

SUMMARY

Crime and problem behaviours among year-nine youth in Sweden

Results from the Swedish School Survey on Crime 1995–2008

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on Crime 1995–2008

A summary of report 2010:6

Brå – a centre of knowledge on crime and measures to combat crime

The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (Brottsförebyggande rådet – Brå) works to reduce crime and improve levels of safety in society by producing data and disseminating knowledge on crime and crime prevention work and the justice system's responses to crime.

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Contents

Differences between males and females in levels of participation in crime	5
Trends since 1995.....	6
Social relations, attitudes and crime.....	7
Exposure to theft, violence and threats.....	7
References	9
Tables	10

This study is based on self-report surveys of theft, violence and other problem behaviours (such as truancy and drug use) among school students in year nine (aged fifteen). The surveys were conducted every second year between 1995 and 2005, and the periodicity of the survey was then shifted to every third year. The most recent survey was conducted in 2008. The studies provide a basis for studying the prevalence of participation in crime and problem behaviours during the period 1995–2008.

The objectives of the study are:

- to describe the prevalence of crime and other problem behaviours among males and females in year nine to describe trends over time in the proportions of students who report participation in crime and other problem behaviours on the basis of comparisons of the data collected in all seven waves of the survey
- to illustrate the students' exposure to theft and acts of violence.

On the basis of these objectives, the study can contribute with knowledge on the nature and structure of crime among young people.

Between 5,300 and 8,200 students have completed the questionnaire during the various waves of the survey. The external non-response is for the most part comprised of students who were absent from school. Calculated on the basis of the number of students in the participating classes, the level of external non-response has ranged between five percent (1995) and nineteen percent (2008).¹

Differences between males and females in levels of participation in crime

The results from the surveys show that it is relatively common for youths to have committed some type of theft, such as a shoplifting offence, or a theft from school or from their own home, on at least one occasion. Approximately 50 percent of the youths in the most recent wave of the survey report having committed some form of theft-related act during the twelve months prior to the survey. Similarly, problem behaviours such as alcohol consumption, fare-dodging and truancy are also relatively common. Approximately half of the youths in the most recent survey report having consumed alcohol to the point of feeling intoxicated, and forty percent report having engaged in fare-dodging and having played truant respectively. More serious theft offences and acts involving serious violence against the person are more rare, as is having tried drugs. In total, levels of involvement in violence against the person and drug taking respectively lie at around ten percent.

According to their self-reports, males commit offences more often than females. The difference in the proportions of males and females who report some level of offending is small however for the more prevalent offence types and problem behaviours. Twenty-six percent of the males and 22 percent of the females report having engaged in shoplifting. The difference between the sexes becomes more marked the more serious or uncommon the type of behaviour in question. Drug use, which is relatively evenly distributed among males and females, constitutes an exception to this general rule. As regards alcohol use, a somewhat larger proportion of girls than boys report having drunk to the point of feeling intoxicated (57 percent as compared with 49 percent). A somewhat larger portion of girls than boys have truanted (43 percent as compared with 36 percent).

¹ The level of external non-response has been higher in the surveys conducted since the turn of the new millennium than that recorded in the first wave of the survey. These differences in the level of external non-response mean that a degree of caution should be exercised when looking at comparisons of the findings from different waves of the survey, since the non-response may have a slight impact on the results. An analysis has indicated however that the central tendencies noted in the material would be much the same if all members of the sample had completed the questionnaire.

A comparison of the prevalence of involvement in various types of offending (having engaged in the behaviour in question on at least one occasion over the previous twelve months) among male and female respondents in 2008, based on the summary categories of theft-related acts, vandalism, violence against the person and drugs shows that:

- 58 percent of the males have committed some form of theft offence, as compared with 50 percent of the females
- 38 percent of the males have committed some form of vandalism offence, as compared with 27 percent of the females
- 13 percent of the males have committed an act involving violence against the person, as compared with 5 percent of the females
- 8 percent of the males have used or sold drugs at some point, as compared with 7 percent of the females.

