case, with the exception of bullying, the data indicate that the police found out about roughly one-fifth of all victimisations that juveniles experienced in the course of last year. The remaining four-fifths, however, contribute to the dark figure of crime.

## 24.5 Risk Behaviour: Alcohol and Drug use, and Truancy

The results of the analysis of substance (alcohol and drugs) abuse are presented in this section of the chapter.

It is quite obvious from Table 24.3 that, with the exception of beer and wine, and spirits to some extent, substance abuse is not such a big problem in Bosnia and Herzegovina. About 4 of 10 juveniles (41%) reported to having consumed beer or wine in their lifetime and only 15.1% of juveniles who responded to this question reported to have consumed spirits such as cognac, rakia or vodka.<sup>4</sup>

Drugs, such as ecstasy, LSD, heroin or cocaine are abused by such a small number of juveniles (0.3%) that we can surely say that these substances are being abused in exceptional cases. Hashish is the only drug for which it can be said that some (very small) portion

<sup>4</sup>The original version of the ISRD2 questionnaire contained gin, rum, wodka or whiskey as examples for spirits but we in Bosnia and Herzegovina translated into cognac, rakia and wodka as examples of spirits that juveniles in Bosnia would drink.

**Table 24.3** Lifetime and last month prevalences of alcohol and soft-drug use

	Lifetime		Last month	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Beer/wine	41.1	2.7	11.3	3.6
Strong spirits	15.1	2.5	3.0	2.7
Marijuana, hashish use	1.5	3.4	0.7	3.4

*N* = 1,756, unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

of the juvenile population is using on a regular basis: 1.5% reported that they had used, at least once in life, marijuana or hashish, and 0.7% reported that they had used marijuana or hashish last month. Interestingly, more juveniles, although still very small numbers, are reporting to have been involved in drug dealing rather than using LSD, heroin or cocaine. Most probably, these juveniles have been dealing marijuana or ecstasy (0.4%). When asked about how often they used and abused drugs, students said that they had not used hashish more than three times and had never dealt with drugs more than twice.

Juveniles start using substances at a very early stage of life. Even if we ignore the data on the abuse of LSD, heroin or cocaine, as well as drug dealing because the number of juveniles is too small to draw any valid conclusion, it seems that juveniles in our country are starting to use marijuana as soon as they are in the sixth grade of the primary school. In terms of gender, it should be noted that both girls and boys are involved in drug use.

Table 24.4 (below) shows data on the so-called risk behaviour, which includes the already-discussed alcohol and drug use as well as skipping school (i.e. truancy). The data show that only a very small proportion of the sample (4.9%) reported risk behaviour over the last month.

## 24.6 Self-reported Delinquency

We asked if the respondents had committed some of the following delinquent acts: participating in group fight, carrying a weapon, beating someone (assault), snatching of bag, robbery/extortion, vandalism, shoplifting, theft of bicycle/motor bike, car break, burglary, car theft, computer hacking, drug dealing and use of drugs. Table 24.5 shows that group fights, carrying a

**Table 24.4** Lifetime and last month prevalences of risk factors

	Life-time		Last month <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Alcohol total <sup>b</sup>	41.6	1.6	11.6	1.8
Marijuana, hashish use	1.5	3.4	0.7	3.4
Truancy	–	–	21.4	1.0
Two risk factors present	–	–	4.9	1.6

*N* = 1,756, unweighted data; prevalence based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Truancy: last month prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Beer/wine and strong spirits

weapon, shoplifting and vandalism are the most frequently reported offences. Downloading has a high frequency, but – in retrospect – this question is considered not a valid measure of illegal behaviour.

Official police and judicial statistics in Bosnia and Herzegovina reveal relatively high rates of property-related as well as other crime. However, we are of the opinion that the rates of unreported crimes are even higher, and that within those unreported offences violent crime doubtlessly has a large share. Violence, as an objective indicator of the state's failure to control deviant behaviour, is a difficult burden for the development of Bosnia and Herzegovina's civil society. For the needs of this study, we have used a number of questions relevant for the approximation of violence among seventh and eighth grade pupils in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The violent delinquent behaviours we focused on are vandalism (i.e. violence against property), carrying a weapon, group fights and assault.

For the purpose of this study weapons include: stick, knife or chain but not a pocket knife, while assault includes injuries with a stick or knife. Group fights include group fight on the school playground, at football stadiums, in streets and in any other public places. Vandalism includes intentional damage to something, such as a bus shelter, a window, a car or a seat on the bus or train.

On the basis of the data about prevalence and incidence of group fights, it seems plausible to conclude that group fights are a part of primary school children's culture and possibly the result of rivalry. Some possible reasons for group fights could range from "membership in different football fan groups" to "generation rebellion" as such. When asked about group fighting, 81.7% of the respondent said they "never had been involved in anything like that", and 86.6% of the respondents "did

not do that in last year". That means every sixth student participated in a group fight, while 2.1% of them injured someone lightly or seriously so that the person with inflicted injuries had to seek medical assistance.

As for the weapons, 5.4% students reported having carried a weapon (2.6% during the last year), and about vandalism, 8.5% of the respondents said they have been involved in vandal acts (2.7% during the last 12 months). Looking at the gender distribution, it can be said that males are more frequently involved in vandalism than females (61% of those who responded positive to this question).

Although the "self-report" method in the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina's social environment is likely to reveal a number of young persons who exaggerate ("machismo") their involvement in violent delinquency, there are also those respondents, usually pre-delinquents, who have a chronic fear that they will be discovered and are thus refusing to respond to such questions. Having said this, and acknowledging the possibility of reliability and validity issues in the responses that we got, it does seem that juveniles in BH are, to a certain extent, involved in violent delinquency. It seems quite striking that one out of ten juveniles vandalised some property, one out of twenty is carrying a weapon, and as much as one out of six participated in some group fight.

Carrying some kind of weapon is a problem which is probably present among primary school children throughout the world. There are even grounds for a hypothetical conclusion that there are no differences with regard to this problem between developed and undeveloped countries, cities and communities. In the course of discussions with pedagogues in primary and secondary schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina, nowadays one can hear very troubling statements such as "children carry knives in their schoolbags", "some of them have hand grenades", "they carry screwdrivers and exchange threats", and so on. Such situations are so common that parents are not only worried about the quality of education but also about the safety of their children in schools. Having all these figures in mind, it seems surprising that only 2.1% of our respondents did injure someone to such a degree that the person had to seek some medical assistance. However, it should not be forgotten that there might be cases where an injured person did seek some medical assistance but the juvenile delinquent who caused the injuries never found out about it.

In the group of respondents from our sample who committed acts of vandalism on public property, 26.3% did it “alone”, 8% “with adults”, and as much as 65.7% “with other kids”. In other words, only one-quarter of all reported vandalism cases have been done by a single individual. In all other cases, it was done in association with either peers or adults. We will come back to the issue of group delinquency in a later section of this chapter.

We asked juveniles to report separately on their delinquent behaviour related to the following property offences: shoplifting, burglaries, bicycle thefts, car thefts, car burglaries (i.e. stealing from a car), pickpocketing and robberies. Lifetime prevalence rates for all forms of property-related juvenile delinquency in Bosnia and Herzegovina are presented in Table 24.5. Several observations can be made based on the information collected. First, considering the data on victimisation (see Table 24.2 above) as well as the data on juveniles reporting delinquency of their friends, juveniles in Bosnia and Herzegovina are, with the exception of shoplifting, quite rarely committing or reporting to have committed the property offences we asked them about. It appears that the only property-related delinquent behaviour that happens to involve more than just a few juveniles is shoplifting (5.9%). The fact that juveniles do not commit bicycle thefts (0.6%) does not come as a surprise primarily because bicycles are

not so commonly used in Bosnia and Herzegovina as opposed to in the Netherlands or in Germany. In other words, on one hand there are fewer opportunities to steal bicycles, and on the other hand, the market for bicycles practically does not exist.

It is also not surprising that only few juveniles are reporting to have committed a car theft (0.6%). It is not surprising because the culture of stealing cars is rather foreign to the phenomenon of juvenile delinquency in Bosnia and Herzegovina but also because the sample includes juveniles that were, on average, only 14 years old. Therefore, very few of them would be able to start a car, let alone drive it around.

What does come as a bit of surprise is that only 0.6% of juveniles are reporting to have committed pickpocketing and only 1.4% to have committed burglary. This comes as a surprise, partly because they were reporting a 17.5% rate of victimisation by theft.

### 24.6.1 Computer-Related Juvenile Delinquency (Downloading and Hacking)

We have seen already that a total of 63.2% of juveniles reported having access to a computer. At the same time, a total of 76.4% of juveniles reported having

**Table 24.5** Lifetime and last year prevalences of delinquency

	Lifetime		Last year prevalence <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Group fight	15.6	2.7	11.1	3.3
Carrying a weapon	5.4	2.5	2.6	3.0
Assault	2.1	2.2	0.9	2.4
Snatching of bag	0.6	2.3	0.4	2.4
Robbery/extortion	1.4	2.1	0.9	2.2
Vandalism	8.5	2.6	4.3	2.7
Shoplifting	5.9	3.4	1.8	3.6
Bicycle/motor bike theft	0.6	3.0	0.4	3.1
Car break	1.1	2.8	0.5	3.0
Burglary	0.6	2.5	0.2	2.6
Car theft	0.6	2.4	0.4	2.4
Downloading <sup>b</sup>	31.0	3.3	24.0	4.7
Computer hacking	3.2	2.7	2.1	2.8
Drug dealing	0.4	2.6	0.2	2.7
XTC/speed use	0.8	2.6	0.1	2.6
LSD/heroin/cocaine use	0.3	3.5	0.1	3.6

*N* = 1,756, unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin use: last month prevalence

<sup>b</sup>(Illegal) Downloading films or music

their own mobile phones. Assuming that they might be using their computers to get involved in certain delinquent behaviours, we wanted to check to what extent they are downloading content from internet and to what extent they are hacking into each others' computers. The results of the analysis of the data gathered by us are presented below. Consistent with quite a high rate of possession of computers, the juveniles in Bosnia and Herzegovina are reporting quite a high rate of downloading. More than 31% of juveniles reported that they used their computer to download movies or music. Assuming that many juveniles would not know that downloading is most often illegal, we used the opportunity to ask them if they think downloading is illegal. Contrary to the majority of ISRD2 countries, we decided to offer juveniles an opportunity to answer to this question with "yes", "no", or "I do not know". We hypothesized that, by providing this opportunity, we would get a more accurate result from those juveniles who think "it is legal", those who know "it is illegal", and those who really "do not know" if it is legal or illegal. We were of the opinion that by omitting the "I do not know" answer we would be forcing those that "do not know" to say that they think it is either legal or illegal or, alternatively, not to answer to this question. In any case, when asked if they think that downloading is illegal, a total of 69.9% of juveniles answered negatively. One-fifth of the respondents said they did not know and only 11.2% of juveniles said they knew it was illegal. Looking at the gender distribution, it can be said that males are more frequently downloading (57.6%), but females participate with a higher rate in relation to other types of delinquency (42.4%).

Hacking, a more sophisticated activity which, in comparison to downloading, certainly requires skills and knowledge of computer use is relatively rarely committed (3.2%). On the other hand, it should be noted that students report more frequently committing hacking than most of the property offences (robbery/extortion, snatching of bag, car break, car theft)

## 24.7 Youth Gangs/Delinquent Youth Groups

Some researchers in Bosnia and Herzegovina are claiming that juvenile delinquents not only use more

and more violence but also tend to associate and commit crimes with their peers as well as with adults. Having this in mind, we wanted to find out a bit more about the social context of juvenile delinquency. Therefore, we asked those who reported to have been involved in such activities whether the last time when they were involved in some delinquent behaviour they did it on their own, with adults or with other juveniles. Assuming the socio-economic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially keeping in mind some factors such as migrations, families, and lack of social control (all caused by the 1992–1995 war and succeeding transitional period) creates a fertile ground for the potential development of youth gangs, we wanted to explore that possibility. The questions we wanted to address in particular are the prevalence of youth gangs in Bosnia and Herzegovina, their age and gender composition and their involvement in delinquent behaviours. The results of our analysis are presented below.

### 24.7.1 Prevalence of Delinquent and Non-delinquent Youth Groups

Within the group of questions related to their leisure time, we asked juveniles whether they have a group of friends they spend time with and some additional questions related to this group. A total of 82.2% of our respondents reported to having a certain group of friends that they spend time with, doing things together or just hanging out. However, owing to the fact that not all youth groups are to be seen as gangs, and hoping to find out more about groups that would fall within the definition of a "gang", we tried to separate the so-called delinquent from non-delinquent groups by filtering the data. The filtering was performed based on the following questions: "does that group spend a lot of time in public places (park, street, shopping areas, or neighbourhood)?" and "is doing illegal activities accepted by the group?" Out of those who reported to having a group of friends ( $N = 1,409$ ), a total of 11.85% ( $N = 167$ ) reported to belonging to such group, whereas 41.59% ( $N = 586$ ) reported to belonging to the so-called non-delinquent groups (groups whose members do not spend time in public places and in which doing illegal activities is not accepted by the group).

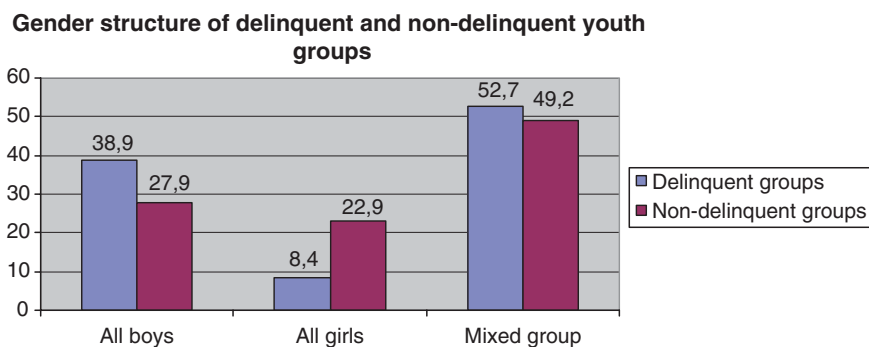


However, when asked about the actual illegal activities of the group's members, 20.4% of the delinquent groups' members report that their group actually is engaging in illegal activities. A total of 17% of the members of the delinquent groups consider their group to be a gang.<sup>5</sup> At the same time, only 1.7% of the members of non-delinquent groups report that their group does illegal things and, contrary to not fulfilling the basic elements of the definition of a gang, 1.5% of the members of those groups consider their group to be a gang.

### 24.7.2 Gender Structure of Delinquent and Non-delinquent Groups

When it comes to gender composition, some differences between the groups are noticeable; see Fig. 24.5. First of all, almost half of both delinquent and non-delinquent groups are composed of both girls and boys. Delinquent groups<sup>6</sup> slightly more often consist of boys, whereas non-delinquent youth groups<sup>7</sup> more frequently consist of girls only. However, it should not be ignored that almost one-tenth of the respondents, and presumably all girls, are reporting to be a member of a girls-only delinquent group.

**Fig. 24.5** Gender structure of delinquent and non-delinquent youth groups



<sup>5</sup>There is low correlation ( $r = 0.368$ ,  $N = 165$ ) between those who consider their group to be a gang and those reporting that their group does illegal things.

<sup>6</sup>Gender structure of the respondents providing the information about the delinquent groups is 58.7% male and 41.3% female.

### 24.7.3 Delinquent Involvement of Delinquent and Non-delinquent Youth Groups

The results presented in Table 24.6 leave no doubt about the difference between delinquent and non-delinquent groups in terms of lifetime prevalence of involvement in different forms of delinquent behaviour. The first conclusion that one can draw from the presented data is that the members of non-delinquent groups are also taking part in all forms of delinquent behaviour. However, there is not a single delinquent behaviour that is more often engaged in by non-delinquent groups' members. In other words, members of delinquent groups get involved in delinquent behaviours more often.

Obviously, members of the delinquent groups are reporting very high prevalence of using alcohol and involvement in violent delinquent behaviours such as vandalism and group fights as well as carrying weapons. At the same time, they very often get involved in shoplifting. On the other side, only one-third and one-tenth of non-delinquent group members report to have used beer/wine and spirits, whereas only one-eighth of them have ever been involved in a group fight. Delinquent behaviour which is reported with the second highest prevalence in both groups is downloading.

<sup>7</sup>Gender structure of the respondents providing the information about the non-delinquent groups is 48.4% male and 51.6% female.

**Table 24.6** Lifetime prevalence of self-reported delinquency (%)

	Non-DLQ groups “yes”*(%)	Whole sample “yes”** (%)	DLQ groups “yes”*** (%)
Beer/wine	35.7	41.1	64.0
Spirits	10.9	15.1	31.3
Hashish	1.4	1.5	5.6
XTC	0.5	0.8	3.1
LHC	0.2	0.3	1.2
Vandalism	5.9	8,5	19.0
Shoplifting	3.7	5.9	16.8
Burglary	0.5	0.6	1.9
Bicycle theft	0.2	0.6	4.4
Car theft	0.5	0.6	2.5
Downloading	28.9	31.0	41.4
Hacking	2.6	3.2	8.0
Car burglary	0.9	1.1	3.7
Pick-pocketing	0.2	0.6	3.1
Weapons	3.1	5.4	14.2
Robbery/ extortion	0.9	1.4	3.7
Group fights	13.0	15.6	30.1
Assault	1.6	2.1	6.1
Drug dealing	0.4	0.4	2.5

\* $N = 5,861$ \*\* $N = 1,756$ \*\*\* $N = 167$ 

If these prevalence rates are to be compared to those reported by respondents who do not have such a group of friends ( $N = 305$ ), it is interesting to see that with the exception of shoplifting (4.3%), carrying weapons (4.3%) and robbery/extortion (1.0%), these respondents seem to be less involved in delinquent behaviours than their peers who do have a group of friends, regardless of its delinquent or non-delinquent nature.

#### 24.7.4 *Victimisation of Members of Delinquent and Non-delinquent Groups*

As far as victimisation is concerned, it seems that members of delinquent groups are more exposed to these unpleasant experiences than their peers who belong to non-delinquent groups. As Table 24.7 shows, every fourth member of delinquent groups had things stolen from him/her and almost every fifth was the victim of robbery/extortion.

At the same time, one-sixth of all members of non-delinquent groups have been victims of theft and only

**Table 24.7** Lifetime prevalence of victimisation

	Non-delinquent groups (%)	Delinquent groups (%)
Robbery/extortion	5.0	17.8
Assault	4.5	8.9
Theft	16.3	25.5
Bullying	4.9	6.3

one-twentieth of them were victims of robbery/extortion, assault or bullying. It is interesting to note here that those respondents who reported not having a group of friends, with whom they spend time together or hang around with, are being victims of robbery/extortion (5.8%) and bullying (5.6%) more than their peers who do belong to non-delinquent groups.

### 24.8 *Delinquency Correlations*

This section reports correlations between variables such as social background, family, school, leisure activities and neighbourhood and some types of self-reported delinquency in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

#### 24.8.1 *Delinquency and Social Background Variables*

We asked students about their age, place of birth of their mother and father, living with or without mother and father, whether father and mother have a permanent job, whether they have their own room, personal computer access at home, mobile phone and family car. We conducted bivariate correlation analyses (Pearson's correlation coefficient) with selected social background variables and different types of delinquency. We used  $p$ , smaller or equal to 0.01, in order to determine statistical significance. Generally, we found rather few and rather low correlations ranging from 0.100 to 0.300. A number of the more interesting correlations are the following. There is a weak correlation ( $r = 0.316$ ) between whether the student has access to a computer and a positive response to the question about “downloading;” that means – not very surprisingly – that students who have their own personal computer are more likely to illegally downloading movies, games and music. “Gender” is weakly related to having drunk

“beer/wine” (Q 49.0) ( $r = 0.149$ ) “carrying a weapon” ( $r = 0.196$ ) and “participating in group fight” ( $r = 0.235$ ). “Owning mobile phone” is weakly correlated to using “beer/wine” ( $r = 0.171$ ) and reporting “downloads movies, games and music” ( $r = 0.166$ ). “Family owns car” is weakly associated with reporting “downloads movies, games and music” ( $r = 0.163$ ).

### 24.8.2 Delinquency and Family

On the basis of the premise that the family plays a basic role in the first steps of modelling and advising a young person in how to find the right way to join a society, we wanted to see if family variables have connections with different types of delinquent behaviour in our country or if they eventually force juveniles to conformity. Regarding this premise, we have analysed answers of respondents on a set of questions related to attachments to parents, through spending time together and doing some joint activities together. Also, we have analysed answers of respondents in terms of how their families influence “control” in their lives.

We have found several weak but significant correlations at the  $p = 0.01$  level. The most significant variable from the set of family variables that correlates with different types of delinquent behaviour is “do your parents (or adults you live with) usually know who you are with when you go out?” Testing the personal involvement in delinquent behaviour on a lifetime prevalence basis, we found that there is low correlation between this family variable and respondents’ experience with damaging something on purpose, such as a bus shelter, a window, a car or a seat in a bus or train ( $r = 0.207$ ,  $N = 1,601$ ). At the same time, we found a fairly weak correlation between responses indicating that their family rarely/never or sometimes know friends, and marijuana or hash use in their lifetime ( $r = 0.174$ ,  $N = 1,586$ ) and responses indicating experience with carrying a weapon, such as a stick, knife, or chain ( $r = 0.176$ ,  $N = 1,600$ ).

On the other hand, we have found just one correlation, on a fairly weak level, between the variable “having dinner together with parents” with some delinquent behaviour. Specifically, respondents who reported that they had snatched a purse, bag or something else from a person are slightly less likely to indicate that they have dinner together with their parents on a regular basis ( $r = 0.172$ ,  $N = 1,705$ ).

### 24.8.3 Delinquency and School

We calculated the potential linear correlation between school variables and different types of self-reported delinquent behaviour of respondents from our country. Indeed, school, together with the family and peers, is the most important factor in the psychological and sociological development of the young person. We have analysed the correlation between variables measuring “attachment to school”, variables measuring “school achievement”, and different types of self-reported delinquent behaviour. We found several weak correlations between ‘school attachment’ and different types of delinquent behaviour, with the correlation coefficients ranging from 0.150 to 0.300. The answers of respondents on the question “Do you usually like school?” (not at all, or not very much) correlate weakly with some types of delinquent behaviour, particularly with downloading ( $r = 0.279$ ,  $N = 1,685$ ), group fight ( $r = 0.231$ ,  $N = 1,696$ ), vandalism ( $r = 0.219$ ,  $N = 1,698$ ), carrying a weapon ( $r = 0.210$ ,  $N = 1,699$ ), shoplifting ( $r = 0.209$ ,  $N = 1,684$ ) and hacking ( $r = 0.150$ ,  $N = 1,695$ ). Also, we have found that respondents who somewhat disagree and fully disagree with the statement that they like their school, had more experience, on lifetime prevalence level, with downloading ( $r = 0.264$ ,  $N = 1,644$ ), vandalism ( $r = 0.238$ ,  $N = 1,654$ ), and shoplifting ( $r = 0.173$ ,  $N = 1,642$ ) than their counterparts who (usually) liked school.

### 24.8.4 Delinquency and Leisure Activities

Specially in the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina, because of the previous war (1992–1995) and uricide, it is sometimes assumed that leisure activities of students from the primary and secondary schools could be a “criminal exogenic factor”<sup>8</sup>. A lot of cinemas, and “student places” were destroyed, not only as infrastructure but as a part of “civil life in town”. Many people came into Bosnian towns from the Bosnian villages as refugees and they needed time to adapt their life to living in a more urban environment. As a result, we only have a small number of activities for youth

<sup>8</sup>A term used by European criminologists to designate a type of offender whose aetiology is determined primarily by situational factors (Rush, 1986).

during their leisure time. Towns like Mostar, with more than 150,000 inhabitants, have no cinema. The same situation applies to the towns in Central Bosnia, like Travnik, Bugojno, and so on.

For this reason, we asked respondents about the frequency and type of their leisure activities.

We only found some weak correlations between delinquency and associating with a group they consider “deviant” (i.e. doing illegal things). Students who consider their group as “deviant” also were slightly more likely to report night activities per week ( $r = 0.160$ ). Those who engaged at night activities were slightly more likely to be involved in group fighting ( $r = 0.255$ ), carrying a weapon ( $r = 0.188$ ) and using hash or marijuana ( $r = 0.173$ ). Also, students, who are going to a party or a disco, or to somebody’s house or hanging out on the street daily, are somewhat more likely to report participation in group fights ( $r = 0.255$ ).

### 24.8.5 Delinquency and Neighbourhood

On the basis of the assumption that the neighbourhood is a very important arena where kids spend a lot of time and which should to a certain extent exert informal social control, we wanted to see if it can be associated with juveniles’ delinquency in our country. For that reason, we asked respondents about their emotional relationship to their neighbourhood, infrastructure of their neighbourhoods, and their perception of crime and delinquency in their neighbourhood. We then examined the correlations with involvement in delinquent behaviour on a lifetime prevalence basis.

In general, we found that those respondents who like their neighbourhood would actually miss it if they had to move ( $r = 0.641$ ). At the same time, there is moderate correlation between liking their neighbourhood and living in a neighbourhood where there are a lot of children playgrounds ( $r = 0.426$ ,  $N = 1,636$ ), neighbours are trustworthy ( $r = 0.398$ ,  $N = 1,633$ ), neighbourhood is close-knit ( $r = 0.490$ ,  $N = 1,620$ ) and neighbours are helpful ( $r = 0.447$ ,  $N = 1,635$ ). These correlations are even higher when only gang members are examined. Namely, gang members who like their neighbourhood are more likely to miss it if they had to move ( $r = 0.707$ ,  $N = 162$ ). Also, for gang members, it

seems that they more strongly develop positive emotional relationships with their neighbourhood if there is enough place for kids to play ( $r = 0.514$ ,  $N = 160$ ), neighbours are trustworthy ( $r = 0.526$ ,  $N = 160$ ), neighbourhood is close-knit ( $r = 0.564$ ,  $N = 160$ ) and neighbours are helpful ( $r = 0.538$ ,  $N = 158$ ). This finding may be explained by the possibility that gang members strongly associate their neighbourhood with “their territory” and therefore develop a stronger emotional relationship to it.

While testing the bivariate correlation between the respondents’ perception of crime and delinquency in their neighbourhood and their personal involvement in delinquent behaviour on a lifetime prevalence basis, we only found that there is a fairly low correlation between those who got involved in group fights and those who perceive that there is a lot of crime in their neighbourhood ( $r = 0.204$ ,  $N = 1,657$ ). On the other hand, if gang members ( $N = 167$ ) are examined on the basis of correlations between their perception of crime and delinquency in their neighbourhood and lifetime prevalence of their involvement in delinquent behaviours, there are patterns that are clearly emerging. The only delinquent behaviour that is not significantly correlated to the crime/delinquency situation in a neighbourhood is the use of XTC/speed. All other examined delinquent behaviours are displaying at least a low, if not moderate, correlation with neighbourhood factors – for self-identified gang members. Most strongly correlated with neighbourhood factors, with a correlation coefficient over 0.400, are vandalism, carrying weapons and group fighting. A somewhat weaker correlation, with coefficients ranging between 0.300 and 0.400, is found for hacking, shoplifting, drinking spirits and drug dealing. Delinquent behaviours such as beer/wine consumption, use of hashish, burglary, bicycle or car theft or assault show a weak correlation with neighbourhood factors, with coefficients ranging from 0.200 to 0.300. These findings should not be surprising for at least two reasons. Firstly, as was shown elsewhere in this chapter (see discussion of youth gangs/delinquent groups), gang members do get involved in delinquent behaviours more frequently. Secondly, owing to the fact that gang members are, by definition, street-oriented, it is expected that they would know more about crime/delinquency situation in their neighbourhood, which they, as was shown here, most probably see as their territory.

## 24.9 Conclusions

It seems absolutely necessary to conduct more detailed analyses of the data gathered in order to try to explain the causes and conditions of violent juvenile delinquency, to understand the characteristics of these violent juveniles and to explain these characteristics to schools so that they can direct their attention more accurately and intensively. In conclusion, it can be said that juveniles in BH are quite frequently involved in delinquent behaviours which include violence. They do carry weapons on various occasions; they are vandalising property, committing assaults and inflicting injuries. In doing so, they tend to associate with their peers but with adults as well. It seems that we may conclude that the dark figure of violent juvenile delinquency is highest in the case of vandalism and the lowest in the case of group fights. Still, it should be concluded that the detection rates in any case are lower than the dark figures are.

Compared to other forms of delinquency, it is interesting to note that downloading is the most frequently reported delinquent behaviour (if we can exclude drinking beer or wine which is the first) that juveniles in Bosnia and Herzegovina get involved in. It can certainly be concluded that computer-related delinquency is one of the most commonly accepted and practiced delinquent behaviours amongst juveniles in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It takes place in a specific setting, supported by parents and other family members, and does not seem to be stigmatised and therefore goes undetected and unpunished. We are of the opinion that computer-related delinquency, as such, should be a primary focus of the preventive programmes in schools, and outside schools as well. Juveniles should be educated about the fact that “free download” does not necessarily mean “legal” download, they should be warned and educated about the harm they are causing and introduced with the consequences they might be facing for their behaviour.

Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly, it can be said that hard drugs, such as LSD, heroin, cocaine and even ecstasy are not being abused by juveniles in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The number of abusers of these substances was so small in our sample that any detailed interpretation was not possible. On the other hand, it was confirmed that the most frequently abused are beer and wine followed by spirits. Our results do seem to indicate that delinquent groups do exist in

Bosnia and Herzegovina. Even more so, the data collected suggest that one out of ten of our respondents belong to a group which resembles characteristics of a delinquent group or a gang. Although involvement in delinquent behaviours is not exclusively associated with members of delinquent groups, they are more actively involved in those behaviours than their peers and they are victimised more frequently as well. Therefore, due attention should be paid to them in more in-depth analyses.

Theft remains to be the most frequent form of victimisation of juveniles in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The dark figure of crime (i.e. crimes not reported to the police) in Bosnia and Herzegovina is fairly high. It seems to be the highest for bullying (ca. 90%) and the lowest for assault (ca. 78%). We found no significant correlation between violent delinquency and social background variables. We also found that “attachment to parents” variables do not have any significant correlation with any types of delinquent behaviour; however, we found some weak correlations between some types of delinquency and “family control” variables, suggesting that knowing kids’ friends by their parents is an important deterrent to a juvenile’s misbehaviour. One of the possible explanations may be that due to the situation after the war, the related destruction, and the enormous population migration inside the country, a large number of people in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the last 15 years were forced to change their place of residence, and in that condition parents and especially young persons have a hard time getting used to their new environment. Furthermore, we found no significant correlation between “school achievement” and delinquent behaviour. However, we found fairly weak, but statistically significant, correlations between answers of respondents who do not like (very much and not at all) school and some type of delinquency, especially vandalism and shoplifting. Interestingly, we also found that leisure activities of students as well as night activities, doing homework, reading books, watching TV, hanging out with friends, and playing sports are not significantly correlated with the students’ involvement in delinquent behaviour. It also appears reasonable to conclude that, if we take into account the whole sample, the emotional relationship to the neighbourhood as well as the personal perception of crime/delinquency problems in the neighbourhood are not significantly correlated with the respondents’ involvement in delinquent behaviours. That, however, is not the case for those respondents who are members of youth gangs.

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# Chapter 25

## Russia<sup>1</sup>

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### 25.1 Introduction

The Russian Federation is divided into seven federal districts and 86 regions. Moscow, the capital, has a population of over 10 million. The Russian Federation's total population is 145.2 million (Federal Census 2002), and its territory is 17,075,400 km<sup>2</sup>. Average population density throughout the entire country is 8.36 per sq km, and between 40 and 100 per sq km in Russia's European regions. Most people live in urban areas (106.4 million people, or 73.3%). Women form the majority (53.4%) of Russia's population (2002 Census). The Russian Federation is a multiethnic country, with Russians being the major ethnic group (81.5%). Other major ethnic groups are Tatars (3.8%), Ukrainians (2.0%), Bashkiris (1.2%) and Chuvashis (1.1%). Orthodox Christians are the majority (80–85%), followed by Muslims (10–15%), Buddhists (2–3%) and other religions. Table 25.1 demonstrates the age distribution.

The average age of men in Russia is 33.9 years, and 39.8 for women. For the population of 16 and older, the divorce rate is 9.4% (11.2 million). Per year, some 800,000 couples divorce, and single-parent families make up 23.3% of the population nationwide, namely 26% in urban areas and 17% in rural areas (2002 Census).

Secondary school or university graduates make up 90.2% of Russia's population, and 11.2% hold a university degree (2002 Census). Of Russia's population, 7.2% of people are unemployed, but only 0.8% receive unemployment benefits (2002 Census).

Russia's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is approximately \$10,858 per capita (data for 2006, calculated in prices of 2002). The general level of economic development of Russia is comparable with the level of countries like Slovakia, Turkey, Malaysia, Columbia and Chile. The monthly average income is \$490 per person (State Statistics Committee, March, 2007).

One of the main features of Russia's alcohol policy is the state monopoly of the production of alcoholic beverages. Alcohol and cigarettes may not be sold to adolescents under the age of 18 years, although in smaller shops this ban is often violated. Alcohol consumption in Russia amounts to some 15 L (3.96 gallons) per person each year (<http://www.newsru.com>). There is a growing consumption of spirit-based liquids (household chemical goods, perfumes, etc.), a trend that results in frequent lethal consequences. All other drugs are illegal in Russia. According to data released by the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 2006, 192,911 cases of drug trafficking were recorded (a rise by 21% compared to 2005) (<http://www.mvd.ru>). Minors are responsible for 8.4% of all crimes committed during the year 2006 (<http://www.mvd.ru>). Per 10,000 of the population, the rate was 10.5 in 2006 (<http://www.mvd.ru>).

