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Crime Prevention and Control,
affiliated with the United Nations
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P.O.Box 157
FIN-00121 Helsinki
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Publication Series No. 43

Self-Reported Juvenile Delinquency in England and Wales, The Netherlands and Spain

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Helsinki 2004

Copies can be purchased from:

Academic Bookstore
P.O.Box 128
FIN-00101 Helsinki
Finland

Criminal Justice Press
P.O.Box 249
Monsey, NY 10952
USA

ISBN 952-5333-19-1
ISSN 1237-4741

Page layout: DTPage Oy, Helsinki, Finland
Printed by Yliopistopaino Oy, Helsinki, Finland

Foreword

The first International Survey on Self-Reported Delinquency (ISRSD) was initiated by a group of researchers who first came together in 1988 in a workshop organised by Professor Malcolm W. Klein. One outcome was the International Self-Report Delinquency Study that was started in 1990, co-ordinated by Josine Junger-Tas of the RDC of the Dutch Ministry of Justice. The first book, with country reports for 13 participating countries, was published in 1994 (Josine Junger-Tas, Gert-Jan Terlouw & Malcolm W. Klein (eds.): *Delinquent Behavior among Young People in the Western World*. First results of the International Self-Report Delinquency Study. RDC - Ministry of Justice - Kugler Publications - Amsterdam/New York).

In the Third Annual conference of the European Society of Criminology (Helsinki 27-30 August 2003), a workshop initiated by Josine Junger-Tas, Martin Killias, Denis Ribeaud and Ineke Hein Marshall was dedicated to discuss the second sweep of the ISRSD. The workshop attracted a large participation. A keen interest was expressed in seeing rapid progress in this matter.

As the second sweep of the ISRSD is now being launched, it is timely to publish this volume of papers emanating from the first ISRSD. It encompasses three European countries (United Kingdom, Spain, the Netherlands). The volume focuses on methodological problems related to comparative criminology, discussed in the context of the first ISRSD. We believe that the lessons presented here will be highly relevant for all those colleagues who intend to become involved in the forthcoming ISRSD-2.

Kauko Aromaa
director

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to acknowledge the assistance of:

Malcolm Klein, University of Southern California

Ricardo Franco, Center for European Documentation, University of Seville
Research and Documentation Center (WODC) of the Ministry of Justice
of The Netherlands

The Home Office Research, Development and Statistics Directorate,
United Kingdom

The Ministry of Justice of Spain

Lieke Bootsma, Leiden University

Alfonso Gutiérrez, University of Castilla-La Mancha

Augusto Inés, University of Seville

María José Benítez, University of Castilla-La Mancha

Raquel Bartolomé, University of Castilla-La Mancha

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Executive Summary

In 1990 a group of mainly European criminologists embarked on a large comparative study of juvenile delinquency through the use of the self-report method. This method consists of surveying youths in the general population and asking them directly – in private and in a non-stigmatising manner – about their possible involvement in antisocial and delinquent behaviour. For comparative criminological purposes, it can be seen as superior to other measurements of youth offending, largely because of the common definitions used. Although the self-report method has been used since the 1940s and is judged to be reliable and valid overall by the criminological scientific community, until 1990 no large scale comparative study had ever taken place.

This report represents a more intensive analysis of the same data but for three selected European countries: England and Wales, The Netherlands and Spain. These countries represent different regions of Europe and also obtained the support of their respective Ministries of Justice in the funding of fieldwork with relatively large national samples. The authors of the report are the original participants in the self-report study, including its instigator, Josine Junger-Tas. This report received DG XX II funding in 1997-1999 under Action E.II of the ‘Youth for Europe’ programme, and represents a first step in the establishment of a European research agenda on youth offending and deviant behavior.

Findings from the analyses reveal broadly similar patterns and correlates in juvenile offending in the three European countries examined, set against different reactions to the same on the part of legal institutions. Social control theory, the core theory used in the study, suggests that the social bonding of youth to prosocial others, commitments, activities and beliefs can be an important way of explaining and preventing youth offending. In a similar fashion, structuring the opportunities available to youth which facilitate offending can also reduce delinquent behavior and its harmful results. The report highlights a number of intriguing differences among the three countries which only substantiates the fact that in terms of juvenile justice policy, European countries have a great deal to learn from each other.

The report is divided into ten chapters, each of which details a different aspect of the self-report questionnaire, which appears in the Appendix. The tenth chapter consists of conclusions and research and policy recommendations. An effort was made to use clear and simple language to enable the layperson to grasp the essence of the research, without sacrificing methodological rigour in the analyses, in the tradition of good applied criminological research. It is the hope of the authors that this report will lay the foundation to the establishment, on a European level, of research-based policies aimed at preventing and intervening in the area of juvenile offending.

Introduction.

The Youth for Europe Action E.II Research Project

By Rosemary Barberet

In 1997 this project was funded by the European Commission (then DG XXII: Education, Training and Youth) in the third year of the third phase (1995-1999) of the “Youth for Europe” programme. Funding was granted under Action E.II (“youth-related research”), one of five main actions for the programme, and was continued for a second year.

Action E.II of the programme “aims at promoting cooperation between Member States, in order to provide information and gain knowledge regarding the situation of young people in the European Union. It attempts to draw a clearer overall picture of the needs of young Europeans and of the conditions in which they live, laying a basis for the development of a youth-oriented policy of cooperation” (Official Journal of the European Communities No. C192/23).

The Action E.II call for proposals also highlighted that projects should analyse results obtained from current information; reflect a consistent scientific approach with appropriate methods; be multidisciplinary; and take into account the results of existing studies.

Although the funding from this study came from a directorate-general that has little to do with criminal justice policy, but rather youth policy, this research study can also be located in the context of the creation of the ‘third pillar’ of the European Union – competence in justice and home affairs – as well as common political and economic systems (The Treaty of Rome, the first pillar) and common foreign and security policy (the second). The issues of crime, disorder, delinquency and drug use are central to the creation of this third pillar, and in response to which European strategic policies are being developed. Among the problems that have created concern in countries across Europe are organised crime, ‘football hooligans’, neo-Nazi skinheads, illegal immigration, drug supply and drug tourism.

Two clear tendencies are visible: on one hand there has been the pan-European development of exceptional legal powers, high level police co-operation and the use of intrusive policing techniques, particularly in relation to drug smuggling and serious crime networks. On the other, there are policies, (particularly at the local level) designed to enable social inclusion and harm minimisation rather than punishment per se. And, of course, Europe is not an island. The questions of crime and drugs are also the concern of Europe’s foreign and economic policies. Clandestine trade in drugs, alcohol and tobacco accounts for a significant proportion of the EU economy. Instability and insecurity – including crime and disorder – can have a negative impact on tourism and other sectors of

the economy. The economic losses from property crime and from injury caused by violence, together with imprisonment and the administration of criminal justice, also have significant costs to the EU purse.

Youth crime has been the focus of ‘moral panic’ in some (if not all) European countries at various times (Cohen 1972, Pearson 1983). Although adult offending is often more serious and harmful than crime among youth, the latter is often thought to be more extensive and troublesome. Moreover, there is a view that a failure to respond effectively when offenders are young will increase the likelihood of some of them persisting into adulthood.

The authors are criminologists (with specializations in sociology, psychology and methodology) from three European countries who collaborated, as part of a larger network, in an international research project in 1992 (see Chapter 1). That research project led to a combined volume of country-specific reports (Junger-Tas et al, 1994). The authors of this report wished to collaborate in a more intensive fashion in a comparative analysis of the data across the three countries mentioned. Furthermore, they represented the countries with national samples in the original research project, which can also be considered to be loosely representative of different regions of Europe.

The methodology for this research is mainly secondary analysis: the reelaboration of existing data. In theory, this could have been done electronically and fairly quickly. However, initial meetings revealed that it would be necessary to have longer discussions on theory, comparative data analysis, questionnaire and coding differences and differences in youth themselves across the three countries. We also conducted at one stage youth discussion groups in order to see how much youth thought they knew about each other in Europe. Much to our surprise, we learned that there is much less contact among youth in Europe than we had imagined, and that national stereotypes prevail upon asking young people to describe youth (especially deviant youth) in other European countries. The researchers’ meetings over the two years (held in London, Almagro, Seville, The Hague and Santiago de Compostela), while short and labor intensive, provided an additional opportunity to observe cultural differences.

When this report was first submitted to the then Directorate General XXII (Education, Training and Youth), now the Directorate General of Education and Culture, the European Commission had not taken much interest in juvenile delinquency prevention and intervention policy. Even after engaging in consultations that led into the *European Commission White Paper: A New Impetus for European Youth* in 2001, there is still little interest in this area in the European Commission and the White Paper only indirectly and euphemistically refers to youthful offending. The Directorate General for Justice and Home Affairs, which did not exist as such when this research was funded and conducted, is now another potential agency within which to conduct further research in this area. In that respect we are honored to present this report as perhaps the first to be considered by the Commission in this regard, and grateful to have been given the opportunity to compile it.

Chapter 1.

Origin and Execution of the International Self-Report Delinquency Study

By Josine Junger-Tas

Criminologists have long been interested in making comparisons among countries and this interest has been stimulated by growing international contacts among scientists. Indeed there has always been a scientific curiosity about the nature of crime and related behaviours in other countries, such as for example how countries compare with respect to property crime, violence or substance abuse. In addition researchers want to know how one might explain the differences that have been found between countries. Most of the theories trying to explain deviant and delinquent behaviour are of American origin. In that respect it is important to explore in a comparative perspective the question whether these theories also have relevance for other countries as well as for rather different cultures, both in Europe and elsewhere. All these are legitimate scientific areas of interest.

In the last fifty years international contacts have not only been growing among scientists but also among policymakers. In particular in Europe where the context of growing European unity has made the need for contacts among participating countries more pressing, collaboration on the policy level as well as concerted action and common policy measures have developed. In that respect it is useful to recall that the issue of juvenile crime is placed high on the political agenda of every western and European country. This is of course related to the fact that most of the crimes, such as thefts, burglary, vandalism and violence are committed by young people. Better insight into the extent, nature and explanation of such behaviours across countries may have important consequences for the development of adequate national criminal policies as well as improve European collaboration.

The growing recognition of the need for national and international crime policies to be based on sound knowledge has led, after World War II, to initiatives such as the creation of the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Division and to the Council of Europe's efforts to bring together scientists and policymakers in order to disseminate information, to evaluate criminal policies and to improve them.

However, one of the problems in international comparison in the field of criminology is the absence of common, reliable and valid instruments to measure criminal behaviour. The United Nations were the first to be confronted with this

problem and major efforts were deployed to try to compare countries on the basis of police and criminal justice statistics (Vetere and Newman, 1977; Pease and Hukkula, 1990; Kangaspunta, 1995). Unfortunately, nations differ considerably in the way their police and court systems are organised, in the way they define specific criminal acts and in the way they collect, process and register data.

Taken together, the lack of uniform definitions of legal categories, the lack of a common measuring instrument and the lack of a common methodology in conducting these inquiries, has made crime comparisons between countries very difficult indeed.

One of the first efforts to improve the situation has been the development of the International Crime Victim Survey, which was carried out for the first time in 1989 in fourteen industrialised countries (van Dijk, Mayhew and Killias, 1990; van Dijk and Mayhew, 1992). Since then the ICVS has been conducted two more times, each time including a growing number of countries in east and central Europe and in developing countries.

A second initiative was the International Self-report Delinquency Study. Its origin can be traced back to a NATO Advanced Research Workshop on self-report methodology, which was organised by Prof. Malcolm W. Klein from the University of Southern California and the Research and Documentation Centre of the Dutch Ministry of Justice. The workshop brought together some 30 experts in the field, discussing problems in self-report methodology and examining the possibility of conducting comparative research (Klein, 1989). Some of them felt that a comparative study, including countries that had achieved a certain level of methodological sophistication and research experience would be possible, although others thought it was too early considering the many methodological problems and pitfalls of such an enterprise. In the end those who wanted to go forward won the argument, observing that by conducting such a study in social reality the self-report methodology would be improved and scientific knowledge would be advanced.

The ISRD was started in 1990 with the construction of a common core self-report questionnaire. The Dutch Ministry of Justice's Research and Documentation Centre took the initiative for the study, organising meetings and co-ordinating the work to be done. Given the fact that this would be the first international comparative self-report study, the decision was made to limit the study to western countries. Twelve countries agreed to participate: The Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, England and Wales, Switzerland, Belgium, Finland, Germany, Northern Ireland, Greece, Italy, Nebraska (US) and New Zealand.

Although victim surveys as well as self-report surveys each have their methodological strengths and weaknesses, self-report surveys have certain advantages over victim surveys which are of particular relevance for those policy makers that are concerned with designing youth policies. First, contrary to victim surveys, self-report surveys make it possible to collect data on alcohol, drug abuse and other crimes where there is no identifiable victim. If these surveys are repeated on a regular basis –as they are conducted every two years in The Netherlands- policymakers will be able to examine the trends in youth behaviour and substance abuse. Second, self-report data give information about the prevalence and frequency of criminal acts committed by offenders, which cannot be pro-

vided by victim surveys. Third, self-report data include information on individual offenders, which means that specific patterns of delinquent behaviour can be related to characteristics and types of offenders. All these are of great relevance to policymakers.

The ISRD study had two main objectives:

- (1) to achieve comparability of the prevalence and frequency of different types of delinquent behaviour in the participating countries.
- (2) to make a contribution to the explanation of delinquent behaviour in general and of differences in that behaviour between countries in particular. For example one of the things we wanted to examine is whether some generally accepted notions of Social control theory (Hirschi, 1969) would be applicable in countries other than the United States.

Developing and executing such a study in practice proved to be a real challenge. Considerable problems arose, such as agreeing to a common questionnaire while avoiding each participant imposing on the others his or her own pet ideas, deciding on the sampling method and the data collection, and finally finding the necessary support and funding in each participating country. From the beginning our ambitions were modest, realising that no perfect solutions would be found for all problems and dilemmas. Indeed the gap between the ideal research design and the compromise that had to be reached in practice forced some researchers to accept a less than ideal solution, such as a city random sample instead of a national random sample. But despite these caveats, the study proved to be a fascinating enterprise, resulting in a great number of very interesting and important research outcomes, which have led to a first publication including the national reports of the participating countries (Junger-Tas et al., 1994).

One of the most interesting findings was the similarity in delinquency involvement in the participating countries, despite differences in the methodology used. There were quite similar delinquency prevalence rates in the five countries having national random samples (England and Wales, The Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and Switzerland) as well as in the seven countries with city samples. Of course international variation was more significant when focusing on particular offences, but the range of variation was not extreme. (For example, the 'last year' prevalence rate of the offence 'carrying a weapon' ranged between a low 3,5% in Italy to a high 18% in Nebraska [United States]). In all countries boys reported two to four times more violent offences than girls and 1,5 to two times more property offences. The discrepancy between boys' and girls' delinquency was largest for violence against persons. There was little or no difference between the sexes with respect to fare evasion, shoplifting and problem behaviour. In addition, the peak ages for offending were also similar: 14 to 15 for vandalism, 16 to 17 for property offences, and 18 to 20 for violence against persons (Junger-Tas et al. 1994). Another finding was that the lower the educational level of respondents, the more reported violent behaviour. On the other hand, drug use seemed to be related to early school-leaving and to unemployment.

An important conclusion of the study, considering the preliminary outcomes resulting from the national reports, was that the similarity in prevalence rates seemed independent of the nature of the samples drawn, an outcome that we had

not expected. It does suggest that self-report measures are fairly robust despite differences in sampling method and method of administration of the instrument. Another conclusion was that overall 'ever' prevalence rates were quite high, which may mean that the fact of committing several deviant or delinquent acts during adolescence is part of the growing up process of young people in western countries. However, 'last year' prevalence rates were considerably lower suggesting that on average in a one-year period half to two thirds of normal young people aged 14-21 do commit an occasional offence of a not too serious nature.

The present report presents an in-depth comparison between three of the participating countries, England and Wales, Spain and The Netherlands. In order to make this comparison we had to combine the three databases. This proved to be a long and difficult process in view of a number of coding differences which forced us to review all variables.

The report starts with discussing the definition of delinquency in the context of the self-report methodology. This is important for several reasons. Not only are there differences in the criminal law between the three countries but it is not always clear what should be understood by juvenile delinquency. For example should 'problem' behaviour such as truancy, alcohol use or running away from home be part of the definition?

Chapter 3 presents some general information on the three countries as well as some more details on the young people in the study. Chapter 4 starts by examining the relationship of some basic socio-demographic variables, such as age and sex, with delinquent behaviour and then analyses the impact of family and school relationships on delinquency. The next four chapters each give special attention to a particular offence category: problem behavior, youth-related offences, violence against objects, violence and public order offences, property offences and drug use and dealing. This is followed by a chapter on the social reaction to deviant behaviour in the respective countries. In a final chapter we draw a number of conclusions which lead us to propose some recommendations for a European youth and crime prevention policy.

Chapter 2.

Methodological Problems in Comparative Studies of Self-Reports

Self-report studies on delinquency are a useful addition to other sources on crime, overcoming some the difficulties of other studies; Nevertheless they have their limitations. In this chapter we will discuss characteristics of the self-report methodology in general, its advantages compared to other methods and its limitations. Further in this chapter we will discuss the characteristics of the ISRD and the present study.

2.1 The Aims of Self-Report Studies

Until about thirty years ago, empirical research on crime was based mainly on officially recorded 'police statistics'. These data were compiled by the police based on their own observations and reports from victims. Although these data are meant for the use of the criminal justice system and not for research purposes, they also served a useful purpose for research. A major disadvantage of police statistics however, is that these data are not complete. Many victims do not report crimes to the police and information on 'victimless' crimes are more a reflection of the efforts of the police to detect them than a reflection of the volume of crime. A large percentage of the crimes are not solved so there is insufficient information about the offenders. The information that is available is meant for the criminal justice system; for research purposes we need the data to be more complete and include information needed to test the theories that explain delinquency.

2.2 Self-Report Methodology

To overcome these difficulties, researchers developed other means of data collection. A number of these initiatives are based on survey methodology. Two of these alternatives are the victim and self-report surveys. A random sample of a population is questioned about experiences of crime as a victim or as an offender and topics related to that experience. The aims of these surveys are to gather more accurate data on delinquency, especially on those crimes that are in general not reported to the police and/or almost never are solved by the police. By including questions on backgrounds and circumstances, these data can be used to test theories for explaining crime.

2.2.1 Selection of the population, random and fixed studies

One of the most important choices is to decide what population will be targeted. A national random sample will provide information on the general public and can provide information on the general patterns of delinquency only. Unless the sample is very large, it will not provide accurate information on specific groups within the population such as minorities, children from single parent families and so on. If such information is required, that population should also be targeted. The population does not need to consist of individuals; companies and other institutions can commit crimes. In studies involving individuals, traditionally, samples of young people have been used. Young people are less suspicious of interviewers and are thus more likely to provide valid data than older people.

Also part of that choice to be made is whether the study is to be *random* or *fixed*. With a random study we mean that the results of a survey on a sample can be generalised to the population. This is not always desirable. For example, if a secondary school suffers from a high level of violence amongst their pupils they could decide to question all the pupils on their participation, either as a victim or as an offender, to get a better picture of the problem. The results of such a study are not meant to be generalised to the whole population of secondary school students but apply to that school only and is therefore called a fixed study.

2.2.2 Self-report questionnaire

Self-report questionnaires, like all other questionnaires, consist of several parts. There are always *demographic items* such as age, gender, family composition, occupation, education and social economic status/income.

2.2.2.1 Selection of crimes

In the questionnaire there are *items on delinquent and deviant behaviour*. The crimes covered depend on the aims of the study. If the study is to give information on total crime, all possible crimes will need to be covered. This will turn out to be a hopeless effort. Some crimes, like homicide, are very rare so it is not likely that any positive answer on such a question will be given, especially not by those people who actually committed murder (if there happens to be such an individual in the study). The reliability of self-reports is discussed in more detail further in this chapter. It is also not useful to question primary school students on tax evasion or the manager of a company if the company has stolen something from school in the last year.

2.2.2.2 Problem behaviour

These items do not necessarily have to be restricted to behaviour that is defined by law as a crime. For instance, among young children there is a lot of bullying at school which is not a crime but definitely anti-social behaviour. It could be

worthwhile to include such behaviour in a study, especially if there are no ‘real’ crimes to be expected. The crimes will need to be defined in simple terms; firing legal definitions at a respondent will result in a lot of non-response. As a result, the crimes will not always precisely match legal definitions.

2.2.2.3 Follow-up items

Questions on delinquency and deviant behaviour are followed by items on specific details, such as when, where, how often, with whom, how much damage was done, if the police ever found out and so on. Characteristic of items like these is that they are conditional and therefore only apply to a part of the respondents. Very detailed questions will need to be avoided since there will be only a few responses to those and they will therefore have very little inferential value.

2.2.2.4 Background information

The third type of questions in a self-report study are the background variables that can explain crime. There are many ad-hoc and common-sense notions on the reasons for committing crimes. The list of such background items can be endless if such an approach is chosen. In general a theoretical framework will be necessary. Some of the theories that are used in self-report delinquency studies are deprivation theory for people living in marginalised areas (Cloward and Ohlin, 1961), theories on (lack of) integration of ethnic minorities (Sellin, 1938), opportunity theory (Felson, 1998; Clarke, 1992), and rational choice in the case of property crimes. The basic ISRD questionnaire did not have such items. But in most European questionnaires there were items included that were based on the social control theory (Hirschi, 1996). This list is not exhaustive; the choice of the theoretical framework is however an important one and determines the quality of the study and the value of its results.

2.2.3 Data collection: Sampling and application

There are different ways of selecting respondents which still assure that results are representative for the whole population. The most straightforward is the *full random sample*. This is only possible if all relevant characteristics of the target population are known, which is quite often not the case. We will briefly discuss some of the other most frequently used sampling strategies. In *multi-stage sampling* there are several stages of sampling; for example, first a random selection of households, within such household a random selection of a household member. Members of large households stand a smaller chance of being selected than people living in small households. *Stratified sampling* means that the population is first divided into a number of exhaustive and mutually exclusive groups; second, a subsample is drawn from each category. This method is often used to ensure enough cases from minorities. A popular sampling method that is very often used is *cluster samples*. This looks very much like stratified sampling but here

the categories are not exhaustive, for instance comparing young people (aged 15-25) with middle age people (age 45-60) and skipping all other age groups. Combinations of these different sampling strategies are possible.

2.2.4 Reliability and validity of self-report methodology

As previously mentioned self-report methodology is a valid instrument for crimes that are often committed in the target population. Reliability is another matter; this topic is comprehensively discussed by Junger-Tas and Marshall (1999). The general conclusion is that, provided the study is properly designed, the method is reasonably reliable but not perfect. Here we will discuss some of the main issues surrounding reliability.

2.2.5 Non-response

One of the most fundamental problems is non-response. Not every person that is approached will agree to participate. If the reason for non-response is not related to criminal behaviour there is no reason to suspect that even a low response rate will cause unreliable results. However if the reason for non participation is related to criminal behaviour, even a high response rate cannot be a guarantee for reliable results. Those young people likely to have committed a lot of offences tend to participate less in these studies.

2.2.6 Memory

Self-report studies are always retrospective, hence we will need to rely on the memory of the respondents. We know that as time passes, more things will be forgotten. Important in this are the phenomena known as forward and backward telescoping. Serious incidents are not likely to be forgotten; they are kept in memory as if they happened recently (forward telescoping). Less serious incidents are more likely to be forgotten, and if they are not forgotten they are remembered as if they happened longer ago than was actually the case. These telescoping effects are partially compensated by introducing two stage questions. In the ISRD study the questions on delinquency are preceded by asking: "Have you ever ...?", followed by "Did you do that last year?".

2.2.7 Truthfulness

How honest are respondents if they are asked about committing crimes? It is possible that respondents think about what the consequences could be if they admit committing a crime. It is therefore crucial that a guarantee is given that the information will not be handed over to others, especially not to the police. However, this will not convince everyone.

2.3 The International Self-Report Delinquency Study (ISRD)

Apart from the useful information self-report studies supply, they are not always directly comparable in international comparative studies. International comparison introduces a number of other difficulties. Most important are the differences in legal definitions; some behaviours that are crimes in one country can be just misdemeanours in another or not even that. Although the crimes are defined in simple terms, these differences still are present in self-report studies. Results from different countries cannot easily be compared. For results to be compared there needs to be a high degree of standardisation.

The ISRD is an attempt to overcome these difficulties. In 1988, thirty experts in self-report methodology from fifteen countries met in the Netherlands for a NATO Advanced Research Workshop (Klein, 1994). As a result of this, twelve countries decided to do a international comparative self-report study in which they agreed to apply the same methodology as much as possible. The participating countries are listed in Table 2.1. This project was successful in many aspects but not in all. The extend to which the countries converged or diverged will be discussed.

2.3.1 Target population and sampling

The target population was set to young people, aged 14 to 21. Only England and Wales had a fully random sample. In Germany, Portugal and Switzerland, the surveys were also nation-wide. In Spain and the Netherlands a number of large cities were sampled.

The surveys in the other countries were restricted to a few cities and/or school population only. Table 2.1 gives the sample sizes and briefly describes the target population and sampling methods. This table shows that there are some differences in the sampling methods and population. However, the reader should remember that this report only includes the samples from England and Wales, The Netherlands, and Spain.