On the whole, it does not appear to be unusual for youths to occasionally commit an offence of some kind, but few of them have committed a large number of offences. It has been estimated that approximately ten percent of young people are together responsible for around two thirds of youth crime. Generally speaking, those who have committed offences involving violence and drugs have also committed acts of theft and vandalism.

Trends since 1995

The results of the study indicate that in total, involvement in crime among youths in year nine declined between 1995 and the first years of the new millennium. While this is the case at the national level, it should be noted that there may be differences in trends at the regional level². The decline in levels of involvement in crime was greater among the males than among the females. The decline in the proportion of youths reporting involvement in various types of theft and vandalism offences was greatest towards the beginning of the period examined and this proportion then became more stable. The decline in the prevalence of involvement in theft offending during the period 1995–2003 is primarily related to declines in the proportions of students who reported having committed shoplifting offences or thefts from school. The decline since the first wave of the survey in the summary category relating to vandalism offences is due to fewer youths reporting that they had engaged in vandalism (damaged things on purpose) or written graffiti. The changes noted during the later part of the period covered by the survey are small, and the proportion who report having painted graffiti murals has remained constant. Approximately forty percent report having engaged in fare-dodging, a result that has been found repeatedly throughout the period covered by the survey. The proportion who have committed an act involving violence against the person has fluctuated a little around a figure of one in ten. With regard to drug-related offences, the results suggest neither substantial increases nor decreases over time. Between 2005 and 2008, no marked changes have occurred in relation to the majority of the different criminal acts included in the survey. A tendency towards an increase can be noted in relation to certain types of offences. The proportions who report having participated in shoplifting, or thefts from school or from their own homes were a couple of percentage points higher in the 2008 wave of the survey by comparison with those from the previous wave (2005).

The proportion of youths who report not having committed any of the offences included in the questionnaire has grown somewhat over the period covered by the survey, which is in line with other results indicating that the youths' levels of tolerance towards truancy, drinking to the point of intoxication and shoplifting appear to have declined during this the period. If the focus is directed at the other end of the spectrum – at the proportion of students who report committing large numbers of offences – the size of this group has diminished over the period

² For a description of trends in self-reported crime and delinquency in the Swedish counties, see Brå-report 2007:30.

covered by the surveys. This tendency towards a decline in the size of the proportion of youths reporting high levels of involvement in crime appears to be quite general, irrespective of the socio-demographic category to which youths belong as measured in terms of their parents' social class, Swedish or non-Swedish background and whether or not their parents are still living together. The changes noted during the more recent waves of the survey are small however.

The report concludes with a comparison of the results with findings from youth self-report studies conducted in Finland and Denmark, which have noted similar trends in relation to the proportion of young people who commit offences (Salmi 2009, Balvig 2006). A range of possible interpretations and explanations of these trends is also discussed.

Social relations, attitudes and crime

Analyses of the data collected in the 2008 wave of the survey show that involvement in crime is correlated with a range of factors. The results indicate that those youths who report substantial levels of involvement in crime typically have a lifestyle which involves often going out in the evenings and spending a lot of time with friends. As a rule the social relations of these youths include spending time with other offenders. Drinking to the point of intoxication and truancy also often constitute part of the picture. Levels of interest in school and of school achievement are as a rule less prominent within this group than they are among youths as a whole. The youths' relations with their parents appear more often than the average to be relatively poor, and their parents appear to know little about their activities or about which friends they spend time with. Permissive attitudes towards crime are significantly more common among the members of this group than they are among other youths, a factor which manifests itself in that different variables related to attitudes towards crime, in addition to the level of criminality among the youths' friends, are those which present the strongest correlations with high levels of involvement in crime. On the whole, the picture that emerges from the results regarding what tends to characterise youths who commit large numbers of offences can be said to be in line with the findings from previous research in this area.

Risk factors that are correlated with the level of offending are also correlated with a scale that examines how the youths believe they would act if they found themselves in various situations which provided an opportunity to commit certain types of theft offence.