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### 25.2 Study Design

The Russian part of ISRD-2 was carried out in three research sites that were selected to represent in the best way possible three sampling clusters: large (metropolitan)

**Table 25.1** Age distribution of Russia's population, data of 2002 census

Age cohorts	Millions	
	Men	Women
0–9	6.8	6.5
10–19	11.8	11.4
20–29	11.1	11.0
30–39	9.9	10.2
40–49	11.6	12.6
50–59	7.0	8.4
60–69	5.7	8.6
70–79	3.1	6.7
80 and more	0.5	2.2

cities, medium cities and smaller cities. As a large (metropolitan) city, Moscow (with a population of 10.4 million people) was chosen. The medium-size city was Kazan (1.1 million), which is the capital city of the Tatarstan Republic, one of Russia's regional states. Three small cities were also included, namely, Vyatskie Polyany (Kirovskaya oblast', with a population of 42,000), Mojga (in the Udmurt Republic, with about 50,000 population) and Buzuluk (Orenburgskaya oblast', 86,000). This sampling procedure corresponds to the general framework of the ISRD-2 methodology.

With respect to religious affiliation, the Christian population of Moscow amounts to 95–97%, and Muslims constitute some 2%. In Kazan, the portion of Muslims is significantly higher and amounts to 47%, whereas some 52% of the Kazan population is Christian. Both Mojga and Vyatskie Polyani are predominantly Christian towns with the Muslim population amounting to below 2%. There are some 80% of Christians, and some 12% of Muslims living in Buzuluk.

Schools were chosen as sample units, and pupils attending classes of grades seven, eight and nine were the target groups. Schools were randomly selected from a list of schools in every given jurisdiction. A list of all classes (seventh, eighth and ninth) was obtained for each educational institution. Then, the generator of random numbers selected one class from each branch (parallel) of classes of the same grade. The sample finally included 2,959 pupils from 51 schools, among which 21 in Moscow, 15 in Kazan, and five schools each in Vyatskie Polyany, Buzuluk and Mojga. The sample in Moscow included 1,237 pupils, 808 pupils were interviewed in Kazan, and 914 in the three small cities.

The common questionnaire prepared by the ISRD-2 team was used. It was translated by the authors from the original English version into Russian and tested in

several schools. No particular problems with the questionnaire were observed during the fieldwork.

Two teams located in Moscow and Kazan administered the fieldwork. The Moscow team was lead by Dr. M.E. Pozdnyakova. The Kazan team was lead by Prof. Dr. Alexander Salagaev.

All local educational authorities that were approached decided to cooperate. Among the schools that were selected, 100% accepted to participate in the small towns, but only 40% each in the medium and large cities did so. Where the research team failed to obtain co-operation, the reason usually was that the school principal refused the survey to be carried out in his/her school. All refusing institutions were replaced by schools that were similar with respect to location, school type and educational characteristics. On average, 81% of students were present on the day of the survey, with some variation across cities: 85% in Buzuluk, 82% in Kazan, 81% in Mojga, 80% in Vyatskie Polyany and 79% in Moscow. Among the children who were present, none refused and all completed the questionnaire.<sup>2</sup>

In presenting the results, we shall restrict the following analyses to key findings. Given the international character of the project, we shall point, wherever appropriate, to results observed in Belgium, The Netherlands and, particularly, in Switzerland (the country of our partners in this project). The data quoted from these countries can be found in the corresponding chapters in this book.

### 25.3 Delinquency Among Juveniles in Russia

According to the results shown in Table 25.2, the most frequent delinquent acts among Russian juveniles are illegal downloading of Internet contents (35.3%), participation in group fights (15.6%), carrying weapons (10.8%) and vandalism (7.2%). Such acts are not generally

<sup>2</sup>One may find it unbelievable that none of the respondents refused to participate in the survey, but this is explained by Russian schoolchildren mentality. Open refusal would be considered as inappropriate with respect to norms and values of Russian school though it is natural that some of the survey participants were not very keen on completing the questionnaires. Hundred per cent response rate is quite common while conducting school surveys in Russia and many years of social research of youth by authors proves it.

**Table 25.2** Lifetime and last year prevalence of offenses

	Lifetime (%)		Last year (%)	
	Valid (%)	Missing (%)	Valid (%)	Missing (%)
Content downloading	35.3	1.0	27.8	1.0
Group fight	15.6	1.1	9.5	0.6
Carrying a weapon	10.8	1.1	6.0	0.4
Vandalism	7.2	0.9	3.8	0.8
Shoplifting	6.5	0.7	1.9	0.2
Computer hacking	3.8	1.0	2.8	0.2
Assault	2.3	1.0	1.4	0.2
Robbery/extortion	1.3	1.0	0.8	0.0
Snatching of bag	1.1	1.0	0.4	0.1
Theft from a car	1.1	1.0	0.2	0.0
Car theft	1.1	0.9	0.5	0.0
Bicycle theft	0.9	0.9	0.4	0.0
Burglary	0.9	0.8	0.4	0.1
Drug dealing	0.9	1.3	0.6	0.1

considered as “very illegal” and have much more to do with ordinary age-related youth hooliganism rather than with serious enrolment in delinquent careers.

Compared to Switzerland, Russian schoolchildren have very similar rates of violent acts, such as group fights (16% in both countries), carrying weapons (10.8% vs. 11.1%), assault (2.3% vs. 2.9%) and robbery/extortion (1.3% vs. 1.4%). Interestingly, however, rates are far lower in Russia in the area of property offences, especially for shoplifting (6.5% vs. 23.6%), vandalism (7.2% vs. 13.4%), and bicycle theft (0.9% vs. 6.6%). Such offences are also far more frequent among juveniles in Finland and in Belgium (with rates of shoplifting of 28.3% and 21.6%, respectively). Drug dealing and computer hacking are also far more frequent in Switzerland than in Russia (3.7% vs. 0.9%, and 7.3% vs. 3.8%). These differences likely reflect opportunity structures in Russia and in Western European countries, with less consumer goods in Russian shops, less bicycles in the streets, and more restricted access to computers and drugs.

According to official criminal statistics, juveniles aged 14–16 who are known to the police as suspects of assault, theft from cars, extortion, hacking, drug dealing, etc., make up less than 0.1% of this age cohort in the general population (Table 25.3).

In terms of differences between large, medium and small cities, it can be noted that differences between Moscow and the medium and small cities are all significant. The differences between Kazan and the three small towns are far less pronounced and generally not significant. The most obvious differences between Moscow and the other towns concern group fights,

**Table 25.3** Offenders aged 14–16 known to the police as suspects, in % of the general population of that age (2007)

Theft from a car	0.03%
Assault	0.05%
Car theft	0.06%
Extortion	0.01%
Computer hacking	0.01%
Hooliganism	0.02%
Drug-dealing	0.13%

weapon carrying, vandalism and content downloading. Again, these differences may reflect varying opportunity structures, the prevailing lifestyle among Moscow juveniles being more “Western”, with far more consumer goods and other opportunities being available.

With respect to last year prevalence rates, three are statistically significant: group fight, carrying a weapon and content downloading.

Differences in delinquency rates according to city/town size, as shown in Tables 25.4 and 25.5, have a lot in common with what one finds in Western countries. In The Netherlands, for example, group fights, assault, weapon carrying and drug dealing are mostly concentrated in big cities.

## 25.4 Risk Behaviour

School truancy, as the results given in Table 25.6 suggest, is quite common among schoolchildren. Overall, 42% admit having skipped school during 1 day at least. Truancy is more widespread in Moscow than in the other cities.

**Table 25.4** “Lifetime” delinquency prevalence by city-size (in %)

	Moscow – metropolitan city ( <i>N</i> = 1,237)		Kazan – medium-size city ( <i>N</i> = 808) <sup>a</sup>		Small towns Mojga, Buzuluk, vs. Polyany ( <i>N</i> = 914)		Sig., $\chi^2$
	Valid (%)	Missing (%)	Valid (%)	Missing (%)	Valid (%)	Missing (%)	
Content downloading	54.9	2.4	25.4	0.0	17.7	0.0	0.00
Group fight	20.7	2.7	13.6	0.0	10.6	0.0	0.00 <sup>b</sup>
Carrying a weapon	16.0	2.7	7.9	0.0	6.5	0.0	0.00
Vandalism	10.6	2.1	5.2	0.0	4.5	0.0	0.00
Assault	3.6	2.5	1.7	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.00
Snatching of bag	1.9	2.4	0.9	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.00
Robbery/extortion	1.9	2.4	1.4	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.00
Shoplifting	11.2	1.8	4.3	0.0	2.2	0.0	0.00
Bicycle theft	1.3	2.3	0.9	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.00
Theft from a car	1.8	2.5	1.1	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.00
Burglary	1.1	1.9	1.4	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.00
Car theft	1.5	2.1	1.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.00
Computer hacking	6.4	2.4	1.9	0.0	1.9	0.0	0.00
Drug dealing	1.8	3.0	0.6	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.00

<sup>a</sup>Medium-size and small size city/town questionnaires were checked before data entering. Missing answers were counted as “I don’t know”. In Moscow, no such procedure was used

<sup>b</sup>Statistics are significant at 0.005 level

**Table 25.5** “Last year” delinquency prevalence by city size (in %)

	Moscow – metropolitan city ( <i>N</i> = 1,237)		Kazan – medium-size city ( <i>N</i> = 808)		Small towns Mojga, Buzuluk, vs. Polyany ( <i>N</i> = 914)		Sig., $\chi^2$
	Valid (%)	Missing (%)	Valid (%)	Missing (%)	Valid (%)	Missing (%)	
Group fight	13.2	1.5	7.5	0.0	6.1	0.0	0.001
Carrying a weapon	10.0	1.1	4.2	0.0	3.5	0.0	0.00
Assault	2.5	0.5	0.9	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.10
Snatching of bag	0.8	0.4	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.43
Robbery/extortion	1.2	0.2	0.9	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.95
Vandalism	5.9	0.0	2.4	0.0	2.1	0.0	0.71
Shoplifting	3.5	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.67
Bicycle theft	0.5	0.2	0.5	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.74
Theft from a car	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.44
Burglary	0.2	0.2	0.7	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.28
Car theft	0.8	0.2	0.4	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.86
Content downloading	45.5	2.6	19.8	0.0	12.5	0.0	0.00
Computer hacking	4.8	0.6	1.4	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.48
Drug dealing	1.0	0.2	0.5	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.73

**Table 25.6** Lifetime and last month prevalence rates of risk behaviour

	Moscow – metropolitan city ( <i>N</i> = 1,237)		Kazan – medium-size city ( <i>N</i> = 808)		Small towns Mojga, Buzuluk, vs. Polyany ( <i>N</i> = 914)		Sig., $\chi^2$ , life-time/ last time
	Prevalence (%)		Prevalence (%)		Prevalence, %		
	Lifetime	Last month	Lifetime	Last month	Lifetime	Last month	
Truancy <sup>a</sup>	48.8	–	41.6	–	31.7	–	0.0*, <sup>b</sup>
Beer/wine	79.7	32.8	60.9	18.6	56.3	16.1	0.0*/0.0*
Strong spirits	36.0	9.5	22.3	6.3	15.0	4.3	0.0*/0.13
Consuming “light” drugs (hashish, marijuana)	10.2	2.8	5.2	2.2	2.4	0.4	0.0*/0.3
Consuming “hard drugs” (XTC, cocaine, heroin)	2.6	0.4	0.5	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.0*/0.72

<sup>a</sup>Truancy includes any absence from school without a legitimate excuse for 1 day at least, at least once during the last 12 months

<sup>b</sup>The Chi-square statistic is significant at the 0.05 level

One of the explanations for the significantly high rate of truancy among Russian schoolchildren can be related to general decline in education quality, and the decreased level of social control by teachers and widespread corruption which allows getting medical reports in case someone is absent from school.

The majority of respondents (67.4%) admitted having consumed beer or wine at least once in their lifetime. Once again, Moscow students differ substantially from respondents from the other towns, with 80% vs. 61% and 56%. Boys drink more than girls, with 47% of boys who admitted having been drunk more than once over the last year, compared to 40% among girls.

Among those who admitted having ever used beer or wine, 35% admitted having done so once or more during the last month. Again, more students from Moscow admit to having recently used alcoholic beverages (41%) than in smaller cities. Generally, alcohol consumption does not exceed one bottle of wine or beer per person during 1 month.

Strong alcoholic drinks, such as vodka and cognac, have ever been used by 26%, with students in Moscow showing again higher rates (36%).

Overall, only 6.4% of respondents admitted ever having used marijuana or any other “light” drugs, with rates being higher in Moscow (10%). Among boys, the number of “light” drug users is 8.3%, compared to 4.6% among girls.

Consuming “hard” drugs of synthetic origin such as XTC, “speed”, cocaine and heroin does hardly happen in Russian schools, with lifetime prevalence rates of only 1.3% for boys and 0.3% for girls. Again, hard-drug use is far less common in medium- and small-size cities.

Compared to Western countries, truancy seems far more common among Russian children than, for example, among Belgian students (42% vs. 15%). Regarding beer/wine consumption, the rates of lifetime prevalence

among Russian juveniles is comparable to Switzerland (67% vs. 68%). Russian juveniles, however, admit less often to having used strong alcoholic beverages (26% vs. 38%). Another interesting feature concerns the comparison between major and small cities. In Belgium and in Switzerland, drinking any substance is about as frequently admitted in large and small cities, whereas in Russia, prevalence of alcohol use is far less in medium and small cities.

As far as use of illegal (“soft” and “hard”) drugs is concerned, prevalence rates are far lower among Russian juveniles than in Western countries. For example, 17% among Swiss juveniles admit having ever used “soft” drugs, whereas this rate is just 6% in Russia. For hard drugs, the rates are 0.8% in Russia, but 2.7% among Swiss juveniles. Once more, the rates are, compared to Moscow, far lower in medium and small Russian cities, whereas differences are non-existent in this domain in Switzerland. All these differences most likely reflect varying availability of illegal substances on local black markets and larger consuming capabilities of city children. It seems that Russian juveniles, and more so apparently in small towns than in Moscow, have been largely protected from illegal drug use so far because of lower economic conditions and tighter social control in small-size towns. In Kazan where Muslims make up nearly half of the population, one might speculate whether low rates of substance use can be attributed to some influence of Islam. In the three small towns, however, this explanation definitely would not hold true. Therefore, tight social control over juveniles may eventually better explain the low rates observed there than cultural differences.

As Table 25.7 shows, different risk behaviours including truancy are correlated among each other, with Pearson coefficients exceeding 0.3 in 9 out of 20 cases.

**Table 25.7** Pearson correlations between truancy, alcohol and drug consumption

	Beer/wine	Strong spirits	Hashish, marijuana	XTC, cocaine	Truancy
Beer/wine	1	0.387**	0.177**	0.067**	0.276**
Strong spirits	0.387** <sup>a</sup>	1	0.383**	0.164**	0.306**
Hashish, marijuana	0.177**	0.383**	1	0.335**	0.209**
XTC, cocaine, heroin	0.067**	0.164**	0.335**	1	0.127**
Truancy	0.276**	0.306**	0.209**	0.127**	1

<sup>a</sup>Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)



**Table 25.8** Pearson correlation between alcohol/drug consumption and frequent delinquent acts

	Strong spirits	Vandalism	Hashish	XTC cocaine	Weapon carrying	Group fights	Drug-dealing
Strong spirits	1	0.251**	0.383**	0.164**	0.298**	0.311**	0.159**
Vandalism	0.251** <sup>a</sup>	1	0.207**	0.115**	0.305**	0.311**	0.123**
Hashish	0.383**	0.207**	1	0.335**	0.222**	0.203**	0.314**
XTC cocaine	0.164**	0.115**	0.335**	1	0.133**	0.137**	0.425**
Weapon carrying	0.298**	0.305**	0.222**	0.133**	1	0.366**	0.163**
Group fights	0.311**	0.311**	0.203**	0.137**	0.366**	1	0.132**
Drug-dealing	0.159**	0.123**	0.314**	0.425**	0.163**	0.132**	1

<sup>a</sup>Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

In Table 25.8, correlations between alcohol and drug use and some delinquent acts (drug dealing, group fights and carrying of weapons) are presented. Substantial correlations can be observed between consumption of strong spirits, group fights and use of hashish, between drug dealing and use of “hard” (0.425;  $p = 0.000$ ) and “soft” drugs (0.314;  $p = 0.000$ ), as well as between weapon carrying and participation in group fights (0.366;  $p = 0.000$ ).

In sum, the correlations suggest that substance abuse, and particularly use of strong spirits and illegal drugs, goes along with serious delinquency.

## 25.5 Victimization Among Russian Youngsters

Table 25.9 gives the prevalence rates of victimisation among juveniles in all three city categories together.

These rates are substantial, even by Western standards. For robbery/extortion and assault, for example, “last year” prevalence rates in Russia are higher than those from The Netherlands (2.8% and 4.5%), Belgium (2.8% and 3.2%), and Switzerland (2.3% and 2.4%), whereas rates of bullying are comparable to those from Switzerland (11.4% vs. 12.4%), but lower in Russia than in Belgium (16.3%) and in The Netherlands (14.3%). The Russian rates of theft are far below corresponding rates in Switzerland (22.6%), The Netherlands (20.3%) and Belgium (19.1%). These results are in line with lower rates of self-reported property offences in Russia (Table 25.2). Ethnic or religious discrimination is reported by only 3.2% and 4.6%, respectively, of our respondents.

Cases of victimisation are rarely being reported to the police, as the last column of Table 25.9 shows.

**Table 25.9** Last year prevalence of victimization and reporting to the police

	Victimization (%)		Reported to the police (%)
	Valid	Missing (no answer)	
Robbery/extortion	5.6	2.5	1.7
Assault	6.5	3.4	1.0
Theft	10.6	3.4	2.3
Bullying	11.4	3.7	0.2

In Western European countries, these rates are substantially higher. In Switzerland, for example, between 8% (bullying) and 32% (assault) of victimizations are being brought to the attention of the police. In Belgium and in The Netherlands, reporting to the police is also far more common than in Russia. Practically, none of our respondents has ever contacted the police for being a victim of crime, whereas in Western European countries, only bullying seems to be rarely reported to the police.

As Table 25.10 illustrates, victimisation is far more common in Moscow than in Kazan and in the three small towns.

Respondents from Moscow are nearly ten times more often the victims of assaults resulting in injuries than juveniles in small towns. Theft in Moscow is almost as frequent as in Western countries, and about seven times as frequent as in the medium and small cities. The same is true for bullying where the rates in Moscow are dramatically higher than those in the smaller cities, and even higher than in Western Europe. Differences between large and medium or small cities exist also in Western Europe, but never to the extent observed in Table 25.10.

Russian culture generally disapproves of reporting any incidents to concerned authorities, which is the main reason for relatively rare reporting of victimization to police.



**Table 25.10** Last year prevalence of victimization and reporting to the police by size of city/town

	Sig., $\chi^2$	Moscow – metropolitan city ( <i>N</i> = 1,237)			Kazan – medium-size city ( <i>N</i> = 808)			Small towns Mojga, Buzuluk, vs. Polyany ( <i>N</i> = 914)		
		Victimization (%)		Reported to police (%)	Victimization (%)		Reported to police (%)	Victimization (%)		Reported to police (%)
		Valid	Missing		Valid	Missing		Valid	Missing	
Robbery/ext.	0.0*, <sup>a</sup>	11.6	6.0	2.3	1.6	0.0	2.1	1.0	1.5	1.0
Assault	0.0*	13.5	8.2	1.0	1.6	0.0	1.3	1.4	1.4	0.5
Theft	0.0*	21.2	8.2	2.7	3.3	0.0	3.1	2.6	0.0	1.2
Bullying	0.0*	21.6	8.9	0.1	2.8	0.0	0.6	5.3	0.0	0.1

<sup>a</sup>The Chi-square statistic is significant at the 0.05 level

## 25.6 Delinquency Rates and Background Variables

One of the key aims of the ISRD-II project was to assess the relation between delinquency rates and several social background variables (age, gender, ethnicity, etc.). In order to study delinquency in relation to several background variables, all delinquent acts (lifetime prevalence) were combined into three categories: property offences, violent offences and non-violent offences. Table 25.11 gives the details on how these categories were formed.

Table 25.12 presents the results concerning the association between each of the three categories of delinquency and a set of 18 independent variables.

As the results in Table 25.12 show, gender is a significant variable in all three categories of delinquency, with boys committing substantially more offences. There is a slight increase in delinquency with grade, a fact that obviously reflects the effect of age. Whereas delinquency in all three categories is nearly absent below age 12, rates increase substantially with age and reach rather impressive levels by age 17.

There is no statistically significant association between offence categories on one hand and national background and the experience of discrimination, on the other hand. Pupils with unemployed parents commit both property and violent crimes more often compared to pupils with working parents, yet the opposite is true with respect to non-violent crimes.

Children with strong family ties generally commit less property and violent offences than those who rarely have common family activities. In families where parents know their children's friends, offence rates are much lower. Pupils who have ever experienced traumatic events generally are more delinquent.

**Table 25.11** List of offences in each of three categories of delinquency

Delinquency variables		
Property offences	Violent offences	Non-violent offences
Vandalism	Group fight	Content downloading
Shoplifting	Carrying a weapon	Drug dealing
Snatching of bag	Assault	Computer hacking
Theft from a car	Robbery/ extortion	
Car theft		
Bicycle theft		
Burglary		

A group of friends is, as the results suggest, an important factor in juvenile delinquency. Students with frequent night-time activities, having delinquent peers, who belong to a group that does illegal things or that is considered a “gang” are more likely to commit different offences. Those who dislike their schools or who are often absent from school without a legitimate reason tend also to commit far more offences. Repeating a grade has also some effect on offending, but less consistently. As for self-control, the higher self-control is, the lower the probability of committing property and violent offences. Interestingly, some of these variables do not have the same impact on all three categories of offences. Being frequently out during night-time hours goes along, for example, with far higher rates of property and violent offences, but not with the third category of computer offences and drug dealing. It might be that some of these independent variables affect opportunities differentially. Night-time outdoor activities may, for example, increase the probability of violent encounters, but not of computer offences that largely are committed while being at home.

**Table 25.12** Association between three categories of delinquency and 18 independent variables

Background variables	Property offences (%)	Violent offences (%)	Non-violent offences (%)
<b>Gender</b>			
Female	10.7	14.0	30.7
Male	16.7	30.1	42.2
<b>Grade</b>			
Grade 7	13.5	20.5	31.4
Grade 8	12.4	20.0	32.1
Grade 9	15.0	24.7	44.7
<b>Age</b>			
11	0.0	0.0	20.0
12	11.6	14.2	30.8
13	12.2	19.9	32.7
14	13.2	20.9	35.4
15	15.3	25.0	41.2
16	16.5	29.1	35.4
17	42.9	28.6	71.4
<b>National background</b>			
Born in Russia	15.3	23.1	36.6
Born in a foreign country	13.5	21.6	36.3
<b>Experience of discrimination</b>			
Never	13.2	21.5	36.2
Sometimes	18	27.4	35
Often	18.2	9.5	27.3
<b>Parents occupational status</b>			
Father has a job	12.5	20.7	36.2
Mother has a job	13.2	20.3	34.4
Father is unemployed	24.4	31.7	19.5
Mother is unemployed	17.3	30.8	28.8
<b>Family leisure activities</b>			
Almost never	21.7	30.6	31.8
Once a year	23.2	25.9	37.5
Several times a year	19.8	24.3	35.8
Once a month	12.9	22.2	39.2
Once a week	10.8	18.3	36.1
More than once a week	9.4	20.2	34.4
<b>Family dinner</b>			
Never	25.6	34.4	43.2
Daily	10.7	18.6	34.3
<b>Parents know friends</b>			
Never	25.9	39.6	45.8
Sometimes	19.0	27.5	42.1
Always	7.5	14.8	30.6
<b>Experience of traumatic events</b>			
No	12.9	21.1	35.3
Yes	26.2	33.0	5.8
<b>Night activities per week</b>			
Never	7.9	8.8	27.3
Daily	17.5	30.6	36.7
<b>Group doing illegal things</b>			
No	10.5	19.7	36.6
Yes	44.7	50.5	49.0

(continued)

**Table 25.12** (continued)

Background variables	Property offences (%)	Violent offences (%)	Non-violent offences (%)
Group considered a gang			
No	12.2	19.5	35.8
Yes	30.7	49.4	53.2
Delinquent peers			
No	12.9	20.9	35.8
Yes	51.6	61.3	54.8
Likes school			
Not at all	30.2	39.9	48.5
Not very much	17.4	25.5	38.3
Fairly well	9.3	18.2	35.0
A lot	9.1	14.2	27.9
Has repeated a grade			
Never	13.6	21.8	36.5
Once	12.2	17.5	19.5
More than once	20.0	20.0	20.0
Truancy			
Never	7.4	14.3	29.8
1–2 times	17.4	27.7	42.8
≥ 3 times	31.8	40.9	50.1
Self-control			
Low	36.5	32.3	37.5
Medium	17.1	27.3	37.7
High	11.2	19.3	35.6

## 25.7 Multivariate Analysis

In order to understand how different background factors determine delinquent behaviour among juveniles in Russia, a stepwise multivariate regression analysis was conducted. The dependent variable is “delinquency”, i.e. all subjects who have admitted having ever committed at least once any among the 14 items of self-reported delinquency listed in the questionnaire is considered as “delinquent”. Among the independent variables introduced, several had to be omitted (e.g. age, school type, experience of drug abuse, etc.) because they did not significantly contribute to explain the dependent variable. The results are presented in Table 25.13.

As the results suggest, alcohol consumption, gender and having friends who commit shoplifting increase the likelihood of committing any delinquent act. Victimization (theft and assault), as well as having friends committing assault or using drugs, goes also along with more involvement in delinquency, a well-known fact since offenders often are exposed to more contacts with offenders and, thus, face higher risks of becoming victims of crime.

## 25.8 Conclusions

The aims of the ISRD-2 project was to see whether (1) delinquency and problem behaviour rates differ across countries, and whether (2) the same set of correlates influence offending in a variety of countries.

With respect to the first question, we can say that Russian juveniles show high rates of truancy, comparable rates of alcohol and spirit use, and low levels of property offences and drug use. Somewhat in contrast with these findings, our respondents report high levels of violent offending, particularly in Moscow where violent victimisation rates far exceed those in Western countries and come close to Western levels even for theft.

The differences between Moscow, as a large metropolitan city, and medium and small towns are far more profound than in Western countries. This holds for use of alcohol and marijuana, as well as for theft and violence. We cannot say whether this is the result of an “urbanization” effect, in the sense that the size of a city is of greater importance in the Russian context than in Western countries, or whether the partially Islamic culture in Kazan accounts for some of the differences with respect to substance abuse and theft. In the three small

**Table 25.13** Stepwise multiple regression with “delinquency” as dependent variable, and gender, friends, victimization and use of drugs/other substances as regressors

	Unstandardised coefficients		Standardised coefficients	<i>t</i>	Sig.
	B	Standard error	Beta		
(Constant)	0.100	0.018		5,594	0.000
Beer/wine drinking	0.286	0.021	0.271	13,689	0.000
Strong spirits drinking	0.185	0.024	0.159	7,619	0.000
Friends shop-lifting	0.164	0.032	0.112	5,157	0.000
Gender	0.139	0.018	0.138	7,582	0.000
Friends using drugs	0.137	0.033	0.092	4,208	0.000
Victimization – theft	0.097	0.030	0.062	3,242	0.001
Victimization – assault	0.091	0.038	0.046	2,420	0.016
Friends committing burglary	-0.163	0.062	-0.052	-2,628	0.009
Friends committing assault	0.087	0.040	0.048	2,203	0.028

towns, however, this explanation does not hold, leaving open the question whether opportunity structures, i.e. availability of goods and substances, or social control over juveniles, vary more between large, medium and small towns in Russia than in Western nations.

Whatever be the answer to this question, it seems likely that the differences between Western countries and Russia in general, as well as between Moscow and the other cities in our sample, to a large extent reflect varying opportunity structures. Consumer goods, drugs and even spirits may be far more widespread and easily available in Moscow than in Russia's small towns. Night-hour outdoor activities may likewise be more common and more attractive in Moscow than in other cities. All this offers good explanations for the different levels in property, drug and violent offences.

With respect to the second question, our results have shown that gender, age, family climate, parental and self-control, delinquent friends, attachment to school and night-time activities all are significant correlates of delin-

quency, although the association differs between different types of offences. Further and more detailed multivariate analyses will be needed to study how all these factors work together to explain the several forms of delinquency. So far, our analyses have shown that the same kinds of variables that have often been shown to contribute to offending are also important predictors of delinquency in Russia. This conclusion also holds for opportunity structure and routine activities that offer convincing explanations for Russia's low rates of property and drug offences.

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# Chapter 26

## Armenia

Anna Margaryan and Ara Gabuzyan

### 26.1 Introduction

This paper presents and discusses the results of the first self-reported juvenile delinquency survey ever conducted in the Republic of Armenia. The project has been made possible, thanks to a grant from the Swiss National Science Foundation awarded to the University of Lausanne.<sup>1</sup> The survey research was carried out in the framework of ISRD-2 using the standard research technique, which makes the results comparable to the results of other countries participating in ISRD-2.

#### 26.1.1 Socio-economic Situation of Armenia

The Republic of Armenia is a small country situated in the South-West of Asia. It borders in the North with Georgia, in the East with Azerbaijan, in the West and South-West with Turkey and in the South with Iran. The country's territory comprises approximately 29,743 km<sup>2</sup>, of which 47% agriculture lands, 35% mountains, plateaus and other land, woods 11% and water area 6%. Mountain ranges occupy more than one-third of the country's surface.

Ethnically, Armenia is very homogenous. Ethnic Armenians form 98% of the total population. Ethnic minorities are represented by Yesides (i.e. Kurds of Christian religion, 1.3%), Russians (0.5%), Greeks, Assyrians, Georgians, Ukrainians, Belarusian and Kurds (who altogether sum up to 0.3%).<sup>2</sup>

As of 1 January, 2006, Armenia had total population of 3,219,200 inhabitants<sup>3</sup>. The population density is 108 inhabitants per sq km. Roughly, 60% of the population lives in urban areas. More than half of the population is female, and about 30%, below 20. The marriage rate is 5.2 per 1,000 inhabitants, and the divorce rate is 0.8. Households are made up of, on average, 3.8 people.<sup>4</sup> Overall, 64% of households are headed by a man. Four in five children under the age of 18 live with both parents.

In Armenia, the level of education is high with almost 70% of the adult population (aged 25–49) having some degree other than the compulsory school education. Roughly, 20% hold an academic degree. Education is higher among women.<sup>5</sup> In 2005, 34% of the total population was employed, of which 55% was males and 45%, females. Industries employed 12% of the active population, 46% were active in agriculture, 10% in trade and public catering, 11% in education and culture, and 21% in other branches. Unemployment is a serious problem for Armenian society, although it decreased, according to official data, from 10.8% in 2004 to 8.2%

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<sup>1</sup>Project 111055 obtained within the framework of SCOPES (special project to support scientific cooperation between partners in Switzerland and in Eastern Europe).

<sup>2</sup>The information is based on the results of Armenian National Population Census 2001.

<sup>3</sup>Source of the information provided is Statistical Yearbook of Armenia 2006.

<sup>4</sup>Armenian 2005 Demographic and Health Survey: Key findings. Calverton, Maryland, National Statistical Service of Armenia and Macro International 2007.

<sup>5</sup>Women and Men in Armenia. Statistical Booklet. National Statistical Service of the Republic of Armenia, Yerevan, 2006.

in 2005. Unemployment is less common among men (5.5%) than among women (12.1%). In 2005, 30% of the total population of Armenia was below the poverty line. Gross Domestic Value per capita was 1585 Euros.<sup>6</sup>

### **26.1.2 Alcohol and Drug Policy**

According to the law of Republic of Armenia on Children's rights, no child under the age of 18 can be offered or sold any alcoholic beverages. Moreover, any person above the age of 18 who induces a child to regular use of alcoholic drinks, strong or other narcotic drugs not for medical purposes, is fined or placed in custody for up to 5 years (article 166 of the Armenian Criminal Code). Strong alcohol (except cognac) advertising is entirely prohibited on television and radio, whereas in newspapers, such advertisements cannot be placed on the first and last pages.

In reality, however, Armenian juveniles have no difficulty getting alcohol. Armenia is a country producing wine and cognac. Traditionally, juveniles are allowed to taste small quantities of alcohol (wine, liqueur, rarely cognac or vodka) during celebrations or other special events. However, owing to moderate consumption of alcoholic beverages, drinking has never been treated as a social problem either for adults or for juveniles. That is why Armenians are rather tolerant of alcohol consumption.

The situation is different, however, with respect to drugs. Armenia's policy on trafficking of narcotic drugs is extremely harsh. Severe criminal punishments are provided for illegal manufacture, processing, procurement, keeping, trafficking or supplying of narcotic drugs or psychotropic materials. More important, however, may be the fact that Armenia lives in perfect isolation from the outside world. It has relatively open borders with Georgia (and, indirectly, Russia) only, whereas the borders with Turkey and Azerbaijan are hermetically closed and controlled by Armenian and

Russian troupes. The Iranian border is open now to some extent, although still heavily controlled, but it used to be entirely closed over many years. This may explain why importation of drugs into Armenia remained at a marginal level at best, despite the fact that its neighbours Iran and Turkey are experiencing extended drug trafficking. This has kept drug consumption and drug-related crimes at a very low level. In turn, the absence of consumers and, therefore, of any significant demand for drugs has probably also slowed down initiatives to develop importation. However, according to official statistics, drug use seems to have increased during the last years. From 2003 to 2005, for example, cases of drug consumption known to the police have doubled, from 346 to 737. It remains to be seen whether reduced restrictions on trans-border mobility will ultimately change that picture in the coming years.