Table 2.1. Participating countries, sample size, target population and sampling methodology

Country	Sample size	Description of sample
Belgium	618	Clustered: two stage sample (schools, individuals) in Liege (pencil and paper administration) + random selection of non-school attending youth (face to face)
England & Wales	1834	Stratified; random nation-wide sample + random cluster sample in high crime areas
Finland	1672	Stratified, sample of schools in Helsinki, two clusters of students from the 9 th grade (age 15-16) and 11 th grade (age 17-18). Stratification by social economic status of the area and special versus general schools. (pencil and paper administration)
West-Germany	300	Stratified random sample from Mannheim. Stratification by nationality, age and social economic status of the area.
Germany (after reunification)	1736	Stratified random sample (east-west Germany) + random cluster sample from large city population in (former) east-Germany
Greece	311	Sample of Athens population age 14-21, sampling method not clear
Italy	1009	Two stage (schools, individuals) random sample in three clusters (cities of Genua, Messina, Sienna)
The Netherlands	914+	Stratified random sample from the ten largest cities + stratified cluster sample of ethnic minorities
New Zealand	1037	Respondents from an ongoing longitudinal study (born between April 1, 1972 and March 31, 1993) age 18 at time of the ISRD study
North. Ireland	883	Two stage (households, individuals) random sample in Belfast
Portugal	1000	Stratified (districts and towns) random sample from mainland
Spain	2100	Multistage cluster sampling (individuals within neighbourhoods) in seven cities, (over sampling in the smaller cities)
Switzerland	970	Nation-wide, two stage sampling (cities, individuals)
USA	539	Two stage (high schools, individuals) random sample in Omaha, Nebraska

For more details, consult Junger-Tas et al., 1994

2.3.2 Overview of the questionnaire

The questionnaires used by the three countries were essentially the same¹. The fundamental questions were the same, although the English/Welsh version differs on some of them and some of them were not asked. Here we are going to give an overview of the main questionnaire, and we shall then point out the differences among each country's adapted version.

The questionnaire had four different parts, each of which has a different purpose for the study.

2.3.2.1 The Interviewer's role

In addition to interviewing the respondent, another role of the interviewer was to collect some additional data. These questions appeared at the beginning and at the end of the questionnaire. The questions at the beginning were answer by the interviewing in case of refusal, and allows us to learn about the reasons for the refusals to answer by the respondents, and to evaluate the state of the house and the street of those non-response cases. The second part is answered by the interviewer at the end of the interview and relates to the circumstances of the interview ('was the interviewee alone?', 'how long did the interview last?', etc.), and also evaluate the state of the house and the street of the interviewee.

2.3.2.2 The socio-demographic questions

These questions are intended to get data about the sex and age of the respondent, his/her education, work and family. But this section also includes questions about what the respondent thinks about school, work, family and friends, what kind of relationship he/she has with his/her parents and friends, and how he/she organises his/her spare time. These questions are theoretically relevant to control theory (Hirschi, 1969).

2.3.2.3 The delinquency questions

The core of the questionnaire is devoted to delinquent behaviour and follow-up questions. Delinquent behaviour is grouped into the following categories:

- a) **Problem Behaviour:** This is not a crime in the legal sense, but in many theories is considered as problematic or predelinquent behaviour. Here we are going to use them as delinquency predictors. We include in this category '*Truancy*', '*Running away*' and '*Alcohol consumption*'.
- b) **Youth-Related Offences:** Although considered minor offences, it is interesting to ask young people about them because young people usually commit these kinds of offences. We include in this category '*Fare dodging*' and '*Driving without license &/O insurance*'. Although there is a different cate-

1 See basic version of questionnaire in appendix.

gory for violent offences we include here violent offences against objects, ('Graffiti', 'Vandalism' and 'Arson'), because they are youth-related offences.

- c) **Property Offences:** There are thirteen of this kind of offences, ranging from petty thefts, such as '*Stealing at school*' or '*Shoplifting*', to more serious thefts such as '*Stealing a car*' or '*Stealing a purse/bag*'.
- d) **Violence against persons:** This category, which includes six different kinds of crimes, deals with violence against persons. These are considered to be the most significant offences, linked to adult criminality.
- e) **Drugs:** Because there are legal differences among the three countries regarding the use of drugs, we differentiate between *soft* and *hard drugs*, and between *drug use of drugs* and *selling*.

2.3.2.4 Prevalence and frequency

The respondents have to answer 30 questions on the acts mentioned above (plus 13 on possible vandalised items), regarding whether they have done any of them in their lifelong. These questions are called 'prevalence questions' because they are intended to learn about how many people have ever been involved in every kind behaviour. Every time a respondent says that he/she has done any of these kinds of behaviour, he/she was asked about having acted in that way during the last year and how often. These questions are used to compute the frequency of every kind of behaviour above mentioned; i.e., how many times the young person has done it during the last year. We study the frequency of these kinds of behaviour during the last year for two reasons. The first one is to avoid memory deficits, and the second one is to be able to control for the effects of age, because older young people are likely to have committed more crimes because of their age.

2.3.2.5 The follow-up questions

Once asked about the prevalence of the behaviours under study, and the frequency questions on the acts actually committed by the subject, the interviewer goes to the follow-up questions corresponding to that behaviour. These follow-up questions are intended to illuminate different matters. We could learn about with whom and where the crime was committed, the consequences of having committed the crime; i.e., if the crime was detected, who detected the crime, and the consequences of being detected. Moreover, when appropriate, the young person is also asked about the value of the object stolen, destroyed, sold, etc., or the degree of injury with respect to an interpersonal assault.

When we ask about being detected, we are trying to learn about the existing control on youth behaviour. And by asking about who detected the crime we can learn who exerted the control, i.e., whether an agent of formal (police) or informal (parents, teachers, etc.) control.

2.3.3 Comparison problems

In comparative studies, we usually pay a lot of attention to the data and we try to draw conclusions from them. However, comparing results from different countries is much more difficult than simply comparing data. If we just think of the fieldwork as the origin of the problems of comparison we are going to find in a comparative study, we will miss the heart of the matter. Countries are historically different, they differ in economic, legal, educational and cultural traditions, and any comparative study has to take account of this. We look at some of these problems below:

2.3.3.1 Different social/legal meaning

Behaviour can have a different meaning in each country and the results mirror this difference. That is the reason why we should bear in mind these differences when interpreting the results, and we shall go back to them when dealing with the results.

One of these differences was the Socio-economic Status (SES). It is very difficult to classify subjects from the three countries in some common SES categories based on income or parents occupation, or any other index usually used to determine the SES. The way the ISRD solved the problem was to compute a SES index based on the assessment, made by the interviewer, of the building and the street where the interviewee lived, and this was the solution we used in our comparative study.

Comparison problems also arise from many other areas: the sampling method, samples size, the fieldwork, the questionnaire and the data handling. We are going to look at each one of these and explain how we dealt with them.

2.3.3.2 Sampling

Generally, good samples have to be random but only the English/Welsh one was really a nationally representative random sample; the Spanish and the Dutch ones were city samples. In the Spanish case the 7 cities chosen had been stratified by their size (only cities larger than 50.000 inhabitants were included and the largest city was under-sampled); a random sample was obtained from the census points from these cities. In the Netherlands the fifteen largest cities in the country were included (no cities smaller than 50.000 inhabitants were included and the larger cities were over-sampled). The Dutch increased the representativeness of their sample through the addition of some subjects from two other cities. In addition to the nationally representative random sample, the English/Welsh sample has a random sample from post code address file identified as having high rates of victimization in the British Crime Survey. The Spanish sample also added a booster sample from census sections identified as marginalized areas by the police or the social services.

We could do nothing to make the three samples totally comparable because in the English/Welsh database it was too hard to determine size of city of residence from the existing database. We took the decision to compare the three countries, bearing in mind that the English/Welsh sample could include a more rural population than the Spanish and Dutch samples, whatever consequences this could entail for the study.

2.3.3.3 Sample size

The samples sizes were also different. The numbers were 1223 for the England/Welsh sample, the Netherlands had a sample size of 914, while Spain had 2100 subjects. That is usually not a problem if we use standardized data, but when trying to reach general conclusions, the weight of the different proportionality of the sample size could have some consequences. We considered weighting the samples so as to make them proportional to the size of the countries from where they were drawn, but the results obtained working with the data with and without weighting, were the same. So we decided against weighting.

2.3.3.4 Fieldwork

The three countries had made use of a firm specialised in surveys to conduct the fieldwork. They all used the face-to-face method, at least partially. In the English/Welsh case, the interviewers asked the lifestyles section face-to-face and the questions on offending were completed by the respondent; once the questionnaire was completed the respondent placed it in an envelope and sealed it to ensure complete confidentiality. Confidentiality was at a maximum, but the level of non-completion was high. In the Dutch case the socio-demographic part of the questionnaire was administered in a face-to-face interview. The delinquency items were completed personally by the respondent while the interviewer was present (they reached a good level of completion of the questionnaires). In Spain the interview had three parts; first, the interviewer asked the respondent the demographic and social questions, then, just for the case of the yes-no prevalence questions a self-administered booklet was used, after that the interviewer asked the follow-up questions for those kind of behaviour the respondent had reported.

2.3.3.5 The questionnaire

Because the origin of the questionnaire was common, most of the questions asked were the same for the three countries. However, the English/Welsh questionnaire differs in some cases from the Spanish and the Dutch ones². Most of the discrepancies refer to different wording of questions, different response sets. Also some questions in the default questionnaire were not asked.

2 At the time of joining the ISRD project, the English and Wales version of the questionnaire was already drafted in line with domestic policy purposes, and was considerably longer than the common instrument used by the other countries.

The difference in wording of the questionnaires had different origins. Some of them appeared when the countries tried to adapt the questions on crimes to their legal definition of crime. Others were a consequence of the translation of the questionnaires. And some were the result of adapting the questionnaires to the social reality of each country. But the consequences of the difference in wording, even if they do not look very important, may be quite relevant when it comes to comparing data. These are questions that have to be learned from comparative criminological research.

After a careful study of the three questionnaires, we decided to divide the resulting data into:

- 1) Directly comparable: As said above, most of the questions were identical in the three questionnaires
- 2) Comparable with data modifications: The rest of this point will be devoted to explain some examples of the modifications made to reach comparability of our data.
- 3) Comparable only between pairs of countries: In some cases the questionnaire from one country did not include a specific question. In that case it was not possible to make any comparison. If we thought the data were interesting we decided to present the comparison between the two countries left (we will indicate, in the chapters on results, which countries we are comparing).

Following are some examples of how we determined which questions were comparable with data modifications, for the delinquency and follow-up questions, and then we shall speak about the problems we found in the theoretical questions.

- **Discrepancies in wording**³: when it was possible to do so, and the loss of information was not very large, we made the discrepancy disappear.

Example: When asking about vandalism, the English/Welsh questionnaire did not go through a list of items, and this implies that more recall will be elicited by the Spanish and Dutch questionnaire. We did not do anything to transform the data of this item, but it is worth bearing this in mind when interpreting the results.

- **Collapsing questions:** In some cases the English/Welsh questionnaire had collapsed two questions from the original questionnaire because of economic or social reasons. In this case the solution was to collapse the questions in the Spanish and Dutch questionnaire too.

Example: In the original questionnaire there exists one question for “buying stolen goods” and another one for “selling stolen goods”, but the English/Welsh questionnaire asked only one question “buying/selling stolen goods”. By collapsing both questions for the Spanish and Dutch questionnaires, the data become comparable, but some information is lost.

3 Some other examples of difference in wording are:

* ‘Stealing money from a public telephone or a vending machine’; E/W adds: ‘Gas or electricity meter, video game or fruit machine’

* ‘Stealing something from a store’; E/W adds: ‘Shop, supermarket or department store’

* ‘Carry a weapon’; E/W adds: ‘to attack somebody or to defend yourself’

* ‘Stealing a bicycle, moped or motorcycle’; E/W says: ‘Taking away a bicycle without owner’s permission’ (and the same for car)

Another example: In the original questionnaire there exists one question for “fare dodging in bus, tramway or metro”, and another for “fare dodging in train”. The English/Welsh questionnaire included a general question for any fare dodging. By collapsing both questions for the Spanish and Dutch questionnaires, the data become comparable.

- **Problems with the translation:** Semantic nuances mean that a question that was translated into three different languages can actually not be comparable in the long run.

Example: ‘Stealing from a car’ was an item meant to include stealing from the outside (hubcaps, antennas, mirrors) and the inside (radiocassettes, purses, etc.). In English the meaning is clear, but in Spanish using only the preposition “de” for “from” implies stealing from the interior of the car only. The data were not comparable. By filtering out the objects from the outside of the car in the English/Welsh and the Dutch questionnaires, using the “what did you steal” in the follow-up question, the data become comparable with not too much loss of information.

- **Discrepancies in the answering categories:** Some of the questions had different response set, and each country had decided to use a different set. When possible, we collapse categories to reduce them to the smallest number used by anyone country. The results were that most of the answers become dichotomous, and the data become comparable.

Example: The follow up question ‘With how many others did you?’ was an open question in the Dutch and Spanish questionnaire (young people could say the exact number of people accompanying him/her), but had 9 categories in the England/Welsh one (‘at least 1 other’, ‘at least 2 others’, etc.). Because of the wording in the England/Welsh questionnaire we decided to dichotomise the answer to make the data comparable (‘alone’, ‘with others’).

2.3.4 Theoretical questions

As mentioned above, the ISRD group decided to use social control theory (Hirschi, 1969) as a theoretical background for the study. According to this theory, young people who are well-bonded to the social order are less likely to be delinquent. The bond consists of four elements: attachment to prosocial others (namely one’s parents), commitment to prosocial values, involvement in conventional activities and moral beliefs. That means that the background questions deal with the relationship between the interviewed and the school/work, the family, and the peer group.

2.3.4.1 School/work

With regard to school, the first questions were about whether they were studying at that moment and if so at what level. This question was so dependent on age that it was not used in the study. If the respondent was not at school we asked him/her if he/she was working. In this case the young person was asked about the age of

leaving school (only the Netherlands & Spain), and about the type of education he/she had reached. Everybody was also asked about 'liking school', 'working hard to get a diploma' (the Netherlands & Spain only), and whether they had 'repeated classes' (the Netherlands & Spain only, England/Wales asked about being 'ever excluded from school', a possibility not existing in the Netherlands & Spain).

We also tried to learn about people at school having a 'job outside' of school and what kind of job it was.

We asked the people working if they liked doing so. Thus, we have information on what the relationship is between young people and school or work. The answer to the question 'Like school/work' will be the one used to measure attachment to school or to work.

2.3.4.2 Family

We have two kinds of questions on the respondent family. Those that could allow us to measure attachment to the family, and the ones that we used to measure parental control. The first ones asked about 'how well they get on with their father and mother', and 'how many times a month the family goes out together'. To measure the parental control we asked if 'their parents knew 'where they were' and 'with whom they were' when they went out.

2.3.4.3 Friends and leisure time

The questions on this matter were about two different kinds of relationship with the peer group. We asked about a 'steady (girl/boy) relationship' and whether they 'hope this relationship will last', and about the 'number of real friends' and whether they 'get support from them when they are in trouble' (the Netherlands & Spain only). We also asked about 'with whom they spent their leisure time' (the Netherlands & Spain only) and whether they 'participate in any organised sport/leisure activity'. Through these questions we should be able to learn about whether the kind of relationship the respondents have with their peer group exerts any influence on their delinquent behaviour, and if so, what kind of influence.

2.4 Conclusions

At the beginning of this chapter we describe self-reports as one of the best method to learn about juvenile delinquency. The ISRD was developed to compare data from different countries on juvenile delinquency. The work we have done in the present study is to compare thoroughly the data obtained through the ISRD instrument from three countries: Spain, the Netherlands and England and Wales.

When working with the questionnaires we found that although the starting point for the questionnaires was the same for the three countries, the final results differ in some substantial ways. The English and Wales questionnaire departed from the original in quite a few aspects; some questions were not asked, other questions were worded differently, and in some cases the responses categories were also changed. The Spanish and the Dutch questionnaires were essentially the same. But because of social and legal differences among the three countries some final data were not comparable, or at least not without a data transformation. We also found another source of discrepancies in the translation of the questionnaires; we learned that even subtle nuances in the translation of a preposition could produce different kinds of responses.

Little exists in the literature on comparative criminology on the methodological details involved in drawing conclusions from data produced in similar yet not identical ways. Our research has produced important lessons in this regard for European criminological research.

Chapter 3.

Young People in Three European Countries

3.1 General Information on the Countries in the Study

Before examining the problems young people in Europe may encounter when they are growing up, it is useful to compare the participating countries in the study on a number of essential macro-variables. These do have an important impact on the choices that are open to them in several fields, such as education, employment, health and leisure. Countries do differ in social, economic and cultural respects and these differences, as previously mentioned, may influence attitudes and behaviour of the young people in our study. In order to be able to offer some explanations for national differences in youth behaviour it is essential that we keep these differences in mind.

The data presented in Table 3.1 are collected on the basis of national statistics, the UN Statistical Yearbook 1994, the UN Human Development Report 1997, the World Bank Atlas 1994, UNESCO reports, the World Drink Report, the World Values Study, the UN Study on Firearms Regulation and the International Crime Victimization study⁴.

Given the size of the participating countries it is clear that the United Kingdom – including England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland – is more densely populated than Spain. What is important however, is the proportion of the population that is living in urban areas. In this respect the UK and The Netherlands are more urbanized than Spain. Given the fact that delinquency rates are higher in urban areas than in rural areas this situation might affect comparisons between the three countries. However, as the Spanish sample is essentially an urban one this does not seem very likely. Another remarkable fact is that although the marriage rate in the UK is higher than in the two other countries, the divorce rate is also higher. Spain appears to have an exceptionally low divorce rate, which might be related to the influence of the Roman Catholic church in the country. We will deal with the relationship of families and delinquency in chapter 4.

A number of other observations can be made on the basis of these data. The gross national product per head of the population is highest in The Netherlands, while the unemployment rate in 1994 was lowest. As is clear in Table 3.1, unemployment in 1994 was exceptionally high in Spain.

⁴ Most of the data are assembled in Crime Guide - Version 2.0, by HEUNI and Leiden University, Institute of Criminology, 1994.

The data on the richest and poorest 20% of the population are of particular interest. The average income of the 20% richest people is highest in the UK, while in this same country the income of the poorest 20% is lowest. In fact, the 20% richest people in the UK have an average income that is 9.6 times that of the poorest 20%, the ratios being 4.4 in Spain and 4.5 in The Netherlands. This shows that income inequality is greater in the United Kingdom vis-à-vis the other two countries.

Additional measures of the standard of living as well as health are the infant death rate, which is higher in Spain than in the other two countries, and life expectancy, which does not differ a great deal among the three of them.

We would expect that the social economic situation of the countries would have some impact on delinquency in that there might be more property offending in affluent countries than in less affluent ones.

Table 3.1. Demographic, economic and cultural indicators in three countries

	United Kingdom	Spain	The Netherlands
Demographic data			
Population (mln)	58.4	39.1	15.4
% urban	89	79	89
Marriage rate / 1000	6.1	5.2	5.8
Divorce rate	3.0	0.6	2.0
Economic indicators			
GNP/capita (1994, 1000 US\$)	18.4	13.3	22.0
GPD richest 20% (1980-1995)	38.2	25.0	32.0
GDP poorest 20% (1980-1995)	4.0	5.7	7.1
Unemployment rate (1994)	9.75	16.65	5.50
Infant death rate / 1000	6.6	7.6	6.3
Life expectancy males	73.3	73.4	74.2
Life expectancy females	79.1	80.5	80.2
Female participation			
Proportion secondary education	50	51	48
Proportion higher education	49	51	45
Labor market participation (in % of males)	73	54	6
Proportion of income [males=100%]	35	29	28
Going out (females)	3.3	2.4	3.2
Going out (males)	3.5	3.0	3.5

An interesting question from the perspective of female delinquency is the position of women in the respective countries. Since the 1970's there has been in most western countries a rise in female crime (Junger-Tas, 1995). One reason for this increase might be the increased participation of women and girls in social and economic life. More women than ever before are now part of the workforce, while girls have acquired more freedom to participate in the youth culture on an equal footing with boys. Increased participation in economic and social life means increased opportunities for committing delinquent acts (Cohen and Felson, 1979; Felson, 1998) One indicator of growing participation is the proportion of women enrolled in secondary and higher education. UNESCO information (1994) shows that in all three countries girls' enrollment in secondary education is equal to that of boys, but with respect to higher education women's enrollment in The Netherlands was somewhat lower (45%) than in the UK (50%) and Spain (51%). If we consider the rate of female economic activity as a percentage of that of men, it is highest in the UK and lowest in Spain, but their share of earned income is low in all three countries as compared to their participation in economic life. This situation may be related to the fact that many women have part-time jobs. Moreover, on average women hold lower qualified jobs than do men.

A second indicator of a growing similarity in lifestyle between the sexes, that is of relevance to this study, is the question whether young women go out in the evenings as much as young men do. According to data from the International Crime Victim Survey (1996) in cities as well as in rural areas males go out more often than do females, and the English and the Dutch seem to lead more outgoing lives than the Spanish. Differences between city and countryside are slight, while those between the sexes are considerably larger. On a five-point scale (1=does not go out in the evening, and 5=goes out every evening) Dutch males score higher (3.5) than females (3.2), the rates for England and Wales being also 3.5 for males and 3.3 for females. Spain shows no city-country difference either but according to the data Spanish young people go out less often than do their Dutch and English counterparts, with a score of 3.0 for males and only 2.4 for females. Going out in the evening is of course related to age, in that young people go out more often than older people do. The Spanish data do suggest some differential socialization pattern according to gender. Spanish females do not go out as frequently as Spanish males do, the gap between males and females being greater in Spain than in the other two countries. Since we know that lifestyle is strongly related to both delinquent behaviour and victimization, these outcomes are quite interesting.

A last differentiating element is the ethnic composition of the population. Spain is the only country that has a rather homogeneous population, the most substantial ethnic minority being gypsies. Although estimates on the size of that group vary, the Program for Gypsy Development estimates the number of gypsies at 700.000, which is 1.8% of the total Spanish population (Barberet et al., 1994). Ethnic minorities in The Netherlands -the major groups of which are Surinamese, Antilleans, Turks and Moroccans- form about 7% of the total population. However, their concentration in the big cities is considerably higher, reaching one third of the population in Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague. Because of the fact that their age structure differs from that of the majority, the

share of minorities in the youth population in these cities is more than 40% (Veenman, 1998). For example two thirds of the Turkish and Moroccan population and 60% of the Surinamese population is under age 30, as compared to about 40% of the Dutch population (Tesser & Veenman, 1997). In England the proportion of minorities is about 6% of the total population; one third of them are of African or Afro-Caribbean origin and over half of Asian origin, one in three being under 16 compared to one in five of the white population (Bowling et al., 1994).

3.2 The Young People in the Study Samples

The distribution of sex and age is fairly equal in all three countries (see for the age distribution Appendix I, Table 1), with England and Wales having somewhat more 14-16 year olds in their sample than Spain and The Netherlands. The average age in the different samples is 17.4 in the English sample, 17.6 in the Dutch sample and 17.5 in the Spanish one, so there is very little difference with respect to age.

An important variable in relation to delinquent behaviour is family composition. Questions were asked about father and mother presence as well as about family size. In this respect there is a striking difference between England and The Netherlands on one side and Spain on the other. The former have globally similar proportions of absent fathers and mothers: about one quarter of the respondents are living in a one-parent family headed by the mother, and in 15% of the families there is no mother present. However, in Spain only 12% of the respondents report an absent father, while in about 6.5% of the families there is no mother. The conclusion seems warranted that the family situation in Spain is considerably more traditional than in the other two countries, a situation which is no doubt related to the very small percentage of divorces in Spain (see Table 3.1).

With respect to family life it is interesting to note that in Spain only a very small percentage of young people are already living on their own, namely 0.4% of all respondents. In England and Wales 2.5% of those interviewed reported living on their own, but in The Netherlands this is 9%, a significant difference. The difference may be related to the fact that in Spain young people tend traditionally to keep on living with their families for a longer time than in England and The Netherlands. On the other hand differences in independent living arrangements of young people may also be related to the prosperity level of the respective countries, which vary in the opportunities that are available for young people to have their own income at a specific age. Of course both factors may be operative and reinforce each other.

Calculating family size for those who are still living within their family, we find that family size is somewhat larger in Spain than in the two other countries. The average Spanish family includes 4.7 family members, while in England and Wales this is 3.95 and in The Netherlands 4.0. This would mean that in England and the Netherlands the average respondent would have only one brother or sister, while many Spanish respondents will be living with two siblings.

It is difficult to compare the samples with respect to education, because each country has its own school system. However, it is possible to make a few global

Table 3.2. Family composition, education and daily activities

	United Kingdom		The Netherlands		Spain	
Presence of (step)father / mother						
Not applicable	2.5	2.5	9.0	9.0	0.4	0.4
No	27.5	14.9	23.5	15.1	12.2	6.7
Yes	68.9	81.8	67.3	75.7	87.3	92.8
No answer	0.9	0.9	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.0
Level and type of education						
Primary school	0.0		0.0		12.0	
Secondary school	73.5		62.0		74.5	
Vocational school	17.5		21.5		12.5	
Higher education	9.0		16.5		1.0	
Daily activities						
School only	35.0		53.5		65.5	
Employment only	-		11.5		12.5	
Apprenticeship	19.5		30.0		16.0	
None	45.5		5.0		6.0	

distinctions. For example, depending of the specific school system, 14 year olds might still attend primary school, so we have added that category. On the other hand it seems useful to separate general secondary education from technical schools which provide vocational training at a lower and middle secondary level. Finally, the category 'higher education' includes both higher professional training, such as the Polytechnics in the UK, as well as University education. Table A2 in the appendix combines information about those who are still in school and those who already left, showing the level of education reached at the moment of the interview by the different samples.

According to Table 3.2 relatively more respondents in the Netherlands do or did attend technical schools and higher education than in Spain, with England standing between the two. However, only somewhat more than half (55.5%) of the English respondents do still follow some form of education, while these percentages are 76% for Spain and 83.5% for The Netherlands. This outcome does show that young people in England & Wales tend to leave school at an earlier age than those in Spain and The Netherlands.