Exposure to theft, violence and threats

The proportion of youths who report having been exposed to serious violence (requiring them to visit a nurse, doctor or dentist) at some point during the twelve month period prior to the survey has remained stable at around six percent in each wave of the survey. The level of exposure to theft is five times as high, and has lain at around 30 percent during the period covered by the surveys. Since 1999, the proportion exposed to less serious violence has lain at between 22 and 24 percent. Sex differences in victimisation are most marked in relation to exposure to physical violence, which appears to be somewhat more common among the males.

The 2008 wave of the survey shows that:

- 17 percent of the males have been exposed to bicycle theft, as compared with 14 percent of the females
- 3 percent of the males have had a wallet/purse stolen, as have 3 percent of the females
- 19 percent of the males have been exposed to some other form of theft as have 19 percent of the females
- 11 percent of the males have been threatened in a way that led them to feel frightened, as compared with 14 percent of the females
- 8 percent of the males have been exposed to serious violence, as compared with 5 percent of the females

- 27 percent of the males have been exposed to less serious violence, as compared with 21 percent of the females.

The proportion of youths who report that they have often been bullied has lain at around three percent throughout the period covered by the surveys. It is considerably more common for boys to engage in bullying than it is for girls to do so. The proportions who report never having bullied others and never having been bullied themselves increased somewhat during the first part of the survey period, until 1999, and then remained relatively stable in subsequent waves of the survey. The proportions of students who report having bullied others more often, or more often having been bullied themselves have been stable.

Finally, the results from the latest wave of the survey indicate that the more often youths are exposed to crime, the more common it is for them to have taken various measures as a result of feelings of fear or worry. The most common measures, of those included in the survey instrument, that the youths report having taken are having avoided certain individuals or places, while it appears to be less common for youths to have stayed away from school or for them to have needed to change their mobile phone numbers.

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Tables

Table 1. Proportion of youths reporting that they have engaged in different types of offence and other problem behaviours (last 12 months). Percent.

	Year						
	1995	1997	1999	2001	2003	2005	2008
Theft from school	39.4	34.0	30.6	28.0	29.0	26.3	28.5
Theft from shop	37.0	35.2	30.7	24.8	24.4	21.6	24.1
Theft from own home	24.6	20.7	20.9	19.4	21.5	20.6	23.7
Other theft	21.2	19.1	18.2	16.1	16.3	15.0	15.3
Deceived to obtain money	20.0	18.6	20.0	18.2	17.0	16.0	15.3
Bought something stolen	18.8	19.2	18.7	14.5	11.9	10.6	9.6
Bicycle theft	13.8	13.0	12.9	12.9	12.2	13.5	12.2
Sold something stolen	11.3	11.0	10.5	8.3	7.0	6.2	6.1
Burglary	14.2	10.3	9.9	8.9	9.0	8.2	8.8
Pick-pocketing	8.8	7.7	8.2	6.7	6.9	6.0	7.0
Theft from vending machine	7.5	4.8	5.3	3.3	3.0	3.3	3.0
Theft from car	5.9	4.8	5.0	4.5	4.2	3.3	3.3
Theft of moped/motorbike	3.3	2.9	2.6	2.7	1.9	1.7	1.7
Car theft	2.7	2.6	2.2	2.2	1.9	1.5	1.2
All theft offences	66.2	61.5	58.8	55.0	55.1	52.4	54.3
<i>Excl. theft from school, home, deceived to obtain money</i>	52.3	49.4	45.8	40.9	39.5	37.1	39.2
Carried a knife	15.6	12.3	14.5	14.3	14.2	11.1	10.4
Hit someone (non family member)	7.9	5.9	7.0	6.3	6.3	5.8	6.2
Threats to obtain valuables	3.3	3.0	3.8	2.6	2.5	2.1	1.8
Injured with a weapon	2.4	2.0	2.3	2.0	1.9	1.8	1.6
Hit family member	2.3	1.7	2.6	1.8	2.0	2.1	1.9
Bag snatching	2.0	1.5	1.7	1.2	1.1	1.3	1.1
All violent offences	20.9	16.9	19.1	18.3	18.5	15.4	15.0
<i>All violent offences excluding carrying of knives</i>	11.4	8.8	10.8	9.4	9.7	8.6	8.9
Vandalism	31.6	26.7	24.9	24.0	22.9	21.9	22.2
Non-mural graffiti	31.7	26.9	25.3	24.1	20.8	18.1	20.5
Arson	6.0	5.2	5.8	5.4	5.4	4.9	4.6
Mural graffiti		4.7	4.5	5.0	4.4	3.8	4.0
All criminal damage	45.6	39.8	36.8	35.5	32.9	30.7	32.3
Smoked hash/marijuana	7.4	7.5	8.2	7.5	7.4	5.3	6.3
Used other drugs	2.6	2.9	2.8	2.8	2.9	2.5	2.7
Sold hash/marijuana	2.1	2.5	2.3	2.0	2.1	1.8	1.6
Sold other drugs	1.2	1.4	1.4	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.3
All drug offences	8.2	8.5	9.3	8.5	8.4	6.6	7.6
Fare-dodging	41.8	39.1	43.6	42.3	46.3	42.0	42.6
Driving without a license	32.8	30.1	31.1	29.0	29.2	32.0	30.1
Used false ID-card	7.0	6.4	6.2	5.4	4.3	4.8	3.5
All other offences	57.7	55.1	58.5	56.1	59.4	57.0	55.5
Smoking	18.0	14.8	16.8	13.8	12.4	9.4	12.7
Using snuff	7.9	6.9	8.8	9.0	8.7	8.0	5.1
Smoking or using snuff	23.3	19.3	22.7	20.5	18.6	14.3	15.5
Alcohol intoxication	64.5	64.2	65.1	61.8	57.2	52.6	52.8
Solvent abuse	9.1	7.3	7.7	6.8	7.2	5.5	5.7
Truancy	43.6	43.4	41.1	38.9	37.1	36.0	39.3
All Problem behaviours	72.7	72.9	72.2	69.9	66.0	62.8	64.3