### **26.1.3 Youth Crime**

According to official statistics, juveniles were responsible for 3.3% of all crimes known to the police in 1993, and 5.5% in 2004. These rates are far below what one finds in most Western countries.<sup>7</sup> Typical offences committed by juveniles in Armenia are thefts, hooliganism and group fights. Fights among groups of juveniles are rather common, but rarely registered in official statistics, as are offences committed by juveniles in general. The Armenian society has lenient attitude towards juveniles and they are being brought to criminal responsibility only in rare cases.

## **26.2 Study Design**

### **26.2.1 Sampling Method**

As required by the ISRD-2 sampling protocol, the sampling was carried out in five cities. These cities were selected according to their sizes: one large, one medium-sized and three small cities were chosen.

<sup>6</sup>Women and Men in Armenia. Statistical Booklet. National Statistical Service of the Republic of Armenia, Yerevan, 2006. Unlike unemployment rates in some Western countries, Armenian rates are likely to understate the problem because unemployment benefits from social security programs are so insignificant that there are no incentives to work on the black market while being officially out of work.

<sup>7</sup>For details on other countries, see Table 1.2.2 of the European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics.



The survey was carried out in Yerevan, the capital of Armenia and biggest city of the country (population: 1,103,800), Vanadzor (population: 105,500), Stepanavan (population: 16,000), Sevan (population: 23,100) and Abovyan (population: 45,000).<sup>8</sup> These three minor towns were selected from three different regions (Lori, Gegharkhunik, Kotayq).

To carry out the survey, an agreement from the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Armenia was required. Copies of the Ministry's agreement were sent to the educational departments of the selected regions. All of them supported the project. The sampling was drawn out of a list of schools prepared by the Ministry of Education of Armenia. This list contains information about the number of schools, both public and private, having classes of seventh to ninth grade. Schools were selected in a way to ensure representativeness of various districts of the city. As the overwhelming majority of Armenian schools are public schools, the main sampling was done there. Only in Yerevan, it was possible to conduct sampling also in private-type schools. Once contacted by both the Ministry and the authors, all selected schools accepted to participate. They were asked to provide a list of classes from seventh to ninth grade. Having that list, random selection of classes took place. Finally, 93 classes were selected, all of which accepted the interviews to take place. In the end, 27 seventh grade classes, 32 eighth grade classes and 34 ninth grade classes were covered by the survey. No parental consent was required. Overall, 2,108 students were interviewed, out of which 94% in public and 6% in private schools.

### 26.2.2 Data Collection

As many schools did not have sufficient technical equipment to use computer questionnaire, we used paper-pencil questionnaires. The sampling was carried out by trained interviewers who were mainly Yerevan State University students. They were instructed to present the survey, answer the student's questions, and to fill in the interviewer form. At least one member of our research team was present during the fieldwork

at each school. Though the presence of the teacher was not required, most of the times the teacher was present. As to the questionnaire, three questions on corruption issues were added at the end of the questionnaire.

### 26.2.3 Response Rates

Although all schools and classes drawn as part of the sample participated in the survey, there were losses due to absent students. Out of a planned sample of 2,496 students, 362 (or 15%) were absent the day the interviews took place. Absenteeism was higher among the students of the ninth grade (20%) than among students of the seventh and ninth grade (11%). This high rate of absent students is probably connected to the generally high truancy level in Armenia. As to the ninth grade students, truancy can partly be explained by the fact that many of them take private lessons to prepare for University entrance exams. Though University entrance exams take place after grade 10, students often start taking private lessons while being in the ninth grade and during school hours. As for the seventh and eighth grade students (as well as some of ninth grade students), they just try to have fun instead of sitting in the class. Since the exact day of the interviews was not known ahead to school principals and students, it is unlikely that some students "planned" not going to school the day of the survey in order to gain time for other activities.

Among the students who were present, 26 (1.2%) refused to fill out the questionnaire.

### 26.2.4 Validity

The reliability and validity of self-reported delinquency studies is one of the most important questions to be discussed. One of the ways to measure the validity of the self-reported delinquency studies is to compare the results of that study with the court, police data or with the information provided by witnesses or victims of crime. In our case, no such comparison was done, because no detailed information was available concerning juveniles.

The validity of a self-reported questionnaire can be assessed through checks of the consistency of answers

<sup>8</sup>Regions of the Republic of Armenia in Figures: 2001–2005. National Statistical Service of the Republic of Armenia, Yerevan, 2006.

given to different items and their compatibility. In our case, we checked the internal logic of the responses and deleted inconsistent answers. The data presented in the tables show the same logic: there are no contradictions between prevalence and incidence rates, and less serious offences are more frequent than serious ones.

## 26.3 Delinquency, Problem Behaviour and Victimisation

### 26.3.1 Overview of the Results in Armenia in 2006

#### 26.3.1.1 Alcohol and Drug Consumption, Truancy

The results of the Armenian ISRD-2 survey show that almost two out of three surveyed juveniles already consumed beer or wine in their life, and one out of six strong spirits (Table 26.1).

Unlike Russia, Armenia has never experienced a high level of strong spirits consumption among adults or juveniles. Alcoholism has never been a major problem for Armenian society. Juveniles can use small quantities of alcohol, mostly wine, during social events and usually in the presence of their parents. Strong spirits are not popular even among adults.

In contrast to the high level of alcohol consumption, using drugs is very uncommon among Armenian juveniles. Marijuana (hashish) was used by 1.4% only, ecstasy by 0.1%, heroin, cocaine, and LSD by 0.2% of the respondents. Only 0.2% of the respondents reported selling or intermediating drugs. These low percentages represent very low absolute numbers, given the size of the sample. Despite the common border with Iran and Turkey (two countries experiencing extended drug

**Table 26.1** Lifetime and last month prevalence of alcohol and soft drug use (in %)

	Lifetime		Last month	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Beer/wine	66.3	2.4	23.4	2.9
Strong spirits	18.1	2.7	5.8	2.8
Marijuana, hashish use	1.4	2.6	0.5	2.6

Unweighted  $n = 2,099$ ; percentages based on valid cases

trafficking), the country's relative isolation<sup>9</sup> during the last 20 years may have prevented drugs from spreading into Armenia and the emergence of a significant drug market there.

Table 26.2 shows that truancy is very common among Armenian juveniles. Two risk factors appear to be present in 18.5% of the respondents.

#### 26.3.1.2 Victimization Experiences

Table 26.3 shows the prevalence of victimisation for four offences. Theft and assault are the most often experienced by Armenian juveniles. Although theft and robbery/extortion are less common than in most Western societies, probably because of a less "favourable" opportunity structure, assault is rather frequent,

**Table 26.2** Lifetime and last month prevalence of risk factors (in %)

	Life-time		Last month <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Alcohol total <sup>b</sup>	66.9	2.4	24.4	2.5
Marijuana, hashish use	1.4	2.6	0.5	2.6
Truancy	–	–	61.7	0.7
Two risk factors present	–	–	18.5	2.5

Unweighted  $n = 2,099$ ; percentages based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Truancy refers to the last year, whereas alcohol and drug use have been asked for the last month

<sup>b</sup>Beer/wine and strong spirits

<sup>c</sup>"Risk" assesses whether at least two of the following three behaviours have been reported: (1) Having drunken beer/wine or strong spirits at least once during the last month, (2) having used marijuana/hashish at least once during the last month, and (3) being truant at least once during the last year

**Table 26.3** Last year prevalence of victimisation and reporting to police (in %)

	Victimisation		Reporting to police <sup>a</sup>
	%	% Missing	%
Robbery/extortion	1.1	0.4	4.3
Assault	4.6	0.5	6.3
Theft	9.0	0.5	3.7
Bullying	2.6	0.6	1.9

Unweighted  $n = 2,099$ ; percentages based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Percentage based on number of victims

<sup>9</sup>See details under 26.1.2.

even more so than bullying. It could seem strange that students reported more often being victims of assault than of bullying. This may be related to the characteristics of Armenian machismo. Armenians are “hot” and easily respond with violence to a frustrating situation. Solving the interpersonal problems using violence is part of a “behavioural stereotype” for juveniles.

Reporting rates are extraordinarily low by European standards. Again, this might be related to macho attitudes that stress self-reliance rather than confidence in the police. Beyond such attitudes, it can also be suspected that the police are less willing and capable of taking care of victims’ concerns.

### 26.3.1.3 Self-reported Delinquency

According to Table 26.4, which presents prevalence rates, the most often admitted offences are: group fighting, carrying a weapon, vandalism, computer hacking, assault and shoplifting.

Overall, Armenian juveniles are committing violent offences at rates that are comparable or higher than in Western countries, but property and drug offences are extremely rare, obviously reflecting different opportunity structures. The same explanation applies to the relatively low rate of hacking.

**Table 26.4** Lifetime and last year prevalence of offences (in %)

Offences	Lifetime		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Group fight	23.5	3.3	18.4	4.0
Carrying a weapon	9.5	3.3	5.8	3.4
Assault	2.7	3.3	1.4	3.4
Snatching of bag	0.5	3.2	0.0	3.3
Robbery/extortion	0.5	3.2	0.4	3.2
Vandalism	8.3	2.9	3.3	3.0
Shoplifting	2.1	2.9	0.5	2.9
Bicycle/motor bike theft	0.5	3.0	0.2	3.0
Car break	0.7	3.2	0.3	3.2
Burglary	0.5	3.0	0.2	3.0
Car theft	0.5	3.0	0.3	3.1
Computer hacking	4.0	3.2	2.8	3.2
Drug dealing	0.2	3.4	0.1	3.4
XTC/speed use	0.1	2.9	0.0	2.9
LSD/heroin/cocaine use	0.2	2.9	0.1	2.9

Unweighted  $n = 2,099$ ; percentages based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin/cocaine use: last month prevalence

In order to have more reliable rates of offending, Table 26.5 aggregates several offences into larger categories: frequent violent offences, rare violent offences, rare property offences and hard-drug use.

### 26.3.2 Prevalence Rates by size of Towns

In order to compare the frequencies of problem behaviour, delinquency and victimisation among juveniles living in cities of different sizes, the following tables show the data for Yerevan (large city), Vanadzor (medium sized city) and the three small cities (Stepanavan, Sevan, Abovyan) (Table 26.6).

The data shows that juveniles in Yerevan consume alcohol more frequently than those in medium and small cities. Amazingly, juveniles from medium-sized city reported more frequent use of marijuana/hashish than those living in large and small cities (Table 26.6).

The data shows that truancy is more frequent in the large city, perhaps because there are more possibilities for juveniles to go out and spend their day time. Juveniles having two or more risk factors also are more frequent in the large city (Table 26.7).

**Table 26.5** Lifetime and last month prevalence of aggregated offences (in %)

Offences	Lifetime		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Frequent violent offences <sup>b</sup>	25.8	3.2	19.7	3.3
Rare violent offences <sup>c</sup>	3.3	3.2	1.7	3.2
Vandalism	8.3	2.9	3.3	3.0
Shoplifting	2.1	2.9	0.5	2.9
Rare property offences <sup>d</sup>	1.8	3.0	0.9	3.0
Computer hacking	4.0	3.2	2.8	3.2
Drug dealing	0.2	3.4	0.1	3.4
Hard drugs use <sup>e</sup>	0.3	2.9	0.1	2.9

Unweighted  $n = 2,099$ ; percentages based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Hard-drug use: last month prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Group fight and carrying a weapon

<sup>c</sup>Snatching of bag, robbery/extortion and assault

<sup>d</sup>Burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft and car break

<sup>e</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin/cocaine use

**Table 26.6** Life-time and last month prevalence of alcohol and soft-drug use (large, medium and small cities) (in %)

	Large city (unweighted <i>n</i> = 743)				Medium-sized city (unweighted <i>n</i> = 672)				Small cities (unweighted <i>n</i> = 684)			
	Lifetime		Last month		Lifetime		Last month		Lifetime		Last month	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Beer/wine	74.9	0.9	28.2	2.0	67.5	5.4	23.1	5.5	55.8	1.2	18.5	1.2
Strong spirits	24.5	1.2	7.8	1.3	16.2	5.7	4.6	5.7	12.7	1.3	4.8	1.6
Marijuana/ hashish	1.2	0.9	0.3	0.9	2.2	5.7	1.3	5.7	0.9	1.3	0.1	1.3

**Table 26.7** Lifetime and last month prevalence of risk factors (large, medium and small cities) (in %)

	Large city (unweighted <i>n</i> = 743)				Medium-sized city (unweighted <i>n</i> = 672)				Small cities (unweighted <i>n</i> = 684)			
	Life time		Last month <sup>a</sup>		Lifetime		Last month <sup>a</sup>		Lifetime		Last month <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Alcohol <sup>b</sup>	75.4	0.9	29.6	0.9	67.8	5.4	23.5	5.5	57	1.2	19.5	1.2
Marijuana hashish use	1.2		0.3	0.9	2.2	5.7	1.3	5.7	9	1.3	0.1	1.3
Truancy	–	–	73	0.3	–	–	51.1	1.6	–	–	59.7	0.1
Two risk factors present <sup>c</sup>	–	–	25.4	0.9	–	–	15	5.5	–	–	14.3	1.2

Percentages based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Truancy refers to the last year, whereas alcohol and drug use have been asked for the last month

<sup>b</sup>Beer/wine and strong spirits

<sup>c</sup>“Risk” assesses whether at least two of the following three behaviours have been reported: (1) Having drunken beer/wine or strong spirits at least once during the last month, (2) having used marijuana/hashish at least once during the last month, and (3) being truant at least once during the last year

**Table 26.8** Last year prevalence of victimisation and reporting to police (large, medium and small cities) (in %)

	Large city (unweighted <i>n</i> = 743)			Medium sized city (unweighted <i>n</i> = 672)			Small cities (unweighted <i>n</i> = 684)		
	Victimisation		Reporting to police <sup>a</sup>	Victimisation		Reporting to police <sup>a</sup>	Victimisation		Reporting to police <sup>a</sup>
	%	% Missing	%	%	% Missing	%	%	% Missing	%
Robbery/extortion	1.4	1.1	0	0.7	0.1	0	1.2	0	12.5
Assault	4.8	1.3	5.7	3.6	0.1	4.2	5.4	0	8.1
Theft	8.9	1.3	9.2	9.7	0.1	0	8.3	0	1.8
Bullying	2.7	1.5	5	1.9	0.1	0	3.1	0	0

Percentages based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Percentage based on number of victims

Table 26.8 shows the frequency of victimisation for large, medium and small cities. Victimisation and reporting rates are relatively similar, taking the small sample sizes into account.

Table 26.9 shows that offending is not varying much across city size, taking the small size of the samples into account.

After having the offences aggregated, we see that though the rates of property and drug crimes show no

**Table 26.9** Lifetime and last year prevalence of offences (large, medium and small cities) (in %)

	Large city (unweighted <i>n</i> = 743)				Medium-sized city (unweighted <i>n</i> = 672)				Small cities (unweighted <i>n</i> = 684)			
	Lifetime		Last year <sup>a</sup>		Lifetime		Last year <sup>a</sup>		Lifetime		Last month <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Group fight	29.9	2.0	24.7	2.8	17.6	6.3	12.5	6.3	22	1.8	17	3.1
Carrying a weapon	14.4	2.2	9.4	2.3	5.6	6.3	3.3	6.3	7.9	1.6	4.2	1.9
Assault	3.7	2.0	2.6	2.2	2.4	6.3	0.8	6.4	1.8	1.8	0.7	1.8
Snatching of bag	0.4	2.0	0	2.2	0.5	6.3	0.2	6.3	0.6	1.6	0	1.6
Robbery/extortion	0.5	1.9	0.5	1.9	0.8	6.3	0.6	6.3	0.1	1.8	0.1	1.8
Vandalism	11.1	1.5	4.4	1.6	6.8	6.0	3.2	6.0	6.8	1.5	2.4	1.5
Shoplifting	2.9	1.5	0.7	1.5	2.2	6.0	0.8	6.0	1.0	1.5	0.1	1.5
Bicycle/motor bike theft	0.3	1.6	0.3	1.6	1.0	6.3	0.2	6.3	0.3	1.5	0.1	1.5
Car break	1.0	2.0	0.5	2.0	0.5	6.3	0.3	6.3	0.6	1.6	0.1	1.6
Burglary	0.5	1.5	0	1.6	1.1	6.1	0.6	6.1	0	1.5	0	1.5
Car theft	0.4	1.5	0.4	1.5	0.5	6.3	0.3	6.3	0.7	1.6	0.3	1.8
Computer hacking	5.1	1.9	3.8	2.0	4.8	6.3	2.9	6.3	2.1	1.6	1.5	1.6
Drug dealing	0.3	2.3	0.3	2.3	0.3	6.3	0.2	6.4	0	1.8	0	1.8
XTC/speed use	0	1.3	0	1.3	0.2	6.0	0.2	6.0	0.1	1.5	0	1.5
LSD/heroin/cocaine use	0.1	1.3	0	1.3	0.5	6.0	0.5	6.0	0.1	1.5	0	1.5

Percentages based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin use: last month prevalence

**Table 26.10** Lifetime and last year prevalence of aggregated offences by city size

	Large city (unweighted <i>n</i> = 743)				Medium-sized city (unweighted <i>n</i> = 672)				Small cities (unweighted <i>n</i> = 684)			
	Lifetime		Last year <sup>a</sup>		Lifetime		Last year <sup>a</sup>		Lifetime		Last month <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Frequent violent offences <sup>b</sup>	32.8	2.0	26.7	2.3	19.5	6.3	14.0	6.3	23.9	1.6	17.5	1.6
Rare violent offences <sup>c</sup>	4.4	1.9	2.9	1.9	3.0	6.3	1.1	6.3	2.5	1.6	0.9	1.6
Vandalism	11.1	1.5	4.4	1.6	6.8	6.0	3.2	6.0	6.8	1.5	2.4	1.5
Shoplifting	2.9	1.5	0.7	1.5	2.2	6.0	0.8	6.0	1.0	1.5	0.1	1.5
Rare property offences <sup>d</sup>	2.0	1.5	1.2	1.5	1.9	6.1	1.0	6.1	1.5	1.5	0.6	1.5
Computer hacking	5.1	1.9	3.8	2.0	4.8	6.3	2.9	6.3	2.1	1.6	1.5	1.6
Drug dealing	0.3	2.3	0.3	2.3	0.3	6.3	0.2	6.4	0	1.8	0	1.8
Hard drugs use <sup>e</sup>	0.1	1.3	0	1.3	0.5	6.0	0.5	6.0	0.3	1.5	0	1.5

Percentages based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Hard drug use: last month prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Group fight and carrying a weapon

<sup>c</sup>Snatching of bag, robbery/extortion, and assault

<sup>d</sup>Burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft and car break

<sup>e</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin/cocaine use

significant differences in large, medium and small cities, violent behaviour and vandalism occur more frequently in the large city. Computer hacking in the large city is

almost twice as frequent as in small cities, probably because of the small number of computers available to juveniles in rural areas (Table 26.10).

## 26.4 Demographic Variables and Delinquency, Problem Behaviour and Victimization

### 26.4.1 Gender

The results of Armenian ISRD-2 study show that males are more frequently engaged in problem behaviour than females. Alcohol consumption and hashish use is more frequent among male respondents. Hard-drug use rates are very low and are almost the same for both sexes and almost in all cities (Table 26.11).

Boys committed almost all types of offences significantly more often than girls. This can be explained by more severe social control towards girls than boys. What is restricted for girls often is allowed to boys. Girls are taught that their most important role in the society is the role of mother, wife and housekeeper, while boys are expected to be more independent, and able to take care of themselves and their family, even with the use of force. Perhaps, that is why boys are more frequently involved in violent behaviour than girls (Table 26.12).

As to victimisation, females and males have almost identical victimisation rates for theft, robbery/extortion and bullying. At the same time, boys become victims of assault more frequently than girls. This can be explained by the fact that the perpetrators of this offence are mainly males and they think that it is beneath their dignity to commit violence towards a female (Table 26.13).

### 26.4.2 Age

Analysis of the age distribution shows that age is not significantly related to problem behaviour, delinquency and victimisation, with the (trivial) exception of alcohol

**Table 26.11** Gender and last month prevalence of alcohol and drug use (in %)

	Female ( <i>n</i> = 1,117)	Male ( <i>n</i> = 989)	
Beer/wine consumption	17.5	30.0	**
Spirits use	1.5	10.8	**
Marijuana, hashish use	0.1	1.1	**
XTC use	0.0	0.1	n.s.
LSD/Heroine/Cocaine use	0.1	0.1	n.s.

Percentages based on valid cases, \* $p \leq 0.05$ , \*\* $p \leq 0.01$ , \*\*\* $p \leq 0.001$

use that increases with age. Whereas last-year offending rates tend to be stable, victimisation (particularly of bullying and assault) tends to happen less often with age.

### 26.4.3 Migrant Background

Since only 2% of the Armenian population have some immigrant background, the number of students who are not Armenians is so low in the present sample that no meaningful analysis is possible.

### 26.4.4 Household Composition

According to our data, 90% of the respondents are living in a traditional family. Given the sample size, no significant difference has been found for the 10%

**Table 26.12** Gender and last year prevalence of offences (in %)

Offences	Female ( <i>n</i> = 1,108)	Male ( <i>n</i> = 895)	
Group fight	2.8	37.3	**
Carrying a weapon	1.4	11.1	**
Assault	0.0	3.2	**
Snatching of bag	0.0	0.1	**
Robbery/extortion	0.0	1.0	**
Vandalism	0.3	6.4	**
Shoplifting	0.1	1.1	**
Bicycle/motor bike theft	0.0	0.4	**
Car break	0.2	0.5	**
Burglary	0.0	0.4	**
Car theft	0.0	0.8	**
Computer hacking	0.9	5.0	**
Drug dealing	0.0	0.3	*
XTC/speed use	0.0	0.1	n.s.
LSD/heroin/cocaine use	0.1	0.1	n.s.

Percentages based on valid cases, \* $p \leq 0.05$ , \*\* $p \leq 0.01$ , \*\*\* $p \leq 0.001$

**Table 26.13** Gender and last year prevalence of victimisation (in %)

	Female ( <i>n</i> = 1,112)	Male ( <i>n</i> = 982)	
robbery/extortion	1.0	1.2	n.s.
Assault	3.5	5.8	*
Theft	9.8	8.0	n.s.
Bullying	2.8	2.4	n.s.

Percentages based on valid cases, \* $p \leq 0.05$ , \*\* $p \leq 0.01$ , \*\*\* $p \leq 0.001$



coming from a non-traditional family and the rest of the sample. There is, however, a slight tendency that offending and alcohol are slightly more common among juveniles living with both parents. The only interesting (though not significant) difference concerns bullying that is more often experienced by children from single-parent families.

### **26.4.5 Unemployment**

According to the indications of our respondents, 65% of the fathers and 43% of the mothers had a permanent job. Given the low salaries in Armenia, material well-being is not evident even in case of normal employment. Therefore, the material situation of those not employed does not necessarily differ much from those in the work force. Not surprisingly, parental unemployment has no significant impact on problem behaviour, delinquency and victimisation. Rather, juveniles whose parents are unemployed report often slightly lower rates, probably because they experience stronger parental control.

### **26.4.6 Level of Consumption**

The measure of SES has, in the ISRD-2, been replaced by several items that, actually, measure level of consumption (LOC) rather than the hierarchical position of the respondent's family.<sup>10</sup> Among the respondents, 66% reported having their own room, 58% own a mobile phone, and 38% have a computer. At least one car is owned by 53% of the families. This situation is not untypical for Armenia, where one of the ways how parents can express their love towards their kids is providing them with mobile phones and other goods of prestige. For the analyses, we have ranked as "high" on LOC all respondents who answered "yes" to all four items (805 students), and as "low" the remaining of the sample.

Given that access to these consumer goods is rather widespread, it comes as no surprise that LOC is not significantly related to problem behaviour, delinquency

and victimisation. As a trend, offending is slightly more frequent among those having a high LOC.

### **26.4.7 Corruption**

Adolescents with high LOC may engage more often in delinquency, because they may feel less vulnerable to sanctions, being confident that their parents will exempt them from responsibility by offering bribes. Our additional items allowed confirmation of the fact that corruption is rather widespread in Armenia. According to the results, 50% of the juveniles reported that their parents have offered "presents" to teachers in order to improve their kids marks, and 82% reported their friends' parents' did the same. When asked "have you taken private lessons just to "improve" marks", 33% of the respondents gave positive answer and 76% told their friends did.

## **26.5 Social Bonds and Delinquency, Problem Behaviour and Victimisation**

### **26.5.1 Relationship with Parents**

Many studies (Antonyan, 1995; Antonyan et al., 1996, 2004; Bartol, 2004) have found that stronger relationships with parents go along with lower rates of juvenile delinquency. In Armenia, according to our results good relationships with parents are common among juveniles: 86% of the respondents reported having very good relationships with their father, and the same percentage said their relationship with their mother to be very good; just 0.3% said the relationships with their father to be "bad", and only 0.2% said being on "bad" terms with their mother. Among the respondents, 82% said having dinner with their parents daily, and 77% spend leisure with their parents at least once a week.

Juveniles being on bad terms with either their father or mother tend to have higher rates of delinquency, problem behaviour and victimisation. However, given the extremely low frequency of the group reporting "bad" relationships with their parents, no statistically meaningful analysis can be presented.

<sup>10</sup>These items were asking to provide information about having own room, mobile phone, computer to use and car ownership by his/her family.

### 26.5.2 Parental Supervision

Parents of 74% of the respondents always know the friends with whom they spend time, and only 3% never do so. Parents of 90% of the respondents insist that their children be back at home at a certain hour, and 74% said to always respect that limit. This conformity of children is typical for Armenian society, where the family ranks among the most important values. Parents live not for themselves, but for the children. Everything is done to protect the child, and to satisfy his/her needs. At the same time, children are being taught from early childhood to respect their parents and elderly people, and to obey whatever their parents tell them to do. The following Table 26.14 shows that parental supervision is a very powerful variable in explaining delinquency, problem behaviour and victimisation.

The role of parental supervision has been established in many countries and studies (such as Hirschi, 1969). The real interest of the findings in Table 26.14 comes from the fact that this relationship holds even in a traditional society like Armenia.

### 26.5.3 Life Events

In our study, quite a few respondents experienced different traumatic events; 3% of them reported about the death of a brother or sister, 5% experienced death of father or mother, 47% lost somebody else they loved, 14% suffered from serious illness, and 26% had a parent who was seriously ill at some time. Alcohol or drug abuse by parents is reported by only 1.5%, 2% saw

scenes of violence between parents, and 4% experienced separation/divorce of their parents.

The analysis showed that traumatic life events have, in general, only very limited impact on the dependent variables. The only exceptions are alcohol and/or drug use by parents, and, to a lesser extent, violence between parents. These two forms of traumatism are, however, so rare in our sample that no statistically meaningful analysis can be presented.

### 26.5.4 Attachment to School

According to the Armenian ISRD-2 study, 74% of the respondents reported that they like school, whereas the others have a weaker attachment to the school. Table 26.15 shows the results for all items where the frequencies were sufficient to allow a meaningful analysis.

As Table 26.15 reveals, juveniles with little school attachment use alcohol including spirits far more often than those who like school. They also commit offences,

**Table 26.15** Attachment to school and alcohol use and delinquency (in %) (the rates of delinquency refer to the last year, whereas the rates of alcohol use refer to the last month)

	Strong attachment ( <i>n</i> = 1,559)	Weak attachment ( <i>n</i> = 536)	
Beer/wine consumption	19.9	31.3	***
Spirits use	3.6	11.6	***
Group fight	14.0	28.5	***
Carrying a weapon	4.1	9.9	***

Percentages based on valid cases, \**p* ≤ 0.05, \*\**p* ≤ 0.01, \*\*\**p* ≤ 0.001

**Table 26.14** Parental supervision and delinquency, alcohol use and victimisation (in %) (the rates of delinquency and victimisation refer to the last year, whereas the rates of alcohol use refer to the last month)

Offences	Parents know friends			Parents tell time to come home		
	Always ( <i>n</i> = 1,530)	Never ( <i>n</i> = 67)		Yes ( <i>n</i> = 1,200)	No ( <i>n</i> = 128)	
Group fight	11.2	41.8	***	23.8	32.0	*
Carrying a weapon	3.2	20.9	***	7.1	14.1	**
Assault	1.0	8.9	***	1.9	1.6	n.s.
Computer hacking	1.8	8.9	***	3.3	6.3	n.s.
Beer/wine consumption	18.4	38.9	***	25.8	32.8	n.s.
Spirits use	3.2	22.4	***	6.9	14.1	n.s.
Victimisation of assault	3.9	11.9	**	5.5	21.4	n.s.

Percentages based on valid cases, \**p* ≤ 0.05, \*\**p* ≤ 0.01, \*\*\**p* ≤ 0.001

such as group fights and carrying a weapon, about twice as often. With respect to other offences and victimisation, the differences are small or hard to interpret, given low cell frequencies.

### 26.5.5 Repeated Grade

Repeating a grade is extremely unusual in the Armenian school system. In parts, this may be due to the fact that parents try everything, sometimes even using bribes, to “convince” teachers and school principals to save their children from repeating a grade. According to the data, only 0.7% of the respondents have ever repeated a grade. Therefore, no analysis can be presented on this variable.

### 26.5.6 Truancy

According to our results, 62% of juveniles reported having missed one entire school day at least once during the last year. The following Table 26.16 show the relevance of truancy for juvenile problem behaviour, delinquency and victimisation. The results will be shown only for items where the cell frequencies allow meaningful interpretations.

The results show that juveniles who were absent for 1 day at least, use beer/wine twice more, and even four times more often spirits than other adolescents. With delinquency, the situation is almost the same, truants offending three to four times more often than those who have never missed classes. More time spent outdoors obviously increases the risk of offending. Truancy may also go along with increased presence in Internet clubs that became very popular in Armenia during the last 4–5 years (Table 26.17).

**Table 26.16** Truancy and last month prevalence of alcohol use (in %)

	Yes ( <i>n</i> = 924)	No ( <i>n</i> = 423)	
Beer/wine consumption	28.0	14.5	***
Spirits use	8.0	1.9	**

Percentages based on valid cases, \* $p \leq 0.05$ , \*\* $p \leq 0.01$ , \*\*\* $p \leq 0.001$

Contrary to offending, truants do not experience victimisations more often than other juveniles, with the only possible exception of theft (where the difference, however, is not significant).

What has been found here is interesting. It has often been shown that truancy is correlated with delinquency, either as a symptom of weak social bonds (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990) or because it offers more time for more deviant activities (Felson, 2002). That these correlations hold even in such different a context as Armenia is noteworthy, particularly if we take into account that truancy is, as stated in the paragraph on response rates (2.3), to some extent related to taking private lessons rather than just hanging around. On the other hand, it seems that partially “justified” truancy by ninth graders offers a legitimate excuse to younger students as well. There even is some social pressure on “conformist” students to skip school as well in order to remain accepted in their class. Even if we consider private lessons, truancy is, thus, far more frequent in Armenia than in other countries. It is as if youth that is so tightly controlled by parents are successfully escaping control by the school, with outcomes in terms of behaviour that are, as the data suggest, not much different from what one would expect in a Western country.

### 26.5.7 Characteristics of Groups of Friends

Overall, 56% of our respondents reported that they spend leisure time with a group of friends. Within our sample, 8.1% (171 students) said they belong to a group that is accepting illegal things to be done, and 6% (123 students) admit their group is doing illegal

**Table 26.17** Truancy and last year prevalence of offences (in %)

Offences	Yes ( <i>n</i> = 924)	No ( <i>n</i> = 423)	
Group fight	24.0	7.8	***
Carrying a weapon	8.0	1.8	***
Assault	1.8	0.8	n.s.
Vandalism	4.7	0.9	***
Computer hacking	3.6	1.3	***

Percentages based on valid cases, \* $p \leq 0.05$ , \*\* $p \leq 0.01$ , \*\*\* $p \leq 0.001$

**Table 26.18** Group characteristics and last year prevalence of victimisation, alcohol/drug use and delinquency (in %)

	Illegal things accepted			Illegal things being done		
	Yes ( <i>n</i> = 171)	No ( <i>n</i> = 1,017)		Yes ( <i>n</i> = 123)	No ( <i>n</i> = 1,066)	
Experiencing an assault	7.1	3.8	n.s.	9.0	3.8	**
Beer/wine consumption	44.4	26.5	***	48.4	26.8	***
Spirits use	17.2	6.5	***	21.3	6.5	***
Marijuana, hashish use	1.8	0.6	n.s.	3.3	0.5	*
Group fight	43.2	18.7	***	51.6	18.8	***
Carrying a weapon	20.7	5.6	***	24.6	5.8	***
Assault	6.5	1.2	***	9.0	1.1	***
Robbery/extortion	3.0	0.2	***	4.1	0.2	***
Vandalism	12.4	3.3	***	17.2	3.1	***
Computer hacking	7.7	3.3	**	10.7	3.1	***

Percentages based on valid cases, \* $p \leq 0.05$ , \*\* $p \leq 0.01$ , \*\*\* $p \leq 0.001$

things. We shall consider here to what extent such group characteristics go along with delinquency and problem behaviour. Only 1.5% (31 students) described their group of friends to be a “gang”. Given this rare frequency, we cannot conduct any meaningful analysis with this category. However, the fact that so few Armenian juveniles belong to a “gang” is noteworthy as such in a comparative perspective.