Turning now to those who are no longer attending school, most of these respondents -that is two thirds in the Netherlands and Spain and about three-quarters in England- have attended a school for secondary education. The rest of them in England and The Netherlands have attended some form of technical school or college. In Spain, however, of those who did not attend general secondary educa-

tion, half have limited their education to Primary school and half have been enrolled in some form of vocational training. (See Appendix I, Table A2).

Of course young people have a number of options, varying between full-time education, full-time work and different combinations of both. In order to have a somewhat clearer picture of the choices of young people in the different countries we have constructed a variable considering these combinations.

Unfortunately some of the information is missing in the English data. It is very unlikely that almost half of those interviewed in England and Wales would have no job nor attend some form of education. One would expect that the level of unemployment of English youth does not differ to any great extent from that in the two other countries, but as we do not have more information on this issue we cannot say more. The Netherlands and Spain are much alike.

Most of the employed youths are working between 25 and 40 hours a week, which probably reflects differences in full-time employment and apprenticeship. More than half of them declare they like their job. This is perhaps confirmed by the small percentage of those who have changed jobs during their short work history: 17.5% in The Netherlands and 12.5% in Spain.

A related question of some importance, considering young people's striving to participate in the consumer 'youth-culture', is the income they receive, either as pocket money from their parents or as earnings from a (part-time) job.

It is of interest to notice that Spanish youths tend to rely mainly on the money they get from their parents: 80% of the Spanish respondents mentioned their parents as their main income source versus only 37% of the Dutch respondents⁵. Both groups get somewhat less than a fifth of their income from some form of employment, but almost 30% of the Dutch respondents mentioned a combination of sources of income, that is both parents and a (part-time) job (see Table A5, Appendix I). As might be expected the differences in income source are reflected in the weekly income of the respondents: the median income in dollars in Spain is \$.17.20 compared to \$.27.20 in The Netherlands. The median income in England is \$.15.00, but this may be partly related to the fact that the average age of the English sample is somewhat lower than in the two other countries. However, it may be that the discrepancy in income between Spanish and Dutch respondents is related to a greater involvement of Dutch respondents in the labor market, as compared to the Spanish ones, as well as to a more general difference in prosperity level between these two countries.

How heterogeneous are the societies? The question we asked in this respect was in what country one or both parents were born (Table A4, Appendix I). The results show considerable differences among the three countries in the sample proportions of juveniles of ethnic minority groups. It is clear that Spain has hardly any ethnic minorities, while England and The Netherlands have sizable numbers. Of course we have to take into account that most respondents are living in cities and we know that ethnic minorities are heavily concentrated in the (big) cities. This may explain the high number of respondents of different ethnic origin in the English (11.5%) and the Dutch sample (19%). A second observation con-

5 No information available for England and Wales

cerns the geographical origin of the immigrants. There is hardly any overlap in the ethnic groups, which immigrated to each one of the two countries. This is related to differences in the countries' colonial history and the connections they still have with their ex-colonies. For example England has within its borders mainly persons from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and the Caribbean, while in Holland there are large groups of Turkish and Moroccan people as well as persons who have come from the (Caribbean) Dutch Antilles and the former colony Surinam.

Comparing parent's employment we note some striking differences between the three countries. In England and Wales 95% of the respondents declare that their father holds a job. These proportions are 87.5% in The Netherlands and 81.5% in Spain. The differences are not only due to unemployment: Unemployment for respondents' fathers is 4.5% in England, 3.5% in The Netherlands and 5% in Spain. However, 6.5% of the Dutch respondents declared that their father received social benefits on account of their inability to work (sick or disabled). This category probably includes a fair proportion of fathers suffering from what has been called 'hidden unemployment', which means that once workers are labeled sick or (partly) disabled employers are reluctant to hire them. Spain has a higher proportion than in the other two countries of fathers who are retired (Table A3, Appendix A).

As far as mothers are concerned there is not much point in looking at the number of non-working mothers, because we don't know how many of them would need to have a job or do want to have one. More concretely, we don't know how many mothers did in fact try to join the labor market. What we do know is that the number of respondents reporting their mother as being employed is 26% in England and Wales, 38% in The Netherlands and 29.5% in Spain.

The question of socio-economic status is a difficult one. The measure of father's profession is unsatisfactory. First, there are a number of juveniles who simply don't know their father's profession, which leads to a number of missing values. Second, there is considerable variation in the way in which countries classify professions. Because of the inadequacies of our data in this respect the existing international classification and categorization did not solve the problem. One solution is to use the interviewers' evaluation of the juvenile's home, street and neighborhood in terms of status and upkeep of the house, maintenance of the street, number of abandoned houses and vandalism in the neighborhood. This is an attractive solution because the interviewers have collected that information in all three countries, based on estimates according to each particular country's social and economic standards. On the basis of these five variables respondents could be classified into three strata (see Table A1 in Appendix I). The results correspond to what has been noted in Table 3.1 relating to macro socio-economic indicators. An analysis on SES is done by a Homals⁶ procedure, based on the categorization of respondents according to these variables.

SES is computed separately for each country, according to measures which are consistent within each individual country, but not necessarily so among

6 Homals is known in the literature as multiple correspondence analysis or Homogeneity analysis and has been developed by the department of data-theory of Leiden University

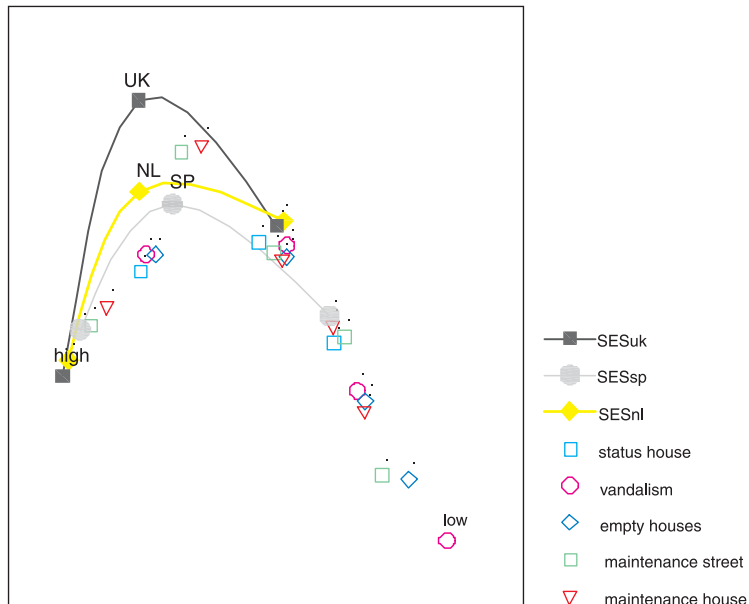


Figure 3.1. Homogeneity analysis of social-economic status based on five neighborhood characteristics in three countries

countries. The analysis shows that for each one of them, the five variables are highly correlated. In addition, despite some differences in the distribution over the three categories it is clear that the respective SES curves have great similarity of form.

3.3 Some Hypotheses

This study is explorative, our main preoccupation being to try to conduct a cross-cultural self-report study, using a common instrument as well as a similar methodology.

However, we have added some background information as well as some variables, which are essentially derived from Hirschi’s social control theory (Hirschi, 1969). Several questions were added referring to the relationship with parents, the frequency of going out with the family, parents’ control on their children (do they know their child’s friends, do they know where they spend their leisure time), liking school, working hard in order to get a diploma, truancy, repeating classes and going out with friends.

In this respect the following tentative hypotheses will be examined.

- In view of the considerable social, economic and cultural similarity of the three countries, differences in delinquency involvement between them are expected to be relatively reduced;

- Considering that Spain, compared to England and The Netherlands, has more stable families and less women in the work force, while Spanish young people do less frequently go out with friends, juvenile delinquency involvement in Spain is expected to be somewhat lower than that in the two other countries;
- The social control variables considered in this study will have similar effects in all three countries:
 - Family breakdown will be related to more participation in delinquent behaviour
 - A bad relationship with parents will be related to high delinquency involvement
 - The more parental control on juveniles, the lower their delinquency involvement
 - The lower the attachment to school, the more delinquency involvement.

It should be emphasized again that the study cannot claim to present a real test of social control theory. As a consequence, results of the analysis should be interpreted with great caution.

3.4 Delinquent Behaviour in Three Countries

The construction of the ISRD instrument was based on consensus among study participants, which means that there was some variation in the type of offences each of the partners wished to see included. This resulted in a total of 29 different offences. A distinction may be made between property offences (14); violent acts (9) divided into violence against persons and objects; youth-related offences, including fare dodging and driving without a license or insurance (2), and drug offences (4). Added to this are a number of ‘problem behaviours’, some of which are considered (status) offences in some countries, but not so in others. This is the case for example for consuming alcohol under a certain age, truancy and running away from home.

The figures we present are all prevalence rates, that is, the percentage of respondents that reported committing a crime at least once. We made a distinction between ‘lifetime’ prevalence and ‘last year’ prevalence, the latter referring to the year preceding the interview. Figure 3.2 shows the two measures for the five categories of offences in the year preceding the interview.

With the exception of drug use and drug selling and to some extent violent crimes, the English delinquency rates are lower than those of the two other countries, whether expressed in lifetime prevalence or last year rates. This is in particular the case with respect to property offences and to a lesser extent to vandalism and youth-related offences.

Comparing the Netherlands and Spain, there are no large differences between the two countries, either in ‘ever’ and in ‘last year’ rates, although Dutch property rates are higher while in Spain violence seems to be more frequent. The lower delinquency rates in the English sample are essentially due to the fact that their questionnaire does differ on a number of points from the ISRD instrument. For

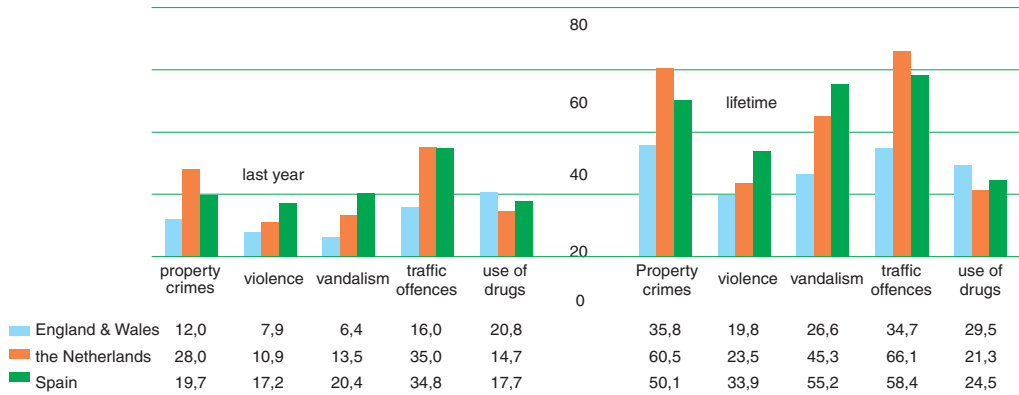


Figure 3.2. Last year and lifetime prevalence rates for five categories of crime

example, in contrast to the ISRD questionnaire, it included a money threshold with respect to theft items, ruling out small thefts and thereby lowering the rates for property offences. Differences in violence rates are less pronounced. As for fare dodging, the ISRD questionnaire was quite detailed, inquiring about fare dodging in the underground, tramway, bus or train, while in the English instrument there was just one general question on fare dodging. Of course, asking many specific questions produces higher rates, as is apparent in the Dutch and Spanish prevalence rates. The differences in drug offences are dealt with in Chapter 8 of this report.

Looking now somewhat more closely at the differences between Spain and The Netherlands, Table A6 (Appendix I) show higher Dutch rates for theft in school, bicycle theft and buying stolen objects, while vandalism and graffiti seem to be more frequent in Spain than in The Netherlands.

A final set of behaviours is summarized under the name ‘problem behaviour’, including truancy, running away from home and alcohol use (Table 3.3).

In England and Wales the questions on running away and alcohol use referred only to ‘ever’ prevalence, while in the two other countries respondents were also asked about their behaviour in the preceding year. These results are described in greater detail in Chapter 5, but table 3.3 reveals few substantial differences.

3.4 Conclusions

Many of the contrasts between the three countries cited in this chapter reflect North-South differences. The macro-variables examined in this chapter suggest that prosperity (as indicated by unemployment rates, infant mortality rates and GNP) is higher in England and Wales and The Netherlands than in Spain. Spain

Table 3.3. Lifetime prevalence and last year prevalence of problem behaviours

	England and Wales N=1223	The Netherlands N=914	Spain N=2100
Ever prevalence			
Truancy*	35.8	47.2	49.2
Running away	7.5	6.9	6.8
Alcohol use*	89.1	79.9	86.5
Got drunk*	52.5	43.0	—
Last year prevalence			
Truancy*	—	25.8	20.0
Running away	—	1.2	1.9
Alcohol use*	—	74.5	77.6
Got drunk*	46.1	34.7	34.2

*Significant difference between countries (Chi square test, $p < 0.05$)

is also more rural than the other two countries as well as a more homogeneous society. The family structure in Spain, vis-à-vis the other two countries, is more traditional; there is less female labor force participation, less divorce and youth are less independent. Taking this into account we expected to find somewhat less (property) crime in Spain than in the other two countries. Yet there is more income inequality in England and Wales than in Spain, and secondary and higher education enrollment is highest in Spain.

Regarding delinquency overall, with the exception of drug use rates, England and Wales has lower rates, which are probably due to questionnaire differences. The bulk of offending in the three countries is property and youth-related offences; violent offences are in the minority. Drug use translates to soft drug use, except for England and Wales.

With respect to the first two hypotheses it should be said that the similarity in delinquency rates between The Netherlands and Spain is not as great as the first hypothesis would have it. Although there is more property crime in The Netherlands than in Spain, there are higher rates of vandalism and violence against persons in the latter as compared to the former. In addition, drug use rates in England and Wales are higher than rates in The Netherlands and Spain. The second hypothesis is not confirmed either: with the exception of property crimes Spain does not seem to have lower delinquency rates than the two other countries.

Although it should be clear that we must remain cautious in comparing delinquency rates in England and Wales with those in The Netherlands and Spain, differential rates of delinquency involvement do not rule out the study of correlates of criminal behaviour in the three countries, as will be shown throughout the report.

Age, Gender and Delinquent Behaviour

4.1 Age and Delinquency

We know from the research literature that delinquency is strongly related to age (Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1983; Greenberg, 1985; Sampson & Laub, 1990; Junger-Tas, 1992). In fact research has shown that the peak of young people’s criminal activities lies between 15 and 18 years. Our study is no exception as we can see in Figure 4.1, which shows the frequency of delinquency involvement according to age in the three countries. It should be observed that the age span covered in our study is limited to 14 to 21 years, which is the reason that the curves in figure 4.1 and the figures that follow are flatter than if we had covered the life-span.

Figure 4.1 shows that the peak of criminal involvement lies between age 15 and age 18, although the picture is somewhat less clear in the English data. These findings are confirmed by other data. For example Wikström (1990) examined the police files of all boys born in Stockholm in 1953, between age 13 and 26. He found the same peak ages. Moreover, differentiating between first offenders and recidivists, he showed that the reduction in offending among first offenders is far steeper than that among recidivists. A study of 6.000 police files in The Netherlands (Block & v.d Werf, 1991) as well as cohort studies in England (Farrington, 1986) came to similar conclusions concerning the peak age of offending.

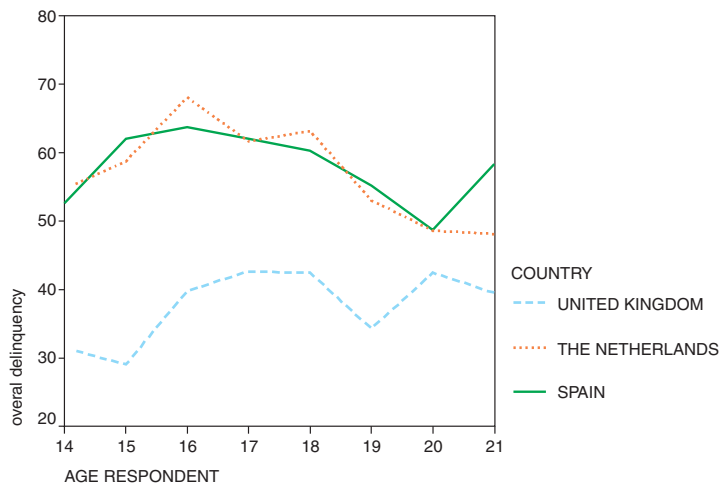


Figure 4.1. Last year overall delinquency⁷ prevalence by age and country

7 This includes delinquent behaviour but not problem behaviour (alcohol use, truancy and running away).

Figure 4.2 gives a more detailed overview of the number of different offences committed by the young people in the study in the year preceding the interview.

First it is useful to emphasize that in all countries high percentages of young people did not report committing any of the offences we asked them about in the year preceding the interview. Second, those who did, generally reported only one or two different offences and only 10% reported three or more different offences.

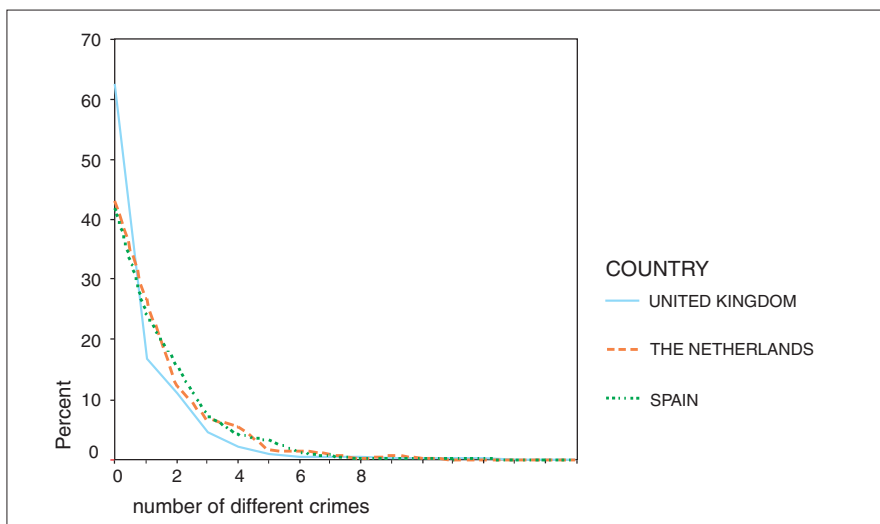


Figure 4.2. Number of different crimes committed last year by country⁸

An additional question might be whether the relation between delinquency and age is similar for all categories of offences. This is shown in Figure 1 in the Appendix. Although one may conclude that, in all three countries, delinquent involvement declines rapidly once young people reach young adulthood, there is considerable variation according to offence type. For example, the reduction in criminal involvement is considerable in the case of vandalism, violence and fare dodging, but much less so in the case of property crime. Vandalism is clearly a type of behaviour that has high frequency at younger ages and is practically abandoned in young adulthood. Fare dodging also declines after the age of 18, except for England and Wales. With respect to violence one may conclude that behaviours such as fighting, rioting and carrying a weapon are abandoned too once respondents have reached the age of 18. Property crime is rather exceptional: although many thefts are clearly committed between the ages of 15 and 17 the declining slope is flatter than for most other offences and even at age 21 the percentage of respondents reporting thefts is rather high. But the greatest exception is (soft) drug use, where we see a reversed trend: it continues to increase! Drug use is clearly started at a relatively late age and seems to continue for a lon-

8 This includes delinquent behaviour but not problem behaviour (alcohol use, truancy and running away).

ger time. Moreover, Table A8 in Appendix I shows that hard drug use does start at an earlier age in England and Wales than in the two other countries (see Chapter 8 for a detailed discussion of this topic).

A second subject of interest is the age of onset of different types of delinquent behaviour. At what age do young people commit their first offence and do they start committing all categories of offences at the same age? In addition, one would like to know whether countries differ in this respect. Although differences between countries are statistically significant, they are quite small. Some differences appear for property offences and vandalism where Dutch juveniles report an earlier starting point than youth in the two other countries. In the case of drug offences Dutch youths seem to start at a later age than do young people in England and Spain. Of course there is also some variation in age of onset in individual offences. For example the data (Table A8 in Appendix I) suggest that Dutch children commit theft at home and shoplifting at a somewhat earlier age than the other youths, while Spanish youths seem to start stealing vehicles earlier. The only striking difference in starting age concerns hard drug use, where the age of onset is 18 years in The Netherlands versus 17 in Spain and 16 in England and Wales.

A third point to observe is that there are some common characteristics among countries in age of onset, according to categories of offences. For example all young people started committing property offences (shoplifting!) and vandalism at an earlier age than violent offences. Youth-related offences, including essentially fare dodging, which is a typical offence of students attending secondary and higher education, start at a later age. Finally, Figure 4.3 shows that in an average representative youth group, drug use starts rather late in adolescence, a finding that may come as a somewhat comforting fact.

Some caution, however, is warranted with respect to answers given to the very precise question on age of onset of specific delinquent acts. This type of question

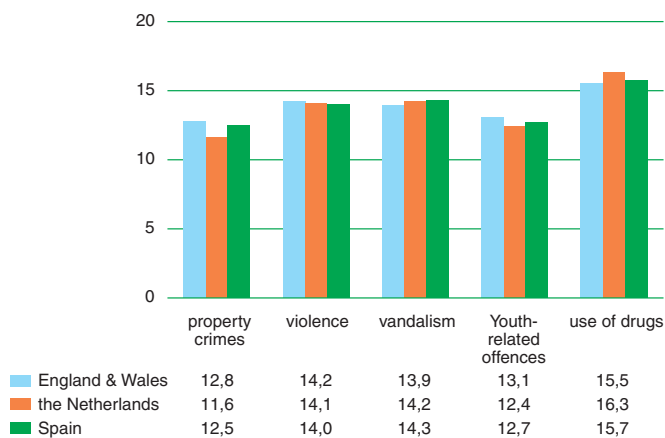


Figure 4.3. Age of onset for five categories of crimes

is particularly sensitive to memory effects. In an earlier study, sampling school-children aged 11-14 (Junger-Tas & van Kesteren, 1999) we found that younger children tend to mention earlier ages of onset of offending than older children do. Similar effects do appear in this study as is indicated in Table A8 in Appendix I, showing that the 18-21 age group systematically reports later ages of onset than the 14-17 age group. This is the case in particular with respect to violent offences, youth-related offences and drugs. It seems unlikely that these differences are due to systematic lying. They are most probably due to a memory effect called 'forward telescoping'. This is a frequent complication in survey research and it consists in placing specific events later in time than they actually happened.

4.2 Gender and Delinquency

Up to the 1970's girls' delinquency was rarely studied. Criminologists knew that girls and women were hardly represented in police and judicial statistics. In The Netherlands, for example, women's prisons did not exist. This situation, which was similar in many countries, is certainly one of the factors explaining the lack of interest of criminologists in the study of female delinquency.

Since about the late seventies female delinquency has slowly been increasing in most western countries. As a consequence more secure places for girls and some women's prisons were created in The Netherlands as elsewhere.

In this study three questions are of interest with respect to female delinquency. The first one is whether girls and boys are involved in delinquency to the same extent. The second one is whether the correlates of delinquent behaviour differ according to gender. The third one is how one can explain possible discrepancies in criminal behaviour between the sexes.

The problem is complex and burdened by ideological assumptions. For example in the United States there is a dispute going on between those who claim female delinquency is increasing and slowly approaching male levels (Smart, 1979; Austin, 1993), and those who consider females as considerably less delinquent than males and don't see any change at all (Weisheit & Mahan, 1988; Steffensmeier & Streifel, 1992; Steffensmeier, 1993). The former position might be partly inspired by the publications of Adler (1975) and Simon (1975), who consider that the increase in female delinquency is strongly related to the feminist movement and to female emancipation. Increasing independence, self-confidence and involvement in the labor market would lead to greater criminal involvement as well as to more violence.

Other researchers do admit an increase in girls' delinquency but they attribute this to the fact that girls and women are often victims of sexual violence (Chesney-Lind, 1989; Cain, 1990). As a consequence girls would not commit so many offences, but, compared to boys, they would show more problem behaviour such as running away from home or having sex at an early age, for which they would be subject to more severe punishment.

Considering first the quantitative question, there are certain indications, both in Europe and the United States that according to police data there is a sizable increase in female delinquency. However, crime levels in the United States are considerably lower for females than for males, in particular with respect to violence (Pollock-Byrne, 1990). Most offending consists of offences related to drug use, such as theft, fraud, swindling and forgery. In England and Wales in 1992 women constituted 17% of all convicted persons, while this is about 10% in The Netherlands. In both countries women commit mainly property offences. Acts of violence are rather rare, although there seems also to be an increase in violent offences among young women (Junger-Tas, 1996). Compared to men, women tend to start committing offences at a later age and they also tend to stop earlier (Home Office, 1992; Junger-Tas et al., 1995).

In this respect it is useful to add self-report data to the crime picture, because self-report surveys usually include non-serious offences rather than serious ones, and we know that only the really serious offences end up in police statistics.

When we compare the respondents on 'ever prevalence' according to gender, we find that in all three countries boys report considerably more offences than girls, the discrepancy being largest for violence against the person (see Table A9, Appendix I). Last year prevalence is illustrated in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 confirms the hypothesis that boys commit more crimes than girls do. However, there are differences between the various crime categories in this respect. Boys use 1.25 to 1.5 times more drugs than girls do and they commit 1.5 to 2 times more property crimes. As was to be expected the largest difference between boys and girls appears in violent behaviour. Boys commit 1.8 times more violent offences than girls do in England and Wales. That difference is larger in Spain (2.4 times) and greatest in the Netherlands (3.7 times). As far as the other crime categories are concerned, the effect of gender on delinquency is not significantly different among countries.