Table 2. Proportion of males reporting that they have engaged in different types of offence and other problem behaviours (last 12 months). Percent.

	Year						
	1995	1997	1999	2001	2003	2005	2008
Theft from school	45.8	39.6	35.9	33.3	34.6	32.4	32.4
Theft from shop	40.6	36.7	34.2	26.9	26.8	23.1	26.1
Theft from own home	24.8	20.2	20.5	17.9	20.8	19.6	22.1
Other theft	25.9	24.0	22.7	19.4	19.1	17.5	16.9
Deceived to obtain money	25.4	23.2	24.6	22.3	21.2	20.0	18.7
Bought something stolen	28.2	27.3	27.6	21.4	17.6	14.7	13.0
Bicycle theft	19.8	18.2	18.9	18.4	16.7	18.2	16.2
Sold something stolen	17.3	17.1	16.7	13.5	11.0	9.5	9.7
Burglary	20.8	15.0	15.0	13.2	12.7	11.1	11.4
Pick-pocketing	10.9	9.5	9.6	7.8	7.5	6.9	8.3
Theft from vending machine	10.4	7.1	7.4	5.0	4.0	4.6	4.2
Theft from car	9.9	7.4	8.3	7.1	6.3	4.6	4.6
Theft of moped/motorbike	5.8	5.0	4.7	4.8	3.1	2.9	2.6
Car theft	4.5	4.4	3.7	3.8	3.2	2.3	2.0
All theft offences	73.0	67.1	65.5	60.7	61.6	58.1	58.0
<i>Excl. theft from school, home, deceived to obtain money</i>	60.2	55.9	53.1	47.5	45.9	42.1	43.5
Carried a knife	22.6	17.1	21.7	21.6	20.9	16.1	15.0
Hit someone (non family member)	11.8	8.8	11.0	9.7	9.1	8.8	8.9
Threats to obtain valuables	5.4	4.7	6.0	4.2	3.9	3.0	2.9
Injured with a weapon	3.6	3.0	3.5	3.1	2.5	2.8	2.4
Hit family member	2.7	2.0	3.4	2.2	2.2	2.6	2.0
Bag snatching	3.2	2.1	2.7	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.6
All violent offences	29.8	23.5	27.9	27.2	26.2	21.6	20.8
<i>All violent offences excluding carrying of knives</i>	16.4	12.8	16.1	14.1	13.6	12.1	12.5
Vandalism	44.5	37.9	36.4	34.2	32.7	30.2	29.4
Non-mural graffiti	31.4	28.1	26.5	26.6	21.7	19.8	21.2
Arson	9.4	7.5	9.2	8.5	7.8	7.4	6.0
Mural graffiti		7.7	7.5	8.5	7.0	5.8	5.9
All criminal damage	53.1	47.5	44.0	43.9	40.1	37.7	37.7
Smoked hash/marijuana	7.9	8.7	9.4	8.3	7.8	5.8	6.7
Used other drugs	2.9	3.1	3.4	3.0	2.9	2.4	2.6
Sold hash/marijuana	3.0	3.4	3.4	2.8	2.3	2.4	2.4
Sold other drugs	1.8	1.9	2.3	1.7	1.5	1.7	1.6
All drug offences	9.1	9.6	10.8	9.2	8.7	7.1	7.9
Fare-dodging	42.8	39.4	43.7	43.0	47.5	42.5	41.4
Driving without a license	45.8	42.1	42.9	38.3	40.0	40.3	37.2
Used false ID-card	8.0	7.4	7.2	6.3	4.9	5.1	4.1
All other offences	64.6	61.4	63.4	60.6	65.1	60.4	57.5
Smoking	14.3	12.7	13.5	9.7	7.7	6.1	10.5
Using snuff	14.6	12.4	16.4	16.3	15.4	12.5	8.8
Smoking or using snuff	24.3	21.1	25.0	22.5	19.6	14.9	15.6
Alcohol intoxication	64.3	62.5	64.4	60.1	55.8	50.6	48.9
Solvent abuse	9.5	7.4	8.2	7.7	7.5	6.2	6.2
Truancy	40.3	39.7	38.8	36.2	34.4	33.1	35.7
All Problem behaviours	72.1	70.6	71.4	68.4	64.5	60.8	61.2