In the following Table 26.18, only items with a sufficient cell frequency will be included.

Juveniles belonging to groups that engage, from time to time, in illegal activities, or that at least accept such activities by its members, have substantially higher risks of being victims of assault. They also use far more alcohol (especially spirits) and marijuana/hashish, and commit all sorts of offences, including violent and property offences<sup>11</sup> and computer hacking, far more often than other respondents.

To sum up, belonging to a group where delinquency is accepted and acceptable goes along with higher rates of delinquency, victimisation and problem behaviour. It is noteworthy that this correlation, first observed by Sutherland and Cressey (1978) and other writers of classical criminology hold in as remote a country as Armenia.

### 26.5.8 Neighbourhood Attachment

To reveal the influence of neighbourhood attachment on delinquent behaviour and victimisation, two questions

<sup>11</sup>Not shown due to low cell frequencies.

were selected from the questionnaire. One of them asks the respondent to express whether he/she likes the neighbourhood and the second one asked how watchful the neighbourhood seems to be. In American writings on this subject, such variables have been presented as key issues in the development of delinquency (Sampson and Groves, 1989; Sampson and Laub, 1997). Although neighbourhood attachment and social control in the neighbourhood was weak for a substantial proportion of our respondents (10% and 41.5%), the results did not show any significant or meaningful differences. Obviously, these variables do not catch the issue well in the Armenian context.

### 26.5.9 Neighbourhood Problems

Contrary to what one might expect, there are “bad” neighbourhoods in Armenian cities where, for example, prostitution and other deviant activities are common particularly during night hours. The ISRD-2 questionnaire contained several items on neighbourhood problems, such as the presence of crime, dealing with drugs, frequent fights, abandoned buildings and neighbourhood conflict. Since drug trafficking and some other items are not often observed in our sample, we have created an index where all those who report observing at least four of these problems are rated as experiencing neighbourhood problems.

The results show that neighbourhood problems have significant influence on all dependant variables (Table 26.19).

An index was created to reveal also the influence of the neighbourhood problems on juvenile victimisation (Table 26.20).

Living in an unsafe environment increases the risks of experiencing property and violent crimes. More the crimes and drugs are visible in a neighbourhood, higher is the risk of experiencing robbery/extortion, theft and assault.

### 26.5.10 Multivariate Analyses

The analysis above showed that, at the bivariate level, delinquent behaviour is connected to several family,

**Table 26.19** Neighbourhood problems and last year prevalence of alcohol/drug use and delinquency (in %)

	Neighbourhood problems		
	No ( <i>n</i> = 1,629)	Yes ( <i>n</i> = 432)	
Beer/wine consumption	13	25	***
Spirits use	4.5	10.1	***
Marijuana, hashish use	0.3	2.2	***
Group fight	14	32	***
Carrying a weapon	4.3	11.8	***
Assault	0.8	4.0	***
Robbery/extortion	0.3	0.9	n.s.
Vandalism	2.4	7.2	***
Shoplifting	0.3	1.6	***
Computer hacking	2.1	5.8	***

Percentages based on valid cases, \* $p \leq 0.05$ , \*\* $p \leq 0.01$ , \*\*\* $p \leq 0.001$

**Table 26.20** Neighbourhood problems and last year prevalence of victimisation (in %)

	Neighbourhood problems		
	No ( <i>n</i> = 1,629)	Yes ( <i>n</i> = 432)	
Robbery/extortion	1.0	1.4	n.s.
Assault	3.9	7.2	n.s.
Theft	7.6	13.8	n.s.
Bullying	2.4	3.0	n.s.

Percentages based on valid cases, \* $p \leq 0.05$ , \*\* $p \leq 0.01$ , \*\*\* $p \leq 0.001$

**Table 26.21** Odd's ratio of the independent variables used in the final logistic regression models

Independent variables	Dependent variables				
	Group fight	Assault	Weapon carrying	Computer hacking	Hashish use
Gender (boys vs. girls)	17.0	n.s.	6.8	5.0	14.0
Truancy (yes vs. no)	3.1	n.s.	3.6	2.3	n.s.
Neighbourhood problems (yes vs. no)	2.1	3.9	2.1	2.1	4.7
School attachment (weak vs. strong)	1.5	n.s.	1.7	n.s.	n.s.
Nagelkerke $R^2$ (in %)	37.7%	20.5%	19.4%	10.8%	14.5%

school, peer and neighbourhood related social variables. In order to examine main effects of these variables, series of explorative logistic regression analyses were carried out. The following variables were taken into consideration: gender, truancy, neighbourhood problems and school attachment (Table 26.21).

The results of the multivariate analysis show neighbourhood problems always play an essential role in delinquent behaviour of juveniles, while gender, truancy and school attachment have an impact depending on the type of offence. Generally speaking, the role of gender is far stronger in Armenia than in Western countries.

## 26.6 Conclusion

The results confirm that the most prevalent offences being reported by Armenian juveniles are group fighting, carrying a weapon, vandalism, computer hacking and assault. Violent offences take place more frequently than property crimes. Using drugs and especially hard drugs is very rare among Armenian adolescents while drinking alcohol, especially wine, is very common and often occurs during social events. The quantities of alcohol that are consumed by juveniles are usually modest, and drinking is not seen as a problem for Armenian juveniles.

Delinquent behaviour is correlated with several family, school, peer and neighbourhood factors. Bivariate analyses showed that gender, truancy, neighbourhood problems and characteristics of friends are all significant correlates of juvenile delinquency. In the multivariate analyses, it became obvious that neighbourhood problems are the main correlate of juvenile delinquent behaviour, next to gender that is far more strongly related to certain offences than in Western countries.

In sum, the results confirm that several variables proposed by classical writings in criminology hold even in a remote country such as Armenia. On the other

hand, the near absence of drug offences, due to closed and tightly controlled borders, and very low property crime rates, due to the absence of large quantities of consumer goods, illustrate the importance of opportunity structures on criminal and human behaviour.

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## **Latin-American countries**

# Chapter 27

## Venezuela

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### 27.1 Introduction

The production of comprehensive and reliable data for criminological research is largely, although not entirely, determined by a country's level of wealth and institutional development. Thus, it has long been observed in comparative criminology that data are relatively abundant for the wealthy nations of the world and relatively sparse for the rest. For example, "The International Crime Victim Survey" has one or more national samples for countries in Western Europe and the New World, but only single city samples for many other countries. The first International Self-report Survey on Juvenile Delinquency was likewise confined to countries with sufficient resources and research traditions to collect the data (see, generally, Newman, 1999).

Venezuela is typical of many Latin American countries in that it has a relatively low rate of data production in criminology and makes only rare appearances in international studies. Accordingly, the announcement of plans to undertake a second international self-report survey on juvenile delinquency provided a good opportunity to collect valid and reliable data on the subject in a Latin American country, thereby adding an interesting

and geographically distinct case to the ISRD-2 sample of countries.

A survey instrument as comprehensive as that used in the ISRD-2 study allows for the exploration of many different sets of variables related to the possible causes of juvenile delinquency and the responses to it. However, it is impossible to undertake a detailed analysis of all these variables in a preliminary report such as this. Accordingly, in this chapter we present and discuss the first results from the ISRD-2 survey in Venezuela, focusing on the prevalence of delinquent behaviours and some of its correlates. Rather than developing our analysis within the confines of a pre-selected theoretical framework, we proceed inductively by paying more attention to those variables showing the strongest associations with delinquent behavior. Many of those variables describe what we initially identify as disorderly environments, but on closer inspection, the latter can be narrowed down to deviant peers. As we indicate in the conclusion to this chapter, deviant peer groups and deviant peers may have explanatory value for the study of individual delinquent behaviour, and warrant further exploration. Our case study is prefaced with a description of Venezuela and the data collection procedures that were used.

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### 27.2 Venezuela

Venezuela is a South American country of 27.5 million inhabitants (INE, 2007a) that stretches from the Amazonian basin and Guiana Highlands in the south, across the Orinoco basin and the Andean or coastal mountain ranges to the Caribbean in the north. It was colonized by the Spanish in the sixteenth century and continued to be so till it attained its formal indepen-

dence from Spain in 1830. Three racial groups met and mixed during and after that time: the indigenous tribes that had been living in the territory long before Columbus arrived, the Caucasians who colonized it, and the Africans who were brought in as slaves up to the mid-nineteenth century. Racial categories have blurred over time and their social significance has been attenuated, although it has not disappeared: currently, two thirds of the population are considered to be *mestizo* (a mixture of indigenous and Caucasian blood) (PDVSA, 1997).

The rural, agrarian-based economy of the nineteenth century was rapidly transformed during the twentieth century with the discovery of oil. Venezuela is the ninth largest producer and the fifth largest exporter of oil in the world (EIA, 2007). Oil accounts for about 30% of the GDP, 50% of the government income (CIA, 2007) and 85% of the country's export earnings (ECLAC, 2006). Following an unprecedented period of prosperity in the 1960s and the 1970s, the economy went into sharp decline in the 1980s, with rising levels of poverty and inequality. However, the resurgence of oil prices during the first years of the new millennium, coupled with more social spending by the government, has done something to reverse this situation (Crespo, 2006; WIDER, 2007). Currently, Venezuela's gross domestic product (GDP) is slightly above the average for Latin American countries, but only about one seventh of the GDP of the wealthiest countries in the world (World Bank, 2007).

During the second half of the twentieth century population growth was quite rapid<sup>2</sup> and was accompanied by a shift to urban areas. Currently, 87% of the population lives in settlements of more than 2,500 inhabitants (INE, 2007b). One result of population growth is that Venezuela is a young country: 33% of the population is under 15 years old, 63% is between 15 and 64 years old, while only 4% is 65 or older (INE, 2002). Correspondingly, Venezuelan children grow up in quite large households, nearly half of which comprise four to six people (INE, 2006). Children also grow up under a diversity of family arrangements. Of the nearly six million households in the country, 37% are headed by married couples, 32% by couples who

are cohabiting,<sup>3</sup> 22% by women and the rest (9%) by men (INE, 2006).

Venezuela has almost eliminated illiteracy (estimated at 6.4% in 2001) (INE, 2002) and is close to achieving universal education for its young people. Almost 100% of children and adolescents in the ages corresponding to "Basic Education" (First through ninth grades, 6–14 years old) are in school, and official figures show a dropout rate of only 3.9% for the 2004/2005 school year (INE, 2007c). Many adolescents continue for a further 2 years ("Diversified Education") to complete their secondary education, but few go on to university. Nevertheless, in 2001 two thirds of the population aged 7–24 was studying in schools (INE, 2002). Once young people leave school or university, the prospects in the labour market are not bright. Not only is the official unemployment rate quite high (16.8% in 2006) (World Bank, 2007) but about half of employed people are working in the informal sector (characterized by low wages, instability and a lack of welfare benefits) (INE, 2006). Thus, despite the relatively abundant oil income, poverty is widespread: one third of the population is classified as poor (household income does not cover basic expenditures) and one tenth of the population lives in "extreme poverty" (income does not cover the cost of food) (INE, 2006).

While people often cite unemployment as the country's most pressing problem, according to an ongoing national opinion survey, crime has recently taken the lead (PROVEA, 2006). Over the last 20 years, reported crime rates have been broadly stable, but there have been notable exceptions for certain kinds of violent crime (CONAREPOL, 2006; Crespo, 2006). During the 1990s, murder rates doubled from 13 to 25 per 100,000 inhabitants and then nearly doubled again to 44/100,000 by 2003, decreasing to 37/100,000 by 2005 (PROVEA, 2006). Since 2000, kidnappings have also increased rapidly, from 67 to 206 per year (PROVEA, 2006). While not the most violent of Latin American countries (Brazil, Colombia and El Salvador have the highest rates), Venezuela is above the average (Londoño et al., 2000) and its capital city (Caracas) has markedly higher rates than the rest of the country (Briceño-León and Pérez Perdomo, 2002). The level

<sup>2</sup>For example, the rate of population growth during the 1990s was 2.3% per year (INE, 2007b).

<sup>3</sup>Cohabitation (called *concubinato* or *unión libre* in Venezuela) is more frequent among the poor and generally less enduring than marriage.

of serious violence in Venezuela is also much higher than that in Western Europe and North America. Recent high profile abduction and murder cases have generated considerable levels of concern for personal safety (Birkbeck and Gabaldón, 2009).

### 27.3 Data Collection

The project team elected to use the city-based sampling strategy proposed by the ISRD-2 Steering Committee. The large urban area chosen was Caracas, located in the coastal mountains in the centre of the country and with an estimated population (in 2001) of 2,758,917 (INE, 2007d). The medium-sized urban area chosen was the city of Mérida, located in the western, Andean, region of the country and with an estimated population (in 2000) of 300,000 (GBV, 2006a). Finally, three small urban areas were chosen for their relative accessibility for the research team which was from either of the large or medium-sized city: Altigracia de Orituco (approximately 42,000 inhabitants in 2000 (GBV, 2006b)), which is located to the south east of Caracas in Guárico State; Lagunillas (approximately 20,000 inhabitants (GBV, 2006a), 20 km outside of Mérida; and San Casimiro, a small town of less than 15,000 inhabitants (GBV, 2006c) located in Aragua State to the south west of Caracas.<sup>4</sup>

The target sample size was 2,150 students, aiming for 700 students each in Caracas and Mérida, and 250 students each in Altigracia de Orituco, Lagunillas and San Casimiro. An estimated global non-response rate of 40% was factored in, to cover for the loss of respondents through a variety of causes: the refusal of schools to participate in the survey, the unavailability of a class during the days on which the survey team visited the school, student absences from class on the day or time when the survey was administered, and blank or

unusable questionnaires.<sup>5</sup> Thus, the initial sample size would be approximately 3,600 students. No stratification variables were used.

The target population for the survey were students in seventh, eighth and ninth grades of Basic Education (ages generally ranging between 12 and 15). Students were to be sampled by the “section” (i.e., class) they were enrolled in, and in order to generate a complete listing of classes for the purposes of sample selection, information (in Excel files) was obtained from the Ministry of Education’s regional offices on all schools and all classes at seventh, eighth and ninth grade levels in the urban areas chosen for the study. After checking and sifting through this data, the ISRD Survey Manager tool was used to generate a random sample of classes. A total of 125 classes at 69 schools were selected, giving an estimated student population of 3,811. With a 40% non-response rate, the final sample size was projected to be 2,286 students.

The questionnaire used in the survey was the standard version developed by the Steering Committee and contained no additional country-specific questions. The questionnaire was translated into Spanish by a team of four students who were fluent in English. This draft was then reviewed by the Venezuelan team leader (who is bilingual, and whose task was to check for any errors in translation). No major language problems were detected that required the modification or elimination of questions or response options from the standard version of the questionnaire. As computers are not widely available in Venezuelan schools, the questionnaire was designed to be administered in a paper version.

The fieldwork was carried out by a team of fully trained researchers and undergraduate students from the Universidad de Los Andes in the city of Mérida, who also travelled to the other urban areas included in the sample. Data collection began on 24 April 2006 and ended on 12 May 2006. As parental consent forms were not used, the key factor determining overall response rates to the survey was participation or non-participation at school level. Of the 69 schools included in the sample, 47 (68%) agreed to participate. Generally, a school did not participate because of a flat refusal from

<sup>4</sup>Care was taken in the selection of small cities that are not dormitory settlements for medium or large cities. Altigracia de Orituco is three hours’ drive from Caracas and is a small administrative centre in a predominantly agricultural zone. Lagunillas is a small commercial centre in an agricultural zone and has only a few residents who commute to work, or to the university, in the nearby city of Mérida. San Casimiro, approximately one hour’s drive from the nearest city (Maracay) and two and a half hours’ drive from Caracas, is also located in an agricultural zone.

<sup>5</sup>Parental consent forms were not used. These are almost unknown in Venezuelan survey research. However, students were given the opportunity not to participate in the survey by simply leaving the instrument blank and handing it in with all the others.

the Director or because of difficulties in arranging for the survey during the time allotted for the fieldwork.

In the schools that agreed to participate in the survey, cooperation was usually very good at all levels: the director and associate personnel, the teachers and the students themselves. Teachers helped the interview teams to get the class group ready for survey administration, and in the great majority of cases the class groups were orderly and filled out the survey questionnaire in silence. Many students appeared to take the survey very seriously, and often expressed their interest in the content to the staff involved in the project.<sup>6</sup> However, many students also commented (either to the interview team or on the instrument itself) that they felt the survey to be very long.<sup>7</sup> When the instruments/questionnaires were subsequently transcribed for data processing, it became apparent that a considerable number of students experienced either difficulty or tedium as they answered the questionnaire. This suggests that the survey instrument was not completely attuned to the experience, capability and attention span of Venezuelan students. It would be interesting, and important, to explore alternative formats for the application of this kind of survey in the Venezuelan context.

Non-participation by schools eliminated 877 students, leaving an estimated total of 2,934 students in the schools that agreed to participate in the survey. In all, 2,395 usable completed questionnaires were collected (in 94 classes), indicating a loss of 18% of students due to absence or non-participation in the survey. The response rate was 82% of students at schools which had agreed to participate in the survey and 62% of the students at all schools. This means that the overall non-response rate for the original sample was 38% (very close to the estimated figure – 40% – that was used in sample calculation). Table 27.1 shows student response rates from the cities. These were highest for Lagunillas

**Table 27.1** Student response rates by city

City/Town	Estimated total of students in sample	Number of students participating in the survey	Response rate (%)
Caracas	1,174	614	52.2
Mérida	1,223	889	72.6
A. de Orituco	474	192	40.5
Lagunillas	449	358	79.7
San Casimiro	506	342	67.5
Total	3,826	2,395	62.5

and Mérida and lowest for Altagracia de Orituco and Caracas. In Altagracia de Orituco the low response rate was largely determined by the failure to locate two of the five schools in the sample,<sup>8</sup> while in Caracas the response rate was affected mainly by the absence of school directors or by a greater insistence on the need to obtain authorization for the survey from the Ministry of Education.

## 27.4 Results

Table 27.2 shows the lifetime and recent prevalence of delinquent and other problem behaviours for the whole sample, and affected or broken down by Caracas/other urban areas. What is most striking about these results is that the prevalence of most delinquent behaviours is very low, especially during the recent period (the previous 12 months for all behaviours except drug use, for which “recent” refers to the previous 4 weeks). For example, only 4.3% of respondents reported ever having shoplifted (only 1.5% during the previous 12 months) and only 1.3% had ever used marijuana. Overall, these results are quite similar to those found

<sup>6</sup>In countries with a strong research tradition (i.e., Western Europe and the New World), surveys of school students are quite frequent and must be programmed with care to avoid collision or overload. This does not happen in Venezuela: surveys of school students are still quite rare, particularly in rural areas. This worked to the research team’s favour because the data collection was a quite unusual or novel experience, both for school personnel and students, which helped to stimulate curiosity about the survey and a willingness to participate.

<sup>7</sup>Students took an average of 45 min to complete the questionnaire, with some finishing in 30 min and others taking as long as an hour.

<sup>8</sup>Similarly, one of the schools selected for the sample in Lagunillas could not be located. Project personnel did not query the Ministry of Education about these cases because over the years there have been scandals involving “ghost schools” in which the physical plant and students are non-existent but the payroll is definitely functioning. In other words, ghost schools are a form of corruption. We do not here affirm that the non-existent schools in Lagunillas and Altagracia de Orituco fell into this category, but we felt that to question the Ministry about these cases might have led to the perception that we were undertaking an investigation into corruption, and this would have undoubtedly raised barriers to institutional access for the project.

**Table 27.2** Lifetime and recent prevalence of delinquency and other problem behaviours by: total sample, Caracas and other urban areas

Behaviour	Total sample ( <i>n</i> = 2,395)				Caracas ( <i>n</i> = 614)				Other urban areas ( <i>n</i> = 1,781)			
	Life time		Last year		Life time		Last year		Life time		Last year	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Property offenses												
Damaged something on purpose	7.7	6.9	3.9	7.1	7.8	4.1	3.6	4.2	7.7	7.9	4.0	8.0
Shoplifting	4.3	5.8	1.5	6.1	5.1	3.3	2.4	3.3	4.1	6.7	1.2	7.1
Burglary	0.5	6.4	0.3	6.4	0.3	4.2	0.3	4.2	0.6	7.1	0.2	7.2
Bicycle theft	0.7	6.0	0.3	6.1	1.0	3.7	0.7	3.7	0.5	6.8	0.2	6.9
Car theft	0.5	7.1	0.3	7.1	0.7	5.0	0.3	5.0	0.4	7.7	0.2	7.8
Stole from car	1.1	5.3	0.5	5.3	0.8	3.4	0.7	3.6	1.3	5.9	0.4	6.0
Pickpocketing	2.1	6.4	0.8	6.6	2.2	4.4	0.7	4.4	2.1	7.1	0.9	7.3
Violence												
Carrying a weapon	4.2	5.6	2.6	5.6	4.7	3.6	3.0	3.8	4.1	6.3	2.4	6.3
Robbery/extortion	1.9	6.5	1.2	6.7	2.4	4.4	1.9	4.4	1.8	7.2	0.9	7.5
Group fighting	16.1	5.4	7.1	6.6	19.7	3.1	9.8	4.1	14.8	6.2	6.1	7.4
Assault	2.6	7.0	1.0	7.4	3.1	4.4	1.5	4.6	2.5	7.9	0.9	8.4
Computer offenses												
Downloaded music or films	39.2	4.8	28.1	7.1	51.6	3.1	40.2	4.4	34.8	5.4	23.7	8.1
Hacking	10.6	6.8	7.0	7.6	12.1	4.2	8.0	4.7	10.1	7.6	6.6	8.6
Drugs												
Sold drugs	1.2	5.9	0.8	6.0	1.3	3.1	1.0	3.1	1.2	7.0	0.7	7.0
			Last 4 weeks				Last 4 weeks				Last 4 weeks	
Used marijuana	1.3	6.1	0.5	6.1	2.0	4.1	1.2	4.1	1.1	6.8	0.3	6.9
Used XTC or speed	0.8	7.5	0.3	7.5	1.0	4.1	0.2	4.1	0.7	8.6	0.3	8.6
Used cocaine or heroin	0.4	6.9	0.2	6.9	0.3	4.6	0.0	4.6	0.4	7.7	0.2	7.7

Notes: Unweighted data, prevalences based on valid cases

in previous surveys on drug use and delinquency in Venezuela using localized samples and different questionnaires (Birkbeck, 1995), and they suggest that deviant behaviour, particularly serious deviant behaviour, is not very frequent among Venezuelan adolescents.

The most frequent behaviour recorded was downloading music or films from the internet. This result must be interpreted in terms of the culture of contraband that prevails in Venezuela, where pirated copies of music, films and software are readily and cheaply available from street vendors. Thus, downloading music or films is generally seen as both normal and acceptable and it is difficult to consider it as a deviant

behaviour.<sup>9</sup> Among the clearly delinquent behaviours measured in the survey, the highest prevalence was found for group fighting (16.1% lifetime prevalence), followed by damaging something on purpose (7.7%), shoplifting (4.3%) and carrying a weapon (4.2%). On

<sup>9</sup>The data on hacking should also be treated cautiously, but for a different reason. The term hacking was translated using the Hispanicised slang (*hackear*) that is current among the cyber-literate in Venezuela, but many students (particularly in the small towns) did not know what it meant (as revealed by their questions in class) and appeared to think that it referred to chatting over the internet (which is usually referred to as *chatear* in Venezuela). Thus, the data on hacking are of dubious validity.



almost all measures, the prevalence for Caracas respondents was higher than for respondents in other urban areas, but not greatly so.

In order to examine variables associated with involvement in delinquent behaviour, a summary measure of prevalence was calculated. For reasons stated above, computer offences were not included in this measure; however, in contrast to some other countries in the ISRD-2 project, marijuana use was included because it is considered a deviant behaviour in Venezuela and generally thought to be a crime.<sup>10</sup> The summary measure of prevalence was scored one if the respondent reported one or more of the behaviours listed in Table 27.2 (except computer offenses) during the previous 12 months (or previous 4 weeks for drug offenses), and 0 if they reported none of them. Overall, 11.2% of the sample had a prevalence score of one and represents the group of adolescents (which we will call “delinquents”) that is of particular interest for this project. In the following analyses, we compare this group with the rest of the sample (“non-delinquents”) in order to identify variables that are significantly associated with the probability of being delinquent. We use contingency tables and the chi-square statistic to identify significant variables and Cramér’s *V* to assess the strength of the association between the variables.

Table 27.3 shows the results for socio-demographic variables. Similar to other studies of crime and delinquency, boys in the sample were more likely than girls to have engaged in delinquent behaviours (15.8% vs. 6.8%), but unlike many other studies age was not associated with delinquent behavior.<sup>11</sup> Family living arrangements were not significantly associated with engagement in delinquent behavior and so it made no difference whether adolescents lived with their mothers and fathers, their mothers only, or with other people (for example, with mother and stepfather, with father only, or with grandparents). The marked matriarchal character of most Venezuelan households means that,

irrespective of the specific composition of the family group, children are almost always brought up by a significant female (usually the mother, but possibly the grandmother or an aunt). Finally, a simple measure of socio-economic level<sup>12</sup> shows some rather surprising results: adolescents from homes with greater material provision were more likely to report recent engagement in delinquent behaviours. Perhaps a greater feeling of empowerment among the students from wealthier backgrounds is accompanied by a stronger disposition to misbehave.

When variables measuring family interactions, school and neighbourhood are examined, the results are rather mixed. For brevity, Table 27.4 shows a sample of such variables, with two drawn from each category. Whether or not students got along with their mothers/stepmothers was not significantly associated with recent involvement in delinquent behaviour; neither was the frequency with which students undertook leisure activities with their parents. Other variables measuring family interactions were either unrelated or weakly related to delinquent behaviour.

By contrast, dissatisfaction with school and truancy were both quite strongly associated with involvement in delinquent behaviour. The prevalence of delinquency was nearly twice as great among students who did not like school. Similarly, as truancy increased so did delinquent behaviour. One quarter of students who had skipped class three or more times during the previous 12 months had been involved in delinquency. Most of the other variables in the survey that measured attitudes toward school, or the school environment, were significantly associated with the prevalence of delinquency.

Finally, variables measuring attitudes towards the neighbourhood were generally unrelated or only weakly related, to the prevalence of delinquency. For example, when students reported that people in their neighbourhoods do not get along, the probability of involvement in delinquent behavior was significantly higher (although not greatly so). However, whether or not neighbours notice and talk about the students’ own bad behavior was not related to participation in delinquency, a type of finding that was similar for several

<sup>10</sup> Marijuana and the other drugs mentioned in the ISRD-2 survey are included in Venezuelan drug laws. For all these drugs, the law distinguishes between “personal use” and possession (with the implied intent to sell), trafficking, and so on. Personal use is not strictly a crime, although if detected it leads to criminal proceedings and a “sentence” to treatment (Venezuela, 2005).

<sup>11</sup> The finding on age is not, however, dissimilar to the findings from previous self-report surveys conducted in Venezuela (Birkbeck, 1995).

<sup>12</sup> Socioeconomic level was calculated by assigning 1 point for each of the following: respondent has own room at home; respondent has access to a computer at home; respondent owns a mobile phone; and family owns a car. The minimum score would therefore be 0 and the maximum score would be 4.

**Table 27.3** Socio-demographic variables and recent delinquency

Variable	Gender (n = 2,372)		Age (n = 2,390)				Family living arrangements (n = 2,361)		Socioeconomic level <sup>a</sup> (n = 2,322)						
	M (%)	F (%)	≤12 (%)	13 (%)	14 (%)	15 (%)	≥16 (%)	With father and mother (%)	With mother only (%)	Other (%)	0 (%)	1 (%)	2 (%)	3 (%)	4 (%)
Non-delinquent	84.2	93.2	88.0	91.4	87.6	87.9	87.9	89.0	90.0	87.3	91.4	93.2	87.9	88.2	83.9
Delinquent	15.8	6.8	12.0	8.6	12.4	12.1	21.1	11.0	10.0	12.7	8.6	6.8	12.1	11.8	16.1
P (Pearson)	0.000		0.187					0.395			0.000				
V (Cramer)	0.142		0.051					0.028			0.098				

Notes: Unweighted data, contingency tables based on valid cases only

<sup>a</sup>Socio-economic level is calculated by giving one point for each of the following: has own room; computer at home; has mobile phone; family has a car. Minimum score = 0; maximum score = 4

**Table 27.4** Family, school, neighbourhood and recent delinquency

Variables	How do you usually get along with your mother/stepmother? (n = 2,347)		Leisure activities with parents (n = 2,358)		Do you usually like school? (n = 2,379)		Skipped school for a day (last 12 months) (n = 2,376)		People in my neighbourhood don't get along (n = 2,212)		My neighbours notice when I'm misbehaving and let me know (n = 2,268)			
	Just fine (%)	Rather well (%)	At least once a week (%)	At least once a week (%)	Yes (%)	No (%)	Never (%)	1-2 times (%)	3 or more times (%)	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	
Non-delinquent	88.7	89.5	86.4	89.2	88.3	88.3	89.6	80.9	88.0	75.5	85.0	90.0	88.8	88.7
Delinquent	11.3	10.5	13.6	10.8	11.7	11.7	10.4	19.1	12.0	24.5	15.0	10.0	11.2	11.3
P (Pearson)	0.545		0.491		0.000		0.000		0.000		0.001		0.927	
V (Cramer)	0.023		0.014		0.079		0.153		0.073		0.002		0.002	

Notes: Unweighted data, contingency tables based on valid cases only

**Table 27.5** Disorderly environments and recent delinquency

Variables	Has one of your parents had problems with alcohol or drugs? ( <i>n</i> = 1,515)		There is a lot of stealing in my school ( <i>n</i> = 2,251)		There is a lot of fighting in my school ( <i>n</i> = 2,222)		There is a lot of crime in my neighbourhood ( <i>n</i> = 2,249)		There is a lot of drug selling in my neighbourhood ( <i>n</i> = 2,253)	
	Yes (%)	No (%)	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)
Non-delinquent	79.7	88.6	85.4	91.6	84.8	92.3	84.9	90.4	84.3	90.4
Delinquent	20.3	11.4	14.6	8.4	15.2	7.7	15.1	9.6	15.7	9.6
<i>P</i> (Pearson)	0.002		0.000		0.000		0.000		0.000	
<i>V</i> (Cramer)	0.078		0.097		0.117		0.082		0.088	

Notes: Unweighted data, contingency tables based on valid cases only

other variables measuring neighbourhood interaction. The exception to this pattern was found for variables measuring the presence of crime and deviance in the neighbourhood, all of which were associated with a greater prevalence of delinquent behaviour. Similarly, variables describing delinquent behaviour in schools were also associated with a higher prevalence of delinquency among respondents, as was one variable describing family deviance (parents had problems with drugs or alcohol). These findings, some of which are summarized in Table 27.5, point to the considerable relationship between disorderly environments and the subject's own delinquent behaviour, a process that we examine in more detail in the next section.

### 27.4.1 Disorderly Environments

The results exemplified in Table 27.5 indicate that when adolescents perceived themselves to be in the family, school or neighbourhood settings where there is crime and deviance, they were more likely to report their own involvement in delinquent behaviour. For example, respondents reporting a parent with alcohol or drug problems were nearly twice as likely to have engaged in delinquent behaviour. Similarly, respondents reporting more crime at school or in the neighbourhood were more likely to have been delinquent themselves.

Another setting of great importance to personal behaviour is the peer group. The results from the survey indicate that when respondents were more actively engaged with peers, and when the peer group showed greater levels of deviant or delinquent behaviour, respondents

also showed higher frequencies of involvement in delinquent behaviour, sometimes considerably more. Table 27.6 shows that when respondents spent most of their free time on their own, the prevalence for recent delinquency was 10.4%, but when they spent it with a relatively large group of friends, the prevalence was 19.0%. When respondents reported that they did not spend time with a particular group of friends the prevalence for recent delinquency was 5.0%, but when they did spend time with a specific group of friends, the prevalence was 13.6%. When respondents reported that people in the group did not do illegal things together, the prevalence for recent delinquency was 10.6%, but when the group did illegal things the prevalence jumped to 40.5%. Similarly, when respondents did not consider their group of friends to be a gang, the prevalence for delinquency was 11.1%, but when the group of friends was considered to be a gang the prevalence of delinquency was 27.3%. Not surprisingly, when respondents reported that group activities included deviant or delinquent behavior, their own involvement in delinquency was greater. For example, when the peer group never used alcohol or drugs, respondents' prevalence for delinquency was 9.2%, but when the peer group used alcohol or drugs, the prevalence jumped to a startling 53.7%. When the peer group did not vandalize things just for fun, the prevalence was 8.5%, but when it did, the prevalence was 30.4%.<sup>13</sup>

These last results might appear somewhat tautological in that, if the respondent has engaged in delinquent behaviour, then by definition the peer group will have

<sup>13</sup> Similar results were found for shoplifting and frightening/annoying other people. When respondents reported that their peer groups engaged in those behaviours, the prevalence of self-reported delinquency was significantly higher.