Figure 4.4 shows differences in criminal involvement according to both age and sex. Taking the three countries together, overall criminal involvement indeed

Table 4.1. Last year delinquency prevalence by gender –in %–

	England and Wales		The Netherlands		Spain	
	Males N=574	Females N=649	Males N=444	Females N=470	Males N=1072	Females N=1028
Property offences	16.0*	8.5	37.8*	18.7	23.3*	15.9
Violence**	10.5*	5.7	17.6*	4.7	24.2*	10.0
Vandalism	7.1	5.7	18.2*	8.9	22.4*	18.4
Youth-related offences	20.4*	12.2	41.4*	28.9	39.3*	30.2
Drug use	23.2	18.6	17.3*	12.1	21.1*	14.2

* significant difference between boys and girls (Chi sq. test, df=1, p<0.05)

** differences in gender effect between countries (Chi sq. test, df=1, p<0.05)

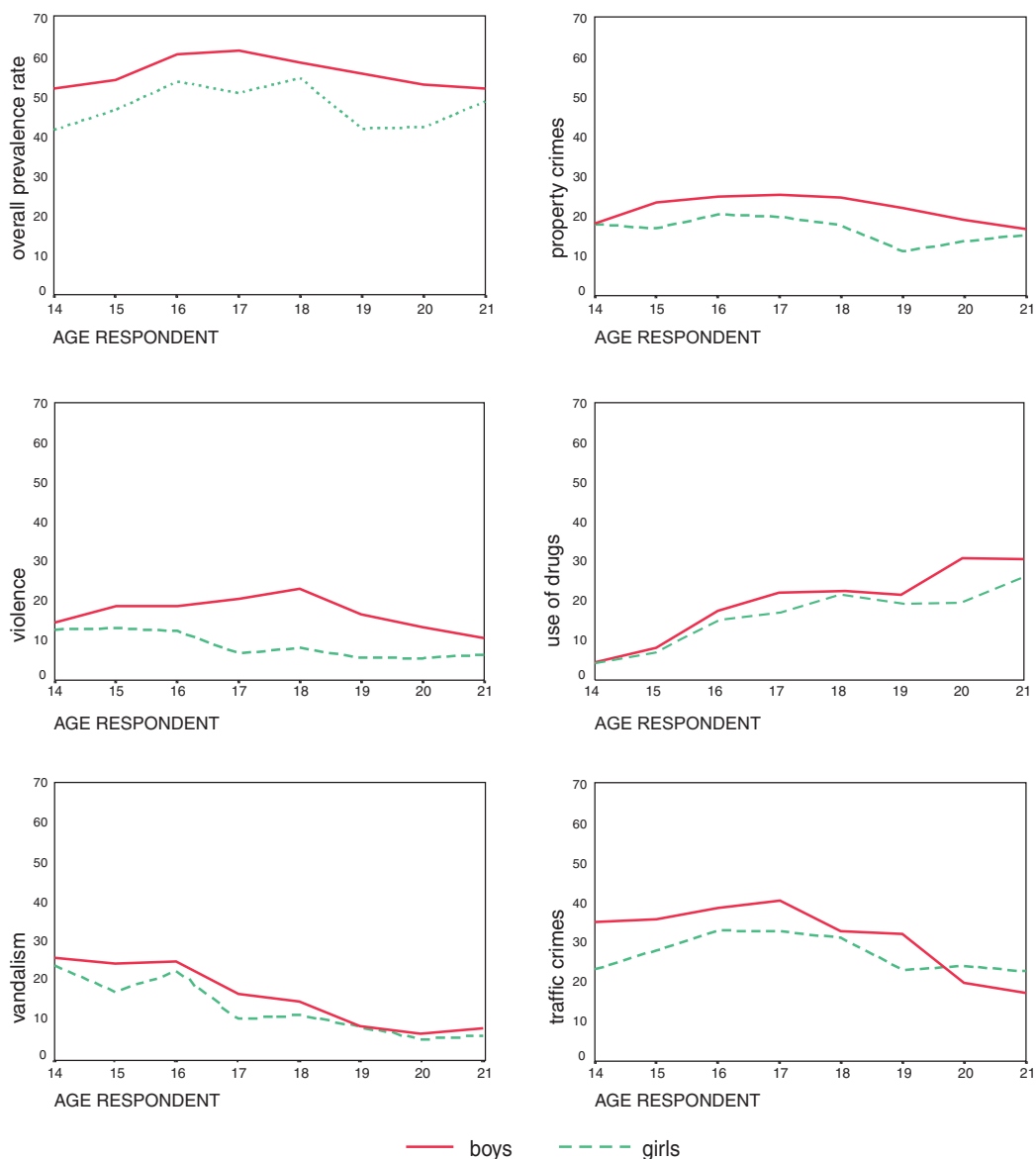


Figure 4.4. Last year delinquency prevalence in three countries combined, by age and sex

shows a gap between the sexes. However, it is interesting to note that with respect to some crime categories, girls' participation does not vary much from that of boys. This is clearly the case for vandalism and for drug use and to some degree for property offences.

Moreover, differences between countries are fairly limited as can be seen in the detailed figures on individual countries in Appendix I (Figure A1). Considering property offences, Figure A1 shows that the peak of property offending for boys is about age 16 in England and The Netherlands and 15 in Spain. It is

pretty much the same for girls in the three countries. With respect to violence against persons, in England and Wales, the female curve closely follows the male one, albeit at a somewhat lower level. The gap between both curves in Spain and The Netherlands is considerably larger, Spain showing the lowest level of female violence. As for drug offences a striking trend in all three countries is that, while girls start taking drugs at about the same age as boys and follow the same pattern of drug use between the age of 16-18, after age 18 girls' drug use tends to stabilise. With increasing age the gap between the two sexes in drug use is growing (see Chapter 8).

Considering age of onset, differences between males and females are slight but for some offences significant. Significant differences can be found for drug use in England and Wales, for violence and youth-related offences in the Netherlands and for violence, youth-related offences and drug use in Spain. In addition there is a consistent difference in age of onset between the sexes: boys start committing offences half a year to one year earlier than girls (Table A10, Appendix I).

Answering the first question on girls' delinquency, mentioned above, we may conclude that girls are clearly less involved in delinquent behaviour than boys. There are also indications that they start committing delinquent acts at a somewhat later age than do boys, although the peak of delinquent activities occurs at about the same moment. In fact, the slope of the curves for boys and girls is fairly similar, except for violence and drug use. In this respect it should be recalled that police data usually refer to acts of a more serious nature than self-report data. Since girls limit their delinquent activities to less serious offences this helps to explain why they do not appear as frequently as boys in police statistics.

In order to analyze the interactions between sex, age, SES and delinquency as well as to summarize our findings on the relationship between socio-demographic variables with the five crime categories, we performed a Homals analysis⁹. The results are given in Figure 4.5.

To interpret a Homals figure it is important to recall that the closer the various points (variables) are situated the stronger the relation between them. In addition, the closer the points are to the center, in this picture exactly in the middle of the line between boys and girls, the less strongly they are related to other variables.

First of all, Figure 4.5 shows that property crime and violent offences lie close to each other, meaning that those who commit thefts also tend to commit acts of violence. The category of youth-related offences ("traffic offences"), including mainly fare dodging, is closer to the center which is an indication that this is practiced more often than any of the other offence types. Figure 4.5 clearly shows that delinquency is more frequent at age 16-18 than at any other age. Vandalism is mainly committed by younger kids, as opposed to drug use. The use of drugs is even slightly out of the age range of the sample suggesting that drug use reaches

9 Homals is known in the literature as multiple correspondence analysis or homogeneity analysis and has been developed by the department of data-theory at Leiden University

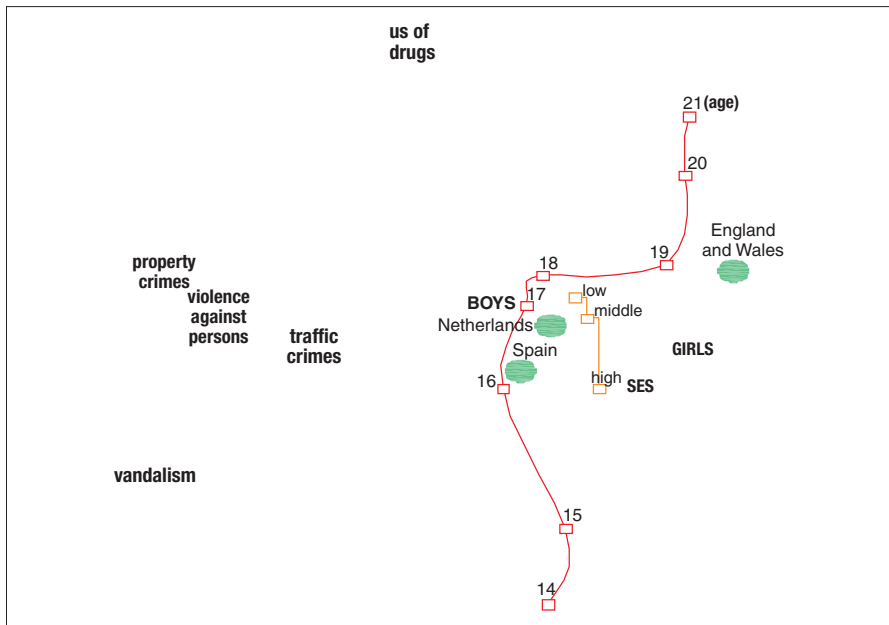


Figure 4.5. Homogeneity analysis of social-demographic variables and delinquency

its peak beyond age 21. The effect of gender is obvious according to Figure 4.5: girls clearly commit considerably fewer crimes than boys do.

Socio-economic status (SES) is hardly related to delinquent behaviour as low, middle and high SES are concentrated near the center of the picture. Table A7 in Appendix I shows the delinquency percentages according to SES and country.

Finally, according to the data, England and Wales seem to have lower levels of general offending and a higher level of drug use, although the former is probably related to deviations from the common questionnaire, as was discussed earlier.

4.3 Family and School by Age and Gender

A further question refers to correlates of delinquent behaviour derived from criminological theory. In this study we have included a limited number of social control variables, in particular with respect to family, school, peers and leisure. In this section we will deal with the family and the school, because they determine to a large extent the choice of peers and how leisure time is spent.

We know that parental supervision, school performance and the ways in which leisure is spent are strong predictors of juvenile delinquency (Hirschi, 1969; Rutter and Giller, 1983; Riley and Shaw, 1985; Junger-Tas, 1988). Because most studies on juvenile delinquency have been conducted with male samples it is important to examine possible differences in this respect between the sexes. In doing so we might find important indications for their differential criminal involvement.

4.3.1 Family

We selected some informal social control variables to look for differences in socialization according to gender. As is shown in Table 4.2 there is no great difference between the sexes with respect to their relationship with either parent, although the data suggest that young people of either sex seem to get along somewhat better with their mother than with their father.

The percentage of male respondents reporting negatively on the relation with their father is about twice as high than that concerning the relationship with their mother in all three countries, while among girls this is true only in Spain.

The largest difference between the sexes refers to parental social control. It is clear that parents in the Netherlands and Spain are more concerned about the whereabouts of their daughters and with whom they go out than about those of their sons. This is surprisingly not the case in England and Wales, where the difference is not significant.

We now have examined whether there are significant differences between the three countries in responding to questions on social control. Although the data

Table 4.2. Informal social control by parents on respondents by gender in three countries –in %–

	England and Wales		The Netherlands		Spain	
	Males N=543	Females N=622	Males N=444	Females N=470	Males N=1072	Females N=1028
Get along with father						
Well	59.4	58.6	55.5	56.3	53.2	54.7
Mostly well	34.1	33.1	38.6	38.8	30.6	28.6
Not very well	6.5	8.3	5.9	4.9	16.2	16.7
Get along with mother						
Well	69.9*	68.6	62.5	62.4	63.2	64.5
Mostly well	26.8	22.4	34.3	33.6	28.4	26.9
Not very well	3.4	9.0	3.2	4.0	8.3	8.7
Going out with family						
Often	23.1	20.3	48.2	41.4	44.9	43.2
Average	43.5	48.4	18.6	20.0	18.1	17.1
Not often	33.4	31.3	33.3	38.6	37.1	39.7
Know where you are						
No	10.5	7.1	13.4*	6.5	25.5*	14.7
Yes	89.5	92.9	86.6	93.5	74.5	85.3
Know with whom you are						
No	6.5	5.7	17.3*	6.7	15.2*	9.2
Yes	93.5	94.3	82.7	93.3	84.8	90.8

*significant difference between boys and girls

show some minor differences between the three countries, there is considerable agreement in general tendencies. This allows us to use the combined data set for further analysis.

4.3.2 Age and Family Control

It could be argued that social control by parents strongly depends on the age of the children. It is obvious that as young people get older, they become more independent and their parents will not always know where they are and with whom. In addition young people will less often join family outings as they grow older. To a certain extent the effect of social control by parents on delinquency could be a hidden age effect. To investigate this further we looked at how the family variables develop with age.

Table 4.3. Relationship with parents* and parental social control by age and sex – in % –

Age	Boys				Girls			
	14/15	16/17	18/19	20/21	14/15	16/17	18/19	20/21
Get along with father								
N	501	516	444	415	483	474	455	442
Well	63	55	50	52	61	54	56	53
Mostly well	28	33	36	35	30	32	31	34
Not so well	9	12	14	14	9	14	13	13
Get along with mother								
N	525	540	455	445	509	510	478	472
Well	70	64	63	63	68	65	65	63
Mostly well	26	30	31	30	27	26	26	28
Not so well	5	6	7	7	5	9	9	9
Going out with family								
N	510	546	474	477	495	508	515	549
Often	45	37	30	28	46	37	32	34
Average	26	26	21	26	25	31	25	25
Not often	28	37	49	47	28	32	43	41
Parents know where you are								
N	374	550	479	485	345	515	522	556
No	11	15	26	25	7	8	11	16
Yes	89	85	74	75	93	92	89	84
Parents know with whom you are								
N	374	550	479	485	345	515	522	556
No	13	11	17	15	6	6	9	10
Yes	87	89	83	85	94	94	91	90

*Rounded to whole numbers

Table 4.3 shows that the relationship with father seems to deteriorate somewhat with age, while the one with the mother does not seem to change much over the years. However, it should be emphasized that the vast majority of respondents get along (mostly) well with their parents. Going out 'often' with the family most clearly declines with age, in particular for boys, from 45% at age 14-15 to 28% at age 20-21. The effect is somewhat less pronounced in the case of girls, where frequent outings with family decreases from 46% at age 14/15 to 34% at age 20/21. The largest decline tends to take place after age 14-15. A considerably smaller effect is apparent for the variable 'do parents know where and with whom you are'. At age 14/15 80% of boys and 88% of girls report that their parents know where they go out in the evening and with whom. However, it may come as a surprise that even at age 20/21, 71% of males and 81% of females still make similar claims. These data do suggest that even though young people and their parents have increasingly different leisure occupations, some form of parental control on the whereabouts of their offspring as well as on their peers continues well into young adulthood.

4.3.3 The relationship with delinquency

A bad relationship with parents does appear to have a very significant impact on (anti) social behaviour of children as is shown in Table 4.4. This is true in the case of the relation with the father as well as with the mother. To the extent that parents of the same sex do have a model function in terms of social behaviour in general and sex specific behaviour in particular, one might expect the relation with the father to have a stronger influence on the behaviour of boys. Similarly, the relationship with the mother might have a stronger effect on the delinquent behaviour of girls. However, although the effect of the same sex parent on girls seems to be stronger than on boys, it is not statistically significant (chi square test for hierarchical log-linear models, $p > 0.05$).

It is interesting to note that frequent family outings do function as a barrier to delinquent behaviour. One might speculate that this variable stands for an intense family life with close links among family members, even taking into account that there is also a clear age effect. The findings on direct parental control on young people when they go out do confirm other social control research (Hirschi, 1969; Junger-Tas, 1988; Sampson and Laub, 1990). Although, as has been seen before, the level of delinquency involvement is higher for boys than for girls, Table 4.4 shows a very strong relation between informal parental control and delinquency involvement, for both boys and girls.

Figure 4.6 shows the interactions between overall last year delinquency prevalence with the relation with father, gender and age. These results suggest that changes by age in the relationship with the father interact with boys' delinquency. Among boys who get along well with their father, delinquency does not change over the years, but among boys who don't get along well with their father there is an increase in delinquency as boys get older (from 67% at age 14-15 to 79% at age 20-21). A somewhat weaker effect can be seen in the case of girls concerning their relationship with the father.

Table 4.4. Last year delinquency prevalence in combined sample, by some selected informal parental control variables and gender –in %–

	Boys		Girls	
	N	%	N	%
Get along with father				
Well	1 036	54.2*	1 040	36.9*
Mostly well	617	63.5	587	48.4
Not so well	223	73.1	227	57.3
Get along with mother				
Well	1 275	54.2*	1 287	38.6*
Mostly well	572	68.4	525	50.1
Not so well	118	74.6	157	62.4
Going out with family				
Often	708	55.6*	765	41.7*
Average	498	56.2	553	39.6
Not often	801	66.8	749	49.8
Know where you are				
No	389	72.8*	225	62.7*
Yes	1 664	57.0	1 884	41.9
Know with whom you are				
No	474	76.1*	151	60.9*
Yes	1 414	60.0	1 790	42.8

All informal parental control variables have a significant effect on delinquency (chi sq. test, df=1, p<0.05)
Differences in effect between boys and girls are not significant (chi sq. test, p<0.05).

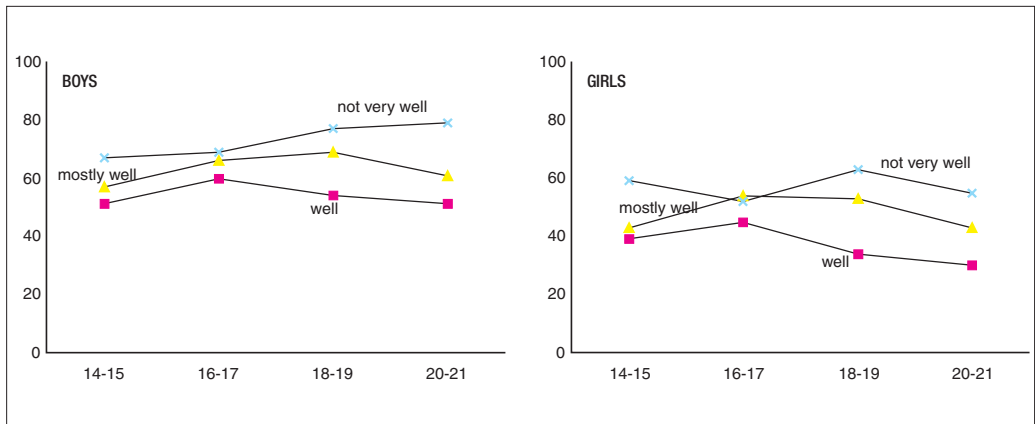


Figure 4.6. Last year overall delinquency by relation with father and age

In order to test whether the age effect on social control variables influences the effect of social control on delinquency, the data are analyzed with a hierarchical loglinear model. As far as boys are concerned the interaction effect of age and the relation with father on delinquency borders on significance ($p=0.06$), but this is not the case with respect to girls ($p=0.12$). The interaction effects with the other variables are also tested, but they all have a probability of above 0.30 and are not significant.

Several conclusions may be drawn. In the first place we have seen that parental social control tends to diminish over the years. Between ages 14-21 the relation between parents and their offspring deteriorates somewhat, family outings are less frequent and direct controls both on boys and on girls decrease. However, the changes are not great: even at age 20/21 the great majority of boys (71%) as well as girls (81%) declare that their parents are well aware who their friends are and where they go out at night. A second conclusion is that the relationship of boys with their father seems to have an effect on their (anti) social behaviour. When that relationship is disturbed the delinquent behaviour of boys tends to increase over the years, which is contrary to the general decline with increasing age. In the case of girls we could not detect a similar effect. Third, no other interaction effects between age and parental social control have been found. Although parental social control diminishes (somewhat) over the years, this does not explain the changes in delinquency over age. One might speculate that as youth grow older other forms of social control gradually gain in importance, such as further studies, getting a job and more stable relations with the other sex.

4.3.4 School

Apart from parents, the school may also serve as an important control factor on children. Table 4.5 presents four variables that indicate how children are attached to school. These variables are: do you like school, do you work hard to get a school diploma, did you ever repeat classes and did you ever play truant. Of course these questions were relevant only for those who were still in school. Taking the three countries together caused some difficulties. Repeating classes is not applicable in the English school system, while the question on working hard to get a school diploma was not asked in England and Wales. An additional problem is that in England and Wales the respondents were offered different response categories to the question 'Do you like school', which couldn't be matched to the response options in the Netherlands and Spain. Therefore the English data are presented separately. As a consequence the figures in Tables 4.5 and 4.6 apply mainly to Dutch and Spanish data, but where possible we have added the English data.

The school variables show that girls are somewhat more committed to school than boys are. They like going to school better than boys do, and fewer of them have repeated a class. In the Netherlands girls seem to work somewhat harder to get a school diploma than boys. This difference between the sexes can also be found in Spain, but it is not statistically significant. However, in terms of truancy there appears to be no difference between boys and girls, which may come as a surprise.

Table 4.5. Informal social control on respondents by gender –in %–

	England and Wales		The Netherlands		Spain	
	Males N=543	Females N=622	Males N=444	females N=470	Males N=1072	Females N=1028
Like school (the Netherlands and Spain)						
always			15.1*	21.3	21.6*	29.7
mostly			49.2	54.6	32.5	35.7
somet/never			35.7	24.1	45.9	34.6
Like school** (England and Wales)						
strong	21.7	17.6				
weak	78.3	82.4				
Work hard to get a diploma (the Netherlands and Spain)***						
no			5.9*	2.8	6.4	4.4
yes			94.1	97.2	93.6	95.6
Repeated classes (the Netherlands and Spain)****						
no			49.8	55.3	45.3*	50.1
yes			50.2	44.7	54.7	49.9
Ever play truant						
no	65.8	63.9	73.6	74.7	79.2	80.7
yes	34.2	36.1	26.4	25.3	20.8	19.3

* significant in social control between the sexes (chisq test, $p < 0.05$); differences between countries are not tested

** English respondents were offered different response categories, which could not be matched with Dutch and Spanish data

*** data not available in England and Wales

**** data not applicable in England and Wales

In conclusion, as far as the school situation is concerned, girls tend to be somewhat greater conformists than boys. However, although some of the differences are statistically significant they are unexpectedly small, so the conclusion must be a cautious one.

A general observation is that if young people don't like school, if they are not willing to work to get a diploma, if they repeat classes or play truant, the likelihood that they will commit delinquent acts will increase. The data clearly confirm this statement. A second observation is, however, that the effect seems to be even stronger in the case of girls than in the case of boys. With respect to girls all relationships are highly significant, differences in delinquent behaviour between high and low performers are substantial. This is particularly the case with respect to working hard to get a diploma and playing truant, but it also appears clearly in the answers to the question whether they like school.

Similar relations appear in the case of boys but differences are not in all cases significant. The strongest relation with delinquency refers to truancy and liking school. Making an effort to get a diploma and repeating classes do not seem to make much of a difference in terms of delinquency involvement.

Table 4.6. Last year delinquency prevalence by some selected school variables –in %–

	Boys		Girls	
	N	%	N	%
Like school (the Netherlands and Spain)				
always	299	53.2*	405	40.2*
mostly	566	65.5	623	49.1
somet/never	650	72.6	469	56.3
Like school ** (England and Wales)				
strong	101	41.6	141	24.1*
weak	473	44.0	508	34.3
Makes an effort*** (the Netherlands and Spain)				
no	94	73.4	58	63.8*
yes	1 404	65.4	1 424	48.0
Repeated classes**** (the Netherlands and Spain)				
no	707	63.9	775	45.3*
yes	809	68.1	723	52.8
Ever play truant				
no	1 543	55.5*	1 608	39.2*
yes	547	72.6	539	57.7

* significant differences in social control between the sexes (chisq. test, $p < 0.05$); differences between countries are not tested

** English respondents were offered different response categories that could not be matched with Dutch and Spanish data

*** English data not available

**** data not applicable in England and Wales

4.4 Discussion and Conclusions

The data suggest that there is no reason to think that the explanation for female delinquent behaviour should be any different from the one for male behaviour. Although most research on causes of delinquency has been done with male samples, our study indicates that fundamental findings on predictors of criminal behaviour – that is those about which there is a large consensus – are alike for both sexes.

The fact that those essential causal factors leading to criminal behaviour are similar for males and females means that some of the conditions that have led to an increase in delinquency must be valid for both sexes. For example, increased prosperity, an abundance of goods that are easy to steal, reduced surveillance in (semi) public places, increased mobility of young people and a decrease of informal social control all have contributed to the increase of juvenile delinquency (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Felson, 1998). These conditions are important for boys and girls alike and they help in explaining why girl’s delinquency has also increased, although it remains at a lower level than that of boys.

However, the question why there is such discrepancy in levels of criminal involvement between the sexes, in particular with respect to serious and violent crime, is more difficult to answer. Consequently the answers will be of a rather speculative nature.

To begin with, the gender difference in violence and drug taking seems indicative for a more general behavioural difference between the sexes with relation to risk taking. While males – in particular during adolescence – like to take risks in a variety of domains, females tend to avoid (too) risky behaviours. For example, females are usually safer drivers and are less frequently involved in traffic accidents. They also tend to be involved less often in sports activities that entail considerable physical risks. To the extent that criminal behaviour is risky behaviour, this might limit their inclination to be involved in crime (Rutenfrans, 1990).

Some relate this to fundamental biological sex differences (Rutenfrans, 1990). For example, males have greater physical strength, which could explain a greater tendency to violence. It has also been argued that (potential) motherhood reduces women's inclination to develop a risky lifestyle: prospective motherhood as well as taking care of children require a safe, quiet and stable environment which is hardly compatible with a criminal lifestyle. The problem with this explanation is that it is not easily testable by empirical research. Therefore it seems safer to assume that biological factors and the social environment interact, taking into account that the latter influences are easier to demonstrate than the former.