Table 3. Proportion of females reporting that they have engaged in different types of offence and other problem behaviours (last 12 months). Percent.

	Year						
	1995	1997	1999	2001	2003	2005	2008
Theft from school	32.5	28.1	25.2	22.6	23.5	19.7	24.4
Theft from shop	33.2	33.5	27.3	22.7	22.0	19.9	22.0
Theft from own home	24.5	21.1	21.3	20.9	22.1	21.7	25.3
Other theft	16.2	13.7	13.8	12.7	13.5	12.2	13.7
Deceived to obtain money	14.2	13.5	15.4	14.0	12.8	11.8	11.8
Bought something stolen	8.9	10.5	9.7	7.5	6.3	6.1	6.1
Bicycle theft	7.4	7.4	6.8	7.2	7.8	8.4	8.1
Sold something stolen	5.0	4.4	4.3	2.9	3.0	2.5	2.5
Burglary	7.3	5.1	4.6	4.4	5.3	5.0	6.0
Pick-pocketing	6.5	5.7	6.9	5.6	6.3	5.0	5.7
Theft from vending machine	4.3	2.4	3.1	1.5	2.0	1.9	1.9
Theft from car	1.6	1.9	1.6	1.7	2.1	1.9	1.9
Theft of moped/motorbike	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.5	0.7
Car theft	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.4
All theft offences	58.9	55.5	52.1	49.0	48.6	46.3	50.4
<i>Excl. theft from school, home, deceived to obtain money</i>	<i>44.1</i>	<i>42.4</i>	<i>38.3</i>	<i>34.0</i>	<i>33.1</i>	<i>31.8</i>	<i>34.8</i>
Carried a knife	8.3	7.1	7.3	6.6	7.6	5.7	5.8
Hit someone (non family member)	3.8	2.7	2.9	2.7	3.5	2.5	3.4
Threats to obtain valuables	1.1	1.2	1.5	1.0	1.2	1.1	0.8
Injured with a weapon	1.1	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.2	0.6	0.8
Hit family member	2.0	1.3	1.9	1.4	1.8	1.5	1.9
Bag snatching	0.6	0.9	0.7	0.6	0.4	0.8	0.5
All violent offences	11.4	9.7	10.3	9.0	10.8	8.7	9.0
<i>All violent offences excluding carrying of knives</i>	<i>6.0</i>	<i>4.6</i>	<i>5.5</i>	<i>4.5</i>	<i>5.8</i>	<i>4.9</i>	<i>5.1</i>
Vandalism	18.1	14.6	13.4	13.4	13.2	13.0	14.8
Non-mural graffiti	32.0	25.5	24.1	21.6	19.9	16.3	19.9
Arson	2.5	2.8	2.4	2.1	3.1	2.1	3.1
Mural graffiti		1.6	1.5	1.5	1.8	1.6	2.1
All criminal damage	37.7	31.4	29.4	26.8	25.9	23.1	26.8
Smoked hash/marijuana	6.8	6.3	7.0	6.7	7.0	4.7	6.0
Used other drugs	2.3	2.7	2.2	2.6	2.9	2.5	2.8
Sold hash/marijuana	1.1	1.4	1.1	1.1	1.8	1.1	0.8
Sold other drugs	0.5	1.0	0.5	0.7	0.9	1.0	0.9
All drug offences	7.3	7.2	7.7	7.8	8.1	6.0	7.3
Fare-dodging	40.6	38.7	43.5	41.6	45.2	41.5	43.9
Driving without a license	19.2	17.1	19.2	19.3	18.5	23.1	22.9