**Table 27.6** Peer groups and recent delinquency

Variables	With whom do you spend most of your time? (n = 2,368)		Do you have a certain group of friends that you spend time with? (n = 2,302)		Do people in your group actually do illegal things together? (n = 1,729)		Do you consider your group of friends to be a gang? (n = 1,731)		We drink a lot of beer/alcohol or take drugs (n = 2,145)		We smash or vandalize things just for fun (n = 2,194)	
	On my own (%)	With family (%)	With 1–3 friends (%)	With larger group of friends (%)	No (%)	Yes (%)	No (%)	Yes (%)	No (%)	Yes (%)	No (%)	Yes (%)
Non-delinquent	89.6	92.3	86.3	81.0	95.0	86.4	89.4	88.9	90.8	46.3	91.5	69.6
Delinquent	10.4	7.7	13.7	19.0	5.0	13.6	10.6	11.1	9.2	53.7	8.5	30.4
<i>P</i> (Pearson)	0.000				0.000		0.000	0.000	0.000		0.000	
<i>V</i> (Cramer)	0.136				0.116		0.261	0.171	0.306		0.236	

Notes: Unweighted data, contingency tables based on valid cases only

themselves engaged in delinquent behaviour. However, it is clear from the last two contingency tables in Table 27.6 that there is no perfect overlap between the peer group's behaviour and the respondent's behaviour. Not all respondents who engaged in delinquent behaviour belonged to delinquent groups, while many respondents who belonged to delinquent groups did not report delinquent behaviour.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, additional data shows that most delinquent behaviour was a group activity and not simply the work of the respondent. Table 27.7 shows the proportion of most recent incidents in which respondents reported that peers were also involved. For vandalism and most property crimes the proportion of incidents involving both the respondent and peers was between two thirds and four fifths. The exception was pick pocketing, where only 23.1% of incidents also involved peers, a finding which may be explained by the fact that pick pocketing is a crime of particular stealth for which large groups of

confederates may be a hindrance. In general, however, delinquent acts involved joint participation by respondents and their peers.

A final aspect contributing to disorderly environments is the experience of victimization. Table 27.8 shows the recent prevalence of four types of victimization (robbery/extortion, assault, theft and bullying) for the whole sample, for Caracas and for the other urban areas. Rates of victimization were quite low, except for theft (affecting about one quarter of the sample), and (as is to be expected) rates for Caracas were somewhat higher than in the other urban areas. Overall, 29.8% of the total sample reported being victimized by any of these behaviours; about half being victimized once and the rest more than once. Results from a contingency table (not included here for reasons of space) show that when respondents were not victimized, the prevalence for delinquency was 7.8%; when they were victimized once, the prevalence rose to 14.1%; and when victimized more than once, the prevalence rose to 18.9% ( $p = 0.000$ ,  $V = 0.132$ ). The data in the current study do not indicate the temporal sequence of victimization and delinquent behaviour, so no causality can be inferred. The most that can be said is that adolescents with a greater prevalence of delinquency moved in environments where personal victimization was also more frequent.

As the preceding results involve bivariate analysis, it is possible that some of the significant associations between variables hide simpler underlying patterns of association. For example, the prevalence rates for delinquency were higher among respondents who were more likely to say that there was a lot of crime and related deviant behaviour in their schools and neighbourhoods, but prevalence was also higher for respondents who had themselves been victimized. It is therefore possible that the experience of victimization led respondents to perceive more crime in their schools or neighbourhoods. Thus, the perceived level of crime in schools and neighbourhoods might not be related to the experience of victimization, so that at the bivariate level, each variable shows a significant association with the prevalence of delinquency although one of these variables may have a more direct influence on prevalence than the other. In order to test for this possibility, and to identify the variables with a direct influence on prevalence, multivariate analysis is required. In this case, with a dichotomous dependent variable measuring prevalence (0 = No recent delinquency, 1 = Recent

**Table 27.7** Proportion of most recent incidents also involving peers

Activity	No. of respondents with recent prevalence	Percentage of most recent incidents also involving peers <sup>a</sup>
Damaged something on purpose	80	82.7
Shoplifting	33	66.6
Burglary	6	84.8
Bicycle theft	7	85.0
Car theft	5	65.5
Stole from car	10	62.8
Pickpocketing	18	23.1
Robbery/extortion	25	62.5
Assault	23	44.1
Sold drugs	15	46.8
Used marijuana	11	64.9
Used XTC or speed	6	31.5
Used cocaine or heroin	4	50.0

<sup>a</sup>Refers to most recent incident

<sup>14</sup> Similar results were found when specific types of delinquent behaviour were compared (e.g., groups use of alcohol/drugs with respondent's use of alcohol drugs; group's shoplifting with respondent's shoplifting), so these findings are not simply an artifact of the cumulative measure of delinquency reported here. Respondents were also asked if they had friends that used drugs, shoplifted, or committed burglary, robbery/extortion or assault. In all cases, having friends who are delinquent was significantly associated with a greater probability of the respondent's own delinquency, but the overlap was not complete.

**Table 27.8** Last year prevalences of victimization and reporting to the police by: total sample, Caracas and other urban areas

Type of victimization	Total sample ( <i>n</i> = 2,395)			Caracas ( <i>n</i> = 614)			Other urban areas ( <i>N</i> = 1,781)		
	% Victimized	% Missing	% Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>	% Victimized	% Missing	% Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>	% Victimized	% Missing	% Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>
Robbery/extortion	7.2	12.4	11.8	8.6	12.5	6.5	6.7	12.3	14.2
Assault	3.8	15.0	16.7	3.8	14.5	14.3	3.8	15.2	17.5
Theft	24.2	12.5	10.6	31.8	10.7	9.1	21.5	13.1	11.4
Bullying	9.5	15.5	8.5	12.9	15.3	8.2	8.4	15.6	8.6

Notes: Unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Percentage based on number of victims; no answer, no reporting assumed

delinquency), logistic regression was used to test for significant associations with variables previously considered in this chapter. Initially, several different models were attempted in order to identify variables that showed the strongest associations with delinquency at multivariate level. Except for two variables (gender and socioeconomic level), models using socio-demographic variables did not perform well, which is to be expected from the bivariate results presented previously. Similarly, a model examining attitudes to, and experiences in, education showed that only liking/disliking school and truancy were associated with delinquency. Models using variables that captured disorderly environments did much better, although many variables that showed significant associations with delinquency at the bivariate level ceased to show them in the multivariate model. Given the limitations on space, we hereby present and briefly discuss the results from a final composite multivariate model (including both socio-demographic variables and variables measuring disorderly environments), which illustrates the pattern of findings that emerges from the data.<sup>15</sup>

Table 27.9 shows that in multivariate analysis several variables measuring the disorderly environment together with two socio-demographic variables continue to be significant predictors of self-reported delinquency.<sup>16</sup> When activities with friends involved the use of alcohol and drugs, vandalism and the frightening/annoying of other people, respondents were more likely to report their own

delinquent behaviour.<sup>17</sup> The odds ratios (Exp(B) in the table) show that when group activities involved a lot of alcohol or drugs, the odds of respondents' own delinquent behavior increased threefold, while group acts of vandalism increased the odds by two and half times. Similarly, when respondents had friends who used drugs or committed robberies, they were more than twice as likely to report delinquency. Note, therefore, that group engagement in delinquent behaviours and having friends who engaged in delinquent behaviours were partially separate influences on the probability of the respondent's own delinquent behaviour.

Interestingly, all of the variables measuring perceptions of delinquency and deviance in the school and neighbourhood cease to show a significant relationship with self-reported delinquency, indicating that the bivariate relationships detected previously are accounted for by other variables in the model. Likewise, attachment to school and truant behaviour are not associated with delinquency, although truant behavior comes close to being significant.

The number of victimizations continues to be significantly associated with respondents' own delinquency. Each victimization incident increases

<sup>15</sup>The predictive power of logistic regression models is measured by goodness-of-fit statistics such as the Cox and Snell  $R^2$  and the Nagelkerke  $R^2$ . The model discussed here has a Nagelkerke  $R^2$  of 0.303, the highest for any of the models tested in the analysis.

<sup>16</sup>Given the relatively large sample size, the criterion for significance used here is  $p < 0.01$ .

<sup>17</sup>Note that shoplifting is an exception: peer group shoplifting is not associated with the respondent's *cumulative* delinquent behaviour. Specific analyses of the data on shoplifting in the survey show a rather complex pattern. Table 27.7 shows that two thirds of recent shoplifting incidents were committed with peers, while additional bivariate analysis (not included in the tables) shows that approximately two thirds of shoplifters also said that their peer group did not shoplift. Although belonging to a peer group that shoplifts significantly increased the probability of the respondent's own shoplifting, it appears that most shoplifting, although committed with others, was not part of the activities in the respondent's regular peer group. The need for stealth in shoplifting may well militate against its emergence as a "collective" behaviour.



**Table 27.9** Multivariate logistic regression-dependent: recent prevalence of delinquency [ $N = 1,525$  (63.7% of total sample)]

Variable (and contrast category)	Significance	Exp(B)
We drink or use drugs (vs. never)	0.001	3.077
We vandalize things (vs. never)	0.000	2.673
We shoplift (vs. never)	0.963	1.029
We frighten/annoy other people (vs. never)	0.007	1.719
I have friends who use drugs (vs. none)	0.006	2.124
I have friends who shoplift (vs. none)	0.197	1.414
I have friends who commit burglaries (vs. none)	0.308	0.596
I have friends who commit robberies (vs. none)	0.005	2.412
I have friends who assault people (vs. none)	0.195	1.525
There's a lot of stealing in my school (vs. I disagree)	0.501	1.156
There's a lot of fighting in my school (vs. I disagree)	0.036	1.606
There's a lot of vandalism in my school (vs. I disagree)	0.860	1.039
There's a lot of drug use in my school (vs. I disagree)	0.826	0.946
There's a lot of crime in my neighbourhood (vs. I disagree)	0.607	1.130
There's a lot of drug selling in my neighbourhood (vs. I disagree)	0.191	1.383
There's a lot of fighting in my neighbourhood (vs. I disagree)	0.149	0.698
Number of victimizations (continuous)	0.001	1.451
I like my school (vs. I do not like it)	0.239	1.435
No. of times skipped school (ordinal)	0.016	1.386
Gender: male (vs. female)	0.001	1.920
Age (contrast = 16 or more)		
Up to 12	0.034	2.365
13	0.851	1.072
14	0.101	1.747
15	0.968	1.015
Family Arrangements (contrast = other)		
Living with mother and father	0.266	0.781
Living with mother only	0.618	0.869
Socioeconomic level (continuous variable)	0.002	1.078
Urban area: Caracas (vs. other)	0.716	1.093

Notes: Unweighted data; Nagelkerke  $R^2 = 0.303$

the odds of delinquency by 45%. Of the socio-demographic variables, gender continues to be a significant predictor of delinquency, with males being almost twice as likely as females to report delinquency in the survey. Socioeconomic level is also significant, although its influence is quite weak. Each increment

point is associated with a 7.8% increase in the odds of delinquency. Finally, a control variable specifying the urban area where respondents live does not show a significant relationship with the prevalence of delinquency. Thus, the somewhat higher prevalence of delinquent behavior in the capital city is accounted for by variables other than the size of the urban area.

Overall, the results of multivariate analysis suggest that the initial concept of the disorderly environment can be narrowed to that of disorderly peers or, to phrase it rather differently, deviant groups and deviant peers. Male adolescents who spend their time with groups that engage in deviant or delinquent acts, or who have peers that engage in those acts, are more likely to be deviant themselves. Part of the deviant experience also involves being a victim. Indeed, it may well be that in this kind of context there is sometimes no clear distinction between offenders and victims.

## 27.5 Conclusion

In general, Venezuelan secondary school students appear to have quite low levels of delinquency, especially serious delinquency, or at least a low disposition to report such behaviours in a survey.<sup>18</sup> Setting aside computer activities (considered relatively normal activities in Venezuela, while the term “hacking” was misunderstood), the most frequent delinquent behaviour reported in the survey was group fighting (16.1% lifetime prevalence). For all other behaviours the lifetime prevalence was less than 10%, for most it was less than 5% and for many it was under 1%. Given the other results presented here, it is perhaps not surprising that *group* fighting was the most frequent type of delinquent behaviour reported, because the activities of the peer group were strongly associated with the adolescent's own level of involvement in delinquent and deviant behaviours.

While bivariate analysis identifies many significant variables that describe adolescents' interactions with peers, the nature of peer group activity, the perceptions

<sup>18</sup> As in many countries, of course, the most serious delinquents may have dropped out of school or be in state residential facilities, so that they do not appear in samples drawn from ordinary educational institutions.

of crime and deviance in the school or neighbourhood, and the experience of victimization, multivariate analysis reveals that it is the deviant nature of peer and peer group activity, together with victimization, that (along with gender and socioeconomic level) emerge as the significant predictors of delinquent behaviour. There is, of course, some overlap here because the adolescent's own delinquent behaviour when with a group would make the group delinquent. However, the fact that many (often most) of the recent acts captured by the survey were reported as being committed with peers (rather than simply with peers *present*) suggests that this is not merely a case of the respondent's actions defining those of the group, but that the dynamics of delinquent behavior grow out of interactions within the group. Much of the delinquency is therefore to be considered a group phenomenon rather than individual behaviour. Thus, the proximity of the two sets of behaviours - those of the individual and those of the group - should be treated less as analytical redundancy and more as an invitation to reflect on the complex interactions between adolescents and their peers in the genesis of delinquency and deviance.

The "group nature" of delinquency is one of the most firmly established findings in research, at least in the United States, although its specific characteristics remain largely unstudied and their theoretical significance strongly debated (e.g., Ericson and Jensen, 1977; Warr, 1996). The findings presented here are an invitation to explore the data from our ISRD-2 study in greater depth and, eventually, to conduct additional research to try and illuminate these matters. Such an enterprise is of particular importance in Venezuela where, with a few notable exceptions (e.g., del Olmo, 1979), the analytical focus has been overwhelmingly on the individual juvenile delinquent.

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# Chapter 28

## Surinam

Frank Bovenkerk and Ton Wolf

### 28.1 Introduction

The Republic of Surinam on the northern coast of South America is bordered by Guyana to the west, French Guyana to the east and Brazil to the south. The country measures 163,000 km<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup> and it has a warm climate. 85% of the country is an extremely sparsely populated tropical rainforest. Surinam has a population of half a million and the population density is three people to each square kilometre.

From a historical and cultural perspective, Surinam is part of the Caribbean. In the seventeenth century, Surinam was a Dutch colony, and it was not politically independent until 1975. Surinam has a multi-party system and is a democratic constitutional state. There was, however, a military dictatorship there from 1980 to 1993 that fought an *internal war* (from 1986 to 1992) in the forest, against rebels descended from former escaped slaves, i.e. maroons.

The presence of the former colonial mother country, the Netherlands, is still felt in many areas, for example, in the civil law system and the school system. The official language is Dutch. The focus on the Netherlands is enormous, and even though Surinam has joined the Caricom trade association, it is still barely integrated, economically and politically, into the Caribbean.

The population is strongly concentrated, and 60% of the inhabitants live and work in one central city,

Paramaribo, and its immediate semi-rural vicinity. Surinam is administratively divided into ten districts, and 83% of the people live in the six districts on the coastal plain. With a population of 20,000, New Nickerie, the country's second city, is no more than a village compared to the capital, Paramaribo.

The demographics reveal the clearly pyramidal structure of a developing country. The birth rate is nearly four pro mille, and the life expectancy at birth is 60. A total of 30% of the population are younger than 14, 18% are 15–24, 30% are 25–44, 15% are 45–64 and 7% are 65 or above.

Surinam is economically dependent on its income from minerals (bauxite, gold and oil), farming (rice and bananas), emigrants' remittances (an estimated 13% of the GND) and tourism and development aid (Unger and Siegel, 2006). There is also a sizable informal sector in the economy, which some authors (for example Unger and Siegel, 2006) estimate at no less than half of the whole economic activity. The drug trade, particularly in cocaine, and the laundering of the profits have been a major focus of international attention. The World Bank calculates the official GNP at 1.1 billion US dollars, which is a little more than \$2000 per capita.

According to the strict census definition (number of unemployed among the economically active population), the unemployment percentage is 9.5%. A more flexible definition, which also classifies people with a small part-time job and an income to go with it as unemployed, calculates the unemployment percentage more realistically at about 15%. The average monthly household income is about US \$800. We do not have any data on the income distribution, and estimate the modal income to be about \$400. This income is earned, to a considerable extent, by the numerous civil servants (approximately 40% of the jobs), not uncommon in developing countries. A small top layer (6%) earns

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<sup>1</sup> In a European perspective, it is larger than Greece but smaller than the United Kingdom.

more or much more. Below this layer, there are the members of the middle class (28%), the working class (16%), and the underclass (16%), who live below the poverty level of 1,600 Surinamese dollars a month, viewed locally as acceptable. Sociologists note that the extent of social mobility is rather high, and that in this sense of the term, Surinam is an open society (Schalkwijk and De Bruijne, 1999).

A total of more than 120,000 households were registered in the most recent census of 2004; 60% of them live in homes they own. There is a housing shortage, and many households consist of more than one family. Residential mobility is about 26,000 a year: 5% of the population. What is important from our perspective is that children from the inland region are sent to the city, where they stay with relatives or at boarding schools, to get a secondary or higher education. Consensual marriages with frequently changing partners are widespread and socially accepted among the black population; as a result, the marriage rate is low (the 2004 census lists 25% of the population above the age of 12 at the time as married).

In the decade from 1970 to 1980, Surinam witnessed mass migration to the Netherlands and, to a lesser degree, to the United States and other countries in the Caribbean. No less than a third to half the people born in Surinam who are alive today, live outside the country. There is now some evidence of limited return migration by retired people, which is a stimulus for the construction industry. There are migrants from Guyana and Haiti and some recent newcomers from Brazil and China in Surinam, but only in limited numbers. There is a certain amount of migration within the country on the part of maroons and Amerindians from the rural districts to the city. This population movement is relevant to our topic of criminality because in part, it can be seen as an aftermath of the toughening among the maroon population involved in the *internal war*. The war put arms into people's hands, and not nearly all the arms were turned in afterwards.

As a result of a complex population influx to a plantation economy up until the 1920s and a deliberate cultural policy of the colonial mother country, Surinam has developed into a markedly multicultural society (Lier, 1971; Gowricharn, 2006). It is striking how political, economic and social problems in Surinam are immediately linked in an essentialist fashion to ethnic background (Dew, 1978). According to the 2005 census, 27% of the Surinamese population are descended from contract

labourers from India (referred to as *Hindustani*), 18% are the descendants of slaves who now live in the urban areas (referred to as *Creoles*) and 15% are the descendants of slaves who fled from the plantations into the forest in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and founded new settlements there (*maroons*). If we add up the last two groups on the basis of their African origins, they total 33% of the population. Another 15% descend from contract labourers from Indonesia (*Javanese*), and 12% of the population describe themselves in the census as being of mixed descent (*moksi* or *mixed*). The other 12% also know very precisely whether they are descended from immigrants from China or Lebanon, farmer colonists from the Netherlands, or the native population (*Amerindians*). Not much social significance is attributed to religion in Surinam. The majority of the population self-identifies as Christian, followed by Hindu and Muslim. It is striking that the urban population does not live in ethnically segregated areas.

The educational level is relatively high for a developing country. According to the last census, nine out of ten adults (88.1% to be exact) can read and write (General Bureau of Statistics, 2005, p. 21). More than three quarters of the population completes at least primary school up to the compulsory age of 12 (General Bureau of Statistics, 2005). The large majority then attends a number of years of one of the many levels and forms of secondary school. After secondary school, a minority continues on to a higher technical school, a college for teachers or the Anton de Kom University.

Approximately 25,000 crimes are registered annually in Surinam. Property offences are the largest category with an annual 16,000, 6,000 of which are aggressive. There are around 20 homicides a year in Surinam, which is about four pro mille. A police force of 1,600 police officers solves approximately 40% of all the crimes that are reported. This is a relatively high percentage, and reflects a considerable extent of social control in a small-scale society. There are two larger prisons in or near the city and a much smaller one in the town of New Nickerie. The prison population numbers approximately 676 on any given day. The average age of the convicts is 30. Relative to the percentage they represent of the general population, there are a strikingly high percentage of maroons and city creoles in this prison population (Hellemont, 2006).

Although the subjective perception of criminality in Surinam has never been precisely measured, we can safely say it is a problem. It is a fertile topic for the



media and in day-to-day conversation. There are signs of concern with security all over the city, especially the fences outside private homes to safeguard them from burglary and violence. Security firms have been founded and neighbourhood watches have been set up. The problem of juvenile delinquency was acknowledged for the first time in the literature in 1980. Brana-Shute describes juvenile delinquency in the city (it is popular to rip gold chains off women's necks and sell them to fences among the market retailers) and links it to the prevalent problem of truancy and early school dropouts (Brana-Shute, 1980, p. 17). Ever since 1980, there has certainly been no decrease in the problem of school drop-outs. After our visit to the prison and the prison office, it was clear that the large majority of the convicts of all ages never completed more than a few grades of primary school or perhaps one or two grades of secondary school. We would not be able to study them with a survey by approaching youngsters via the schools.

## 28.2 Study Design

In keeping with the design of the ISRD-2 study, we survey a sample of the total population of schoolchildren in the first three grades of the secondary day schools in the entire country of Surinam. The schoolchildren are given a questionnaire to fill in that is the same, with the exception of a few details (different words and turns of phrase in Surinamese Dutch) as the one used and tested earlier in the Netherlands. They are also asked to answer two added questions about their ethnic background and religion.

The school system is complicated and has produced a wide range of different types of schools. They all take part in this study. We have classified them into five types from lower to higher levels, and the reports on the number of children at each school and in each class submitted to the Secondary School Inspectorate serve as the sample framework. In all of Surinam, there are 112 schools attended by our target population (the first three grades) in 1,054 classes. A random sample is taken of 113 classes (more than one class at some schools) with a total of 2,422 school children. This is approximately 10% of the target population of 24,590. The random sample and the population are sufficiently similar as regards the three criteria of grade, type of school and district to be viewed as a representative sample.

All the schools and selected classes take part in the study; there is no non-response. The fact that the Surinamese Ministry of Education is supporting the study via a letter has been helpful in this connection. The survey is essentially conducted by five pairs of criminology students from the Netherlands and Surinam.<sup>2</sup> Without exception, the school children meet the researchers' request to fill in the questionnaire (as is sometimes simultaneously assigned to them by their teachers!). Sometimes further explanations are given. The schoolchildren are told for example what graffiti are because they are almost non-existent in Surinam. The schoolchildren make a disciplined impression and the researchers feel the questionnaires are generally filled in seriously. A total of 2,422 schoolchildren completed the questionnaire. The research team and several professional data typists inserted their data in the computer system. When the quality is monitored, 23 of the questionnaires are rejected because too many questions have been left unanswered or because of contradictory responses. The research material consists of a total of 2,399 valid completed questionnaire forms.

## 28.3 Unanticipated Additional Research Result

In selecting a sample, the International Self-Report Study on Delinquency (ISRD-2) assumes that children in the first three grades of secondary school are mainly 12, 13 and 14 years old. In Surinam though, this assumption cannot be made. On the average, the children are older. Moreover, we suspect that some members of this age category do not go to school at all and are not registered by the School Inspectorate either.

The same is presumably the case in other developing countries as well. Countries of this type are characterized by uneven development. There are population categories that follow the Western model of education and development in the desired tempo, but there are also groups that lag behind or lag far behind. Firstly, there are children who grow up in a tribal framework

<sup>2</sup>The students are Carrolien Acar, Ajay Debie, Nailah van Dijk, Mignon Dougle, Minke Dijkstra, Karlijn Eppink, Nancy Hardjopawiro, Ditz van Hazel, Ebu Jones, Monique Pierau and Wil van Schans. Anton de Kom University instructor Gretchen Partiman is also playing a role in conducting the study.



in the forest (Amerindians and maroons). When they go to school for the first time at the age of five or six, that is the first time in their lives that they have to speak Dutch. Secondly, there are children who grow up in the districts outside the city where farming and mining are the main sources of income. At home they speak Surinamese Hindi, Javanese or the Creole language Sranan Tongo and they too do not come into contact with Dutch, the national language, until they start primary school. Thirdly, there is a category of city-dwellers of the lowest socio-economic class, some of whom do not attend school or do so irregularly. There is compulsory education in Surinam, but in practice, it is not fully enforced, if at all. As a result, the percentage of children attending school for the first time who are left back in the first grade is extremely high (30%). The percentages of children left back in the higher grades continue to be high, at least 10% a year. From a Western perspective, the cumulative repetition of grades leads to unexpectedly old children still at primary school. If and when they go on to secondary school, they are sometimes 16 or 17 years old.

Then there is the problem of school drop-outs. Some children are kept at home to help in the family business or supplement the family income by working in the informal economy (selling newspapers or working on the market) and some of them wind up in the world of drugs and crime. This is primarily the fate of boys, which is why girls are over-represented in the last few grades of primary school and at secondary school. The 2,380 valid responses to the question about age are given by 1,262 girls and 1,118 boys. The older the schoolchildren are, the higher the percentage of boys, who have been left back more often. The average age of the girls is 14.66 and of the boys 15.04.

Following the system of the ISRD study, in the first three grades of secondary school we are confronted with a population of schoolchildren whose average age is too old; 43% are 14 or younger and are in the expected age category, but no fewer than 57% are 15 or older. Via a detour,<sup>3</sup> we can calculate the percentage of children in the age category of the ISRD target group who do not attend school at all, i.e. 15%.

<sup>3</sup>We can consult the Records Office to see the total number of children in each age category. Using primary school records, which register the children's age, and the age distribution in our sample, we can calculate the number of children who are twelve, thirteen and fourteen and attend primary school. The difference between the two is more than 15%.

What is the anticipated effect of these calculations on the levels of delinquency, risk behaviour and victimization? The higher average age ought to lead to higher scores. Cross-cultural studies consistently show that the peak age for male offending/felony is generally between 15 and 18 (Farrington, 2003). We shall demonstrate below that the older the schoolchildren, the higher the delinquency score, though not by that much. The non-attendance of a group, at least some of whom are problematic, yields lower delinquency scores among this particular age category. Without supplementary research into the category that does not attend school, it is impossible to specify the extent of presumable under reporting of juvenile delinquency.

## 28.4 Research Questions

What information does the standardized study on juvenile delinquency in Surinam yield? We give the results of the questions on delinquency, risk behaviour and victimization below. They are comparable to the results from other countries reported on in this book. We wonder in this connection to what extent the three are related.

Then we address the extent to which delinquency, risk behaviour and victimization correlate with generally used criminological correlates. Does juvenile delinquency increase with age? Is delinquency more common among boys than girls? Are the figures higher among children of lower socio-economic classes? Is delinquency higher in the city than in the countryside? According to the theoretical view that these phenomena are universal and also according to the results of empirical research in the field of comparative criminology, the answers to all these questions should be affirmative. But is that really the case? Up to now, criminology has been a predominantly Western science focused on the developed world. The unanticipated result of our random sample shows that some assumptions do not automatically hold true. What is the case in Surinam?

The third question pertains to a typically Surinamese aspect. Are delinquency, risk behaviour and victimization linked to ethnic descent? We do not want to answer this question on the basis of assumptions about cultural predisposition. What we want to do instead is examine the multicultural variation in general risk factors for criminality. The survey material makes it possible to say something about the validity of the social control

theory (Hirschi, 1969). Is there less crime among ethnic groups with a relatively high extent of social control?

## 28.5 Delinquency, Risk Behaviour and Victimization

Delinquency is measured by asking the schoolchildren about the lifetime and last-year prevalence of 14 offences (Tables 28.1 and 28.2).

These results show that there are very few behavioural problems that the schoolchildren acknowledge as juvenile delinquency. On the average, only 6.4% of the answers to the 14 questions on offences in their lifetime are answered affirmatively. When asked about offences in the last year, the average even falls to 2.7%. With the exception of illegal downloading, the average scores for all the forms of last-year delinquency remain below 7%. The large majority of the schoolchildren say they have never done any of these things, i.e. in their lifetime 61.0%, last year 78.8%. On an average, 0.89

**Table 28.1** “Life-time” delinquency prevalence by city-size (in %)

	Paramaribo <i>N</i> = 1,564		Rest <i>N</i> = 835		<i>p</i>
	%	Missing	%	Missing	
Vandalism	10.7	1.5	5.0	1.4	0.00
Shoplifting	11.6	1.7	6.3	1.7	0.00
Burglary	1.0	2.4	0.5	2.6	0.16
Bicycle theft	1.2	1.7	0.6	1.2	0.18
Car theft	0.5	2.2	0.0	1.9	0.04
Hacking	3.0	2.6	1.1	2.6	0.00
Car break	1.9	1.8	1.9	1.3	0.99
Robbery/extortion	1.6	2.7	1.2	2.6	0.43
Weapons	17.1	1.3	9.6	1.2	0.00
Threats w. violence	3.7	2.8	1.3	1.9	0.00
Groupfights	18.9	1.6	12.6	1.4	0.00
Assault	5.0	2.1	1.7	1.7	0.00
Drugdealing	3.3	1.2	1.3	1.1	0.00
XTC	0.8	2.7	0.8	2.2	0.86
L/H/C	0.6	2.5	0.7	1.8	0.68

**Table 28.2** “Last year” delinquency prevalence by city-size (in %)

	Paramaribo <i>N</i> = 1,564		Rest <i>N</i> = 835		<i>p</i>
	%	Missing	%	Missing	
Vandalism	3.8	1.9	2.3	1.9	0.04
Shoplifting	2.3	2.2	2.0	1.7	0.66
Burglary	0.4	2.4	0.0	2.6	0.07
Bicycle theft	0.4	1.7	0.2	1.3	0.56
Car theft	0.3	2.2	0.0	1.9	0.14
Hacking	1.1	2.8	0.5	2.6	0.13
Car break	0.6	1.9	0.7	1.3	0.83
Robbery/extortion	0.4	2.7	0.2	2.6	0.00
Weapons	7.6	2.5	4.0	1.3	0.00
Threats w. violence	1.3	3.1	0.5	1.9	0.06
Groupfights	7.5	2.7	5.0	1.9	0.02
Assault	1.5	2.3	0.8	1.7	0.18
Drug dealing	1.5	1.5	0.5	1.2	0.03
XTC <sup>a</sup>	0.3	2.8	0.4	2.4	0.88
L/H/C <sup>a</sup>	0.4	2.5	0.2	1.8	0.55

<sup>a</sup>Last 4 weeks

commit at least one of these 14 offences in their lifetime and 0.37 in the last year. More than half the schoolchildren who have ever committed an offence did so more than a year ago. As regards the item concerning gang fights, perhaps the respondents also have relatively innocent schoolyard fights in mind because if they understood the word gang to mean *committing crimes together*, the results for a number of other items would have to be higher.

Risk behaviour is measured using five questions pertaining to drinking (beer or wine) and using drugs (hashish, XTC/speed or cocaine). The questions on risk behaviour yielded 21.4% as lifetime prevalence, but only 5% the last year. As an initial explanation for these low percentages, we should note that the opportunity theory can explain several of the low scores. These substances are simply beyond the financial reach of many children in Surinam and their families.

Victimisation is measured using questions about experiences with robbery/extortion, assault, theft and bullying. These questions yielded 17.3% affirmative answers, and in most of these cases, the answers pertain to theft.

Based on relatively recent victimology insights, it is warranted to assume that the positive scores on the three measured variables pertain to one and the same risk group. This reasoning is based on the opportunity theory and more specifically on insights related to lifestyle. There is after all empirical evidence that offending and victimization are linked (Lauritsen et al., 1991), that risk behaviour and delinquency are linked (Wittebrood and Nieuwbeerta, 1999), and that risk behaviour and victimization are linked (Bjarnason et al., 1999). To a slight degree, this link can also be observed in Surinam. The link between the lifetime prevalence of delinquency and victimization is  $r = 0.21$  at  $p < 0.1$ , the link between the lifetime prevalence of delinquency and the lifetime prevalence of risk behaviour is  $r = 0.50$  at  $p < 0.1$  and the link between the lifetime prevalence of risk behaviour and victimisation is  $r = 0.13$  at  $p < 0.1$ .

Do these scores indicate a high or a low level of delinquency, risk behaviour and victimisation? We cannot answer this question in a strict sense without comparing these research results with those of the other 30 countries now taking part in the second round of the International Self-Report Study on Delinquency. It is possible however to compare them with the results of the first round of the ISRD in 1991 and 1992 in 11 European countries and the United States (Junger-Tas et al., 1994). It is true that the questions were posed to an older age category (14–21) than any other, but as is noted above,

on the average the schoolchildren in Surinam are older than was intended for the sample. The scores in all 11 countries were much higher than the ones we have now measured in Surinam. The Netherlands for example had a lifetime prevalence of overall delinquency of more than 80% and a last-year prevalence of more than 60%.

The conclusion can be drawn that the children in the first three grades of secondary school in Surinam generally do not exhibit much delinquent behaviour and are relatively infrequently the victims of it. In fact the figures are so low it will be difficult to measure the relations with the explanatory variables. But there is a small group of children who do run the risk of becoming involved in crime.