Second, there remain important socialization differences between the sexes. In a public opinion survey of a random sample of the Dutch adult population we included a number of questions on informal social control at the time the respondents were aged 17 (Junger-Tas & Terlouw, 1991). Results show systematic differences in informal social control on boys and girls. Compared to girls, twice as many boys were going out to disco's on weekends. One third of boys versus 18% of girls said they were allowed to go out on their own and girls had always to come home earlier than their brothers did. Although girl's participation in leisure and sports has considerably increased since the 1960's, differences in this respect between the sexes remain. For example another study found that girls have to spend twice as much time in domestic or caring activities in the household than boys, while boys spend twice as much time than girls in (outdoor) sports activities (Niphuis-Nell, 1992).

In this study we have made an attempt to consider such differences. Looking again at the data on informal social control (Table 4.4) we find comparable results. Relatively large differences in parental control according to sex are apparent in Spain and The Netherlands, showing more control on girls than on boys. However, it is interesting to note that there is less parental control on Spanish boys than on boys in the two other countries.

Referring to Table 4.3 there appear to be no difference between the sexes with respect to their relationship with either parent. The data suggest, however, a somewhat greater vulnerability of boys to the relationship with their father. Contrary to the main trend of a decline in delinquency according to age, we found that in the case of a bad relationship with the father criminal involvement tends to increase.

The largest difference between the sexes refers to parental social control. Parents appear to be more concerned about the whereabouts of their daughters than about those of their sons. Parents also want to exert tighter control on the peer group their daughters are involved with, a consideration that is clearly of less relevance to them when their offspring is a boy.

Liking school, working hard for a diploma, repeating classes and truancy have a significant effect on the degree of delinquency involvement, an effect that appears to be somewhat stronger in the case of girls than in the case of boys.

Considering the analysis of social control variables in this study, it is important to mention that they account for relatively little of the variances. Although many of the differences in these variables are significant they are small, and this is also true for their effects on delinquent behaviour. One of the main reasons for these outcomes might be the nature of the samples. All of them are random youth population samples. As criminal acts are rare events, this means that they are low crime-rate groups. In order to maximize variance on delinquency one would need to add known high-risk juveniles or juveniles who have had earlier contacts with the juvenile justice system (Hindelang, Hirschi & Weis, 1981). The further the sample has penetrated into the criminal justice process, the greater the contrast or variance obtained (Weis, 1986). This means that, as far as the findings with respect to the theoretical variables in this study are concerned, our conclusions can only be modest.

Chapter 5.

Problem Behaviour, Youth-Related Offences, and Violence Against Objects

As mentioned in Chapter 2, there were five groups of delinquency questions in the ISRD questionnaire, problem behaviour, youth related offences, which includes violent offences against objects, property offences, violent offences against persons, and drug consumption and trafficking. The chapters that follow will be devoted to the analysis and comparison among the three countries of these group of crimes and in these chapter we shall analyse the ones under the heading of problem behaviour and youth related offences.

For the analysis of behaviours in this chapter we divided them into three different groups of offences. First, running away, truancy, and using alcoholic beverages are not real offences; they are called *problematic behaviour*, and they were included in the questionnaire because of their possible predelinquent character. Running away can also be used as a index of family coherence, and truancy may be meaningful as a school acceptance measure, while alcohol consumption can also be interpreted as an index of future drug consumption. That is why we are going to use these behaviours as predictors when analysing the other groups of crimes. Secondly, fare dodging and driving without licence or insurance, are considered as a specially *youth-related offences* because they are juvenile expressions of adult behaviour. And graffiti, vandalism and arson, the last kinds of behaviour considered here, enter into the group of *violent offences against objects*, but they are included in this chapter because they are considered as youth related delinquent acts.

5.1 Problem Behaviour

As mentioned above, problem behaviour is considered to be pre-delinquent behaviour, and we were interested in learning if it could be used as a predictor of future delinquency. That is one of the reasons we study them together and independently from other behaviours such as drug use. We are going to describe the results we obtained for these behaviours and then to relate them to other predictor variables examined in this study.

5.1.1 Prevalence

In general, prevalence is very high for alcohol consumption (see Table 5.1) even for the last year record (55.8% is the highest percentage of any behaviour). Truancy ever is quite high too, but it decreases sharply when it refers to last year. Running away occurs very seldom, and it has the lowest rate of all for the last year.

If we look at the differences in prevalence between the three countries under study, we can see that runaway is the only behaviour in which there are no differences between the three countries. The Netherlands is significantly low in alcohol consumption, while the differences in truancy correspond to England/Wales with respect to the Netherlands and Spain. English/Welsh youth play truant less than the young people from the Netherlands and Spain, maybe because of a more strict control on English/Welsh students to attend classes. The England/Wales questionnaire did not ask for last year truancy or runaway, and that is why we can only compare the Netherlands and Spain for these types of behaviour: more Dutch young people are truant than Spanish people, while there exist no differences in the running away behaviour. For drinking alcohol English/Welsh people are significantly different from the other two countries. In Spain nearly as many people as in England/Wales had drunk at times in their lifetime but consumption for last year is lower for the former country –in this case Spain and the Netherlands are similar. Also, there are more young people drinking and getting drunk during last year in England/Wales than in the two other countries.

Table 5.1. Prevalence of problem behaviour by countries – %

	England & Wales		The Netherlands		Spain		Total	
	Ever (N=1223)	Last Year	Ever (N=914)	Last Year	Ever (N=2100)	Last Year	Ever (N=4237)	Last Year
Truancy**	35.8	–	47.2	25.8	49.2	20.0	44.7	15.5
Running away	7.5	–	6.9	1.2	6.8	1.9	6.9	1.2
Alcohol**	89.5	85.1	79.9	74.5	86.5	77.6	85.8	55.8
Got drunk**	52.5	46.1	43.0	34.7	–	34.2	48.1	37.7

** p < .01

5.1.2 Sex and Age differences

Although, in general, girls do commit fewer crimes than boys, we do not find this result in some of the behaviour we are studying: Significant differences for sexes in truancy appeared in Spain only; for runaway the differences appeared in the English/Welsh sample only; those two countries –Spain & England/Wales- differ also with respect to the alcohol use between boys and girls. The Netherlands is the country with least differences between boys and girls, while Spain shows the greatest number of differences. These results are detailed in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2. Prevalence of problem behaviour, last year, by sex and by country –%

LAST YEAR	England & Wales		The Netherlands		Spain	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Truancy	–	–	26.4	25.3	20.8	19.3
Runaway	–	–	1.6	0.9	1.9	1.9
Alcohol	84.8	85.2	79.5	80.2	89.0+	83.9
Got drunk	50.0++	42.5	42.3++	27.2	43.8++	24.1

+ p < .05; ++ p < .01

With respect to age, if we consider that the behaviour we are studying is youth related behaviour, our hypothesis should be that the onset age of this behaviour should be early and that it should disappear with age. But, to our surprise, our data tells us that these types of behaviour, although starting quite early, are not the earliest in youth repertoire (see Table 5.3), as we will see in this same chapter. The mean age of onset ranges from 13.08 to 15.19.

As Table 5.3 shows the English/Welsh sample is significantly early in running away and alcohol consumption, while the Dutch are significant late in playing truant. Moreover, if we check the prevalence levels at different ages, all ages group (four groups: 14-15; 16-17; 18-19; 20-21) maintain the same levels of prevalence. And, if we considered two age groups (14-17 and 18-21), when the rates for these kinds of

Table 5.3. Mean age of onset of problem behaviour (standard deviation in brackets)

Age of onset	England & Wales	The Netherlands	Spain	TOTAL
Truancy	13.65(1.63)	14.76*(2.56)	13.67(2.32)	13.91(2.29)
Runaway	13.99*(0.88)	15.19(2.61)	15.13(2.22)	14.83(2.10)
Alcohol	13.08*(2.93)	14.25(2.30)	14.11(2.05)	13.84(2.44)

* p < .05

differ significantly, they increase with age (see Table 5.4).

Table 5.4. Prevalence of problem behaviour by age and by country – %

LAST YEAR	England & Wales		The Netherlands		Spain	
	14-17	18-21	14-17	18-21	14-17	18-21
Truancy	–	–	18.6**	32.6	19.3	20.8
Runaway	–	–	26.7	15.2	36.5	23.1
Alcohol	80.9	89.8	66.1**	82.4	70.6**	84.6
Got Drunk	30.6**	63.8	23.5**	44.9	27.3**	41.1

** p < .01

And, what is more surprising is that the frequency of these activities does not decrease with age, but generally increases. As we can see in Table 5.5, the trend of means for ages increases for every behaviour type, except for alcohol consumption; the difference here is between the two younger groups and the two older ones that drink more often than the rest.

Table 5.5. Mean number of Problem behaviour last year by age group (standard deviation)

Age groups	14-15	16-17	18-19	20-21	TOTAL
Truancy(1)	3.20(2.29)	3.40(2.42)	4.29(2.55)	4.61(2.59)	3.97(2.55)
Runaway(1)	1.22(0.44)	2.93(3.22)	2.71(4.55)	6.64(11.26)	3.35(6.17)
Alcohol	18.95(27.12)*	33.88(33.91)*	43.01(35.26)	43.69(35.83)	36.32(34.92)
Got Drunk(1)	2.14(11.52)+	5.33(19.95)++	7.27(23.01)	9.37(30.34)	6.43(23.24)
Got very Drunk(2)	1.42(.86)**	1.82(.86)	1.82(.95)	1.72(1.03)	1.74(.96)

* $p < .05$ between this age group and the rest; ** $p < .05$ between this group and the two following ones;
 + $p < .05$ between this group and the two older ones; ++ $p < .05$ between this group and the oldest one.
 (1) Data only from NL & SP; (2) Data only from E/W.

5.1.3 Relationship to Theoretical Variables.

As stated above, the behaviour under study in this part of the chapter is not criminal behaviour but it could tell us a lot about the habits of young people. Playing truant could be related to school achievement, running away to attachment to family and alcohol consumption maybe related to peer group (friends). School, family and friends are three very important areas for Social Control Theory and the pieces of behaviour studied above could increase the significance of those factors for the understanding of juvenile delinquency. That is why we are going to use them as predictors of the delinquent behaviour.

5.2 Youth Related Offences

For these offences we think that young people want to benefit from the mobility the adults have but do not have enough money to do so. That is why they use public transport without paying or borrow some one's car, etc.

5.2.1 Prevalence

Many young people had committed these offences throughout their young lives but only around 17% say that they have committed any of them last year (Table 5.6).

Table 5.6. Prevalence of youth related offences by countries –%

	England & Wales		The Netherlands		Spain		Total	
	Ever	Last Year	Ever	Last Year	Ever	Last Year	Ever	Last Year
Fare dodging**	26.3	9.4	52.1	21.1	45.4	20.5	41.31	17.4
Driving without L/I**	17.1	7.7	40.2	20.0	40.7	20.4	33.5	16.6
Total youthrelated offences**	34.7	11.1	68.2	26.6	63.4	28.4	56.1	23.0

** Significant levels among countries: $p = < 0,000$

Driving without L/I: England/Wales against The Netherlands and Spain. The rest: among the three countries.

The differences in prevalence between countries for this kind of offences are important. Both activities seem to be Dutch and Spanish activities while the English/Welsh young people are much less involved in them.

5.2.2 Sex and age differences

Driving without L/I is committed twice as many times by boys than by girls except in Spain where the relationship approached to 1,5. But when looking at last year prevalence the differences decrease while maintaining its significance (see Table 5.7). Significant differences between sexes in ever fare dodging appeared in Spain only; and for last year there is no difference in fare dodging between males and females in the Netherlands.

As we said above, we are referring to youth related crimes in this chapter. And again, the hypothesis is that age of onset of these kinds of behaviour should be early and that by the time the young people reaches 21 years these behaviours should have stopped. Again we found that the total mean age of onset is of 14,14 years and 15,11 years for fare dodging and driving without L/I respectively (see Table 5.8). The English/Welsh youth behave significantly different from the young people from the other countries; they start fare dodging at 13 –quite an early age, and start to drive without L/I very late in comparison to the rest of the young people we are studying -until they are 16 and a half years old.

Table 5.7. Prevalence of youth related offences by sex and by country –%

LAST YEAR	England & Wales		The Netherlands		Spain	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Fare dodging	11,6++	7,2	23,0	19,4	22,4+	18,5
Driving without L/I	10,1++	5,5	28,8++	11,7	24,0+	16,6
Total youth related offences	13,8++	8,8	29,5++	23,8	32,7++	23,9

Significant difference between sexes: + $p < 0,05$; ++ $p < .01$

Table 5.8. Mean age of onset of youth related offences (standard deviation in brackets)

Age of 1 time	England & Wales	The Netherlands	Spain	TOTAL
Fare Dodging	13.18 + (3.07)	14.23 (2.77)	14.43 (2.34)	14.14 (2.64)
Driving without L/I	16.53+ (2.16)	15.00 (2.48)	14.87 (2.18)	15.11 (2.32)

+ p < .01

The most striking result are the English/Welsh data: for driving without a license or insurance (last year), prevalence increases with age. Just the opposite happened in all the other circumstances. As can be seen in Table 5.9, the percentage of offences committed last year by the oldest group of young people decreases for every country in fare dodging and for the Netherlands and Spain also significantly in driving without a license or insurance.

Table 5.9. Prevalence of youth related offences by age and by country (%)

LAST YEAR	England & Wales		The Netherlands		Spain	
	14-17	18-21	14-17	18-21	14-17	18-21
Fare dodging	11.1	7.4	25.6	16.7	22.6	18.6
Drive without L/I	6.1	9.5	26.2**	14.2	26.6**	14.2

**Significant difference between age groups: p < 0.001

The mean number of times young people have travelled without paying or have driven without L/I last year is quite high but there are large deviations from this mean. As shown in Table 10 the peak for fare dodging is 18-19 years and for driving without a license or insurance, 16-17 years.

Table 5.10. Mean number of youth related offences last year by age group (s.d.)

Age groups	14-15	16-17	18-19	20-21	TOTAL
Fare Dodging(a)	16.69(23.88)	8.80(12.64)	20.02(36.28)	18.05(27.45)	15.70(27.09)
Driving without L/I	9.49(16.58)	13.81(24.70)	11.62(22.12)	10.98(19.33)	11.65(21.28)

(a) Data from NL & SP only.

5.2.3 Explaining Youth Related Offences

One of the main interest of this study is to provide the policy makers with knowledge about the causes of delinquency to help them to decide on prevention policies. When trying to explain delinquency, as said in previous chapters, we attach to Social Control Theory, including in the questionnaire questions on school/job, family and peer group. In the questionnaire there were a large number of these kinds of questions but after having rejected some of them because of missing values and comparison problems we ran some exploratory analysis to see how the rest of variables behaves. From all these analyses we decided to keep the largest possible number of variables for our final analysis; the reason to do this was that, although we were interested in the communalities of causes of delinquency, some of the different causes could be quite interesting in explaining, for instance, differences between sexes.

To relate possible causes to delinquent behaviour we used a forward step method of logistic regression analysis; through the results of this analysis we could learn which variables predict in a significant way the commission of youth related offences. We used the following variables for the regression analysis: AGE and SES as demographic variables, a general index for school attachment, up to four variables to measure the relationship with the family (getting along with father, getting along with mother, parental supervision, going out with family), and five variables to measure the relationship with the peer group (steady boy/girl friend, number of real friends, support from friends, participating in organised leisure activities, spending leisure time with friends). Finally, we include the problematic behaviour, truancy, runaway and alcohol consumption, considered, because of their problematic character, as possible predictors of other youth related offences.

We ran a logistic regression analysis including all the above listed variables as independent variables, and used a general index of youth related offences as the dependent variable. The results shown in Table 5.11 were obtained with a forward step method using the SPSS.

Table 5.11. Correlates of Youth Related offences: final model

MALES				
Variable	B	Sig	R	Exp(B)
Younger age group	-.4499	.0003	-.1650	.6377
Leisure time with friends	.2271	.0141	.1004	1.2550
Alcohol consumption	.7367	.0243	.0877	2.0890
Don't get along with father	-.6975	.0485	-.0689	.4978
FEMALES				
Variable	B	Sig	R	Exp(B)
Younger age group	-.3157	.0035	-.1113	.7293
Alcohol consumption	1.5750	.0000	.1806	4.8306
Leisure time with friends	.2242	.0086	.0966	1.2513

The variables that better predict youth related offences are: age, spending leisure time with a group of friends and, drinking alcohol. This result are the same for boys than for girls; in the case of boys we found that having a bad relation with the father is a good predictor also but this is not the case for girls. What we learn from these results is that, in general, there are situational variables the ones that better predict youth related offences: a group of very young people consuming alcohol is the situation to commit youth relates offences.

5.3 Violence Against Objects

The prevalence of each of these behaviours is fairly high for ever, with the exception of arson (see Table 5.12). Only 4.3% of the sample from the three countries has committed arson during their life time, and only a 0.8% committed it in the last year period. From the three offences included in this category, arson is the only one that behaves in the same way for the three countries. For differences among countries, see Table 14. Spain seems the country where graffiti is one of the most common “artistic” manifestation of youth – a significant difference with $p < .01$. The analysis of Table 5.12 points out Spain as being the most violent country also but in this case it is England/Wales the country that is significantly low in vandalism, not being the difference between Spain and the Netherlands significant.

Although, in general, girls do commit less offences than boys, we don’t find this result in some of the offences we are studying in this category: graffiti is committed as many times by girls as by boys during the last year period (see Table 5.13). During this same period sex makes a difference for vandalism and arson in England/Wales and in Spain respectively.

The offences we are studying are usually considered as being mainly youth behaviour. According to this line of reasoning, violence against object should have an early onset and an early desertion too. As shown in Table 5.14, the early onset is a reality; these type of behaviour has the earliest ages of onset of any of the offences studied in this report, as the reader will note in the rest of chapters.

Table 5.12. Prevalence of violence against objects by countries -%

	England & Wales		The Netherlands		Spain		Total	
	Ever	Last Year	Ever	Last Year	Ever	Last Year	Ever	Last Year
Graffiti**	19.9	4.0	13.0	3.4	24.1	9.0++	20.5	6.3
Vandalism**	9.6	3.3+	42.9	12.1	50.2	15.1	37.3	11.0
Arson	4.4	0.9	5.5	0.9	3.8	0.8	4.3	0.8
TOTAL	26.5	6.4	46.2	13.6	55.5	20.4	45.6	14.9

Significant levels among three countries: ** $p < 0.000$; * $p < 0.05$; + $p < .05$; ++ $p < .01$

Table 5.13. Prevalence of violence against objects by sex and by country -%

LAST YEAR	England & Wales		The Netherlands		Spain	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Graffiti	3.3	4.6	4.5	2.3	8.6	9.8
Vandalism	3.8	2.8	16.2**	8.3	17.4**	12.6
Arson	1.7*	0.2	1.6*	0.2	0.9	0.6
Total Violence Against Object	7.1	5.7	18.5	8.9	22.4	18.4

Significant difference between sexes: * p < 0.05 and ** p < 0.001

Table 5.14. Mean age of onset of violence against objects (standard deviation in brackets)

Age of onset	England & Wales	The Netherlands	Spain	TOTAL
Graffiti	13.15(2.39)	12.90(2.84)	13.28(2.55)	13.20(2.56)
Vandalism *	13.86(2.74)	12.73 (2.86)	13.01(2.80)	12.99(2.82)
Arson *	12.84(2.76)	11.20(3.24)	13.37(3.54)	12.60(3.40)

* p < .05. In the case of Vandalism E/W is different from the two other countries. In the case of Arson, the difference is between NL and SP.

With respect the early desertion from the above line of reasoning we should suppose that as younger get older, they should stop doing this kind of behaviour. And that is what we did find in our data (see Table 5.15). Although some differences between the two groups of ages are not significant, trends are always in the correct direction, i.e., decreasing from younger to older groups.

Table 5.15. Prevalence of violence against objects by age and by countries - %

LIFETIME	England & Wales		The Netherlands		Spain	
	14-17	18-21	14-17	18-21	14-17	18-21
Graffiti	6.4	1.2	6.6	0.4	13.1	4.9
Vandalism	4.6	1.8	17.9**	6.8	21.4**	8.8
Arson	1.4**	0.4	1.6*	0.2	0.8	0.8

Significant difference between age groups: * p < .05 and ** p < 0.001

And if we considered the frequency of these kind of offences we can see, in Table 5.16, how the number of violent acts decreases with age; moreover, graffiti and arson have their larger frequency at the 14-15 age group, while vandalism grows from the first group to the second and, then starts the decreasing trend.

Table 5.16. Mean number of violence against objects actions last year by age group (standard deviation)

Age groups	14-15	16-17	18-19	20-21	TOTAL
Graffiti	3.31(8.05)	2.71(7.20)	1.47(7.64)	1.08(5.06)*	2.34(7.29)
Vandalism	1.58(3.37)	1.97(6.80)	1.32(7.34)	0.55(3.05)*	1.41(5.5)
Arson	0.78(3.47)	0.35(1.66)	0.17(0.59)	0.09(0.42)	0.37(2.06)

* p < .01; Graffiti between the two extreme age groups; Vandalism between the 2nd and the 4th groups.

5.3.1 Explaining violence against objects

As we did for youth related offences, we ran a logistic regression analysis to learn about the possible predictors of this type of violence. We use the same dependent variables and for the independent one we build a general violence against object offence index . The results of this analysis can be seen separately for males and females in Table 5.17.

Table 5.17. Variables entered into the logistic regression for violence against object offences

MALE				
Variable	B	Sig	R	Exp(B)
Younger age group	-.5189	.0000	-.1897	.5952
Alcohol consumption	.8137	.0002	.1040	2.2561
Play truant	.5978	.0010	.0890	1.8182
Lower ses category	-.1897	.0321	-.0482	.8272
Run away	1.1152	.0389	.0450	3.0503
Leisure time with friends	.1297	.0398	.0447	1.1385
FEMALE				
Variable	B	Sig	R	Exp(B)
Younger age group	-.6163	.0000	-.2171	.5400
Alcohol consumption	.9177	.0001	.1184	2.5035
Play truant	.6793	.0008	.0967	1.9724
Leisure time with friends	.2438	.0011	.0941	1.2761
Don't get along with mother	-.8052	.0071	-.0733	.4470

The predictor variables for violent actions against objects are again the situational ones: age, alcohol consumption and going away with a group of friends. In this case the analysis added playing truant for both males and females, and this may be the occasion to commit the violent acts. If we look at the differences between males and females we can see that while the girls have some deficit in their relationship with their mother, the boys may have a more controversial family: they live in a more deteriorate neighbourhood, and have abandoned their home. While the situational variables are the same for both groups of young people, family variables make the difference on the reasons for the two sexes to commit violent offences against objects.

5.4 Conclusions

In this chapter we try to analyse some behaviours that are considered as actions committed by the younger group of adolescents. Some of these kinds of behaviour are often considered as minor offences but as they have a very low age of onset should be taken into account by policy makers with a greater attention while designing prevention programs.

As said above social control theory is not the only one trying to explain juvenile delinquency. The types of behaviour studied in this chapter are better explained by a theory of opportunities. In this case alcohol consumption seems to be one of the most essential factors for carrying out the behaviours herein analysed.

Young People, Violence and Disorder

6.1 Introduction

For the present study an orthodox, quasi-legal administrative criminological definition of ‘violence’ is used. Thus, Graham & Gurr (1976), define ‘violence’ as “behaviour designed to inflict personal injury to people or damage to property” (in Tutt, 1976:31), and Skolnick (1976) as “the intentional use of force to injure, kill or destroy property” (ibid:31). These definitions are quite close to the ‘violent offences’ defined in English criminal law as “an offence that leads, or is intended or likely to lead to a person’s death or to physical injury to a person”¹⁰. Building on accepted definitions of criminal offences, a ‘violent offender’ is defined for the present study as someone who admits committing any of the following five offence types.

- robbery;
- fighting/public disorder;
- assaulting a non-family member;
- assaulting a family member;
- and wounding (injuring someone with a weapon).

An ‘overall’ violence variable has been constructed from the aggregation of the five offence types listed above. A respondent was classified as a violent offender if they reported committing one or more of the five offence-types. For pragmatic purposes, the present definition of violence seems acceptable, but it must be recognised that the normative approach to violence misses important other aspects of physical harm and injury caused intentionally or through negligence. Thus, studies of self-reported offending among young people inevitably focus attention on the mundane violent and disorderly behaviour of the relatively powerless, and tend to focus away from those offences where there is no clearly identifiable offender. It should also be noted that more subtle forms of violence, and psychological violence in particular, fell outside the scope of the present study. These aspects of violence are very important in understanding both the lived realities of violence (from the point of view of both perpetrator and victim), and also for explaining the forms that violent behaviour take, its dynamics and impact on the individuals involved and wider society. Understanding violence in its real life context requires qualitative as well as quantitative research to get ‘beneath the surface’ of comparative statistics.

10 1991 Criminal Justice Act England and Wales cited in Smith & Hogan 1996: 12

The present study aims to shed further light on how the three countries (England & Wales, The Netherlands and Spain) compare in terms of the extent and nature of youth violence, and how any differences might be explained.

6.2 Findings

Consistent with the body of research on self-reported offending, this study shows that participation in some form of violent or disorderly behaviour is fairly common among males in the three countries under study. More than one in three boys and young men interviewed said they had ever committed a violent act, and one in five admitted doing so in the past year. As expected, females were much less likely to have been involved in violence, one in six of which admitted having ever committed an act of violence, and one in thirteen last year.