Used false ID-card	5.9	5.3	5.1	4.5	3.8	4.5	2.9
All other offences	50.3	48.2	53.5	51.6	53.7	53.4	53.4
Smoking	21.8	17.0	20.1	18.1	17.0	12.6	14.9
Using snuff	0.9	1.0	1.1	1.4	2.2	2.8	1.3
Smoking or using snuff	22.1	17.4	20.4	18.5	17.7	13.7	15.4
Alcohol intoxication	64.7	66.2	65.8	63.5	58.7	54.9	56.8
Solvent abuse	8.6	7.1	7.2	5.9	6.8	4.8	5.1
Truancy	47.1	47.5	43.4	41.7	39.7	39.0	43.0
All Problem behaviours	73.4	75.3	73.1	71.4	67.4	65.1	67.6

Table 4. All respondents. Categorisation of levels of criminal activity last 12 months (scale based on 24 different illegal behaviours). Percent.

	Year						
	1995	1997	1999	2001	2003	2005	2008
n	5618	5263	6002	8201	6691	7448	6892
Never	38.5	42.1	44.4	47.7	49.7	51.2	51.0
1-5 times	32.7	33.1	32.2	31.2	30.1	31.0	30.7
6-15 times	15.2	13.5	12.3	11.2	11.0	9.9	10.9
16-35 times	8.1	7.1	6.7	6.4	5.9	5.0	4.8
36-75 times	3.9	2.9	3.0	2.4	2.3	2.2	1.9
>75 times	1.6	1.2	1.4	1.1	0.9	0.8	0.7

Table 5. Proportion of youths who report committing more than 15 offences last 12 months (scale based on 24 different illegal behaviours) by a range of different factors. 2008 wave of survey. Percent.

		More than 15 offences		
		Row %	Gamma	Base n
Relations with parents	Poor	14		1499
	Mid-range	6		3422
	Good	4	-0.40*	1948
Parents' knowledge of youth's leisure time activities	Low	20		1185
	Mid-range	7		2782
	High	3	-0.59*	2896
School attachment	Low	17		1516
	Mid-range	5		3805
	High	3	-0.54*	1543
Grade score	Low	12		2098
	Mid-range	6		2716
	High	3	-0.40*	2007
Degree of Sensation seeking	Low	1		1298
	Mid-range	4		3833
	High	18	0.69*	1756
Meets up with peers in the evening	<3 evenings/week	3		3359
	3-4 evenings/week	7		2329
	>4 evenings/week	20	0.57*	1130
Peer delinquency	Low	0.4		1945
	Mid-range	3		3124
	High	23	0.86*	1747
Tolerant attitudes towards crime	Low	1		4158
	Mid-range	8		1580
	High	30	0.82*	994
Degree of empathy	Low	25		1106
	Mid-range	8		1493
	High	2	-0.73*	4151
Attitudes to police and justice system	Negative	26		985
	Neutral	9		3299
	Positive	3	-0.64*	2472
Perceived risk of detection	Low	12		2472
	Mid-range	5		3299
	High	5	-0.42*	985
Alcohol consumption (last 12 months)	Never	2		3237
	1-5 times	4		1949
	>5 times	21	0.72*	1676
Truancy frequency (last 12 months)	Never	3		4171
	1-5 times	10		2207
	>5 times	34	0.70*	496