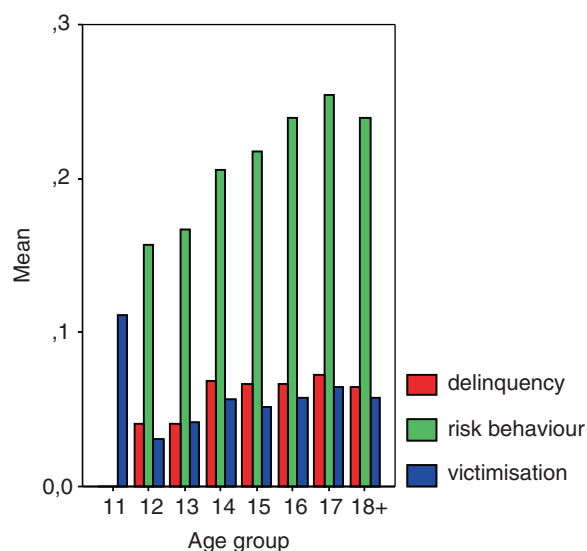
## 28.6 “Universal Truths” About Juvenile Delinquency

Since delinquency among schoolchildren seems to occur in such different percentages in Surinam, a developing country, than in developed Western countries, it would be useful to see whether the same “universal truths” about delinquency are observed.

1. Delinquency and age are related via a well-known curve with the top around the age of 16.
2. Boys have higher delinquency scores than girls.
3. Children from lower socio-economic backgrounds score higher.
4. Delinquency is more prevalent in urban than in rural areas.
5. There is a relation between delinquency and the composition of the families children grow up in.
6. There is a relation between the school environment and delinquency.
7. There is a relation between the residential environment and delinquency.

Let us first examine the distribution of delinquency, risk behaviour and victimization over age (Fig. 28.1).

In all the age groups from 11 to 18+ there are relatively small differences in the average delinquency and victimization scores. The amount of risk behaviour does however clearly increase with age. The top of the distribution is a bit on the late side. The expectations on the distribution by gender are completely confirmed. Although as is noted above, the scores on the measured variables are extremely low, boys do score clearly higher



**Fig. 28.1** Mean proportional lifetime scores for delinquency, risk behaviour and victimization by age group

than girls. As regards delinquency, the ratio between the average scores for boys and girls is 2.25:1 for delinquency, 1.23:1 for risk behaviour and 1.54:1 for victimization. These differences are statistically significant ( $p < 0.01$ ).

No link is observed between delinquency, risk behaviour and victimization on the one hand and social class on the other. But this does not mean that much, since the social class variable is not measured adequately in the ISRD, and the same holds true for our survey in Surinam. What is more, the truancy of an important segment of the relevant age category could lead to a considerable omission if for example it includes disproportionate numbers of children from the social underclass.

Then there is the question about the link to urbanization. Table 28.3 below shows the scores for the city of Paramaribo and the other districts.

The city systematically scores higher, and its delinquency score is even twice as high as in the other districts. The difference is statistically significant ( $p < 0.01$ ) for all three variables.

When surveying countries in the Caribbean, it is important to see whether the composition of the family makes a difference. To summarize a very complicated debate in a simple fashion, there are two conflicting standpoints pertaining to the Afro-Surinamese segment of the population. One is that we are dealing with *the family in crisis*. There is a high incidence of single-parent families, which might be thought to be linked to instability, a lack of security and loose sexual morals. The other is that diversity in family forms should be

**Table 28.3** Scores for Paramaribo and the other districts (in % of affirmative responses)

Region	Delinquency	Risk behaviour	Victimization
Paramaribo	8	23	6
Other districts	4	18	4
Total	6	21	5

**Table 28.4** Delinquency, risk behaviour, victimization and family composition (in % of affirmative responses)

Two-parent families	Delinquency	Risk behaviour	Victimization
Yes	6	20	5
No	7	24	6
Total	6	21	5

**Table 28.5** Delinquency, risk behaviour, victimization and family composition among Creoles (in % of affirmative responses)

Two-parent families	Delinquency	Risk behaviour	Victimization
Yes	9	24	6
No	7	24	5
Total	8	24	6

appreciated and the idea that social deprivation is the simple result of loose family structures should be rejected (Terborg, 2002) (Table 28.4).

The classic nuclear family scores somewhat better on all three variables than the other alternatives. The differences for delinquency ( $p < 0.05$ ) and risk behaviour ( $p < 0.01$ ) are statistically significant, but in order to see them as an indication of a real relation, they would have to be larger. Of course the problem is that these *independent* variables are not so independent. The family composition is not unrelated to social class, the parents' educational level, ethnic background and cultural tradition. The absence of 15% of the population that might well systematically deviate from the observed proportions does not make the situation any better.

If we examine the Creole category separately, where the relation ought to occur, we see a surprising reversal (Table 28.5).

Among Creoles, two-parent families are more frequently associated with a somewhat higher delinquency score. It is possible that both the parents more frequently work outside the home in Creole families and that there is thus less supervision after school. This is not unlike the Western pattern.

Is there less delinquency if children grow up in a safe school environment? We use affirmative answers to the questions about theft (30%), fighting (44%), vandalism (30%) and drug use (16%) at school as a measure of a lack of safety. In Surinam, fighting does not pertain to gang wars but to the way differences are commonly settled. The observed correlations of an unsafe school environment with delinquency ( $r = 0.17$ ), risk behaviour ( $r = 0.14$ ) and victimization ( $r = 0.14$ ) are positive but not particularly striking.

The same holds true for the influence of the neighbourhood. Thirteen items on the questionnaire are used to determine how the schoolchildren evaluate their own residential environment. An average of 31% gives a negative evaluation. It is true that most of the schoolchildren would certainly miss the people from their neighbourhood (84%), but 41% of them has an unfavourable evaluation of their neighbours. Crime and dealing drugs in the neighbourhood are reported by 35% of the schoolchildren. Here again, the correlations are not high, i.e. between an unsafe neighbourhood and the children's own delinquency (0.15) and with risk behaviour (0.13).

The conclusion can be drawn that all the known variations in the figures on juvenile delinquency that have so often been described in criminological studies can be observed in Surinam, at any rate in the population of schoolchildren. Once again, we do not know whether they hold true for the entire age group.

## 28.7 Ethnicity and Crime

Table 28.6 below shows all the information on the distribution of delinquency, risk behaviour and victimization among the various ethnic groups. We cannot compare this information with objective studies on the prevalent views and stereotypes pertaining to the various ethnic groups because no such studies have been conducted.

Of course we do have an impression of what the results would be, based if nothing else on the heated discussions people have about the topic every day in Surinam.

There have certainly been some unanticipated aspects to our research results. The mixed group assumed to include the most Westernized people in Surinam has the highest delinquency and risk behaviour scores. The maroons, the greatest cause for concern and clearly over-represented in prison, are in the last place when it comes to delinquency.

It is not immediately clear how these results should be interpreted. The obvious solution would be to work from the social control theory and see whether the difference can be explained by the extent of social control in the various ethnic communities. Since the questionnaire contains items that make it possible to measure social control, this is now feasible. The result will be addressed in a future publication.

## 28.8 Conclusion

It is relatively easy to summarize the results of the study on juvenile delinquency in Surinam, a developing country. Firstly, in an absolute sense, the levels of delinquency, risk behaviour and victimisation would seem to be extremely low. However, only children who attend school have been included in the survey. Secondly, the most prevalent sociological predictors of delinquency in Surinam do indeed hold true: delinquency is mainly a matter of young men in the city and the worse the neighbourhood that children grow up in and the more unsafe their school environment, the more of a chance they have to come into contact with delinquency. Since the social class factor has not been properly measured, there is very little to be said about it. In the Caribbean, growing up in a single-parent family is always cited as a major factor leading to crime.

**Table 28.6** Mean percentages positive answers for delinquency, risk Behaviour, victimization and social class, by ethnic group

Ethnic group	N	%	Delinquency	Risk behaviour	Victimization	Social class
Creole	473	20.1	7.5	23.9	5.6	52.0
Maroon	254	10.8	4.5	20.5	5.5	44.5
Hindustani	638	27.1	4.6	16.8	4.2	63.2
Javanese	295	12.5	5.0	19.4	4.9	67.9
Indian	70	3.0	6.9	22.7	4.8	46.2
Chinese	22	0.9	4.6	14.6	11.1	84.1
Mixed	574	24.4	8.8	25.7	6.3	68.4



However, this survey does not confirm this role. On the contrary, among Creoles more delinquency and risk behaviour is observed in children from two-parent homes. Thirdly, the distribution of delinquency and risk behaviour by the ethnic group appears to deviate from the prevalent stereotypes in Surinam. Explanations for this will have to be sought in future analyses focused on the extent of social control in the various groups.

The fourth conclusion or rather comment is of a methodological nature: What is the validity of this survey on the conduct of youngsters via questionnaires at school if a significant percentage (15%) of the children in the relevant age group does not attend school at all? The answer to this question is very relevant to the research results. We assume that this group has been selectively chosen. To put it very clearly, perhaps an early introduction to the world of crime is a reason not to attend school or to drop out. This is surely a problem in other developing countries as well. Methodological problems of this kind are not uncommon when conducting international comparative research based on theory and methodology conceived in developed Western countries. Supplementary research would seem to be called for using other data collection methods.

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## Chapter 29

# The Netherlands Antilles<sup>1</sup> and Aruba

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### 29.1 Introduction

Geographically, the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba are composed of two groups of islands: the Leeward Islands (Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao) and the Dutch Windward Islands (St. Maarten, which is half Dutch and half French, St. Eustatius and Saba). The Netherlands Antilles are actually two groups of islands, as the distance between the Leeward Islands and the Windward Islands is over 900 km. The Leeward Islands Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao are only 80 km off the coast of Venezuela, situated in the very southwest of the curve of the Caribbean islands. The Dutch Windward islands are almost at the other side of this island curve, located 300 km east of Puerto Rico, and southeast of the Virgin Islands.

Politically, the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba are part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, which currently consists of three countries: the Netherlands, the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba. The Netherlands Antilles is composed of five islands: Bonaire, Curaçao, Saba, St. Eustatius and St. Maarten. Aruba used to be a part of the Netherlands Antilles but it has a *status aparte* since 1986. The Netherlands Antilles will, however, soon cease to exist as a political entity. The population of Curaçao represents almost three-quarters of the population of the Netherlands Antilles and, as such,

it has a lot of political weight in the Netherlands Antilles Parliament. Combined with the location of the capital, Willemstad, in Curaçao, and the overrepresentation of its politicians and civil servants, some people and politicians on the smaller and more distant Dutch Leeward islands have felt, politically and economically, somewhat neglected and disadvantaged. Constitutional reforms towards a new status for the Netherlands Antilles is currently under way and by 2010 or later, the status of the islands will have changed. Curaçao and St. Maarten will, just like Aruba before, become separate countries within the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Bonaire, Saba and St. Eustatius will get a new status as “special municipalities” of the Netherlands as a country.

The geographical positions of the Dutch Leeward and Windward islands have influenced the culture and the languages that are mostly spoken. Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao are close to the South American coast and have had close relations with Venezuela for a long time. Papiamentu, a mixed Caribbean language relatively close to Spanish, is most frequently spoken and read. As Spanish is easily understood, and Latino countries are situated nearby (South America and the Spanish speaking Caribbean), the Latino cultural influence on these islands is relatively strong. Dutch is generally understood, and spoken to some extent in Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao.

The case of Aruba is slightly different. Latino cultural influences are also strong here, but the partly Caribbean (Arawak) ancestry is cherished as well. Moreover, Aruba appears to have been more influenced by American culture. The many tourists, mostly American, who visit Aruba have not only made the island economically more affluent than Curaçao and Bonaire, but they have also made the Western, especially American, cultural influence stronger. This is reflected in the celebrations

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<sup>1</sup> As will be further explained, the smallest islands of the Netherlands Antilles, Saba and St. Eustatius, were not part of the survey.

<sup>2</sup> The authors wish to thank Dr. Dirk Enzmann for his advice and help concerning the sampling, data merging and more.

of Halloween and Thanksgiving that were introduced to the island. The knowledge of the Dutch language also seems better in Aruba than in Curaçao and Bonaire, probably because Dutch is more used as an educational language.

In (Dutch) St. Maarten, St. Eustatius and Saba, in the northeast of the Caribbean Sea, most colonial planters were British, and English has remained the dominant language.<sup>3</sup> Dutch is understood and spoken to some extent. Culturally, these Dutch Anglophone Caribbean islands are exposed to the cultural influence of the U.S., as well as to the largest English speaking Caribbean islands: Trinidad and Tobago, and especially, Jamaica.

In a Caribbean context, the Dutch Caribbean islands are small to medium-sized. Aruba's size is 180 km<sup>2</sup>; the Netherlands Antilles cover 960 km<sup>2</sup>. With a population of 100,000 and 186,000 respectively, Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles are quite densely populated (on the average, some 250 inhabitants per km<sup>2</sup>). As shown in Table 29.1, a large majority lives on Curaçao and Aruba. Within the Netherlands Antilles, the islands' sizes and population densities vary considerably. Curaçao is by far the largest and the most populous

of the five islands. Curaçao is quite urbanised, with a large majority of the people living in the islands only and in the quite extended urban area around its capital, Willemstad. The same can be said of Aruba, which also has one main urbanised area around the capital, Oranjestad. Bonaire on the other hand, although larger than Aruba, has a much smaller population and is rural in character.

The much smaller Dutch Leeward islands also have much smaller populations, as Table 29.1 shows. Saba and St. Eustatius are rural, with their small populations mostly distributed over a few villages. Their small populations are also the reason why they were excluded from this survey, as will be later explained. (Dutch) St. Maarten is also small, but it has, in a regional and international perspective, a very high population density. Although technically it only has several villages, its high population density, nightlife and daily traffic jams give the island an urban allure.

Ethnically, the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba are a diverse mix. While the original Arawak Indians were wiped out from almost all the Caribbean islands during the early Spanish conquests, in Aruba the Amerindian heritage is still present. Some 80% of Aruba's population is thought to be mestizo, of mixed European and Amerindian descent; the rest is either European or Afro-Caribbean, with more migration from neighbouring (Latino) American and Caribbean countries in recent years.

In the Netherlands Antilles, the majority of the population is of mixed African-European descent, with the African heritage being most dominant. Many other ethnicities and national origins are also present, including Asians from the Near East and East Asia. For a long time, (Portuguese) Sephardic Jews have been living on Curaçao, where the oldest synagogue of the Western hemisphere is found. In the twentieth century, the population has increased rapidly. The growth of the oil industry from the 1920s onwards attracted workers to Bonaire and especially Curaçao from around the Caribbean, doubling the population and further expanding the already broad ethnic base.

Like most areas with a history of plantation economies and slavery, the core family with two parents is not necessarily the dominant family form among the lower socio-economic strata. The percentage of single households out of the total number of households is 29% on Curaçao and 30% on St. Maarten (and Bonaire 23%). The divorce rate per 100 marriages is high:

**Table 29.1** Sizes, inhabitants and population densities of Aruba and Netherlands Antilles

Island	Size (in km <sup>2</sup> )	Inhabitants (registered)	Population density
Aruba	180	101,000	561
Bonaire	288	11,000	38
Curaçao	444	136,000	306
Saba	13	1,400	108
St. Eustatius	21	2,600	124
St. Maarten	34	35,000	1,029

Sources: CBS of the Netherlands Antilles (2004) and CBS of Aruba (2005). CBS – Central Bureau of Statistics (2004), *The Netherlands Antilles Statistical Orientation 2004* (see [www.cbs.an](http://www.cbs.an)) and the Central Bureau of Statistics of Aruba ([www.cbs.aw](http://www.cbs.aw))

<sup>3</sup>The island of St. Maarten is the world's smallest inhabited island to be divided among two states. The southern side, Saint Maarten, is a part of the country of the Netherlands Antilles, and as such a part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The northern side, Saint Martin, is an overseas collectivity of France. In this text, St. Maarten only refers to the Dutch side. Interestingly, on the French side also, English has remained the main language of communication, more important than the official French, despite the more active policy of the French government to promote French culture and language. For example, in the French government offices and schools, only French is spoken.

in the Netherlands Antilles 45% (2006), with large differences between the islands, varying from 22% to 80%.<sup>4</sup> In Aruba, the divorce rate has been rising very rapidly over the last 5 years. While it was between 30% and 40% during the 1990s, it increased to 70% in 2002–2005. It has become a trend for Aruban men to marry a younger Latino woman, made possible by mass immigration.<sup>5</sup>

Throughout the twentieth century the relatively wealthy Netherlands Antilles and Aruba have attracted many legal and “illegal” job and fortune seekers from poorer areas of the region. Since the 1990s, migration has much increased, not only attracting young workers from the region, but also from Asia and elsewhere. Especially Aruba and St. Maarten, the most touristic islands of the four under study, attracted many. They now each have around 100 or more nationalities on the island. In Aruba, the political status aparte of 1986 was followed by mass tourism development, which led to an economic boom and consequent large-scale immigration from the region. From 1991 to 2000, Aruba’s population grew from 66,000 to 90,000, which made it one of the world’s fastest growing countries. Currently, one-third of Aruba’s population is born outside of the country. In St. Maarten this immigration trend is even stronger: a majority of the population (65% in 2001) is born outside the Netherlands Antilles.

Aruba and Curaçao mainly received immigrants from poorer Latin American countries (such as Colombia, Venezuela and Dominican Republic). The Dominican Republic is the number one country of foreign birth in the Netherlands Antilles. (Younger) Dominican women have acquired a certain reputation as attractive wedding partners. St. Maarten receives many migrants from English speaking countries, such as Jamaican and Guyana. It also receives migrants from the Dominican Republic, Haiti and smaller islands. Some hundred nationalities are found in Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles (especially St. Maarten). Even on the tiny islands of Saba and St. Eustatius a relatively large number of different nationalities are found, mostly from the Caribbean or South America. All in all, the

<sup>4</sup>The islands have the following divorce rates: Bonaire (43%), Curaçao (45%), Saba (80%). St. Eustatius (22%), St. Maarten (43%). The very high divorce number on Saba surprises but cannot be explained as Saba was not part of the survey. The same is true for the other small and lowly populated island, St. Eustatius. Data from [www.cbs.an](http://www.cbs.an) and [www.cbs.aw](http://www.cbs.aw).

<sup>5</sup>See [www.cbs.an](http://www.cbs.an) and [www.cbs.aw](http://www.cbs.aw).

populations of the Dutch Caribbean islands have become very diverse.

Emigration also occurs, especially by younger generations. Statistics of the Central Bureaus of Statistics of both Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles show a decline of several thousand inhabitants from the age category 15–19 to 20–24 every year.<sup>6</sup> As the islands are part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, most inhabitants are Dutch citizens, which permits them to go and live in the Netherlands. Migration to the Netherlands traditionally concerned mostly the higher educated, who continue their studies in the Netherlands. The brain drain from the Dutch Caribbean is such that Arubans and Antilleans, who were living in the Netherlands, were for long more educated than the Dutch. The bad economic tide of the 1990s in especially Curaçao increased migration to the Netherlands, this time also by the low educated and especially young men. In 1998, 3% of Antilleans emigrated, which increased to 4% in 2000. In Curaçao emigration by its younger population has grown such that it is clearly visible in the age distribution, with relatively more elderly people in the general population than the other islands, which have lower youth unemployment, and as a consequence it seems, younger populations. Table 29.2 shows that the unemployment rates between the islands differ much, particularly youth unemployment. The unemployment rate in the Netherlands Antilles in general is 14.7% (2006), in Aruba this was 7% in 2000. Whereas Aruba has had low unemployment rates of around 6% since the early 1990s, unemployment

**Table 29.2** Unemployment rates in Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles

Island	Unemployment rate (%)		Youth unemployment rate (%)	
	%	Year	%	Year
Aruba	7	2000	–	
Bonaire	9	2005	25	2005
Curaçao	18	2005	44	2005
Saba	6	2005	–	
St. Eustatius	8	2005	–	
St. Maarten	13	2005	30	2005

Sources: CBS of the Netherlands Antilles and of Aruba (CBS - Central Bureau of Statistics (2004), *The Netherlands Antilles Statistical Orientation 2004* (see also [www.cbs.an](http://www.cbs.an)) and Central Bureau of Statistics of Aruba ([www.cbs.aw](http://www.cbs.aw)))

<sup>6</sup>See [www.cbs.an](http://www.cbs.an) and [www.cbs.aw](http://www.cbs.aw).

in Curaçao, especially among the young, has risen. On Bonaire and St. Maarten youth unemployment is high too, as Table 29.2 shows.

The Netherlands Antilles have an economy based on tourism, petroleum trans-shipment and off-shore finance. Like in many other former Caribbean (plantation) colonies, substantial class differences have remained, which still correlates with colour (complexion). The economically well-to-do are generally white or light coloured, while in the poor(er) sections of society almost exclusively dark (black) people are found. For the majority of the population, the general living standard in Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles is higher than in Latin America and the independent (from European countries or the U.S.) Caribbean islands. The general living standard is lower than in Europe, North America, and the French Antilles (which are an integral political part of France). A smaller part of the population has living standards that are comparable to those in the west, with the traditional economic elite living luxuriously.

Tourism is an important source of income for all the islands. Especially Aruba profits from it (such as from cruise ships), besides economic sectors such as oil refining and storage and offshore banking. In Curaçao, offshore finance and especially oil refining are other main sectors. In its large natural harbour (in size seventh in the world) oil from Venezuela is refined and shipped further. On Bonaire, famous for scuba diving spots, tourism is more low key and island life is rural and calmer. The same is true for the Leeward Islands, Saba and St. Eustatius that are small and economically mostly dependent on tourism.

The case of St. Maarten is different as it attracts many tourists; by cruise ships alone over a million visitors annually. St. Maarten also has quite unique regional facilities such as a famous sailing regatta, as well as many casinos and brothels, which makes it something like a Caribbean Las Vegas. The latter also involves phenomena like money laundering, illegal or infamous entrepreneurs from different origins, and collusion between politicians and business people. The influx of immigrants, westerners and increasingly non-westerners with fortune, and fortune seekers from other Caribbean islands who are attracted by its relative wealth, makes Dutch St. Maarten a highly densely populated and also expensive island. Significantly, the US dollar is more commonly used than the official currency, the Netherlands Antilles guilder. A disadvantage of this

influx of (rich) immigrants and tourists is the sharp increase in land prices as well as costs of daily living have risen.

For the poorer strata of the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba, the economic situation has become difficult. An increasing number of (single) parents (mostly mothers), have been forced to take two jobs, which leads to less parental supervision. To this should be added that the more populous islands have received many recent legal and “illegal” immigrants, who are likely to have low-income jobs and many working hours. In case they have children, parental supervision may become more difficult.

Lack of parental supervision and care may partly explain the growing phenomenon, especially in St. Maarten, of growing youth and possibly gang violence. The existence of youth groups manifesting themselves as gangs also occurs in Aruba, where it also seems to be influenced by US gang culture (such as Bloods vs. Crips), as part of the larger U.S. cultural influence. American influence is also strong in St. Maarten, but here the growing youth violence and teenagers organising themselves in often geographically determined groups or “gangs”, seems more influenced by the Jamaican subculture of rebellious ghetto “bad boys”. The English-speaking young St. Maarteners are almost automatically exposed to Jamaican influences, the largest English speaking and by far the most violent country of the Caribbean – in itself considered the world’s most violent region.<sup>7</sup> The rapid growth of the crowded island St. Maarten, with its emphasis on attracting foreign visitors and currency, has not been met by the educational standards as some schools are literally overcrowded. Being packed inside small schools, combined with the fact that almost all schools in St. Maarten are found in one street (!), this may attribute to the many group fights that occur. The news regularly reports of group fights, which sometimes also involve school students. They occur to such an extent that one policeman started classifying the files of violent events, by the geographical or other identity of the groups.

<sup>7</sup>In 2006 the Secretary-General presented a global study of violence against children and adolescents to the General Assembly, following a recommendation of the Committee on the Rights of the Child. According to the statistics, Latin America and even more so the Caribbean have highest violence scores. See *The United Nations Secretary General’s Study on Violence against Children* ([www.violencestudy.org](http://www.violencestudy.org)).

The economic downturn in the 1990s also led to increased transit cocaine trade through Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles. All Caribbean islands are to some extent cocaine transit zones, one more than the other, depending on geography, a weak or strong state, as well as access to markets. Especially Aruba and Curaçao, off the coast of Venezuela and Colombia, with many people (tourists) and trade connections to North America and Europe, the Netherlands in particular, makes them logistically attractive for this trade. Some young (uneducated, unemployed) people are vulnerable to this lucrative illegal commerce. Increased cocaine trade since the late 1990s, in particular the arrival of new, small scale smugglers by airplane (next to the traditional larger sea transports), seems to have led to an increase in gun violence and murders.

The drug policy in Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles is more restrictive than in the Netherlands. Sales and possession of cannabis are not allowed. The same goes for other illegal substances. The general drug policy is focused on fighting drug trafficking in the Caribbean: cannabis from the Caribbean or South America, heroin and especially cocaine from South America. Alcohol is much more accepted as an intoxicant, not only the traditional rum, but also beer and other alcohols.

## 29.2 Study Design

### 29.2.1 Sampling Method

The ISRD survey is held in the first three classes of the secondary schools. In practice this means respondents are school-going teenagers in the age between 12 and 17–18. From all schools on the islands of Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao and St. Maarten a representative sample was taken from the total number of school classes, taking the different school levels into account.

The original idea was to do two separate ISRD surveys, one in Aruba and one in the Netherlands Antilles, the two other countries of the Dutch Kingdom. Considering however the limited populations of these islands number as compared to other ISRD countries, it was suggested to put Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles together into one ISRD sample. This way, the

research population was formed by Dutch Caribbean school students in their first three grades of secondary school. This would still enable distinguishing between countries (Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles), as well as between islands.

The international self-report delinquency study was however not executed on all Dutch Caribbean islands. The smallest Dutch Caribbean islands, Saba and St. Eustatius, were (unfortunately) excluded from the research. Their populations and number of school students are small, less than 5% of the total of the Netherlands Antilles. Including these two islands would yield a few dozens questionnaires, but would require a few trips. A combination of practical and financial reasons led to the decision to not include these two islands. The surveyed islands were therefore the Netherlands Antillean islands of Bonaire, Curaçao and St. Maarten, as well as Aruba.

In order to meet the criteria and methodology of the ISRD survey, it was necessary to make a stratified, three level sample. Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles were thus put together in one sample. Each level of the stratified sample would be represented by different islands. Curaçao, the largest and most populous island, would count for the first level of “capital” or most urbanised area. For the second intermediary level, normally a “medium-sized city”, the second most populous island, Aruba, was selected. For the third, “rural level”, the smaller islands St. Maarten and Bonaire were selected. For each level we wished to have 700 useable questionnaires. Taking an almost 30% non-response into account, the sample size for each level was put at 900, which led to the following stratified sample in the Dutch Caribbean (Table 29.3).

The selection of the sample was made by using the ISRD protocol. On each island, central school data were first collected and were further checked by contacting all schools. The precise total number of different classes (seventh, eighth and ninth grade) and

**Table 29.3** Dutch Caribbean islands and their planned sample size

Island	Inhabitants	Sample size	Minimum useable questionnaires
Curaçao	160,000	900	700
Aruba	101,000	900	700
St. Maarten	35,000	600	467
Bonaire	11,000	300	233



their numbers of school students was thus determined. The ISRD sampling software was used to define a sample,<sup>8</sup> stratifying for education levels, for each island. This way, a sample could be automatically defined for each island. On the largest island of Curaçao, where most schools are found in the urban area of the capital Willemstad, a further stratification was made on the basis of neighbourhoods, as they reflect differences in socio-economic status.

### 29.2.2 Data Collection

On all islands, the survey was conducted in a joint collaboration between different Universities: the University of the Netherlands Antilles, The University of Aruba, and Utrecht University. Technical assistance was provided by the CBS of the Netherlands Antilles and the American University of the Caribbean School of Medicine in St. Maarten. University students and staff made most contacts with schools to make appointments for the selected classes. In Aruba and Curaçao, students and staff carried out the survey. In Bonaire and St. Maarten, staff in combination with trained local CBS freelancers, carried them out. As the research teams were multilingual, the language of instruction used by the researchers in the classrooms was Papiamentu, Dutch or English, depending on the dominant language spoken in class.

In Bonaire and Curaçao, Papiamentu and Dutch are both used as instruction languages. On the Windward islands English is commonly used. Only one high school in St. Maarten has Dutch as the main instruction language for the higher education (HAVO, VWO). In Aruba on the other hand, Dutch is the language of instruction. All participating students in Bonaire and Curaçao were given the choice between a questionnaire in Dutch or Papiamentu. In Bonaire and Curaçao most chose the Papiamentu version. In Aruba however, Dutch was mostly used. The reason was not the pupils' preferences, but the insistence of schools boards in

using the instruction language Dutch. In St. Maarten, the English questionnaire was mostly used.<sup>9</sup>

### 29.2.3 Response Rates and Validity

The general non-response has been lower than was taken into account beforehand. The survey in Bonaire was relatively easy to organize as Bonaire only has one high school. St. Maarten has several schools, which all easily cooperated. The same is true for the schools in Curaçao, where the non-response was low.

Two problems occurred though in Aruba. One problem for the data collection was that the School Board of one school group (EPB) was unwilling to cooperate. As the EPB covers three schools, 14 out of the 60 classes are missing. Although this non-response is less than 30% and the sample size still is acceptable, these 14 classes represent one type of school level, "Eduacion Profesional Basico", which is therefore underrepresented in the survey. As most delinquency is expected to occur more among the lower levels of education, such as those offered by EPB, it could be hypothesised there is some underreporting of delinquency. The actual rates of Aruba may therefore be higher than the data show.

A further problem in the data collection in Aruba occurred at the Colegio Arubano. Its School Board only allowed the survey to be done if not the researchers, but the normal school teachers, were the ones supervising the survey in the classrooms. Eventually, the researchers had no other choice than to accept the conditions. It was only possible to instruct the schoolteachers about how to execute the survey, but not to be present in the classrooms ourselves. The data collection in one school, Colegio Arubano, was therefore not according to the research protocol and should be taken with some caution. The data collection not being neutral in this particular school, likely explains the higher number of missings (unanswered questions) in this school.

As a result of these data collection problems, the data quality for Aruba is lower than for the Netherlands Antilles. This is one further reason to analyse and

<sup>8</sup>For the sampling, the ISRD sampling method of Dr. Dirk Enzmann was used. Except for Aruba, where the sampling software was not used. The sampling method used in Aruba, a stratified sample of all schools, was discussed with and agreed upon by the ISRD Steering Group.

<sup>9</sup>The main reason being that questionnaires never arrived on a KLM flight. One English language hardcopy of the standard questionnaire was used to photocopy more. As English is the most common language on St. Maarten, the questionnaire in English provided no problems for the respondents.



present the data of Aruba separate from those of the Netherlands Antilles. Another reason for doing so is that the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba are separate countries. The data collection in the Netherlands Antilles did not present any problems and the data can thus be considered sound. For Aruba this is, as said, not totally the case. The school sample of Aruba is not totally representative for the island's research population and may underreport some delinquency. The data of Aruba and the Netherlands can therefore not be completely compared.<sup>10</sup>

The data collection in the classes generally went fine, but in some cases the class situation was not always easy to handle. Depending on the neighbourhood (such as in Curaçao and St. Maarten where lower and higher income areas are clearly distinguishable), school level as well as of course the teacher, school students were not always fully cooperative to stay quiet during the survey. This was especially true in some lower income areas. Sometimes it concerned boys who were basically asking for attention. If this was given, their initial seemingly unwilling attitude changed. Sometimes, such as in St. Maarten, their initial refusal to fill in the survey was because they, being recent immigrants from (for example) Haiti, were not yet familiar enough with written English. These were, however, exceptions and generally the school students were very serious in answering the questions. As many are not really used to be asked about their opinions, they were eager to be able to express themselves in the questionnaire.

During the data collection and visits to schools it appeared that, on the different islands, quite a few teenagers had repeated one or more classes. Absence of a strong educational tradition may be one explanation, another is language limitations. In some cases Dutch is the instruction language at school, while another one is spoken at home, such as in Aruba and in some cases Curaçao. In St. Maarten, the English language may pose a problem for school students coming from Spanish or French speaking countries. It is therefore expected that the general age of the respondents from Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles are relatively high, as compared to other ISRD countries.

<sup>10</sup> A comparison is possible though, if a selection of the data files is made and similar school levels selected in both Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles, or one of its islands, are being compared. Such comparisons are not made here, but can be made for future publications.

The responses for the different islands were as follows: Aruba (781), Curaçao (824), St. Maarten (630) and Bonaire (317). In the following sections different data will be presented. First, in Sect. 29.3, data will be presented for the Netherlands Antilles, followed by Sect. 29.4 where will be differentiated between the three different islands of the Netherlands Antilles where the survey was held. In Sect. 29.5, the data for Aruba will be presented.

## 29.3 Delinquency, Problem Behaviour and Victimization in the Netherlands Antilles

### 29.3.1 Risk Behaviour and Prevalence Rates of Alcohol, Cannabis and Truancy

Table 29.4 shows that around two-thirds of the respondents used beer or wine at least once in their life, while spirits are used by half as many (one-third). One in 14 respondents has used marijuana or hashish. A little more than one in five have used beer or wine in the past month, while one in nine used spirits and little more than 2 % used marijuana or hashish. The prevalence of strong spirits seems quite high which may be at least be partially explained by the traditional rum culture of the Caribbean.

Table 29.5 shows that most of the respondents who used spirits at least once in their life, also used beer or wine, since the life-time prevalence of alcohol in total is just slightly higher than for beer or wine separately.