Despite widespread youthful violence and disorderliness, most of such behaviour is confined to fighting or disorder in public places, while only a very small proportion is involved in serious violence. Thus, for example, only two per cent of males and half of one per cent of females admitted wounding someone in the previous year. Also, in relation to fighting, the commonest form of violence reported, locations for the last offence were more often in the streets around town or in the city centre for all three countries concerned¹¹.

Table 6.1. Violent offences, 'lifetime'

	Proportions reporting ever committing the following violent offences							
	Males				Females			
	E&W	NL	ES	all	E&W	NL	ES	all
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Threats/Robbery	2.5	1.6	1.8	1.9	1.0	0.4	1.0	0.9
Fighting	23.9	29.7	41.9	34.6**	11.1	9.1	18.9	14.5**
Non-family assault	9.1	11.5	9.4	9.8	2.8	2.1	2.2	2.4
Family assault	1.9	1.1	2.4	2.0	1.0	0.6	1.4	1.1
Wounding	8.3	5.0	5.3	6.0*	4.2	1.1	1.8	2.3**
Summary violence	27.0	35.6	45.9	38.5**	12.8	12.1	21.4	16.8**
Total Base n	574	444	1 072	2 090	649	470	1 028	2 147

11 The location of offences was not reported for the other violent offence types because of generally low base numbers. In general though, the locations did appear to be outside the home, except in the case of family assault, where it was only reported to have happened in the home. Low base numbers in these instances cloud the picture, however.

Table 6.2. Violent offences, 'last year'

	Violent offences last year							
	Males				Females			
	E&W	NL	ES	Overall	E&W	NL	ES	Overall
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Threats/robbery	0.7	0	0.7	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1
Fighting	7.1	16.4	22.5	17.0**	4.5	3.8	9.2	6.6**
Non-family assault	2.6	4.1	3.9	3.6	1.1	0.4	1.0	0.9
Family assault	0.5	0	0.6	0.4	0.2	0	0.4	0.2
Wounding	2.6	0.9	1.8	1.8	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.5
Summary violence	10.5	17.6	24.2	19.0**	5.7	4.7	10.0	7.5**
Total Base n	574	444	1 072	2 090	649	470	1 028	2 147

Notes: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, No asterisk = non-significant

Although there is broad similarity between the three countries in which offences were most commonly reported, Spanish young people (both males and females) were more likely to say they had ever been involved in fighting or rioting than those from England and Wales and the Netherlands, ever or last year. The English and Welsh males and females were more likely to say they had ever been involved in wounding than those from Spain and the Netherlands.

Some of these differences in levels of involvement in violent or disorderly behaviour are rather striking. The most striking pattern is that Spanish young people – both males and females – were much more likely to report involvement in disorder than their Dutch, English and Welsh counterparts. As noted in the introduction, one aim of this study was to compare levels of offending between countries, and not necessarily to create European 'league tables' (in the way that ICVS data has been used, for example), but still to indicate variations (or otherwise) in the *scale* of youth crime in different countries. The two key questions are now:

1. To what extent are these figures truly comparable?
2. Where they are comparable, how are these results to be explained?

6.3 Conceptual and Methodological Issues

Conceptual and methodological problems dog international comparative analysis and this study has not escaped their bite. In some parts of the ISRD, there are clear differences in questionnaire design or the wording of some of the questions (see Chapter 2). In relation to violent offences, however, there seems to be more or less identical wording in each of the three countries.

A related difficulty is that of ‘linguistic equivalence’, a conceptual problem that is much more difficult to control. That is, specifying the questionnaire wording so that there is no possibility of variation in the way in which questions are understood by respondents in each of the three countries. Even with precisely the same wording, the concept of participating in ‘fighting’ or ‘disorder’, and indeed other forms of ‘violent behaviour’ may be different in each of the three countries. It is necessary to establish what is it to ‘participate’ and what is meant by ‘disorder’.

These kinds of questions are difficult to test and could only be achieved by studies specifically examining this issue. Having rigorously examined the questionnaires and methodology adopted in each of the three countries, there appears to be no methodological or technical grounds to reject these data.

6.3.1 Other sources of comparative data

One way to assess the validity of these findings is to compare them with other sources of data on violence in each of the three countries. There are severe problems in making such comparisons whether official statistics or survey data are used. Definitions and methods of data collection vary from one country to another and so any examination of such statistics should proceed with great caution.

Another approach which has been taken to estimating ‘real’ levels of offending, independent of ‘official’ statistics collected by the police and criminal justice system is the victimisation survey. The International Crime Victimization Survey (ICVS) data from 1988 and 1992 suggests that levels of assaults are highest in the Netherlands, followed by Spain and England and Wales (see Table 6.3). This appears to apply in relation to both assaults and assault with force. These figures mirror the present data to the extent that England and Wales has the lowest rate of fighting among the three countries.

Table 6.3. Percentage victimised during a 12 month period (1988 + 1991) (International Criminal Victimization Survey)

Country	Assaults	Assaults with force
	%	%
England and Wales	2.8	1.1
The Netherlands	3.7	2.0
Spain ('88 only)	3.1	1.6

6.4 Violent Offending by Age

This section describes the age distribution of violent offences, by each of the three participating countries, to find out about the *average* (mean) and *peak* (mode) ages at which respondents said they had committed their first violent act. An analysis of variance (ANOVA) was also carried out to find significant differences between countries in terms of mean age of onset.

The 12-month participation rates for the violent offence types including the summary violence variable shows that there is a similarity in the ages at which young people start to offend in the Netherlands and Spain, and in England and Wales.

Table 6.4. Mean and peak age of onset for violent offences

	Age of onset					
	Mean	Peak	s.d.	Mean	Peak	s.d.
	Males			Females		
Threats/robbery						
England & Wales	14.7	15	3.30	15.4	10	3.36
Netherlands	15.5	13	1.87	16.5	16	0.71
Spain	14.5	14	2.70	13.1	14	3.70
Fighting						
England & Wales	14.9	15	2.67	15.0	13	2.33
Netherlands	14.9	16	2.61	14.4	15	2.79
Spain	14.5	16	2.57	14.9	14	2.45
Non-family assault						
England & Wales	14.1	15	3.49	14.9	14	1.85
Netherlands	15.0	13	2.66	13.3	10	2.83
Spain	13.8	14	3.27	12.6	12	2.57
Family assault						
England & Wales	14.0	21	7.21	15.0	21	7.38
Netherlands	13.8	10	3.51	14.0	11	4.24
Spain	11.12	10	4.46	12.1	10	3.90
Wounding						
England & Wales	14.3	15	2.27	14.1	14	2.05
Netherlands	14.5	14	1.77	13.5	7	4.51
Spain	14.4	14	2.09	12.3	11	3.72
Overall violence						
England & Wales	14.3	15	3.33	14.8	14	2.90
Netherlands	14.7	14	2.69	14.0	15	2.90
Spain	14.1	16	2.90	14.4	14	2.93

These results are very consistent. Taking the ‘overall’ violence measure, the range of ages of onset for both males and females in each of the three countries ranged only from 14 years to 14 years 9 months. The implication of these data is that by the time European children have reached the age of 15 or 16, most children who are ever going to become involved in violence or disorder will already have made their first ‘false start’. This suggests that primary prevention of violence needs to be focused on the early teenage years.

There is an interesting contrast with the survey findings examining when young people start to use drugs (see Chapter 8). The study suggested that cannabis use started at around the sixteenth birthday, a year and a half, on average, after young people typically get involved in fighting. ‘Hard drug’ use starts, on average, between the ages of 16 and 19, some time later still.

Taking all ages together, males in England and Wales were almost twice as likely as females to have reported committing a violent offence in the last 12 months. This compares with Spain, where males were almost three times as likely to have reported, and the Netherlands, where males were over four times more likely to report violence in the previous year. The above results corroborate the observation that youth violence is predominantly a masculine phenomenon. As Sutherland and Cressey put it long ago (1968): “Sex status is of greater statistical significance in differentiating criminals from non-criminals than any other trait” (Sutherland and Cressey, 1968: 130).

The study examined ‘specialisation’ in offending, that is, the extent to which people that reported committing acts of violence also committed other crimes. In each of the three countries associations were found between violence and a range of other types of “violence against objects” such as graffiti and vandalism. These findings suggest that many acts carried out by delinquents are not isolated, but should be seen within the wider context of more general youthful misbehaviour.

6.5 Explaining Violence

The following analysis comprises an examination of the relationship between violence in the previous twelve months and range of explanatory variables, illustrating where, for each country, significant effects were discovered. There are some factors, which seem more important in some countries than others, but there are some key clusters indicating that the data from three countries may be merged and analysed as a whole.

In order to examine the relative strength of the relationship between violence and these key correlates, logistic regression models were run on all three countries, with males and females separated. The variables selected for the regression model contained theoretically sound dichotomous variables from the bivariate association table (Table 7 in Appendix I) which reported an association at a 0.05 level of significance, for any of the countries, for any sex. In addition, violence against objects last year has also been included to see whether any association between this variable and violence against persons remains once associations with other variables are accounted for.

From the bivariate analyses, nine explanatory variables were selected for the model building stage. They were:

- Truancy from school
- Running away from home
- Distant or weak parental supervision
- Alcohol use last year
- Carried a weapon last year
- Maintenance of house
- Socio-economic status (SES)
- Age group
- Violence against objects (graffiti, vandalism or arson) last year

These variables were entered into a correlation matrix to look for intercorrelated variables (variables with a Pearson's correlation coefficient of 0.7 or above), and to exclude them where appropriate. None of the independent variables were found to be correlated with one another at this level, and were thus entered one at a time into the logistic regression model using the forward stepwise procedure on SPSS. This procedure was conducted on each country, and on males and females separately. The models presented here are on males and females separated, but all three countries have been kept together. These trends are similar to those for each country disaggregated, which can be found in Appendix I.

Table 6.5. Correlates of violent offending: final model (males only)

Variable	β	Sig.	Odds ratio	R
Lowest SES band	0.32	*	1.38	0.03
Truancy	0.41	**	1.50	0.06
Low parental supervision	0.36	**	1.43	0.05
Drank alcohol last year	0.51	**	1.67	0.06
Carried a weapon last year	1.00	****	2.71	0.15
Violence against objects ¹ last year	1.34	****	3.83	0.22
Note: * = $p < 0.05$, ** = $p < 0.01$ *** = $p < 0.001$, **** = $p < 0.0001$ 1836 cases in model. 1. Graffiti, vandalism or arson.				

Table 6.6. Correlates of violent offending: final model (females only)

Variable	β	Sig.	Odds ratio	R
From 14-17 age band	0.42	*	1.52	0.05
Low parental supervision	0.63	**	1.88	0.08
Drank alcohol last year	0.90	**	2.46	0.08
Carried a weapon last year	1.26	****	3.54	0.12
Violence against objects last year	1.54	****	4.67	0.24
Note: * = $p < 0.05$, ** = $p < 0.01$ *** = $p < 0.001$, **** = $p < 0.0001$ 1885 cases in model. 1. Graffiti, vandalism or arson.				

The aim of this logistic regression analysis is to examine the *independent* effect of a set of explanatory variables (school, family, and ‘risky behaviour’ variables listed above) on the likelihood of admitting a violent act in the previous year. What Tables 6.5 and 6.6 show is that a small number of correlates are linked strongly to violence for both males and females. For both males and females, low parental supervision, alcohol use, carrying a weapon, and expressive offences were closely correlated with violence; for males, truancy and coming from the lowest SES band was additionally associated, and for females, falling into the youngest age group (14-17) was a strong correlate. Once these correlates are included in the model, the impact of the other variables (like running away from home for males, and low socio-economic status for females) have a minimal or (statistically) non-significant relationship with violence.

What can we infer from these statistics, especially in relation to attempts to explain violence?

Firstly, extreme caution should be exercised before interpreting statistical correlations as causation. Before one can infer causation from statistical association, there is a need to establish temporal ordering, causal ordering, and the mechanisms and processes through which variables are linked one with the other. Moreover, an explanation of violence must include an analysis of the contexts of violent behaviour and the events and processes that trigger its occurrence (see Athens, 1997).

There are, for example, a number of possible ways to explain how violence may be linked to weapon carrying, and alcohol consumption. Just taking alcohol use as an example, it could be that:

- (1) alcohol consumption among young people causes violence;
- (2) violent behaviour among young people causes them to consume alcohol;
- (3) alcohol consumption and violence among young people are caused by a set of further, unexplored, variables;
- (4) alcohol consumption and violence are linked together in some reciprocal relationship.

Each of these explanations is plausible but none fully testable using cross sectional survey data. However, some progress can be made by establishing some temporal ordering. For example, the data on age of onset suggest that, on average, experimentation with alcohol commences at about the same time as involvement in violence. This suggests that onset of violent behaviour could be explained by alcohol use. The models presented above certainly suggest a ‘clustering’ of risky behaviours. However, it is not sufficient to leave it at that and the question is raised what social factors explain a general willingness to engage in ‘risky’ behaviour. Moreover, the clustering together of risky behaviour is itself of interest. Such factors as alcohol, and carrying weapons are frequently cited are the ‘causes’ of violent crime and understanding the nature of the relationship between them seems a crucial task for criminology. Such explanations can really only be gained through longitudinal research on cohorts of young people or using qualitative techniques to examine mechanisms, processes, triggers and contexts.

6.6 Summary and Conclusions

This study indicates that violent and disorderly behaviour differs little in kind between the three – rather different – European countries studied here. As to the extent of violence, difficulties in comparison (especially ensuring ‘linguistic equivalence’) make this problematic. The present data suggest that youth violence is least common in England and Wales, and rather higher in Spain if fighting is included, but levels of actual assault are similar in each country. Data from the international crime victimisation survey (ICVS) place the Netherlands above Spain, with England and Wales rather lower in terms of violent victimisation.

As well as there being similar rates of offending, there are other similarities among the three countries. For example, the age at which children first start to behave in a violent way, the pattern of involvement (e.g. types of offences), the existence of a significant ‘gender gap’ and the pattern of risk factors with which violence is correlated are shared among all three countries.

This comparative self-report study has illuminated some interesting patterns, but has generated more questions than it has answered. What is required for future development of research and policy in the following areas:

- Comparative studies using a more diverse range of theoretical perspectives, including studies using more qualitative research methods to examine young people’s experiences in more detail, and to illuminate mechanisms, and processes rather than simply the outcomes of their actions;
- Comparisons using methods such as the analysis of non-accidental hospital admissions;
- Studies comparing and contrasting police and criminal justice data, such as the *European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics*;
- Co-ordinated evaluation of the crime prevention projects

The overall findings suggest that the problem of youthful violence is similar in each country. Put another way, policies and practices in any of the three countries studied must tackle a problem of a similar size, affecting young people at roughly the same age with broadly similar correlates and consequences.

Chapter 7.

Property Offences

7.1 Introduction

Much of juvenile delinquency and adult crime consists of crimes against property. This survey provides no exception. Almost half of the sample admits to at least one property offence in the lifespan, and nearly a fifth over a twelve month period. Criminologists have been interested in property crime since the birth of the discipline because of its volume and because property crime appears to be relatively easy to understand and thus prevent. Property offences are thought to be “rational” acts motivated by individual and structural perceptions of need or frustration. Furthermore, s/he whose belongings fall prey to property offenders can take clear steps towards preventing such an occurrence. “Situational crime prevention”, born in Europe (Clarke, 1983) enables policymakers and individuals to prevent victimization by controlling the access to attractive targets. This chapter will explore the differences among countries regarding property offending and property offenders.

7.2 Measurement of Property Offences in the ISRD Questionnaire

Part of the ISRD questionnaire (see Appendix II) dealt with property crimes that were thought to be common among young people. Adjusted minimally for comparability, the scale consists of the following items in Figure 7.1:

Stealing money from a public telephone or a vending machine
Stealing something from a store
Stealing something from school
Stealing something from home
Stealing something from work
Stealing a bicycle, moped or motorcycle
Stealing a car
Stealing something from a car
Pickpocketing
Pursesnatching
Trespassing/Burglary
Stealing something else
Buying or selling stolen goods

Figure 7.1. Property Offences in the ISRD questionnaire

Table 7.1. Property Offences, minimally adjusted for comparability

Property Offence	Spain		The Netherlands		England and Wales		Total	
	Lifetime	Last Year	Lifetime	Last Year	Lifetime	Last Year	Lifetime	Last Year
Stealing money from a telephone or vending machine	3.2%	.6%	5.6%	.8%	3.6%	1.4%	3.9%*	.9%*
Stealing from a store	23.7%	6.2%	36.8%	4.4%	19.9%	3.6%	25.5%*	5.1%*
Stealing from school	15.7%	2%	24.3%	8.1%	5.3%	.9%	14.7%*	3%*
Stealing from home	9.2%	3.2%	13.3%	3.7%	3.8%	.7%	8.6%*	2.6%*
Stealing from work	3.4%	1.3%	7.3%	3.8%	2.7%	.7%	4.1%*	1.7%*
Stealing a bicycle, moped or motorcycle	2.7%	.4%	12.5%	5.0%	6.3%	5.0%	5.8%*	2.7%*
Stealing a car	.4%	.1%	.2%	0	2.1%	.6%	.8%*	.2%*
Stealing something from a car	1.9%	.6%	1.8%	.3%	3.3%	.7%	2.3%*	.5%*
Pickpocketing	.1%	0	.7%	0	1.1%	.2%	.5%*	0%*
Purse-snatching	1.2%	.1%	.5%	.1%	.6%	.2%	.9%	.1%*
Trespassing/ Burglary	22.8%	6.4%	6.9%	1.3%	3.9%	1.6%	14.0%*	3.9%*
Stealing something else	5.0%	1.0%	9.8%	3.0%	2.8%	.7%	5.5%*	1.4%*
Buying/ Selling stolen goods	14.3%	6.3%	24.8%	12.3%	20.1%	2.8%	18.3%*	6.6%*
Any of the above	50.1%	19.7%	60.5%	28.0%	35.8%	12.0%	48.2%*	19.3%*

* p < .05

Table 7.1 shows prevalence rates for “ever” and “last year” responses – whether youth admitted to committing a property offence on the scale over the lifespan or in the last twelve months. Shaded are those countries with the highest “ever” and “last year” prevalence rates for each item that displays significant differences among the countries.

Prevalence rates overall are highest “ever” for shoplifting (25.5%), buying or selling stolen goods (18.3%) stealing from school (14.7%) and trespassing/burglary (14%); for self-reported behaviour over a twelve month period, rates are highest for buying or selling stolen goods (6.6%), shoplifting (5.1%) and trespassing/burglary (3.9%).

Except for shoplifting and trespassing/burglary, the highest prevalence rates confine themselves to England and Wales and the Netherlands, especially the Netherlands.

7.3 Frequency Rates

Given that almost half the sample admits to at least one property offence in the lifespan, and nearly a fifth over a twelve month period, it seemed interesting to analyse whether property offenders diversify in any way – admitting to several different property offences – or rather specialize. First, Table 7.2 presents means for frequency levels for all the items on the scale. The mean represents the average number of times over a twelve month period that youths who admitted to the property offence committed it. High means indicate the degree to which youths in the sample repeat the same behaviour. Behaviours with high frequency rates include stealing from a telephone or vending machine (13.86, or a little more than monthly) and burglary (6.75, which corresponds to about once every two months). Behaviours with very low frequency rates are pursesnatching (1) and pickpocketing (1.5).

Shadowed in Table 7.2 are the highest frequency rates for each behaviour. Here, England and Wales and Spain stand out as having youths who appear to engage in many property offences repeatedly. England and Wales, thus, has the highest frequency rates of the three countries for stealing from a telephone or vending machine, shoplifting, stealing from work, stealing a bicycle, moped or motorcycle, stealing a car and pickpocketing. Spain has the highest frequency rates for stealing from school and home, trespassing/burglary and stealing something else. The Netherlands has the highest frequency rate only in terms of stealing something from a car.

Table 7.2. Frequency Levels for Property Offences

	Spain Mean	The Netherlands Mean	England and Wales Mean	Total Mean
Stealing from a telephone or vending machine	2.83	1.29	26.82	13.86
Stealing from a store	3.58	4.62	6.31	4.29
Stealing from school	6.56	2.91	3.45	4.14
Stealing from home	7.10	3.88	3.00	5.81
Stealing from work	4.11	4.31	7.88	4.63
Stealing a bicycle, moped or motorcycle	1.13	1.91	7.47	4.73
Stealing a car	2.00	-	4.14	3.50
Stealing something from a car	1.83	4.33	3.63	2.78
Pickpocketing	-	-	1.50	1.50
Purse snatching	1	1	1	1
Trespassing/Burglary	7.69	1.42	3.47	6.75
Stealing something else	3.95	3.19	2.00	3.29

7.4 Characteristics of the Offence

Property offences are initiated at similar ages across countries. Table 7.3 details the mean age at which self-reported offenders admit first committing the offence in the three countries studied. Overall, we see a pattern between the kinds of property offences and the age of onset. Those initiated earliest (age 12) are nearest to younger people's circle of activities (stealing from home, from school, from a store). Those initiated at age 13 correspond to a widening of one's circle of activities (stealing from a telephone or vending machine; trespassing/burglary; and stealing other). Those initiated at age 14 involve certain skill (stealing a bicycle, moped or motorcycle; stealing from a car; pursesnatching and pickpocketing. Those initiated at later ages (15 – stealing a car; 17 – stealing from work) correspond to activities or desires of adult life.

Shadowed boxes in Table 7.3 point out the country with the lowest mean age of onset for each behaviour. Youths in the England and Wales sample appear to have generally later onset ages for self-reported offending, vis-à-vis youth from the other two countries.

Table 7.3. Mean Age of Onset

Property Offence	Spain	The Netherlands	England and Wales	Total
Stealing from telephone or vending machine	13.76	12.86	13.95	13.51
Stealing from store	13.33	11.52	12.37	12.56
Stealing from school	12.32	13.22	13.24	12.72
Stealing from home	12.93	11.13	12.89	12.33
Stealing from work	17.23	16.81	17.19	17.05
Stealing bicycle etc.	13.96	15.68	13.89	14.80
Stealing car	14.67	16.50	16.26	15.80
Stealing from car	14.55	14.50	15.26	14.77
Pickpocketing	12.33	15.50	14.11	14.28
Purse snatching	13.96	15.80	14.83	14.35
Trespassing/Burglary	13.54	13.68	12.97	13.52
Stealing something else	13.76	12.68	13.93	13.37

7.5 Gender and Property Offences

Generally, property offending – as is most offending – is more common among boys than girls. The differences are most marked for lifetime overall property offending in the case of the Netherlands, where boys surpass girls by 20% (See Table 7.4).

Table 7.4. Gender and Property Offending

	Spain		The Netherlands		England and Wales	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Any property offence, ever**	43%	57%	50.4%	71.2%	30.2%	42.2%
Any property offence, last year**	15.9%	23.3%	18.7%	37.8%	8.5%	16.0%

**p<.001

7.6 Conclusions and Recommendations

Property offending is quite frequent among youths as compared to other delinquent acts. Except for shoplifting and burglary, the highest prevalence rates correspond to England and Wales and The Netherlands. Yet the highest frequency rates belong to England and Wales and Spain. Property offences are initiated at similar ages across countries. Property offenders are generally male though, as in the case of other self-reported delinquent acts, yet the differences depend on each offense.

Chapter 8.

Drug and Alcohol Use

8.1 Introduction

The drugs field has become a focus of European debate and also illustrates the tension between different perspectives on responding to drug use and supply. The problem of drug supply or 'trafficking' has increasingly been the focus of coercive policies, driven by technology and policing techniques previously the domain of the intelligence services (see Dorn et al 1996). Policies on drug users, by contrast, have been much more diverse. As Dorn (1996) has pointed out, there appears to be no 'pan-European trend' in drug policies, although recent research suggests that European drug policies imply 'varying pathways to similar objectives' (EMCDDA, 2002). At the national and local level, the balance between the tendency towards criminalisation, demonisation and punishment on one hand, and decriminalisation, harm reduction and reintegration on the other tips in different directions in different places. The two poles of the debate on drugs policy can be seen in England and Wales on one hand, and the Netherlands and Spain, on the other.

In the Netherlands, a 'harm reduction' approach has guided policy since a radical revision of the Opium Act in 1976. The basis for the Dutch embarkation on a radical policy of decriminalisation in the 1970s was based on an emphasis on minimising the risks of drug use for both users and society rather than on 'fighting' drug consumption. This rested on a distinction between drugs with 'unacceptable risks' and cannabis (van Kalmthout). The key reasons for this approach were (1) doubts about the damaging effects of hemp products, (2) doubts about the 'stepping stone' theory and (3) the aim to 'separate the markets for soft and hard drugs'. (p. 264). This effectively decriminalises the possession of all drugs up to three grams, and allows the use and sale of cannabis in specific 'youth' venues. This policy has led to the development of the 'coffee shop' system whereby retail of cannabis and cannabis products is permissible provided that the supplier stays within certain guidelines including the prohibition of 'hard' drugs.

In Spain, possession of all drugs for personal use was declared 'unpunished but not necessarily legal' in 1973 (de la Cuesta, 1988). In 1983, the law was reformed to distinguish between 'hard drugs' (those which cause serious damage to health) and soft drugs (essentially cannabis). Although the use of drugs remains technically unlawful, possession is, effectively, decriminalised in a similar fashion to that in the Netherlands.

The British stance is very much more punitive and the present government (in common with its Conservative predecessors) has ruled out decriminalisation. The logic behind the British stance on drugs is that decriminalisation might lead to an increase in the numbers of cannabis users and also, holding to the 'stepping stone' or escalation theory, it is suggested that decriminalising cannabis will lead to an increase in the use of other drugs. In 1997, just over 68,000 people were

found guilty or cautioned by the police for the simple possession of cannabis. The most serious punishment for drug possession is imprisonment, the fate of just over 2,000 people every year.