* p<0.01

Table 6. Victimization (prevalence last 12 months). All respondents. Percent.

	Year						
	1995	1997	1999	2001	2003	2005	2008
Bicycle theft	17.9	18.1	17.7	16.7	16.0	15.8	15.2
Theft of wallet/purse	5.8	5.9	5.5	5.1	4.5	4.0	3.1
Other theft	14.6	15.7	17.8	18.4	18.2	17.2	18.6
Theft (total)	30.1	30.7	32.2	31.5	30.6	29.6	29.6
Serious violence	5.7	5.7	6.0	5.4	6.0	5.5	6.3
Less serious violence*	18.1	17.1	22.3	21.7	23.3	23.8	24.2
Serious threats	12.5	10.6	10.5	9.8	11.7	10.7	12.2
Exposure to violence or threats (total)	26.8	24.5	29.0	27.5	30.1	29.9	31.2
Total: Exposure to theft, violence or threats	45.0	44.0	48.0	46.4	47.8	46.5	47.3

* The questionnaire item on less serious violence was altered between 1997 and 1999 which may have contributed to the shift in the level of minor violence reported.

Table 7. Victimization (prevalence last 12 months). Males. Percent.

	Year						
	1995	1997	1999	2001	2003	2005	2008
Bicycle theft	20.9	20.6	21.5	19.6	17.8	18.7	16.6
Theft of wallet/purse	6.9	6.0	5.7	5.6	4.4	4.1	3.1
Other theft	15.7	16.1	18.0	19.6	18.2	17.3	18.5
Theft (total)	33.7	33.0	35.0	34.2	31.6	31.5	30.0
Serious violence	7.3	8.1	7.8	7.0	7.9	7.2	7.5
Less serious violence*	22.5	20.5	27.3	25.3	27.2	26.9	27.1
Serious threats	13.6	10.5	10.8	9.5	11.1	10.0	10.6
Exposure to violence or threats (total)	32.3	28.8	34.5	31.5	34.1	33.0	34.0
Total: Exposure to theft, violence or threats	50.8	48.4	53.7	51.0	51.1	49.8	49.4

* The questionnaire item on less serious violence was altered between 1997 and 1999 which may have contributed to the shift in the level of minor violence reported.

Table 8. Victimization (prevalence last 12 months). Females. Percent.

	Year						
	1995	1997	1999	2001	2003	2005	2008
Bicycle theft	14.9	15.5	13.8	13.7	14.3	12.7	13.7
Theft of wallet/purse	4.7	5.8	5.2	4.5	4.6	3.9	3.1
Other theft	13.4	15.3	17.6	17.0	18.2	17.1	18.7
Theft (total)	26.4	28.3	29.4	28.6	29.6	27.6	29.1
Serious violence	4.0	3.0	4.1	3.8	4.0	3.5	5.0
Less serious violence*	13.3	13.3	17.2	17.9	19.4	20.4	21.3
Serious threats	11.3	10.8	10.2	10.1	12.2	11.4	13.9
Exposure to violence or threats (total)	21.0	19.8	23.5	23.4	26.2	26.6	28.5
Total: Exposure to theft, violence or threats	38.8	39.3	42.2	41.7	44.5	42.9	45.1

* The questionnaire item on less serious violence was altered between 1997 and 1999 which may have contributed to the shift in the level of minor violence reported.