One-third of the respondents reported truancy in the past year. This seems to be quite high. "Risk" assesses whether at least two of the following three behaviours have been reported: (1) Having drunken beer/wine or

**Table 29.4** Life-time and last month prevalences of alcohol and cannabis use (Netherlands Antilles)

	Life-time		Last month	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Beer/wine	63.9	1.9	22.0	3.1
Strong spirits	36.6	2.3	11.2	2.8
Marijuana, hashish use	7.4	2.6	2.2	2.9

*n* = 1,723; unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

**Table 29.5** Life-time and last month prevalences of risk factors (Netherlands Antilles)

	Life-time		Last month <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Alcohol total <sup>b</sup>	65.9	1.1	23.9	1.3
Marijuana, hashish use	7.4	2.6	2.2	2.9
Truancy	–	–	36.8	1.2
Two risk factors present	–	–	12.7	1.1

*n* = 1,723; unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Truancy: last year prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Beer/wine and strong spirits

**Table 29.6** Last year prevalences of victimisation and reporting to the police (Netherlands Antilles)

	Victimisation		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>
	%	% Missing	%
Robbery/extortion	4.7	4.5	18.6
Assault	7.1	4.8	22.5
Theft	26.5	5.5	12.9
Bullying	16.1	5.1	10.8

*n* = 1,723; unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Percentage based on number of victims; no answer: no reporting assumed

strong spirits at least once during the last month, (2) having used marijuana/hashish at least once during the last month, and (3) being truant at least once during the last year. Around one in eight respondents reports at least two of these risk factors being present.

### 29.3.2 Victimisation Experiences

In Table 29.6 the victimisation as well as reporting of this victimisation to the police is depicted. Theft is the most important form of victimisation which the respondents experienced in the past year, while bullying is second. Robbery/extortion, and assault, the more serious types of victimisation, are experienced by a substantial percentage of the respondents. Reporting to the police seems to be rare among this young group, although it does increase by seriousness of the victimisation.

**Table 29.7** Life-time and last year prevalences of offences (Netherlands Antilles)

	Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Group fight	17.8	2.1	8.2	2.7
Carrying a weapon	15.0	1.8	7.9	2.1
Assault	5.6	1.8	2.1	1.9
Snatching of bag	3.2	2.0	1.3	2.3
Robbery/extortion	2.7	2.0	1.2	2.3
Vandalism	13.3	1.5	4.8	1.8
Shoplifting	19.6	1.9	5.6	2.2
Bicycle/motor bike theft	3.9	1.9	1.4	2.0
Car break	4.1	2.5	1.7	2.7
Burglary	1.4	1.7	0.7	1.9
Car theft	0.9	1.7	0.4	1.8
Computer hacking	7.1	1.9	4.1	2.4
Drug dealing	2.8	2.1	1.5	2.5
XTC/speed use	1.4	2.3	0.4	2.4
LSD/heroine/cocaine use	1.3	2.5	0.3	2.7

*n* = 1,723; unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroine use: last month prevalence

### 29.3.3 Self-reported Delinquency

From Table 29.7 one can tell that there are four major offences that the respondents reported committing, both for life time and last year prevalence: group fights, carrying a weapon, vandalism and shoplifting. However, the order somewhat differs between life time and last year prevalences. When we look at the life time prevalence, the most frequent offence is shoplifting, followed by group fights, carrying a weapon and finally, vandalism. For the last year, group fights are most prevalent, followed by carrying a weapon, shoplifting and vandalism. Offences that are relatively rare are: car theft, hard drug use in general and burglary.

If we look at the missing values of this question, we might discover what offences are the most taboo. There are some differences, but car theft, hard drug use and group fights are omitted relatively often.

## 29.4 Netherlands Antilles: Prevalence Rates by Island

In Tables 29.8–29.11 the different prevalences for three different surveyed islands of the Netherlands Antilles are depicted: Curaçao, Bonaire and St. Maarten.

**Table 29.8** Life-time and last month prevalences of risk factors by island (Netherlands Antilles)

	Curaçao (n = 801)				Bonaire (n = 317)				St Maarten (n = 605)			
	Life time		Last month <sup>a</sup>		Life time		Last month <sup>a</sup>		Life time		Last month <sup>a</sup>	
	%		%		%		%		%		%	
	%	Missing	%	Missing	%	Missing	%	Missing	%	Missing	%	Missing
Alcohol total <sup>b</sup>	67.8	0.4	23.5	0.5	62.0	0.3	29.2	0.6	65.4	2.5	21.7	2.6
Marijuana, hashish use	3.4	0.9	1.4	1.0	9.8	3.5	2.0	3.5	11.6	4.3	3.5	5.1
Truancy	–	–	38.6	0.6	–	–	35.4	0.9	–	–	35.1	2.0
Two risk factors present	–	–	12.6	0.2	–	–	15.8	0.3	–	–	11.2	2.6

Unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Truancy: last year prevalence<sup>b</sup>Beer/wine and strong spirits**Table 29.9** Last year prevalences of victimisation and reporting to the police by island (Netherlands Antilles)

	Curaçao (n = 801)			Bonaire (n = 317)			St. Maarten (n = 605)		
	Victimisation		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>	Victimisation		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>	victimisation		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>
	%		%	%		%	%		%
	%	% Missing	%	%	% Missing	%	%	% Missing	%
Robbery/ extortion	3.2	2.6	12.9	5.4	1.6	29.4	6.5	8.4	18.4
Assault	4.5	3.2	6.5	7.1	1.9	45.5	10.6	8.3	26.2
Theft	19.7	5.0	8.5	24.9	1.3	24.4	36.6	8.4	12.3
Bullying	13.8	4.7	7.2	21.2	1.6	9.1	16.6	7.4	16.5

Unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Percentage based on number of victims; no answer: no reporting assumed**Table 29.10** Life-time and last year prevalences by island (Netherlands Antilles)

	Curaçao (n = 801)				Bonaire (n = 317)				St Maarten (n = 605)			
	Life time		Last year		Life time		Last year		Life time		Last year	
	%		%		%		%		%		%	
	%	Missing	%	Missing	%	Missing	%	Missing	%	Missing	%	Missing
Group fight	21.0	0.7	9.1	1.0	13.5	1.9	6.4	1.9	15.7	4.1	8.0	5.5
Carrying a weapon	15.2	0.5	7.9	0.6	11.6	1.9	6.8	1.9	16.6	3.5	8.6	4.3
Assault	5.6	0.5	1.9	0.6	4.4	0.3	1.6	0.3	6.0	4.3	2.6	4.5
Snatching of bag	2.9	0.7	1.4	0.7	3.5	0.6	1.9	0.6	3.5	4.5	0.9	5.1
Robbery/extortion	2.5	0.4	1.0	0.5	1.6	1.9	0.6	1.9	3.6	4.1	1.9	4.8
Vandalism	13.3	0.5	4.5	0.6	14.9	0.6	6.3	0.6	12.5	3.3	4.5	4.0
Shoplifting	16.5	0.4	3.3	0.4	18.9	1.6	7.1	1.6	24.3	4.0	8.0	5.0
Bicycle/motor bike theft	3.6	0.4	1.3	0.4	4.2	1.6	1.9	1.6	4.1	4.1	1.2	4.5
Car break	3.2	1.2	1.1	1.2	4.2	2.2	1.9	2.2	5.4	4.3	2.3	4.8
Burglary	1.0	0.4	0.4	0.5	1.0	1.3	0.3	1.3	2.1	3.8	1.4	4.1
Car theft	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	1.0	1.3	0.0	1.3	1.5	3.8	0.5	4.0
Computer hacking	7.3	0.7	3.9	1.1	8.9	0.3	5.4	0.3	5.9	4.3	3.7	5.1
Drug dealing	2.8	1.1	1.6	1.4	2.9	1.3	1.3	1.6	2.9	4.0	1.6	4.5
XTC/speed use	1.0	0.4	0.4	0.5	2.3	3.5	0.3	3.5	1.6	4.1	0.5	4.3
LSD/heroin/cocaine use	0.6	0.6	0.1	0.6	2.6	4.7	0.3	4.7	1.4	3.8	0.5	4.3

Unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

**Table 29.11** Life-time and last year prevalences (aggregated offences) by island (Netherlands Antilles)

	Curaçao (n = 801)				Bonaire (n = 317)				St Maarten (n = 605)			
	Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>		Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>		Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%		%		%		%		%		%	
	%	Missing	%	Missing	%	Missing	%	Missing	%	Missing	%	Missing
Frequent violent offences <sup>b</sup>	27.3	0.4	13.3	0.4	19.0	0.6	11.1	0.6	25.6	3.1	14.0	3.5
Rare violent offences <sup>c</sup>	8.8	0.2	3.5	0.2	8.2	0.3	4.1	0.3	11.1	3.1	4.8	3.1
Vandalism	13.3	0.5	4.5	0.6	14.9	0.6	6.3	0.6	12.5	3.3	4.5	4.0
Shoplifting	16.5	0.4	3.3	0.4	18.9	1.6	7.1	1.6	24.3	4.0	8.0	5.0
Rare property offences <sup>d</sup>	6.5	0.2	2.6	0.2	7.0	0.3	3.8	0.3	9.2	3.3	4.3	3.3
Computer hacking	7.3	0.7	3.9	1.1	8.9	0.3	5.4	0.3	5.9	4.3	3.7	5.1
Drug dealing	2.8	1.1	1.6	1.4	2.9	1.3	1.3	1.6	2.9	4.0	1.6	4.5
Hard drugs use <sup>e</sup>	1.1	0.2	0.4	0.2	3.2	1.9	0.6	1.9	2.2	3.3	0.9	3.5

Unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Hard drug use: last month prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Group fight and carrying a weapon

<sup>c</sup>Snatching of bag, robbery/extortion and assault

<sup>d</sup>Burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft and car break

<sup>e</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin/cocaine use

Since the overall prevalences have been discussed above, we will now focus on the differences between these islands. While the life time use of alcohol is slightly higher in Curaçao, the use of alcohol in the last month is highest in Bonaire. The use of marijuana or hashish is lowest in Curaçao and highest in St. Maarten, both life time and last month use. The presence of at least two risk factors is highest in Bonaire.

The victimisation is highest on St. Maarten. This seems related to the group fights that were mentioned earlier. As a result of the violence in and around schools, some schools have been forced to introduce school security at the entrance and/or on the compound, sometimes equipped with metal detectors.

In the victimisation rates there was one exception: being the victim of bullying was much more prevalent in Bonaire than in St. Maarten. Strangely enough, reporting to the police was highest in Bonaire (while the prevalence rates were in-between the other two islands) *except* for bullying, of which reporting was highest in St. Maarten. School children in Curaçao reported relatively low victimisation for any offence. Bonaire is the island with the lowest population density included in our study; this might explain the relatively high reporting of the offences. Curaçao has the highest population density and the lowest reporting to the police.

When we look at the prevalence rates for committing certain offences instead of being the victim of one, it is not surprising that St. Maarten again scores relatively high, but not for all offences. Group fights seem to be more prevalent on Curaçao, even though one would expect St. Maarten to have the highest rates, considering the apparently more prevalent group fights. For all other offences though, Curaçao has lower levels than St. Maarten except for computer hacking and vandalism.

Bonaire scores high on the life-time prevalences of offences that may reflect some form of boredom: vandalism, bicycle and motor theft, computer hacking and the use of hard drugs. As compared to the bigger islands, Bonaire has less (leisure) possibilities for teenagers. The respondents from St. Maarten seem to report a mixture of violence (carrying a weapon, assault) and crimes against property (robbery/extortion, snatching of bags, shoplifting, car break, burglary and car theft). This could be linked to the “gang” problems.

One of the two offences that were lowest in St. Maarten was computer hacking. This can be explained at least partially by the fact that to be able to hack a computer or a website, one would have to be in possession of a computer. Since St. Maarten has many (poorer) immigrants, it is well possible that its teenagers rank lowest

in the possession of computers. The data indeed show that the surveyed teenagers in St. Maarten have less access to computers.<sup>11</sup> St. Maarten also scored atypically low on vandalism, which we are not able to explain.

When we look at the occurrence of certain types of offences, it is very striking that Curaçao scores highest on frequent violent offences even though St. Maarten follows closely (27.3% and 25.6% respectively). In the last year prevalence of frequent violent offences and of rare violent offences is highest in St. Maarten, which could be explained by the increasing “gang” related problems. In addition, the prevalence of shoplifting is by far the highest in St. Maarten. The same is true for rare property offences. These offences can be explained by the presence of many (expensive) products in the tourist shops, to which some of the young and relatively poor immigrant population cannot resist. The use of hard drugs in the year prior to the survey is also most prevalent in St. Maarten. Bonaire scores highest on (both life time and last year) vandalism, computer hacking and life-time use of hard drugs. The life-time prevalence of hard drugs, probably cocaine, is much higher (2.6%) in Bonaire than in Curaçao and St. Maarten.

## 29.5 Delinquency, Problem Behaviour and Victimisation in Aruba

### 29.5.1 Prevalence Rates

Table 29.12 depicts the prevalence of different risk factors for the respondents from Aruba. Again, one-third used alcohol at least once in their life, while one in five used alcohol in the month prior to the survey. The use of marijuana or hashish is much lower than that of alcohol, with 6.4% life time and 2.4% last month use.

Around one-third of the respondents skipped school at least once during the past year. Around one in nine respondents had at least two risk factors present in the past year.

<sup>11</sup>For example, whereas in Aruba and Curaçao respectively 87 and 88% reported having a computer at home that could be used, in St. Maarten this is 80%, the lowest of the surveyed islands. These figures are only presented here, not in a table.

**Table 29.12** Life-time and last month prevalences of risk factors (Aruba)

	Aruba (n = 705)			
	Life time		Last month <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Alcohol total <sup>b</sup>	63.8	5.1	19.0	5.4
Marijuana, hashish Use	6.4	6.8	2.4	6.8
Tuancy	–	–	32.2	3.0
Two risk factors present	–	–	11.2	5.0

Unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Tuancy: last year prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Beer/wine and strong spirits

**Table 29.13** Last year prevalences of victimisation and reporting to the police (Aruba)

	Aruba (n = 705)		
	Victimisation		Reporting to the police <sup>a</sup>
	%	% Missing	%
Robbery/extortion	4.7	6.4	11.4
Assault	5.0	6.2	25.7
Theft	31.3	5.7	15.2
Bullying	19.4	6.2	3.8

Unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Percentage based on number of victims; no answer: no reporting assumed

In Table 29.13 one can see that theft is the most prevalent form of victimisation, with almost one-third of respondents having had something stolen at least once in the year prior to the survey. Bullying comes in second place, with one in five students having experienced it. Robbery/extortion, and assault are much less prevalent, but still a substantial number of students declared to having undergone these offences. The reporting is highest for assault, followed by theft and robbery/extortion. Bullying is rarely reported.

The prevalence rates for the offences that the respondents themselves reported having committed, are presented in Table 29.14. For both life-time and last year prevalences, the four most frequent offences are identical: shoplifting, group fights, vandalism and carrying a weapon. While shoplifting was done by the most students in their lifetime, group fights have been most prevalent in the past year. The missing values for all the questions are quite high.

Table 29.15 shows the types of offences committed. Shoplifting and frequent violent offences share the

**Table 29.14** Life-time and last year prevalences (Aruba)

	Aruba ( <i>n</i> = 705)			
	Life time		Last year	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Group fight	22.6	6.0	11.8	6.2
Carrying a weapon	15.9	6.1	9.8	6.4
Assault	7.0	7.1	2.6	7.2
Snatching of bag	10.4	11.5	3.7	11.6
Robbery/extortion	3.1	7.9	0.8	8.2
Vandalism	16.8	7.9	7.0	8.4
Shoplifting	29.6	6.0	9.7	6.0
Bicycle/motor bike theft	5.1	6.2	1.8	6.2
Car break	5.3	6.0	1.8	6.0
Burglary	2.6	8.2	0.6	8.2
Car theft	1.5	8.2	0.8	8.2
Computer hacking	8.1	8.9	4.7	9.2
Drug dealing	4.0	6.7	2.4	7.0
XTC/speed use	1.4	8.5	0.2	8.5
LSD/heroin/cocaine use	0.6	7.9	0.0	7.9

Unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

**Table 29.15** Life-time and last year prevalences of aggregated offences (Aruba)

	Aruba ( <i>n</i> = 438)			
	Life time		Last year <sup>a</sup>	
	%	% Missing	%	% Missing
Frequent violent offences <sup>b</sup>	28.4	5.5	16.1	5.5
Rare violent offences <sup>c</sup>	15.3	5.2	5.7	5.4
Vandalism	16.8	7.9	7.0	8.4
Shoplifting	29.6	6.0	9.7	6.0
Rare property offences <sup>d</sup>	9.7	5.2	3.3	5.2
Computer hacking	8.1	8.9	4.7	9.2
Drug dealing	4.0	6.7	2.4	7.0
Hard drugs use <sup>e</sup>	1.5	6.5	0.2	6.5

Unweighted data; prevalences based on valid cases

<sup>a</sup>Hard drug use: last month prevalence

<sup>b</sup>Group fight and carrying a weapon

<sup>c</sup>Snatching of bag, robbery/extortion and assault

<sup>d</sup>Burglary, bicycle/motor bike theft, car theft and car break

<sup>e</sup>XTC/speed and LSD/heroin/cocaine use

first place when it concerns life time prevalence, but frequent violent offences score highest in the year prior to the survey. Shoplifting seems to have been more popular once, since the difference between life-time and last year prevalence is very pronounced.

## 29.6 Conclusion and Final Comparisons

This survey was held on the Dutch Caribbean islands, in particular the islands of Aruba, Bonaire, Curacao and St. Maarten. Aruba is since 1986 a separate country within the Kingdom of the Netherlands; Bonaire, Curacao and St. Maarten are (still) a part of the Netherlands Antilles. The smaller islands Saba and St. Eustatius are also part of the Netherlands Antilles but were not part of this survey.

The Dutch Caribbean islands where the ISRD survey was held differ substantially. Their size, population density, geographical position, cultural exposure and the extent of tourism vary considerably. Even though these four islands together formed one ISRD sample, we chose to present the data in this chapter not an aggregate level, but at the level of countries (the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba). Within the Netherlands Antilles we made a further differentiation per island in Sect. 29.3.

There were several reasons for separating Aruba from the Netherlands Antilles in the data presentation. One reason is political: Aruba is no longer part of the Netherlands Antilles, so their data could/should be presented separately as well. Research and data consideration were another, bigger part of the reason. Due to problems occurred with data collecting in Aruba, the Aruban data are of less quality than those for the Netherlands Antilles. Because the School Board of one type of schools in Aruba (EPB), a lower educational level, did not want to collaborate, it is likely that some underreporting of delinquency in Aruba occurred in this survey. Another reason for possible underreporting is that the researchers were not allowed in the classrooms in another school (Colegio Arubano). As a result, in this one particular school the survey was “surveyed” by the normal schoolteachers (who we managed to instruct though) and not by the researchers, as is normally required. The presence of schoolteachers in the classes of this school, explains the high number of missings at this school. The latter confirms the importance of independent researchers being present at the time of the survey in order to have more sound answers. As a result of the data collection limitations, the data for Aruba should be taken with some caution.

Since the data for Aruba are of less quality (including a likely underreporting), they cannot be precisely compared to those of the Netherlands Antilles. In this conclusion we do however wish to have a look at all



the surveyed islands and consider some of their particular high and low prevalence rates. The following, final overview will therefore take into account all the surveyed islands: Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao and St. Maarten.

When it comes to substance use, Bonaire has highest last month alcohol as well as highest life-time hard drug use. Bonaire also has the highest prevalence (15.8%) of at least two risk factors per person. For cannabis use, Bonaire and especially St. Maarten have the highest prevalence rates. Considering group fights, the highest scores are found in Curaçao and especially Aruba. Their rates are higher than St. Maarten, where group fights get a lot of attention in the media. Aruba also scores the highest for the last year prevalence of group fights. Especially considering the possible underreporting of this island, the actual levels of group fights in Aruba may be higher.

Truancy seems quite high on all islands. Over one in three students reported having skipped school during the last month. On Aruba, this is a little less than one-third, but on the other islands between 30% and 40% of the respondents reported truancy during the last month, with the highest score for Curaçao: 38.6%.

When it comes to reporting to the police, Bonaire has the highest score, except for bullying. 45% of the respondents in Aruba who had been assaulted, declared to have reported this to the police. This figure is very high. We think it is explained by the rural character and small size of the island, as well by the fact that there is only one secondary school. The presence of only one school may also explain why in Bonaire the reporting to the police of bullying is the lowest. Reporting such might imply repercussions at school. Comparing the different outcomes of the islands, the degree of urbanisation of the population seems to influence the extent to which school students report to the police. The more urbanised, the less likely that they report to the police.

Considering pickpocketing, the prevalence in Aruba is by far the highest. Aruba has about a three times higher prevalence than the islands of the Netherlands Antilles. The same is true for shoplifting. Aruba has the highest score, with 29.6% life-time prevalence for shoplifting. St. Maarten is second, 24.3%. Curaçao is the lowest (16.5%), followed by Bonaire (18.9%). Burglary and car theft show the same pattern: Aruba has highest scores, closely followed by St. Maarten.

The degree to which phenomena like pickpocketing, shoplifting, burglary and car theft occur, may be influenced by the extent of tourism. The most touristic

islands are by far Aruba and St. Maarten, each visited by many (rich) tourists. The presence of many shops, including luxury shops (selling jewellery and gold) explains that these two islands have more opportunities for theft. The experienced wealth by or for tourists, as well as for the traditional rich elite, may create tension (strain) among some of those who possess less, which may bring some young people to trying to get some of the many goods in an illegal way.

Drug dealing has the highest score in Aruba: 4% reported ever having dealt illicit drugs. The drug use in Aruba is, however, much lower (also relatively, compared to other islands). This seems to suggest that they sell drugs to others, possibly tourists. Aruba has also the highest score for violent offences. We cannot totally explain the high scores of Aruba (which again, may be higher in reality, considering the underreporting of some lower educational levels). A hypothesis is that the American cultural influence, as well as exposure to its material wealth, has brought along phenomena like delinquency. As delinquency generally occurs more in Western societies and the United States in particular, the Americanisation of a society may imply higher levels of delinquency. The very high divorce rate in the Netherlands Antilles and even more so in Aruba is also a factor that should certainly be taken into account.<sup>12</sup> Not only in Aruba, but also in the Netherlands Antilles, the migration flows over the last few decades also brought many young women. Statistics show (young) Latino women have become popular wedding partners, especially Dominican women it appears. Recent migration in general has much increased the population of the islands under study and has demographically much changed their population. Migration, in a way, is changing the faces of the islands.

Finally, when the ISRD data of Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles will be compared with other countries, we expect that the general age of our respondents will be (slightly) higher than in most other ISRD countries. One reason is the absence of a strong educational culture in the socio-economically strongly stratified Caribbean islands. Another reason is that there are insufficient requirements or special schools for students with learning problems. Moreover, in case Dutch is the instruction language at school, this may pose a problem

<sup>12</sup> See earlier footnote 4. The very high divorce rate in Saba (80%), one of the two not surveyed islands of the Netherlands Antilles, suggests to do include Saba and St. Eustatius in a next survey.

for some whom normally speak another tongue. Further, another reason for the (assumed) higher age of our respondents is the (mass) immigration to (some of) the islands, especially since the 1990s. While in Aruba one-third is born outside the island, in St. Maarten a majority of 60% is born outside the Netherlands Antilles. These rapid changes that occur in these relatively small

Caribbean societies, exposed to regional and international migration movements and cultural forces, are likely to lead, at least temporarily, to less stable societies and less social control. The massive social and demographic changes the islands under study are undergoing, should therefore be taken into account when interpreting the data.

## Chapter 30

# Synthesis and Outlook

Josine Junger-Tas, Ineke Haen Marshall, Dirk Enzmann, Martin Killias, Majone Steketee, and Beata Gruszczynska

The contributions in this book provide a first glimpse into the rich data from our collaborative international study of self-reported delinquency and victimisation. Each chapter stands on its own and tells its own story, albeit with a common core content: Tables of life-time and last year prevalences of offending.

It is tempting to compare the prevalences reported in the chapters of the present volume to see in which countries juveniles are more delinquent. Generally speaking, this is only admissible under two conditions: First, delinquency has to be measured not only validly and reliably, but also in a similar way. Research on survey methodology and the social psychology of questionnaire design has shown that the context and wording of questions and answer formats may have strong effects on the answers elicited (Sudman et al., 1996; Schwarz, 1999). We believe that in this respect ISRD-2 has been successful: With only a few exceptions<sup>1</sup>, all the participants used the same questionnaire items (translated into 24 languages) in an identical sequence and with identical answer formats. This is a clear progress compared to ISRD-1 where the lack of comparability concerning prevalence and incidence measures of delinquency were identified as the major problem precluding a direct comparison of prevalence rates (Junger-Tas et al., 2003, p. 147). Second, the

samples have to be representative for the population of juveniles in the respective countries. It should be kept in mind, that most participants of ISRD-2 used city based samples of seventh to ninth grade students (about 12/13 to 14/15 years of age), whereas some countries used national samples (nearly always oversampling at least one large city, see the introductory chapter). Thus, comparisons should only be made with respect to large city prevalence rates. One has to admit, however, that response rates differ, that not always could true random samples of classes be achieved,<sup>2</sup> and that not all results presented in the previous chapters are based on seventh to ninth grade students.<sup>3</sup>

Even if ISRD-2 was successful in collecting reliable, valid, and comparable data on juvenile delinquency, it is important to stress that the measures of prevalence and incidence must not be taken as “objective”, absolute measures. This is a general problem with these kinds of self-report studies: The results are closely related to the survey instrument employed. Using a different questionnaire with the same items to measure delinquent behaviour in a different context will most likely yield different values of prevalence, even though the relative order of magnitudes remains the same (Enzmann, 2007). Thus, comparisons of absolute levels of delinquency are only possible between studies using the same instrument (e.g. between the ISRD-2 studies themselves). Otherwise, only the rank order of measurements may be compared.

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<sup>1</sup> Some countries did not include LSD and speed when investigating hard drug use; some countries did translate “snatching of a purse” into pick pocketing, some into “taking away” (theft), and some into robbery (of a handbag); Canada and Ireland changed the sequence of questions; Canada restricted the answers of incidences in its machine-readable questionnaire to two digits.

<sup>2</sup> Aruba, Austria, and France.

<sup>3</sup> Italy included tenth grade students; in Poland seventh to ninth grade students are about 1 year older than in the other countries; in Slovenia eighth grade students have not been surveyed; Spain 2included tenth to twelfth grade students.

### 30.1 Standardisation—with Flexibility

At first glance, the remarkable degree of convergence in the reported cross-national findings in spite of the actual differences which emerged in the achieved designs in different countries (see Sect. 30.2) provides face validity for the validity of our methodology. We learned a lot from the first International Self-report Study, particularly with regard to the requirements of a sound cross-national design and methodology. As was noted in the introductory chapter we took the lessons from ISRD-1 to heart; the ISRD-2 design is a major improvement over the first ISRD. Still, at this point, looking back on our experiences, we need to reflect about the possibility of true cross-national standardisation—as intended in our original design.

The challenges and pitfalls of survey methodology—particularly surveys focusing on deviant or socially undesirable behaviour—have been described and discussed in many sources for a long time. A particularly interesting framework for the understanding of survey methodology is that presented by Sudman et al. (1996) who argue in favour of framing survey research as an ordinary social activity, which should be understood in those terms. In many cases the meaning must be determined by contextual information, since they may be related to cultural differences between countries.

We have tried to minimise differences by organising regular workshops, where we discussed these and other issues with the participants. Rather than focusing on “dry” and mechanical methodological issues, the “research as social activity” perspective attempts to understand the social processes, meanings and interactions between participants (researcher, respondents, context, and so on) which shape the data collection endeavour. Without such understanding of the research enterprise, the meaning of particular data may be easily misconstrued. This premise is even more relevant in the cross-national context.

Of course, it is possible—and most likely easier—to present the national differences and particularities in the implementation of the (standardised) ISRD-2 research design referred to in the introductory chapter as purely logistic or practical matters. However, it is much more than that. Such interpretation would not do justice to the reality that each nation has its own particular “knowledge culture” or way of “doing science”. National social factors permeate the practice of science deeply. The sociology and philosophy of science and the history of ideas

are replete with examples which demonstrate the social and contingent nature of the creation of what is considered knowledge (Marshall, 2001, p. 236). Some of the tensions we encountered in our attempt to have perfect standardisation across countries are an inevitable—and not necessarily undesirable—aspect of cross-national research. Self-reported survey research among youth in a school setting has a different meaning and salience in different national—and regional—contexts, with implications for the entire research enterprise. Clearly, it is naïve to expect that it is possible to capture all the elements of design implementation in a standardised protocol with the same meaning for all international participants. Rather, each national project has—no matter how dedicated one is to the principle of standardisation—its own unique features and solutions to problems.

### 30.2 Some Remarkable Results

The authors of the preceding chapters rarely compare their results to findings of other countries. Although comparative analyses will be a major topic of Vol. 2, some general observations in view of the results presented in this volume are indicated.

Consistent with results of ISRD-1 and other studies on juvenile delinquency the results show that youths—if at all—predominantly commit only minor offences. Only a small proportion of offenders commit more serious or a large variety of offences. Most noteworthy differences between countries can be found between the former socialist countries and the rest with respect to property offences, especially shoplifting. The prevalence rates in cities of Central and Eastern Europe are lower than in cities of Western Europe and the Anglo-Saxon countries. Whether differences in life style or opportunity structures are responsible for this finding will be investigated in more detail in Vol. 2.

Some of the countries find that students who report a higher level of offending also are those who report a higher level of victimisation, in particular theft (the most common victimisation), assault and extortion (not bullying). This may reflect different life-styles. Some young people’s life-style, characterised by frequent outdoor activities and going to discos at night hours, is related to offending, and also greatly increases the risk of being the victim of assault and extortion. On the other hand bullying is mostly a matter of being at school.

The ISRD-2 study did also investigate the use of alcohol and drugs. It should be stressed, however, that in most countries alcohol use is no offence, in some countries even soft drug use (hashish, marijuana) is no offence or tolerated. Thus, at least with respect to alcohol use it is questionable to subsume this behaviour under the term “delinquency”. Nevertheless, high levels of consumption can be regarded as a risk factor.

We find that alcohol use is a fairly common occurrence among the 12–15-year olds—with considerable national variations. For example, alcohol use is much higher in East and Central Europe than in Western Europe. In Southern European countries, such as Spain and Italy, respondents reported also relatively high alcohol use. In these countries alcohol use is integrated in normal life, since it is usually taken during meals. In all countries, only a small proportion of youth report getting drunk very often, however.

Drug use is mainly soft drug use. It is much less common than alcohol and shows considerable variation. We will have to wait for the comparative analysis in order to find out in what way these variations are related to political, social and economic characteristics of countries.

Many participants describe and discuss the correlation of self-reported delinquency and peer group activities. Kids are likely to misbehave when they are with their peers. In virtually all countries, a sizable proportion of the students reported that they are with others when committing their offences, while drinking or using drugs is almost always done with peers: Youths who spend most of their free time with a group of friends—especially in public places—report more offences than juveniles who spend most of their free time alone or with their family. However, not all group behaviour consists of offending: The peer group also provides pleasure and psychological support in the transition to adulthood. Young people do most things in groups, they go together to discos, drink alcohol, play music, and engage in sports activities. Only a small proportion of the teens report being part of what we would consider a youth gang, according to a definition of the Eurogang group (Klein et al., 2001).

It is a known observation that gender differences in self-report studies are much smaller than those noted in official data. The findings presented in this volume confirm this observation. Most pronounced differences are observed concerning violent and serious offences (more prevalent among boys). However, there are virtually no differences in shoplifting.

An interesting issue is migration and delinquency. Overall, first or second generation immigrants tend to have higher delinquency rates than native born youth. However, this does not apply for all migrants, for all countries and for all offences. For example, in Germany and the Netherlands migrants from Turkey commit more non-serious violent offences but clearly less shoplifting. The merged ISRD-2 data offer a unique opportunity to study the relationship between migration and delinquency in different social contexts because migrants from the same origin can be found in cities of various countries.

Those participants who studied the relationship between low self-control and delinquent behaviour found support for the usefulness of this construct central to the “general theory of crime” (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990): Kids with low self-control consistently tend to report higher levels of offending. Other participants investigated the association of family factors, school attachment, and characteristics of the neighborhood with delinquent behaviour. Theoretical background are social control and bonding theory (Hirschi, 1969), but also social disorganisation theory (e.g. Sampson and Groves, 1989). At first glance, there is also considerable support for both theoretical approaches. Finally, constructs from life-style or routine-activities theory (Felson, 1994) such as leisure time activities did find substantial support. All these approaches will be focussed on in Vol. 2 using the merged ISRD-2 data set containing the data of 30 countries and over 60 cities.

### 30.3 How Do we Proceed in the Future?

The chapters of this book primarily describe the prevalence of self-reported delinquency and some of its correlates in the respective countries. The results achieved so far represent but a first step of the ISRD-2 project. As discussed above, the ISRD-2 data allow cross-national comparisons of the levels of juvenile crime and delinquency in the cities of the participating countries. However, as soon as we compare the data cross-nationally the question will arise how to explain the observed similarities and differences across cities and nations.

Before giving a short outline on how we will approach further data analyses it must be stressed that the merged ISRD-2 data set not only consists of micro-level data



of more than 71,000 students living in more than 60 cities and 30 nations. In addition it comprises a rich set of macro-level data not only on the national level but also on the local level of the large and medium-sized cities. The following local structural indicators were collected:

- Population by age and sex (total, male and female, age groups)
- Population diversity (nationals born abroad, ethnic minorities, non-nationals younger than 15);
- Household composition (number, average size, divorce rate);
- Unemployment (economically active population, unemployment numbers in 2005 and 2000, long-term unemployment, unemployment of younger population);
- Income disparity and poverty (household income of first and last quintiles, Gini-coefficient of gross income);
- Housing and residential mobility (home ownership, number living in social housing, residential moves during the last 5 years);
- Education (rate of students completing secondary education, proportion continuing education beyond compulsory education);
- Officially recorded crime and delinquency (incidence statistics of intentional homicide, assaults, rape, robbery, total crimes against the person, theft and car theft, burglary).