It is not possible to make any assessment of existing policy in a paper of this type. However, self-report research enables a comparison among the three countries' patterns of consumption and may help shed some light on the nature of drug use and how it might best be responded to. The key questions to be addressed in this paper are:

1. How do the three countries – England & Wales, The Netherlands and Spain – compare in terms of the extent and nature of drug use?
2. To the extent that there are differences, how can these be explained?
3. To what extent are the 'correlates' or 'causes' of drug use similar or different in the three countries?
4. What are the implications of the findings for policy and future research?

Concern about drugs shares some common themes in all European countries. First, drug use is widespread across the EU (ISDD 1996). In the UK it has been estimated that 500 tons of cannabis are consumed annually by an estimated 8 million users (Wagstaff and Maynard 1988; Ramsay and Spiller 1997). The same supply and distribution routes cover the territory of Europe. Boundaries create problems for some traffic, but with retracting internal border controls between all European countries (especially those in the Schengen region), individuals and networks involved in supply and distribution are pan-European (and beyond). Co-operation between member states' law enforcement agencies (through Europol, for example) has also facilitated understanding of different perspectives on the drugs problem. Despite the different perspectives, many of the forms of drug use and reactions to it are shared, resulting perhaps in a 'common cultural experience of drugs' (ISDD 1996: p94). A perceived need to pool information has led to the foundation of the European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug addiction (EMCDDA) which has the task of managing European drugs data. There has also been a call for "every European to resituate the drug problem in its European and global perspective" (DrugNet Europe 1996, cited by ISDD 1997).

8.2 Alcohol Use and Misuse

In addition to being asked about the use of illicit drugs (those which are prescribed in law, even if not enforced), respondents were also asked whether they had ever drunk alcohol and whether they had drunk any in the last year. Table 8.1 (below) presents the results from these questions.

In general, the extent of alcohol use is rather similar in all three countries. Young people in England and Wales and Spain were slightly more likely to have ever drunk alcohol than males in the Netherlands. Similarly, females from England and Wales were significantly more likely to have ever drunk alcohol than in the Netherlands and Spain. Regarding drinking in the previous year, males in England and Wales were more likely to have drunk alcohol than males in the Netherlands

Table 8.1. Percentage Lifetime and last year alcohol use

	Proportions reporting drinking alcohol							
	Males				Females			
	England & Wales	The Netherlands	Spain	Sig.	England & Wales	The Netherlands	Spain	Sig.
Ever	88.9	79.5	89.0	**	89.4	80.2	83.9	**
Last year	84.8	74.1	79.9	**	85.2	74.9	75.3	**

Notes: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, No asterisk = non-significant

Table 8.2. Age of first alcohol use

	Age first alcohol					
	Males			Females		
	Mean	Peak	Std. Dev.	Mean	Peak	Std. Dev.
England & Wales	12.88	14	2.97	13.25	14	2.89
The Netherlands	14.08	15	2.37	14.40	15	2.22
Spain	13.77	14	2.11	14.48	14	1.93

and Spain. Also, females from England and Wales were significantly more likely to have drunk alcohol last year than in the Netherlands and Spain.

Respondents were also asked at what age they began drinking alcohol. From this we have been able to calculate both the average age at which young people started to drink in each of the three countries and the age at which starting is most common (i.e. the ‘peak age’ that alcohol use starts)

This study suggests that not only does a greater proportion of young people in England and Wales drink alcohol, but they start to drink at an earlier age. Boys in England and Wales start, on average, to drink alcohol before their thirteenth birthday, while those in Spain just before their fourteenth birthday and those in the Netherlands just after. Girls tend to start a little later in each country with those in England starting to drink just after their thirteenth birthday and in the Netherlands and Spain, at around fourteen and a half.

Given that young people in England and Wales are more likely than their continental counterparts to have had an alcoholic drink in the previous year and that they start younger, it is not surprising to that they were also more likely to have got drunk in the previous year. Among males in each country, between 40 and 50 per cent said they had got drunk in the previous year with those in England slightly ahead of those in the Netherlands and Spain. However, English females were very much more likely to have got drunk (43%) than either those in the Netherlands (27%) and Spain (24%). Of course, getting drunk is a subjective experience and one whose definition is inevitably constrained by cultural norms. However, this does suggest that alcohol use among girls and young in England and Wales is more likely to be a problem than in other European countries with greater prevalence, an early onset and greater levels of abuse.

Table 8.3. Percentage who said they got drunk in the previous year

	Proportions reporting getting drunk							
	Males				Females			
	England & Wales	The Netherlands	Spain	Sig.	England & Wales	The Netherlands	Spain	Sig.
Got drunk	50.0	42.3	43.9	*	42.7	27.4	24.1	**

Notes: * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, No asterisk = non-significant

8.3 Drug Use

This study confirms that drug use is extensive among young people in the three countries studied (see Tables 8.4 and 8.5). Between one in five and one in four 14-21 year olds admitted ever using cannabis and substantial proportions of both male and females of this age group admitted using other drugs. Males in each country were more likely than females to have used drugs, although the gender differences in cannabis use are not particularly marked.

Rates of cannabis use among males were strikingly similar in the three countries, the percentages of lifetime usage ranging only from 24% (Netherlands) to 28% (England, Wales and Spain). Among females, lifetime usage was rather higher among those in England and Wales (27%) than Spain (20%) or the Netherlands (19%). Between one in five and one in six males in each of the three countries and 1 in 8 and 1 in 6 females said that they had used cannabis in the previous year.

Table 8.4. Percentage Lifetime and last year cannabis use among 14-21 year olds in England & Wales, The Netherlands and Spain

	Proportions reporting ever taking cannabis							
	Males				Females			
	England & Wales	The Netherlands	Spain	Sig	England & Wales	The Netherlands	Spain	Sig
Ever	28.3	24.1	28.1		26.6	18.5	20.0	**
Last year	19.9	17.1	20.4		16.2	12.1	13.8	

Notes: * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, No asterisk = non-significant.¹²

¹² In addition, significant differences were identified by constructing confidence intervals for the tabulated results. Where the intervals overlap, it cannot be said that significant differences exist. If however, there is no overlap

Of course, the figures for 14-21 year olds conceals the fact that drug use is much less prevalent among younger people than older ones. Figure 1 [at end of document] shows that while fewer than five per cent of 14 year olds used cannabis in the previous year, among 20 and 21 year olds as many as one in three males and one in five females will have used cannabis in the previous year.

Cannabis use appears to start at around the same age for males and females in each of the three countries, with the majority starting while they are aged 15 or 16 years old. Spanish males appear to start just before their sixteenth birthday, slightly earlier than their English or Dutch counterparts. Among females, the English appear to start first at around 15 and a half, while the Dutch start a little later at nearly 16 and a half. It also seems that at the youngest age, the girls are a little ahead of the boys, with 5 per cent saying they had used cannabis in the previous year compared with half that proportion among boys (see Figure 8.1). By the age of 15, the boys appear to have caught up, then overtaken during their late

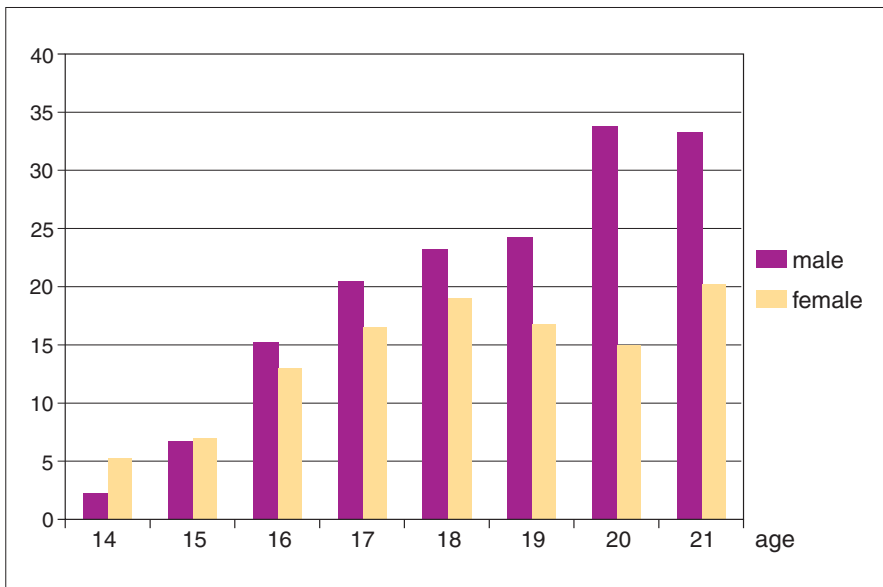


Figure 8.1. Cannabis use 'last year' by age

Table 8.5. Age first used cannabis

	Age first used cannabis					
	Males			Females		
	Mean	Peak	Std. Dev.	Mean	Peak	Std. Dev.
England & Wales	16.1	16	1.95	15.5	16	1.98
The Netherlands	16.3	16	2.02	16.4	17	1.85
Spain	15.6	16	1.85	16.0	16	1.71

teens. After the age of 18, cannabis smoking among girls seems to level off (at around one in five) but among males it continues to increase until the age of 20 where it levels off (at around one in three).

Turning to drugs other than cannabis, the three countries look quite different. Taking a range of drugs – frequently referred to as ‘hard’ drugs – young people in England and Wales are strikingly more likely to use than their counterparts in the Netherlands and Spain. Among males, one in five from England and Wales admitted using one of more of them at one point in their lives, compared with one in 14 from Spain and one in 37 from the Netherlands. The picture was even starker for girls and young women, with one in 5 English, one in 36 Spanish and fewer than one in 100 Dutch female respondents saying they had used hard drugs in the previous year.

Table 8.6. Percentage Lifetime and last year ‘hard’ drugs

	Proportions reporting taking the following drug types in the last year							
	Males				Females			
	England & Wales	The Netherlands	Spain	Sig.	England & Wales	The Netherlands	Spain	Sig.
‘Hard’ drug ever	21.5	2.7	7.2	**	18.5	0.9	2.8	**
‘Hard’ drug last year	11.1	1.4	4.7	**	9.4	0.4	1.5	**
Heroin	0.2	0.2	0.4		0.3	0	0	
Methadone	1.4	0.2	0	**	1.4	0	0	**
Crack	0.3	0	0		0.8	0	0	**
Speed etc.	5.6	0.7	2.1	**	4.9	0	0.3	**
Angel Dust etc.	0	0	0.1		0.2	0	0	
Downers etc.	0	0	0.5		0	0	0	
Psychedelics	8.9	0.5	2.1	**	6.5	0.4	0.8	**
Other drugs (except cannabis)	1.2	0.7	0.5		1.7	0	0.1	**

Notes: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, No asterisk = non-significant

Table 8.7. Age first used ‘hard’ drugs

	Age first ‘hard’ drugs					
	Males			Females		
	Mean	Peak	Std. Dev.	Mean	Peak	Std. Dev.
England & Wales	16.0	16	2.3	15.7	14	2.4
The Netherlands	17.7	18	1.4	19.0	18	1.4
Spain	16.7	16	1.8	17.3	18	1.8

Table 8.8. Ever sold drugs

	Percentages reporting ever selling the following drug types							
	Males				Females			
	England & Wales	The Netherlands	Spain	Sig.	England & Wales	The Netherlands	Spain	Sig.
	Males				Females			
Cannabis	4.0	3.6	2.5		2.2	0.4	0.4	**
Hard drugs	2.9	0.9	1.0	**	0.3	0.2	0.1	

Notes: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, No asterisk = non-significant

Not only is the degree of usage much higher in England and Wales, but the age of first use is much younger than in the two other countries. While English males tended to try one of these drugs for the first time at around the time of their sixteenth birthday, their Spanish counterparts would be nearly seventeen and in Holland nearly 18 years old. Among females the picture is even more marked with English girls trying drugs (mostly either speed of ecstasy) at an average age of 15 years 8 months, compared with 17 and half in Spain and as late as 19 in the Netherlands. It should be noted however, that these analyses are based on very small numbers. Moreover, there are some methodological concerns that we will turn to in a moment.

As well as being asked about use of drugs, respondents were also asked about any experiences of drug selling or dealing. Table 8.8 shows that only a small minority of respondents ever sold drugs, and it is not possible from these data to say whether this involves selling small quantities to friends, or commercial supply, although the former is most likely.

8.4 Methodological Issues

There are several methodological issues that should be addressed before attempting to interpret these patterns identified. First, there were several differences in the questionnaire design that may have impacted on the results obtained. The Spanish and Dutch asked questions about drugs and alcohol at the very end of the questionnaire. By the time these questions were asked, respondents had completed the general questionnaire (dealing with various aspects of their home life, school etc.), and also the questions on other aspects of delinquent and criminal behaviour. They were also asked about whether anyone found out about this delinquency and what happened as a result. By contrast, the England and Wales questionnaire asked questions about drugs immediately after the social and demographic questions and before the more sensitive questions about theft and violence. This difference on placing may have impacted on respondents' willingness to reveal their drug use.

A second, and probably more important difference in questionnaire design was that in the Netherlands and Spain, respondents were asked: “did you ever use any hard drugs such as heroin, coke, PCP, LSD, or speed etc.?” Unfortunately, by including all “hard” drugs in one broad question, it is not possible to discover what the lifetime usage of each individual drug was in the Netherlands and Spain¹³. If respondents in the Netherlands and Spain said they had ever taken ‘hard drugs’, they were then asked when they did so for the first time, and then ‘which hard drugs did you take in the last year?’ In England and Wales, a method drawn from drugs research in the health field permitted an estimate of lifetime usage of specific drugs and which aimed to aid recall. Respondents were asked whether they had tried any of the substances listed on a card. In other words, respondents were ‘prompted’ to say yes to a list of drugs, rather than being asked to generate their own answer. This has been the method typically used by health researchers in each of the three countries (Health Education Authority, ISDD etc.). This questionnaire difference may account for (at least some of) the higher levels of ‘hard drugs’ reported in England and Wales, compared with Spain and the Netherlands.

8.5 Comparison and Contrast with Existing Evidence

One way to assess the validity of the present findings is to compare them with other sources of information. There has been extensive monitoring of drug use in each of the three countries studied. However, there are major problems that hinder the ability to compare official databases of drug users. There are also some limitations that apply to surveys and studies of groups of drug users. Among the problems faced by surveys are city versus national samples, sample size, representativeness and confidentiality.

Surveying of drug use is extensive in Britain and has been going for some time¹⁴. The 1992 British Crime Survey, with which the present data are quite closely comparable suggested that one in six people in the UK will have used illegal drugs in that year, approximately 8 million people. Young people are much more likely to have taken drugs, and this is both an age and a cohort effect. In the 1992 BCS, approaching half of 16-19 year olds and 14% of 14-15 year olds said they had ever taken drugs. More recent surveys have shown a significant increase in levels of drug use between 1992 and 1996. Although boys and young men are more likely than girls and young women to take drugs in Britain, perhaps as many as two in five of all drug users are female. The evidence suggests that drug users are from all social classes and some surveys shows significantly higher rates of use among people from professional and managerial headed households than those in ‘unskilled manual’. Despite popular views to the contrary, young

13 Lifetime usage data for England and Wales among 14-25 year olds is set out in Graham and Bowling 1995, page 14).

14 The 1984 British Crime Survey included a self-report drugs component. It was dropped from subsequent surveys and resurrected in 1992. Regular surveys have been conducted ever since (Ramsay and Percy, Ramsay and Spiller).

people from ethnic minority backgrounds tend to be less likely than their white counterparts to use drugs. The more recent 1994 British Crime Survey suggested that about 6.3 million people aged between 16 and 59 had used cannabis and that 1.4 million of these would be smoking every month.

Looking at young people (aged 16-29) in particular, the 1994 BCS estimated that just under half of males (48%) and females (45%) had ever used drugs. This included 37% (29% last year) who had ever used cannabis, 15% (10% last year) amphetamines, 12% LSD (8% last year), 10% (4% last year) magic mushrooms, 9% (4%) (smoke 'unknown'), 8% (5%) ecstasy, 2% (2%) solvents, 3% (1%) cocaine, 1% (1%) methadone and heroin and 16% (7%) 'poppers' (amyl nitrate). Given the fact that the present sample is rather younger than the BCS sample (including 14 and 15 year olds who are much less likely than those sixteen and older to have used hard drugs), the present study seems broadly in line with the BCS.

In the Netherlands, three main series of surveys have been conducted since 1984¹⁵. These point to a lifetime drug use of around 30% among the general population, with high rates among people in their later thirties (46%). Cannabis had been tried by most drug users while only very small minorities had tried other drugs. This series of surveys carried out in 1987 and 1990 suggested that drug usage remained very steady over that period; cannabis use increased slightly while lifetime use of amphetamines, hallucinogens and opiates fell. In another study, nearly 600 students in 1995 aged between 14 and 24 were interviewed in Amsterdam. Around 40 per cent said they had taken cannabis and about 4 per cent were using it daily. Ecstasy was the next most popular drug, taken by 5% in 1993, amphetamines (3%) and LSD (2%). Only very small proportions had used other drugs. A national study – the Sentinel Station survey – repeated several times commencing in 1984 and most recently in 1992 surveyed over 10,000 school children between the ages of 10 and 18. This showed that around one in seven 14-15 year olds had tried cannabis, rising to one in three 16-17 year old boys and one in five girls. Among secondary school pupils, ecstasy had been taken by 3%, amphetamine (2%) cocaine (1.5%) and 1% heroin. Existing Dutch survey data, estimating lifetime usage, are difficult to compare with the present study which has only estimates for last year usage. Assuming that the lifetime usage is approximately twice the 'last year' usage (see table 2), the figures from the present study point in the right direction, but are a little on the low side, especially among females who, in the case of Holland, admitted no drugs other than a tiny minority who said they had taken ecstasy.

A number of prevalence surveys have also been conducted in Spain. In a 1994 survey, 28% of 16 and 40 year olds admitted to taking cannabis and 8% cocaine. One in 20 had taken 'designer drugs' (principally ecstasy), while 1.5% had taken heroin. Another study in the same year found that 21% of 14-18 year olds had ever taken cannabis, 18% in the past year and 12% in the past month. However, only 5% had taken hallucinogens, 4% amphetamines and 3.5% ecstasy. Tranquillisers had been taken by 6%, solvents by 3%, 2% cocaine, 0.5% heroin.

15 These surveys included the Amsterdam household survey, the Amsterdam based Antennae youth surveys, and the Sentinel Station school surveys. Cited in ISDD 1997.

Again, these are lifetime figures against which we must compare last year usage. Assuming that lifetime figures are double those of last year, our estimates of 2% amphetamines and 2% psychedelics and 0.4% heroin seem about what might be expected.

Comparing survey data from different countries, gathered in different ways and among different age groups is clearly problematic and one of the key rationales for the present study. Unfortunately, due to variations in methodology that came about through the demands of different national governments, the co-ordination of method between the three countries was not fully achieved. One lesson for future research of this nature is to centrally co-ordinate the management of a survey of this type, along the lines of the National Crime Victimization Survey. There should also be consultation with researchers in the drugs field to enable comparison (and thus validation) with existing surveys.

A report comparing drug use across the EU noted that Britain, the Netherlands and Spain were all among the highest drug using nations in Europe, each having a greater proportion of drug users than its nearby neighbours (ISDD 1997). However, this same review commented that “the most interesting aspect to drug use in northern Europe is the discovery of a pattern which is completely missing in Britain: cannabis is almost exclusively the only drug used” (ISDD 1997: 96). The present study, with some caveats, tends to confirm this picture and supports the report’s conclusion that:

Britain’s drug use is... qualitatively different from the rest of Europe’s. Granted Britain’s heroin and cocaine use is of a similar scale as some other countries’, but in no other country does the use of LSD, amphetamine and the other ‘dance drugs’ approach the levels found in Britain (ISDD 1997: 102.)

8.6 Explaining Drug Use in Three Countries

A key question for those interested in developing a pan-European drugs policy is: to what extent are the causes of drug use the same in different national contexts? Clearly, the extent of use is not always the same: despite similar levels of cannabis use, the dance drugs seem less common in the Netherlands and Spain. However, it is only using a self-report survey that some insight can be gained of the correlates of drug use in each place. If the correlates are the same, or similar, it is likely that drug use can be explained in much the same way in each country.

Tables 8.9 and 8.10 in Appendix I show that drug use is correlated with truancy and alcohol use for both males and females in all three countries studied. Additionally, among females in each country, distant parental supervision and running away from home were significant correlates in each country. These data suggest that cannabis use can be explained by reference to young people’s experience of school and home. Those who are more commonly out of the formal social control of the home and school environment seem more likely to use drugs.

8.7 Summary, Conclusions and Policy Implications

In the three countries studied, alcohol is used far more extensively than illicit drugs. Cannabis is the substance next most likely to be used, while other drugs are much less common. In general, males are rather more likely than females to use drugs. Boys and girls, on average, start using drugs at around the same time (just before or just after their sixteenth birthday) in each of the three countries, although there are some indications that, at 14, girls are more likely to have tried drugs than boys. In each country, a similar pattern of factors associated with drug use is evident, relating to alcohol consumption and home and school life. Despite these clear similarities, there are also a number of key differences in the patterns of drug use in each country. First, and consistent with existing evidence, the use of 'psychedelic' drugs (such as ecstasy and LSD) and amphetamines is much higher in England and Wales than in the Netherlands and Spain. Not only are these drugs more common in England and Wales, but the age at which young people start to use these drugs is much earlier than in the other two countries, and this is particularly marked for females.

It is intriguing that cannabis use is more or less identical in the three countries studied. This is perhaps surprising from the point of view of 'demand reduction' because in The Netherlands and Spain the likelihood of being punished for using cannabis is minimal, while in England and Wales, a great many people are arrested and processed by the police for the same behaviour. It is also intriguing that England and Wales, which has the most punitive approach towards cannabis, also has much higher rates of other illicit drugs. It is difficult, without more detailed research on enforcement patterns, to account for the apparent mismatch between the England and Wales policy goals and its outcomes, compared with two European neighbours. However, it may lend weight to the Dutch claims that decriminalisation has served to stabilise levels of cannabis use and (by separating the retail market for cannabis from that for 'hard' drugs) has kept their use to much lower levels than would otherwise have been the case (van Kalmthout, A. M. 1989; Horstink-Von Meyenfeldt 1996).

This study raises more questions than it answers. It certainly appears as though there is sufficient similarity in patterns of drug use in the three countries to justify a common approach. However, the international politics of drugs are unlikely to allow the creation of common policies in the short term. The study suggests that a more rigorously controlled study of drug use in countries across Europe would enable a clearer picture to emerge of the relationship between drug policies and levels of drug use. Qualitative research in each country, examining the milieu and contexts within which drugs are used, and how they are used will serve to flesh out the statistical picture provided by surveys.

Chapter 9.

Social Reaction to Antisocial and Delinquent Behaviour

9.1 Introduction

This chapter details the social reaction to youthful antisocial or delinquent behaviour. This involves the extent to which agencies of formal (police) or informal social control (parents, teachers, victims, other adults) detect the behaviour and react in some way (scolding, applying sanctions, etc.) A marked feature of the results of self-report surveys is that the vast majority of youthful antisocial or delinquent behaviour is not detected by anyone. This survey is no exception. However, we will examine the different degrees of social reaction by each type of act and by country to examine where differences exist in terms of what acts are likely to be discovered, by whom and in which country of the three under study. This information is useful for youth policy and juvenile justice policy because it gives us another alternative to using official statistics to see what the “crime problem” is. Detection rates as they are examined in this chapter tell us how much of juvenile delinquency comes to the attention of authorities.

The ISRD questionnaire in standard format (see Appendix II) asks about social reaction at two stages in the follow-up questions. First, those youths who admit to having “ever” engaged in a particular antisocial or delinquent act are asked “whether the police ever found out that they did it”. The answers to this question give us police detection rates over the lifespan of the young people participating in the survey¹⁶

If youths also admit to having engaged in the act over the last year, they are then asked whether they were “detected”; those detected were then asked *by whom* and the *consequences* of being detected. Detectors can be categorized into agents of formal social control (the police), who generally apply formal consequences (juvenile or criminal justice sanctions) and agents of informal social control (parents, teachers, victims, other adults) who generally apply informal consequences (scoldings, groundings, etc.).

¹⁶ In the England and Wales questionnaire the question regarding whether “the police had ever found out” was not asked. Therefore, we will report results for this question from Spain and the Netherlands only.

9.2 Results

9.2.1 Police Detection Rates – “Ever”

First, we will examine police detection rates for those youths who admitted “ever” (that is, in their lifetime) engaging in items of the list of antisocial and delinquent acts. Tables 9.1A through 9.1D detail police detection rates for four different categories of antisocial and delinquent acts. As mentioned previously, we observe low detection rates overall, ranging from zero percent (hard drug selling) to 15.3% (engaging in fights and riots). Engaging in any one behaviour over the lifespan thus entails little chance of getting caught by the police.

Between the two countries contrasted here, the pattern is of Spain having the lowest detection rates across the board. This occurs significantly in the case of graffiti, vandalism, bus/metro fare dodging, driving without a license or insurance, shoplifting, stealing a bicycle, moped or motorcycle, burglary, stealing other, threats, fights/riots and beating up non-family.

Table 9.1A details police detection rates for acts which are either not considered crimes or that occur mainly among adolescents. Interestingly there are relatively high police detection rates for running away (14.4%) and arson (14.3), the latter being a crime that is often difficult for the police to solve.

Among property offences (Table 9.1B) we find relatively high detection rates for shoplifting (10.9%), stealing a bicycle, moped or motorcycle (10.8%) and stealing from a car (10.9%).