Of course, these indicators (as well as individual level data) can be aggregated to the national level, as well. Furthermore, drawn from various sources (such as the World Economic Forum, Transparency International, the World Values Survey) national level indicators have been collected measuring prosperity and competitiveness, human development, health and education expenditures and value orientations in addition to crime victimisation rates (European Sourcebook and International Crime Victimization Survey).

On the basis of these data, different strategies to analyze and explore differences and similarities of delinquency rates aggregated at the level of cities and nations will be used. As described in the introductory chapter, *one strategy* is to categorise nations according to some theoretical relevant criteria such as welfare regimes into different clusters (e.g. Saint-Arnauld and Bernard, 2003) that allow to look for associated patterns of crime rates, and for investigating whether individual-level relationships between family and school factors, peer

group associations and life-style behaviours, as well as neighbourhood factors apply similarly to the clusters of nations. A *second strategy* is to use the local level data as macro level variables in multilevel models that investigate the impact of context effects on delinquent behaviour on the individual level.

Summarising the desiderata of ISRD-1, Junger-Tas et al. (2003) concluded:

To our knowledge virtually nothing has been done on theorising the impact of various nationally-specific context variables on the prevalence of various deviant behaviours. In particular, we think that models on the impact of national policies aimed at such problems should be developed. (pp. 146–147)

The ISRD-2 data comprising of comparable micro- and macro-level data help to fill this gap.

Both of the above mentioned strategies allow not only to compare separate predictors to explain juvenile delinquency using multiple regression models. Likely candidates for such predictors are constructs derived from different theoretical approaches such as social control and bonding, self-control, life-style, and neighbourhood disorganisation. Instead of letting them compete against each other like in a contest of gladiators, more promising is to integrate them as co-factors and mediators into explanatory path models (e.g. Wikström and Sampson, 2006).

Some of the observations presented in this volume are hardly surprising and consistent with the existing knowledge base about delinquency. At the same time, the chapters also show intriguing and interesting variations and exceptions, which will be an inspiration for the further refinement and elaboration of existing hypotheses and perspectives on delinquency, victimisation, risk behavior and its correlates in a comparative context. The systematic analysis of the merged international data set is still in progress at the time of this writing. We expect that more thorough analysis of the merged international data set—augmented by structural indicators—may further refine and specify our tentative observations presented here.

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# Index

## A

Absenteeism and sampling, 51, 163, 207, 329, 371.

Accidents, and delinquency, 21, 166, 168, 271, 330

### Age

and alcohol use, 143

compulsory school age, 8, 79, 142, 214, 256, 369

distribution, 79, 161, 205, 215, 256, 257, 293, 318, 329, 345, 359, 360, 376, 411

and drugs use, 36

of migration, 346

of onset, 2–4, 9, 66, 76, 115, 116, 119, 133, 153, 217–220, 291, 314, 404

and offending, 75, 197

and risk behavior(u)r, 153, 220–223, 236, 272, 277, 404

and victimization, 4, 9, 71, 75, 83, 143, 164, 182–184, 239, 298, 318, 339, 402

Alcohol policy, 142, 359

### Alcohol use

beer, 32, 39, 56, 69, 71, 80, 82, 101, 115, 120, 134, 149, 162, 164, 169, 193, 208, 237, 249, 250, 260, 269, 272, 284, 295, 298, 300, 301, 318, 335, 347, 349, 354, 355, 357, 363, 372, 379, 404, 413, 415

binge drinking, 21, 26, 27, 80

drunk, 70, 71, 82, 134, 143, 148, 169, 175, 176, 194, 208,

220, 236, 237, 260, 284, 291, 295, 323, 339, 355, 363, 425

hard liquor, 149 (*see also* Spirits)

incidence, 34–35, 115–117 (*see also* Frequency)

last month, 18, 32, 33, 69, 82, 85, 101, 149, 151, 165, 208, 217, 237, 238, 261, 269, 273–275, 295, 297, 298, 372, 374, 376 (*see also* Recent)

last year, 217, 285 (*see also* Recent)

life time, 56, 85, 101, 114, 119, 120, 148, 149, 225, 260, 269, 285, 374, 415 (*see also* Ever)

prevalence, 22, 32–33, 49, 56, 63, 69–74, 80, 81, 101, 114, 118–120, 134, 148, 149, 153, 164, 165, 169, 181, 183, 184, 193–194, 217, 225, 230, 236–238, 241, 269–270, 273–275, 295–297, 328, 330, 339, 349, 354, 361, 363, 372, 374, 376, 379, 415

wine, 32, 33, 39, 56, 69, 71, 80, 82, 101, 115, 120, 134, 149, 162, 164, 169, 176, 193, 208, 236, 237, 250, 260, 269, 272, 284, 295, 298, 300, 301, 318, 349, 354, 355, 357, 363, 370, 372, 379, 381, 404, 415

American Dream, 139

### Analysis

bi-variate, 26, 107, 152, 153

multi-level, 6

multivariate, 3, 61–63, 93, 154–156, 166, 168, 170, 200, 201, 241, 367, 368, 381, 395–397

factor analysis, 103, 302, 307, 334, 335, 338

Aruba, 5, 10, 409–422

Attachment, 2, 9, 61, 63, 90–93, 106, 107, 147, 175, 181, 262–264, 275–276, 320, 334, 338, 355, 357, 368, 378–381, 395, 425. *See also* Bonding

### Attitudes

pro-violent, 147, 154, 155

towards neighborhood, 303

towards parents, 9

towards school, 286, 287, 291, 319, 324

Armenia, 5, 10, 369–382

Austria, 5, 10, 47, 97–109

## B

### Background factors

demographic, 7, 9, 22–23, 47, 50, 53, 56, 61, 63, 68–69, 79, 125, 155, 156, 200, 205, 207, 227–228, 255–256, 280, 288, 290, 341, 345, 376–377, 422

socio-economic, 1, 9, 23, 27, 51, 55, 60, 63, 89, 100, 108, 125, 127, 142, 161–162, 170, 191, 205, 208, 225, 232, 255–257, 298, 301, 311–312, 319–320, 347–348, 352, 369–370, 390, 402, 404, 410, 414

Behavior, delinquent, 61, 385, 390, 392, 395–397, 426

Belgium, 1, 5, 8, 10, 15, 29–44, 47, 360, 361, 363, 364

Blacks, 141

Bonding, 2, 68, 69, 105, 106, 108, 147, 154–157, 262–264, 290, 322, 324, 425, 426. *See also* Attachment

family, 105, 106, 108, 154–156, 262–264, 290, 322, 425

neighbo(u)rhood, 68, 221, 222, 425

school, 105, 108, 147, 154, 155, 263, 269

Bosnia-Herzegovina, 5, 10, 342

Boys, 2, 25, 27, 35–37, 40–42, 72, 73, 86, 101, 103, 105, 106, 128, 129, 131, 132, 136, 137, 152, 153, 182, 183, 207, 215, 217, 220, 222, 223, 229, 230, 237, 239, 247, 249, 250, 261, 268–270, 273, 274, 277, 280–282, 284, 285, 288, 290–292, 298, 314, 315, 331, 339, 345, 349, 353, 363, 365, 376, 390, 402, 404, 405, 412, 415, 425. *See also* Males

Bullying, 9, 21, 27, 32, 56, 71, 72, 76, 82, 85, 102, 117, 150, 153, 164, 165, 173, 181–183, 201, 202, 209, 238–241, 245, 261, 265, 270, 271, 288–292, 295, 296, 298–301, 305, 317, 330, 349, 354, 357, 364, 373, 376, 377, 394, 404, 416, 418, 419, 421, 424

- Burglary, 18, 20, 22, 34, 50, 58, 59, 69, 74, 83, 85, 101, 104, 106, 115, 116, 119–122, 151, 152, 166, 195, 196, 210, 245–247, 259, 260, 272, 279, 282, 291, 292, 296, 301, 303, 314, 317, 352, 357, 401, 416, 418, 421, 426
- C**
- Canada, 5–7, 9, 10, 24, 125–137, 318
- Capitalist society, 139
- Car break, 49, 69, 83, 152, 166, 196, 259, 272, 282, 292, 301, 314, 350, 352, 418. *See also* Theft from car
- Car theft(s), 17, 18, 25, 34, 58, 69, 83, 101, 115, 116, 119–122, 151, 152, 162, 166, 195, 209, 248, 259, 272, 279, 281, 282, 292, 294, 296, 301, 314, 317, 350–352, 357, 416, 418, 421, 426
- Carrying a weapon, 18, 22, 27, 35, 39, 57–59, 69, 71–73, 83, 85, 93, 101, 115, 118, 129, 130, 151, 164, 166, 169, 195, 197, 210, 217, 224, 248, 258, 270–272, 281, 282, 292, 296, 314, 318, 330, 350, 355, 356, 361, 373, 379, 381, 389, 416, 418, 419
- Citizenship, 140, 327, 328. *See also* Nationality
- City size  
and offending, 75, 82, 149, 152, 197, 225, 251  
and reporting to police, 22  
and risk behavior, 33, 76, 152, 153, 271, 278  
and victimization, 144, 152, 157
- Comparative design, logic of, 372
- Computer hacking, 39, 60, 61, 69, 74, 83, 93, 101, 117, 127, 151, 164, 196–198, 202, 210, 229, 248, 260, 264, 270–274, 281, 282, 284, 292, 296, 298–300, 317, 350, 361, 373, 375, 380, 381, 418, 419
- Consent  
active, 9, 41, 144, 145  
parental, 9, 51, 100, 115, 125, 144, 145, 192, 247, 280, 284, 329, 342, 343, 371, 387  
passive, 31, 51, 81, 115, 144, 145, 247, 294, 320, 329  
procedure, 145  
schools, 31, 41, 51, 81, 100, 115, 125, 145, 280, 294, 329, 342, 371
- Crime rates, statistics, official, 49–50, 58, 279
- Cyprus, 5, 10, 245–251
- Czech Republic, 5, 10, 47, 55, 97, 246, 293–309
- D**
- Data, *See also* Data collection; Sample  
cleaning, 10  
missing, 25, 174, 289  
weighting, 344
- Data collection, 41, 81, 98, 107, 125–126, 144, 163, 168, 174, 191, 268, 269, 294, 343–344, 371, 385, 387–388, 407, 414, 415, 420, 424. *See also* Data; Sample administrator's form, 9, 51, 145, 174 (*see also* Interviewer form)  
by computer, 163, 164, 191, 210  
data cleaning, 10  
data entry, 344 (*see also* EpiData)  
data weighting, 344  
missing data, 25, 274, 289  
paper and pencil method, 246  
questionnaire, 81, 125, 163, 269, 343, 344, 371, 387, 414  
research protocol, 414  
survey manager, 387  
teacher questionnaire, 8, 163, 269, 280, 294, 343, 344
- Delinquency  
frequency, 23 (*see also* Incidence)  
incidence, 1, 7, 9, 81, 107, 115–117, 217, 423, 426 (*see also* Frequency)  
prevalence, 17–19, 25, 36, 116, 117, 135, 195–196, 216, 276, 277, 331, 333, 362, 403  
rates, 3, 22, 84, 89, 332, 339, 361, 365–367, 425, 426  
variability, 4, 47, 61 (*see also* Versatility)
- Denmark, 5, 10, 47, 191–202
- Discrimination  
nationality, 22, 47, 68, 107, 293, 333, 340  
race, 141  
religion, 9, 140, 155, 221, 293, 327, 369, 400, 401
- Drug policy, 80, 142–143, 173, 256, 328, 342, 370, 413
- Drug use  
hard drugs, 3, 20, 22, 83, 93, 127, 143, 164, 169, 170, 194, 206, 234, 250, 251, 257, 260, 285, 286, 291, 296, 315, 357, 363, 381, 418, 419  
incidence, 34–35, 115–117 (*see also* Frequency)  
last month, 18, 32, 33, 69, 82, 85, 101, 149, 151, 165, 208, 217, 237, 238, 261, 269, 273–275, 295, 297, 298, 372, 374, 376 (*see also* Recent)  
life time, 18, 69, 82, 85, 101, 153, 210, 269, 285, 295, 297, 315, 328, 374, 416, 421 (*see also* Ever)  
LSD, heroin, cocaine, speed, 34, 69, 164, 194, 197, 208, 250, 281, 282, 292, 315–317, 330, 349, 357, 372  
marijuana, 32, 33, 56, 57, 72, 93, 143, 148, 163, 164, 176, 194, 208, 225, 237, 260, 270–272, 285, 287, 288, 295–298, 301, 304, 315, 316, 324, 349, 355, 356, 363, 367, 372, 373, 380, 388, 390, 415, 416, 418, 419, 425  
prevalence, 18, 21, 32, 33, 49, 69, 76, 82, 85, 101, 149–151, 153, 164, 165, 181, 194, 208, 223, 225, 236–238, 248, 269–270, 272–275, 284, 285, 295–298, 330, 349, 363, 372, 374, 376, 380, 381, 388, 421  
soft drugs, 3, 20, 22, 32, 33, 36, 69, 71, 75, 101, 127, 150, 164, 208, 237, 260, 261, 264, 270, 285–288, 294, 295, 298, 323, 363, 364  
XTC, 34, 151, 196, 282, 285, 292, 316, 317, 324, 330, 356, 363, 404
- Dutch Antilles, *see* Netherlands Antilles
- E**
- Education, 8, 15, 30, 31, 37, 38, 40, 67, 69, 107, 113, 162, 216, 221–223, 228, 229, 300, 311, 312, 329, 341, 342, 344, 345, 351, 363. *See also* Grade; School
- Environment, 42, 72, 87, 94, 95, 125, 127–128, 143, 170, 278, 301, 305, 316, 324, 338, 350, 356, 358, 381, 385, 390, 392–396, 404, 406
- EpiData, 4, 10
- Estonia, 5, 10, 255–265, 267

**Ethnicity**

- African Americans, 140, 141 (*see also* Blacks)
- Asian Americans, 140
- exceptionalism, 139, 144, 156
- first generation, 199, 200
- Hispanics-Latinos, 141
- immigrants, 63, 127, 134, 140–142, 153–155, 157, 166, 178, 199–200, 214, 227, 233, 234, 245, 327, 328, 333, 339, 340, 376, 400, 411, 412, 415, 418, 419, 425
- language, 10, 16, 40, 68, 79, 87, 100, 113, 134, 139, 145, 146, 154, 161, 163, 215, 246, 247, 256, 262, 265, 275, 318, 322, 333, 343, 387, 399, 402, 409, 410, 414, 415, 421, 423
- migrants, 24, 56, 256, 262
- minorities, minority group, 15, 16, 140, 141, 154, 265, 293 and offending, 25
- native, 55, 56, 63, 102, 154, 199–200, 241, 256, 262, 318, 333, 400, 425
- native Americans, 140, 154
- race, 140–141, 143
- and risk behavior, 56, 406
- second generation, 16, 53–55, 59, 63, 87, 199, 200, 233, 234, 237, 240, 241, 262, 299, 328, 339, 425
- and victimization, 140, 141
- Ever, 3, 9, 17, 21, 36, 37, 101, 115, 118, 126, 127, 132, 148–151, 153, 164, 175, 176, 216, 217, 229, 258–260, 270, 276, 287, 295, 296, 303, 318, 330, 339, 354, 363–365, 367, 369, 379, 388, 401, 404, 421
- Exceptionalism, 139, 144, 156

**F****Family**

- activities, 365
- affluence, 154
- bonds, 106, 146, 174, 183, 290
- break up, 299
- composition/ family structure, 63, 75, 120, 299–300, 331, 333, 339, 346
- control, 170, 274–276, 290, 357
- lone parent family, 127, 134, 161, 162, 293, 333
- parental supervision, 63, 75, 76, 90, 93, 122, 134, 137, 262, 286, 378, 412
- problem families, 286, 290
- with stepparent, 23, 300, 321, 333
- Females, 2, 16, 17, 22, 23, 25, 56, 58, 67, 68, 71, 72, 75, 76, 79, 118–119, 122, 152, 164, 178, 182, 230, 233, 235, 237, 241, 349, 350, 352, 369, 376. *See also* Girls
- Finland, 1, 5, 10, 161, 162, 166–170, 246, 361
- France, 5, 8, 10, 47, 65–76, 213, 412
- Frequency, 4, 9, 17–20, 23, 34, 65, 72–74, 76, 80, 85, 103, 105, 116, 174, 175, 178, 181, 193–197, 202, 217, 225, 232–234, 284, 288–290, 296, 316, 322–324, 334, 350, 356, 377, 380, 390
- Friends, 2, 3, 9, 20, 37, 61, 63, 90, 92–93, 102–105, 108, 125, 134–137, 166, 168, 170, 175, 181, 183, 193, 214, 249–251, 258, 259, 262–264, 270, 276–278, 287, 290, 291, 302–304, 306, 307, 317, 321–324, 330, 333–335, 337, 351–355, 357, 358, 365, 367, 377–381, 392, 394, 395, 425

**G****Gangs**

- characteristics, 379–380
- definition, 103
- membership, 135, 235–236
- Gender differences, 152, 153, 217, 284, 291, 425. *See also* Boys; Females; Girls; Males
- Germany, 1, 5, 10, 47–64, 89, 97, 267, 293, 318, 346, 351, 425
- Girls, 2, 3, 22, 25, 27, 35–38, 40–42, 72, 86, 101, 103, 105, 106, 119, 126, 128, 129, 131, 132, 136, 137, 152, 153, 182, 183, 207, 215, 217, 220, 222, 223, 225, 230, 237, 241, 249, 261, 268–270, 273, 274, 277, 278, 280–282, 284, 285, 288, 290–292, 298, 314, 331, 339, 349, 353, 363, 376, 390, 402, 404, 405. *See also* Females; Gender differences
- Gottfredson and Hirschi, 20, 21, 87, 100, 104, 155, 379, 425
- Grade. *See also* Education; School
  - eighth, 100, 103, 143, 148, 149, 192, 300, 342, 371
  - ninth, 23, 52, 100, 103, 128, 148, 153, 169, 192, 295, 300, 315, 329, 371, 379
  - seventh, 23, 52, 128, 148, 153, 163, 192, 268, 300, 315, 339, 342, 371

**H**Home country. *See* ImmigrantsHost country. *See* Immigrants

Hungary, 5, 10, 55, 97, 311–325, 327, 328

**I**

- Incidence, 1, 4, 7, 9, 34, 37, 39, 81, 115, 144, 165, 209, 217, 225, 350, 372, 405, 423, 426
- Immigrants, 63, 127, 134, 140–142, 153–155, 157, 166, 178, 199–200, 214, 227, 233, 234, 245, 327, 328, 333, 339, 340, 376, 400, 411, 412, 415, 418, 419, 425
- Indicators, structural, 2, 7, 426. *See also* Structural indicators
- Interviewer form, 81, 95, 343, 371
- Institutional Review Boards, 145
- International Self-Report Delinquency Study
  - International Self-Report Delinquency Study-1 (ISR1), 30, 117, 227
  - International Self-Report Delinquency Study (ISR2), 1, 245, 401
- Ireland, 1, 5, 9, 10, 15, 113–123, 267
- Italy, 1, 5, 7, 8, 10, 47, 92, 227–243, 327, 425

**L****Leisure**

- activities, 2, 3, 74, 102, 104–106, 108, 166, 171, 307, 316–317, 320–323, 354, 356, 390
- at night, 61, 63, 85, 103, 105, 106, 143, 175, 214, 322, 356, 365, 424
- with large group, 3, 37, 103, 317, 392
- and offending, 3, 4, 7, 19, 20, 22, 23, 37, 60, 83, 84, 87, 90, 94, 98, 114, 117, 122, 151–153, 168, 181, 183, 196–198, 201, 202, 217, 377, 424, 425
- at public places, 103, 135, 175, 183, 277, 353, 425

Leisure (*cont.*)

- and risk behavior, 85, 103–105, 108, 167, 168, 175, 183, 214, 220, 221, 249, 262–264, 277, 305, 307, 308, 425
- and victimization, 9, 21, 27, 56, 57, 69, 84, 104, 182, 183, 305, 307

## Life events

- serious, traumatic, 90, 93, 281, 288, 365, 378

## Life experiences, 100, 154

## Lithuania, 267–278

**M**

- Males, 16, 22, 23, 25, 36, 56, 58, 61, 68, 71–75, 79, 80, 97, 104, 118, 119, 122, 132, 141, 145, 152, 163, 164, 178, 181, 182, 196, 197, 202, 237, 241, 267, 268, 315, 319, 323, 341, 344, 349, 350, 352, 369, 376, 396. *See also* Boys; Gender differences
- Methodology, 3, 4, 30, 47, 79, 98–100, 107, 114–115, 139, 143–144, 245, 360, 413, 423, 424. *See also* Comparative design; Data; Data collection; EpiData; Questionnaire; Sample; Survey manager
- Monitoring the Future*, 143, 147, 148
- Multi-level analysis, 6. *See also* Structural indicators

**N**

- Nationality, 22, 47, 68, 107, 293, 333, 340. *See also* Ethnicity; Immigrant; Race
- Neighbo(u)rhood
  - attachment, 92, 93, 174, 181, 380
  - collective efficacy, 154
  - crime, 104, 108, 147, 181, 264, 381, 392
  - disorganisation, 287
  - quality, 63
- Netherlands, the, 5, 10, 15–27, 142, 143, 351, 360, 361, 364, 399–401, 404, 409–420, 425
- Netherlands Antilles, 5, 10, 409–422

**O**

## Offending

- and age, 22–23
- and city size, 18–20, 27, 116, 117, 151, 153, 210, 403
- and family structure, 75, 120
- and gender, 22
- and grade, 4, 23, 90, 103–104, 153
- and school type, 3, 24

## Offenses

- assault, 18, 20, 21, 27, 32–34, 49, 56, 58, 61, 66, 69, 71, 72, 74, 82, 84, 85, 93, 102, 104, 115, 136, 150–152, 162, 164, 166, 182, 183, 201, 209, 229, 239, 241, 257, 259, 261, 271, 288, 290, 291, 348–350, 361, 364, 367, 372, 373, 380, 391, 394, 419, 424
- bicycle/motor bike theft, 69, 197, 272, 281, 282, 296, 301
- burglary, 18, 20, 22, 34, 58, 69, 74, 83, 85, 101, 104, 106, 115, 116, 119–121, 151, 152, 166, 195, 196, 210, 245–247, 259, 260, 272, 279, 282, 291, 296, 301, 303, 314, 317, 350, 352, 401, 416, 418, 421, 426
- carrying weapon, 37, 72, 84, 93, 101, 314, 317, 354, 356, 360, 361

- computer hacking, 39, 69, 74, 83, 93, 101, 117, 127, 151, 164, 196, 197, 210, 229, 230, 248, 260, 264, 270–274, 281, 282, 284, 296, 298–300, 317, 350, 361, 373, 375, 380, 418
- downloading, 10, 83, 210, 216, 260, 337, 343, 350, 352, 354, 355, 357, 360, 361, 389, 403
- drug dealing, 18, 22, 34, 58, 69, 74, 83, 90, 92, 93, 101, 115, 117, 118, 121, 140, 151, 164, 195, 197, 210, 223, 230, 234, 248, 260, 272, 282–285, 291, 296, 316, 349, 350, 357, 361, 364, 365, 421
- group fight, 18, 84, 108, 109, 220, 314, 315
- purse or bag snatching, 10, 58, 69, 101, 115, 119, 151, 152, 196, 210, 229, 259, 272, 281, 282, 291, 314, 317, 350, 352, 418
- robbery/extortion, 10, 17, 18, 21–23, 25, 32–34, 56, 69, 71, 72, 82–85, 93, 98, 102, 104, 115, 116, 122, 150, 152, 153, 162, 164, 165, 175, 181–183, 197, 201, 209, 210, 229, 234, 239, 240, 247, 250, 259, 261, 271, 272, 279, 288–291, 298, 300, 314, 348–350, 354, 361, 364, 372, 376, 404, 416, 419
- shoplifting, 18, 20, 27, 32–36, 39, 40, 49, 57, 58, 63, 69, 72–75, 83, 86, 93, 101, 103, 104, 115, 116, 119, 120, 122, 132, 151, 163, 164, 169, 195–197, 210, 217, 222–224, 229, 230, 255, 259, 270, 272, 281, 282, 287, 296, 314, 331, 350, 351, 354, 357, 361, 367, 373, 416, 418–421, 425
- theft from car, 58, 69, 101, 120, 196, 314, 361
- theft out of car, 18 (*see also* Car break)
- vandalism, 2, 3, 9, 17, 27, 33, 34, 37, 39, 49, 57, 58, 66, 69, 72–74, 76, 83, 84, 93, 101, 103, 104, 106, 115, 119, 122, 132, 151, 164, 169, 175, 195, 197, 210, 217, 222–224, 230, 232, 248, 259, 263, 264, 270, 272, 273, 282, 287, 291, 296, 298–300, 303, 313–318, 324, 330, 331, 337, 338, 350, 351, 354, 356, 375, 381, 394, 395, 406, 416, 418, 419
- Offenses grouped
  - frequent violence, 32, 33, 39, 74, 93, 152, 222–224, 283, 284, 296, 373, 419, 420
  - non-serious, 3, 18, 19, 23–25, 27
  - rare property, 32, 39, 69, 74, 152, 210, 224, 259, 284, 301, 313, 330, 333–335, 373, 419
  - rare violence, 330
  - serious, 19, 58, 61, 63, 248, 331
- Opportunity
  - for crime, 404
  - theory, 404

**P**

- Participation rate, 51, 114, 198, 199, 207, 229, 255. *See also* Prevalence
- Parents, *See also* Family
  - parental norms, 262
- Parental consent
  - active, 9, 145
  - passive, 51, 115, 144
- Peer group, 3, 20, 27, 102–104, 181, 214, 249, 261, 263–264, 276, 278, 287, 291, 305, 317, 323, 324, 385, 392, 394, 396, 397. *See also* Friends; Gangs
- delinquent, 93, 425
- norm conforming, 106

- and offending, 3, 20, 168, 181, 425
  - and risk behavior(u)r, 104, 214, 305, 307, 317
  - and victimization, 71, 183, 296, 317
  - Pilot study, 229, 294, 343
  - Poland, 5, 10, 48, 279–291
  - Portugal, 5, 47, 205–211
- Q**
- Questionnaire
    - administration, 68, 229
    - construction, 5, 9, 174
    - items, 8, 174–175
    - validity, 9, 344, 371–372
- R**
- Race, 140–141, 143, 154
  - Recent, 37, 47, 80, 113, 133, 140, 142–144, 149, 150, 157, 171, 208, 210, 227, 233, 246, 247, 295, 312, 327, 387, 388, 390, 392, 394, 395, 397, 400, 404, 410, 415, 421
  - Reliability, 7, 9, 10, 87, 92, 350, 371
  - Research protocol, 4, 144, 414. *See also* Questionnaire; Sample; Study design
  - Risk behavior(u)r
    - friends, 20–21, 168, 262
    - and offending, 20–21, 151–153
    - truancy, 32, 415–416
    - and victimization, 150
  - Russia, 5, 51, 256, 257, 261, 359–367
- S**
- Sample. *See also* Study design
    - city-based sample, 2, 5–7, 143, 228
    - classroom-based sample, 8–9
    - multi-stage, 8
    - national sample, 2, 5, 7, 8, 66, 114, 206, 209, 214, 385, 423
    - non-response, 33, 51, 99, 145, 163, 174, 192, 206, 312, 315, 316, 344, 387, 414
    - participation rate, 51, 198, 207, 229, 255
    - population, 101, 238
    - protocol, 144, 145, 206, 342, 370
    - random sample, 3, 7, 26, 31, 51, 53, 80, 81, 174, 387, 401, 402, 423
    - refusal to participate, 9, 207
    - response rate, 15, 16, 51, 67, 114, 126, 144–146, 163, 174, 192, 247, 387, 388
    - sample bias, 67, 81, 84, 145
    - sampling error, 126
    - sampling frame
    - sampling unit, 52, 144, 228, 229
    - school-based sample, 156
    - size, 9, 67, 126, 163, 170, 312, 316, 329, 387, 414
    - stratification variables, 192, 268
    - survey manager, 256, 387
  - School. *See also* Teachers
    - achievement, 166, 168, 170, 263, 274, 276, 320–322, 334, 355, 358
    - bonds, bonding, 147, 263 (*see also* Attachment)
    - drop-out, 113, 401, 402
    - homework, 106, 166, 168, 181, 193, 287, 337, 358
    - and offending, 225
    - repeating grade, 324
    - and risk behavior, 37, 69, 150, 153, 208, 221, 260
    - truancy, 9, 20, 32, 69, 82, 92, 93, 106, 107, 150, 163, 166, 170, 184, 208, 222, 260, 276, 278, 284, 286–288, 296, 324, 334, 361, 371, 379, 381, 390, 395, 401, 421
    - and victimization, 86, 144, 152, 301, 403, 406
  - Social bonding, 2, 68, 69, 106, 108, 157, 262–264, 324
  - School level
    - college prep, 322
    - high school, 79, 92, 140–144, 148, 173, 227, 228, 232, 239, 241, 280, 293, 322, 414
    - primary, 30, 38, 76, 142, 228, 279, 311, 342, 345, 346, 349, 356, 400–402
    - secondary, 30, 31, 48, 49, 66, 67, 99, 100, 103, 114, 142, 174, 205, 228, 229, 245, 248, 250, 258, 279, 286, 356, 359, 400, 402, 404, 413, 421
  - School type
    - private, 8, 125, 141, 142, 145–148, 156, 163, 207, 215, 221, 222, 224, 225, 343, 371
    - public, 30, 99, 100, 125, 141, 142, 145, 146, 152, 153, 192, 206, 207, 215, 329, 343, 371
    - religious, 221, 222
    - technical, 100, 106, 400
    - vocational, 67, 100, 103–107, 113, 142, 228, 263, 280, 322
  - Self control scale
    - impulsivity, 87, 166, 307
    - low/high self control, 20, 63, 87, 93, 104, 155, 168, 184, 287, 425
    - risk-taking, 87, 105, 168
  - Slovenia, 5, 10, 327–340
  - Social class, 89, 106, 155, 225, 405
  - Spain, 5, 10, 213–224, 386, 425
  - Spirits, 32, 33, 36, 57, 69, 71, 80, 82, 115, 118, 162, 164, 169, 176, 193, 194, 208, 236, 237, 250, 260, 269, 295, 297–301, 304, 318, 349, 350, 357, 362–364, 368, 372, 374, 376, 378–381, 415–417, 419
  - Standardization, 1, 4–5, 10, 37, 424. *See also* Data collection; Questionnaire; Sample
  - Status offenses, 49, 117–121, 162, 294
  - Structural indicators. *See also* Multi-level analysis
    - local, 426
    - national, 2, 7
    - regional, 7
  - Study design, 4, 50–52, 66–68, 80–82, 98–100, 125–127, 144–145, 163–164, 206–207, 214–215, 228–229, 256–257, 268–269, 294–295, 312–313, 329–330, 342–344, 359–360, 370–372, 401, 413–415. *See also* Questionnaire; Research protocol; Sample
  - Substance use. *See* Alcohol use; Drug use
  - Surinam, 5, 10, 15, 24, 25, 399–406
  - Survey manager, 256, 387
  - Sweden, 5, 10, 173–184
  - Switzerland, 5, 10, 79–95, 361, 363, 364



**T**

- Teachers, 9, 30, 31, 34, 40, 51, 66, 67, 73, 92, 98, 133, 137, 141, 145, 163, 191, 246, 250, 251, 269, 320, 329, 343–345, 377, 379, 388, 414. *See also* School
- Theft from car, 17, 18, 25, 34, 58, 69, 83, 101, 115, 116, 119–122, 151, 152, 162, 166, 195, 196, 209, 248, 259, 272, 279, 281, 282, 292, 294, 296, 301, 314, 317, 350–352, 357, 416, 418, 421, 426
- Theory
- opportunity theory, 404
  - social control, 2, 9, 70, 274, 320, 406 (*see also* Social bonding)
  - social disorganization, collective efficacy, 154
  - social learning, 157
  - testing, 2, 7
- Truancy, *see* School

**U**

- Unemployment
- father, 89, 300, 377
  - mother, 68, 89, 300, 377
- United States, 5, 10, 139–157, 421

**V**

- Validity, 7, 9, 81, 87, 295, 344, 350, 371–372, 402, 414–415, 424. *See also* Data; Questionnaire
- Variety, 8, 19, 21, 23, 39, 115, 141, 145, 147, 153, 175, 182, 220, 225, 287, 367, 387, 424
- Venezuela, 5, 10, 385–396
- Versatility, *See also* Variety
- ever, 155
  - last year, 155, 156
- Victimization. *See also* Assault; Bullying; Extortion; Theft and ethnicity, race, immigrant, 24, 140–141, 154, 262, 318, 406
- and gender, 36, 153, 182, 189, 239
  - and offending, 201–202
  - reporting to police, 136
  - and risk behavior, 150
- Violence
- attitude towards, 181, 288, 303, 305, 337
  - violence scale, 287, 322–323

**Y**

- Youth
- culture, 100, 102, 104, 214, 217, 328, 339, 342
  - gangs, 352–354