Table 9.1A. Police Detection Rates for Problem and Youth-Related Behaviours, “Ever”, Spain and the Netherlands

Problem Behaviours	Spain	The Netherlands	Total
	Detected N (%)	Detected N(%)	Detected N(%)
Truancy	19 (1.8)	5 (1.2)	24(1.7)
Running Away	21 (14.8)	8 (13.6)	29(14.4)
Graffiti	10 (2.0)	18 (16.4)	28 (4.6)
Vandalism	31 (3.0)	36 (9.9)	67 (4.7)
Arson	8 (10.1)	10 (21.3)	18 (14.3)
Fare dodging tram/metro/bus	23 (2.9)	24 (5.8)	47 (3.9)
Fare dodging train	18 (3.6)	13 (7.0)	31 (4.5)
Driving without license/ Insurance	32 (3.8)	27 (7.7)	59 (4.9)

Table 9.1B. Police Detection Rates for Property Offences, “Ever”, Spain and the Netherlands

Property Offence	Spain	The Netherlands	Total
	Detected N (%)	Detected N(%)	Detected N(%)
Stealing money from a telephone or vending machine	0	1 (2.0)	1 (.9)
Stealing from a store	36 (7.3)	53 (16.4)	89 (10.9)
Stealing from school	1 (.3)	3 (1.4)	4 (.7)
Stealing from home	3 (1.5)	1 (.9)	4 (1.3)
Stealing from work	0	1 (1.5)	1 (.7)
Stealing a bicycle, moped or motorcycle	1 (1.8)	17 (15.5)	18 (10.8)*
Stealing a car	1 (11.1)	0	1 (9.1)
Stealing something from a car	4 (10.0)	2 (13.3)	6 (10.9)
Pickpocketing	0	0	0
Purse snatching	1 (3.8)	2 (40.0)	3 (9.7)
Burglary	16 (3.4)	13 (22.4)	29 (5.4)
Stealing something else	3 (2.9)	9 (10.7)	12 (6.3)
Buying stolen goods	2 (.7)	5 (2.4)	7 (1.4)
Selling stolen goods	1 (1.5)	6 (9.4)	7 (5.3)

Table 9.1C details violent offences. “Fights and riots” has the highest detection rate.

Table 9.1C. Police Detection Rates for Violent Offences, “Ever”, Spain and the Netherlands

Violent Offence	Spain	The Netherlands	Total
	Detected N (%)	Detected N(%)	Detected N(%)
Carrying a weapon	6 (1.7)	7 (3.0)	13 (2.2)
Threatening someone	1 (3.4)	2 (25.0)	3 (8.1)
Fights or riots	82 (12.8)	42 (25.3)	124 (15.3)
Beating up family	1 (2.5)	0	1 (2.2)
Beating up non-family	8 (6.6)	9 (17.6)	17 (9.8)*
Hurting with weapons	7 (9.5)	1 (3.7)	8 (7.9)

Police detection rates are particularly low for drug offences (Table 9.1D) in Spain and the Netherlands. Given that drug consumption is not criminalized in these two countries this is not surprising.

Table 9.1D. Police Detection Rates for Drug Offences, “Ever”, Spain and The Netherlands

Drug Offence	Spain	The Netherlands	Total
	Detected N (%)	Detected N(%)	Detected N(%)
Soft drug use	14 (2.8)	6 (3.2)	20 (2.9)
Hard drug use	5 (4.7)	1 (6.7)	6 (5.0)
Soft drug selling	0	1 (6.3)	1 (2.1)
Hard drugs selling	0	0	0

Table 9.2 details the behaviours for which detection rates are highest in the two countries. Although the lists differ somewhat, the offences included are generally adult as opposed to juvenile offences and/or probably occur in a public place.

Table 9.2. Top Five Police Detection Rates for Spain and the Netherlands, “Ever”

Spain	The Netherlands
1. Fights or riots	1. Fights or riots
2. Stealing a car	2. Threats
3. Injuring with weapons	3. Burglary
4. Shoplifting	4. Beating up non-family
5. Beating up non-family	5. Shoplifting

9.2.2 Discovery rates – “Last year”

Second, we will examine those acts which youths admitted to over a twelve month period which resulted in being discovered, either by the police or others. Tables 9.3A through 9.3D detail these results, which now include the three countries. Here rates are generally higher than in the previous series of tables because discovery can take place by all sorts of detectors, not only the police. However, we see that the pattern still holds of Spain having the lowest discovery rates. There are also greater differences among the three countries compared to the previous “ever” police detection rates. The three countries differ greatly in terms of detection rates for truancy, running away, graffiti, arson, driving with a license or insurance; shoplifting, stealing from home, stealing a bicycle, moped or motor-cycle, burglary, all violent offences except for beating up family, soft and hard drug use and soft drug selling. This leads us to believe that not only is police detection an important difference among the three countries, but informal social control as well.

Table 9.3A. Detection Rates for Problem and Youth-Related Behaviours, “Last Year”, Three Countries

Problem Behaviours	Spain	England and Wales	The Netherlands	Total
	Detected N (%)	Detected N(%)	Detected N(%)	Detected N(%)
Truancy	27 (6.4)	201 (60.5)	63 (31.7)	291 (30.6)
Running Away	9 (23.1)	Not asked	7 (77.8)	16 (33.3)
Graffiti	1 (.5)	9 (25.7)	1 (3.6)	11 (4.4)
Vandalism	26 (8.4)	7 (23.3)	30 (29.7)	63 (14.3)
Arson	0	3 (60.0)	4 (50.0)	7 (24.1)
Driving without license/insurance	12 (2.8)	25 (27.5)	39 (25.2)	76 (11.2)

Table 9.4 lists the five acts for which detection rates were highest in the three countries. These acts are different from those in Table 9.3 due to the fact that this item on the questionnaire refers not only to police detection but to detection by others as well (parents, teachers, victims, other adults). Thus we see included acts which are normally discovered by agents of informal social control such as “beating up family” “stealing from home” and “truancy”.

Table 9.3B. Detection Rates for Property Offences, “Last Year”, Three Countries

Property Offence	Spain	England and Wales	The Netherlands	Total
	Detected N (%)	Detected N(%)	Detected N(%)	Detected N(%)
Stealing money from a telephone or vending machine	0	3 (17.6)	0	3 (8.8)
Stealing from a store	5 (3.8)	6 (8.0)	7 (18.9)	18 (7.4)
Stealing from school	3 (7.5)	4 (16.0)	4 (6.0)	11 (8.3)
Stealing from home	7 (10.3)	3 (37.5)	13 (39.4)	23 (21.1)
Stealing from work	0	0	1 (3.3)	1 (1.5)
Stealing a bicycle, moped or motorcycle	0	18 (100)	10 (24.4)	28 (43.1)
Stealing a car	0	5 (41.7)	No cases	5 (33.3)
Stealing something from a car	0	2 (12.5)	0	2 (6.5)
Pickpocketing	No cases	0	No cases	0
Purse snatching	1 (50%)	0	0	1 (11.1)
Burglary	7 (5.6)	6 (28.6)	2 (20.0)	15 (9.7)
Stealing something else	1 (4.5)	1 (6.7)	4 (16.7)	6 (9.8)

Table 9.3C. Detection Rates for Violent Offences, “Last Year”, Three Countries

Violent Offence	Spain	England and Wales	The Netherlands	Total
	Detected N (%)	Detected N(%)	Detected N(%)	Detected N(%)
Carrying a weapon	3 (1.6)	34 (42.5)	24 (21.4)	61 (16.3)
Threatening someone	0	2 (66.7)	0	2 (16.7)
Fights or riots	25 (7.5)	35 (47.9)	42 (58.3)	102 (21.3)
Beating up family	6 (60.0)	3 (75%)	0	9 (64.3)
Beating up non-family	2 (4.7)	15 (100%)	8 (47.4)	26 (33.8)
Hurting with weapons	2 (8.3)	13 (65.0)	0	15 (30.6)

Table 9.3D. Detection Rates for Drug Offences, “Last Year”, Three Countries

Drug Offence	Spain	England and Wales	The Netherlands	Total
	Detected N (%)	Detected N(%)	Detected N(%)	Detected N(%)
Soft drug use	0	94 (43.3)	10 (8.4)	104 (14.9)
Hard drug use	1 (1.6)	40 (35.4)	2 (22.2)	43 (23.4)
Soft drug selling	0	5 (25.0)	0	5 (11.4)
Hard drugs selling	0	1 (10.0)	0	1 (5.6)

Table 9.4. Top Five Detection Rates for the Three Countries, “Last Year”

Spain	England and Wales	The Netherlands
1. Beating up family	1. Beating up non-family	1. Running away
2. Purse-snatching	2. Stealing bicycle, moped or motorcycle	2. Fights or riots
3. Running away	3. Beating up family	3. Arson
4. Stealing from home	4. Threats	4. Beating up non-family
5. Vandalism	5. Truancy	5. Stealing from home

9.2.3 Detectors

Finally, we will examine the detectors – the persons that actually discovered the youth’s behaviour – as to whether police detectors dominate (or not) other kinds of detectors. The pattern is quite the opposite and there are few important differences among the three countries: acts are predominantly discovered by agents of informal social control.

This finding – of the importance of informal social control as one of the main ways that antisocial and delinquent acts get “discovered” only confirms other findings of our study of the importance of this variable. Curiously enough, however, while levels of parental supervision are high for Spain (see Table 9.6, below) discovery rates are low. This suggests that supervision and control are two quite different concepts – one preventive and the other reactive.

Table 9.5A. Detectors for Problem and Youth-Related Behaviours, “Last Year”, Three Countries

	Spain		The Netherlands		England and Wales		Total	
	Police N(%)	Other N(%)	Police N(%)	Other N(%)	Police N(%)	Other N(%)	Police N(%)	Other N(%)
Truancy	2 (7.4)	25 (92.6)	0	63 (100)	1 (0.5)	200 (99.5)	3 (1.0)	288 (99)
Running Away	1 (11.1)	8 (88.9)	0	7 (100)	-	-	1 (6.3)	15 (93.8)
Graffiti	0	1(100)	0	1(100)	1(11.1)	8(88.9)	1(9.1)	10(90.9)
Vandalism	4(15.4)	22(84.6)	5(16.7)	25(83.3)	2(28.6)	5(71.4)	11(17.5)	52(82.5)
Arson	-	-	1(25)	3(75)	0	3(100)	1(14.3)	6(85.7)
Driving without license/Insurance	7 (58.3)	5 (41.7)	12 (30.8)	27 (69.2)	6 (24)	19 (76)	25 (32.9)	51 (67.1)

Table 9.5B. Detectors for Property Offences, “Last Year”, Three Countries

	Spain		The Netherlands		England and Wales		Total	
	Police N(%)	Other N(%)	Police N(%)	Other N(%)	Police N(%)	Other N(%)	Police N(%)	Other N(%)
Stealing money from telephone/vending machine	-	-	-	-	0	3(100)	0	3(100)
Stealing from a store	1(20)	4(80)	6(85.7)	1(14.3)	0	6(100)	7(38.9)	11 (61.1)
Stealing from school	1(33.3)	2(66.7)	1(25)	3(75)	0	4(100)	2(18.2)	9(81.8)
Stealing from home	0	7(100)	0	13(100)	0	3(100)	0	23(100)
Stealing from work	-	-	0	1(100)	-	-	0	1(100)
Stealing bicycle, moped, motorcycle	-	-	1(10)	9(90)	0	18(100)	1(3.6)	27(96.4)
Stealing a car	-	-	-	-	2(40)	3(60)	2(40)	3(60)
Stealing from a car	-	-	-	-	1(50)	1(50)	1(50)	1(50)
Pickpocketing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Purse-snatching	0	1(100)	-	-	-	-	0	1(100)
Burglary	0	7(100)	1(50)	1(50)	0	6(100)	1(6.7)	14 (93.3)
Stealing something else	0	1(100)	0	4(100)	0	1(100)	0	6(100)

Table 9.5C. Detectors for Violent Offences, “Last Year”, Three Countries

	Spain		The Netherlands		England and Wales		Total	
	Police N(%)	Other N(%)	Police N(%)	Other N(%)	Police N(%)	Other N(%)	Police N(%)	Other N(%)
Carrying a weapon	0	3(100)	0	24(100)	1(2.9)	33(97.1)	1(1.6)	60(98.4)
Threats	-	-	-	-	0	2(100)	0	2(100)
Fights or riots	8(32)	17(68)	11(26.2)	31(73.8)	3(8.6)	32(91.4)	22(21.6)	80(78.4)
Beating up family	1(16.7)	5(83.3)	-	-	0	3(100)	1(11.1)	8(88.9)
Beating up non-family	1(50)	1(50)	2(22.2)	7(77.8)	1(6.7)	14(93.3)	4(15.4)	22(84.6)
Hurting with weapons	1(50)	1(50)	-	-	1(7.7)	12(92.3)	2(13.3)	13(86.7)

Table 9.5D. Detectors for Drug Offences, “Last Year”, Three Countries

	Spain		The Netherlands		England and Wales		Total	
	Police N(%)	Other N(%)	Police N(%)	Other N(%)	Police N(%)	Other N(%)	Police N(%)	Other N(%)
Soft drug use	-	-	0	10(100)	3(3.2)	91(96.8)	3(2.9)	101 (97.1)
Hard drug use	1(100)	0	0	2(100)	0	40(100)	1(2.3)	42 (97.7)
Soft drug selling	-	-	-	-	0	5(100)	0	5(100)
Hard drug selling	-	-	-	-	0	1(100)	0	1(100)

Table 9.6. Parental supervision (degree to which youths believe their parents know where they go and who they are with when they leave home) among the three countries

Country	High Supervision	Low/Medium Supervision	Total
Spain	1 507(76%)	503(24%)	2 100
Nthe etherlands	746(81.6%)	168(18.4%)	914
England and Wales	735 (60.1%)	488(39.9%)	1 223
Total	3 078	1 159	4 237

** (p<.001)

9.3 Discussion

Social reaction to antisocial and delinquent behaviour probably depends on a variety of factors which this study is unable to measure adequately – factors that pertain to the behaviour itself, such as the public versus private nature of antisocial and delinquent behaviour (that is, the permeability of such behaviour to being detected by third parties), as we have seen; whether the act is illegal for the ages being considered; the “skillfulness” of youth (some youth may be more adept than others at evading detection) and characteristics of youths which may make them more or less of interest to potential detectors. Social reaction probably also depends on factors which are external to the behaviour itself: levels of parental supervision in each culture, police practices, and the features of each culture that may make it easier or harder to detect such behaviour. It does appear that there are important cultural differences in this study which go beyond individual differences. Lower detection rates – police and otherwise – for Spain in our results are hard to reconcile with evidence on the level of parental supervision and the ratio of police officers in each country (Table 9.7, below). Either Spaniards are broadly tolerant of youth misbehaviour or they are grossly ignorant of it. This requires further research.

Table 9.7. Police Personnel per 1,000 Inhabitants

Spain	The Netherlands	England
4.6	3.2	2.7

Source: Jar Couselo, Gonzalo (1995) *Modelo Policial Español y Policías Autónomas*. Madrid: Dykinson

9.4 Conclusions and Recommendations

9.4.1 Juvenile Justice in Spain, the Netherlands and England and Wales

One would not want to end this chapter without outlining the similarities and differences in the juvenile justice systems of the countries included. If most of this report has specified relative homogeneity among youth behaviours in the three European countries under study, this chapter details sharp differences in terms of how each country reacts to youth misbehaviour.

First, the juvenile or youth justice systems in our study cover different ages. In Spain currently the age of criminal responsibility is 16, although it will be raised to 18 very shortly. The bottom limit is 10 years. In England and Wales children come under the attention of youth courts from ages 10 to 17: And in the Netherlands children are under the jurisdiction of the juvenile court when they are ages 12 to 18.

In general, the juvenile justice systems of the three countries are broadly similar in terms of recent legal changes. These changes imply less of a social welfare role for the juvenile judge and more procedural guarantees for youths, along with a more diverse set of options for sanctions – ranging from punitive sanctions to diversion and other alternative, less punitive sanctions. These changes – increased legal rights for youth and increased options for sanctions – have resulted in more complicated juvenile justice systems in the three countries studied, contrasted to the fairly simple legal and bureaucratic institutions prior to the recent changes. In this respect European juvenile justice has become increasingly similar to that in the United States.

Throughout Europe we have seen a bifurcation in punitive vs. non-punitive options for youth sanctions. Options in the Netherlands are likely to become increasingly custodial in the future (Junger-Tas, 1997). England and Wales have recently instituted punitive options such as boot camps for juveniles (Gelsthorpe and Fenwick, 1997). In Spain, although legislation since 1992 has encouraged the use of alternative sanctions, the means have not always been available for developing them. Currently most juvenile judges must choose between custody or no measure taken at all. In 1995, for example, 62% of the cases handled by the juvenile courts resulted in no measure taken at all (Ediciones El País, 1997). It is expected that in the future alternative sanctions will be developed to a greater extent to allow for more options in the placement of delinquent youths. From a criminological point of view, a European juvenile justice policy makes good sense and should be soundly based not only on what we know about rates of delinquent behaviour but also on what we know about which programs give better results.

Conclusions and Recommendations

10.1 Conclusions

Youth in Europe at present are burdened with negative stereotypes. This report aims to demystify some of these stereotypes and in so doing obtain a better understanding of who young people are in different regions of Europe and what they do. Since this is essentially a criminological study, we examine antisocial and delinquent behaviour in particular; however, our aim is not to fuel a European “moral panic” about youth crime. Rather, this report demonstrates how much of youth crime is simply an adolescent phase that is overcome in early adulthood. Where we find persistent and problematic behaviour, we have made an attempt to analyse possible correlates and will suggest policy and program recommendations. For the moment, let us summarise our findings.

This project is based on a three-country study of self-reported antisocial and delinquent behaviour among young people aged 14-21 in three European countries: England and Wales, The Netherlands and Spain. As such, it consists of secondary analyses of data gathered as part of a 12-country study co-ordinated by the Dutch Ministry of Justice in 1992. The self-report method involves asking young people whether they have engaged in certain kinds of behaviour, including antisocial and delinquent acts. This method has been used since the 1940s and proven overall to be an increasingly valid and reliable one. The three countries selected for the present study all have national samples and represent different regions of Europe. The data from the three countries have been examined for comparability, and results in this report are based on those items that are indeed comparable, or comparable with reservations noted and explained.

The young people in our study differ on a number of important social indicators. These must be taken into account when interpreting the results from the survey. The differences we note are mainly North-South ones (i.e., England and Wales and The Netherlands versus Spain). The level of prosperity is higher in the two northern European countries than in Spain: in The Netherlands and England and Wales, unemployment is lower and the gross national products are greater. Still, there is less income inequality in Spain and one is likely to live longer. Spain is also more rural than the other two countries and has less communication – as evidenced by newspaper circulation, radios and television sets owned and telephone penetration. Families also appear to be more traditional in Spain: the divorce rate is lower, there is less female participation in the labour force and young people are less independent. Although educational levels are similar in all three countries, Spain’s educational indicators reflect generally higher proportions of youth involved. Spain is more homogeneous in terms of ethnic minorities compared to England and Wales and The Netherlands.

As for overall measures of delinquent behaviour, with the exception of drug use rates in England and Wales (particularly hard drugs), the rates for England and Wales are generally lower compared to the other two countries, but perhaps due to differences in questionnaire design. The bulk of youth crime is property offending and youth-related offences, and not violent crime. Drug use generally refers to soft drug use, except in the case of England and Wales.

One of the most important differences in crime involvement, which is relatively stable over time and geography, is that of greater male involvement. Yet our data suggest that there is no reason to think that the explanation for female delinquent behaviour should be substantially different from the one for male behaviour. Although most research on causes of delinquency has been done with male samples, our study indicates that fundamental findings on predictors of criminal behaviour – that is those about which there is a large consensus – are alike for both sexes.

The fact that those core correlates of criminal behaviour are similar for males and females means that some of the conditions that have led to an increase in delinquency must be valid for both sexes. For example, increased prosperity, an abundance of goods that are easy to steal, reduced surveillance in (semi) public places, increased mobility of young people and a decrease of informal social control all have contributed to the increase of juvenile delinquency (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Felson, 1998). These conditions are important for boys and girls alike and they go far in explaining why girls' delinquency has also increased, although it remains at a lower level than that of boys.

However, the question of why there is such discrepancy in levels of criminal involvement between the sexes, in particular with respect to serious and violent crime, is more difficult to answer. Perhaps gender difference in violence and drug taking seems indicative for a more general behavioural difference between the sexes with relation to risk taking. Some relate this to fundamental biological sex differences (Rutenfrans, 1990). Furthermore, there remain important socialisation differences between the sexes in terms of the degree of informal social control exerted on them. In this study we have also considered such differences. Large differences in parental control according to sex are apparent in Spain and The Netherlands. In this respect it is interesting to note that there is less parental control on Spanish boys than on boys in the two other countries. The crucial difference between the sexes refers to parental social control and to some extent to social control by the school. Parents appear to be more concerned about the whereabouts of their daughters than about those of their sons. Parents also want to exert tighter control on the peer group their daughters are involved with, a consideration that is clearly of less relevance to them when their offspring is a boy.

Gender differences in school suggest somewhat better performance of girls in terms of working hard to get a diploma, repeating classes and liking school. These variables also have a strong and significant effect on the degree of delinquency involvement, an effect that appears to be even stronger in the case of girls than in the case of boys.

Our analysis of problem behaviours and youth-related offences shows that although some of these kinds of behaviours are often considered minor offences, their very low age of onset should be taken more into account by policymakers

when designing prevention programs. As mentioned previously, social control theory is not the only theory used in this research to explain juvenile delinquency. Youth-related offences are best explained by a theory of opportunities. In this case alcohol consumption seems to be one of the most essential factors for carrying out the behaviour herein analysed; other include spending leisure time with a group of friends, and as mentioned previously, age: younger adolescents are those most involved in these activities.

This study indicates that violent and disorderly behaviour differs little in kind between the three – rather different – European countries studied here. As to the *extent* of violence, difficulties in comparison (especially ensuring ‘linguistic equivalence’) make this problematic. The present data suggest that youth violence is least common in England and Wales, and rather higher in Spain if fighting is included, but levels of actual assault are similar in each country. Data from the international crime victimisation survey (ICVS) place the Netherlands at the top of the ‘league table’ followed by Spain, with England and Wales rather lower.

As well as there being similar rates of offending, there are other similarities among the three countries. For example, the age at which children first start to behave in a violent way, the pattern of involvement (e.g. types of offences), the existence of a significant ‘gender gap’ and the pattern of risk factors with which violence is correlated are shared among all three countries.

The overall findings suggest that the problem of youthful violence is similar in each country. Put another way, policies and practices in any of the three countries studied must tackle a problem of a similar size, affecting young people at roughly the same age with broadly similar correlates and consequences.

Among property offences, buying or selling stolen goods, shop theft and trespassing/burglary are those admitted by larger numbers of youths in a one-year period. In general England and Wales and The Netherlands have the higher rates of participation in most property offences. The age of onset for property offending follows a pattern consistent with the opportunities for property offences available to youth at different ages. As the sphere of activities expands for adolescents, so does their property offending repertory. Again, as in the case of youth-related offences, opportunity theory seems relevant in explaining youths’ involvement in property crime.

The methodological differences in the way in which the survey was conducted, and aspects of the design of the questionnaire limit the ability of this study to make definitive comparisons of the extent and nature of alcohol and drug use among young people in England and Wales, the Netherlands and Spain. However, even with these problems, some interesting, albeit tentative findings have been produced. Set in the context of existing literature in the field, some comments can be made about young people and their alcohol and drug consumption.

In the three countries studied, alcohol is used far more extensively than illicit drugs. Cannabis is the substance next most likely to be used, while other drugs are much less common. In general, males are rather more likely than females to use drugs. Boys and girls, on average, start using drugs at around the same time (just before or just after their sixteenth birthday) in each of the three countries, al-

though there are some indications that, at 14, girls are more likely to have tried drugs than boys. In each country, a similar pattern of factors associated with drug use is evident, relating to alcohol consumption, home- and school-life. Despite these clear similarities, there are also a number of key differences in the patterns of drug use in each country. First, and consistent with existing evidence, the use of ‘psychedelic’ drugs (such as ecstasy and LSD) and amphetamines is much higher in England and Wales than in the Netherlands and Spain. Not only are these drugs more common in England and Wales, but the age at which young people start to use these drugs is much earlier than in the other two countries, and this is particularly marked for females.

It is intriguing that cannabis use is more or less identical in the three countries studied. This is perhaps surprising from the point of view of ‘demand reduction’ because in The Netherlands and Spain the likelihood of being punished for using cannabis is minimal, while in England and Wales, a great many people are arrested and processed by the police for the same behaviour. It is also intriguing that England and Wales, which has the most punitive approach towards cannabis, also has much higher rates of other illicit drugs. It is difficult, without more detailed research on enforcement patterns, to account for the apparent mismatch between the England and Wales policy goals and its outcomes, compared with two European neighbours. However, it may lend weight to the Dutch claims that decriminalisation has served to stabilise levels of cannabis use and (by separating the retail market for cannabis from that for ‘hard’ drugs) has kept their use to much lower levels than would otherwise have been the case (van Kalmthout, A. M. 1989; Horstink-Von Meyenfeldt 1996).

Social reaction to antisocial and delinquent behaviour – the degree to which youths who admit to committing delinquent acts are later detected, either by the police or other adults – differs sharply in this study, mainly in terms of lower rates for Spain vis-à-vis the other two countries. These lower detection rates for Spain in our results are hard to reconcile with the level of parental supervision and the ratio of police officers in each country, and suggest that parental supervision may be a preventive factor but that there is another aspect of social control which is reactive to deviance. This merits further research.

The results on social reaction also indicate that agents of informal social control (parents, teachers, bus drivers, victims, other adults) are far more likely to be detectors of delinquency than the police, depending of course on the type of behaviour committed. In very rare cases do the police ever do more detecting than agents of informal social control.

In conclusion, our results serve to clarify the profile of youth in Europe. In terms of social indicators, we see mainly North-South differences. Most youth participate in some kind of antisocial or delinquent act as adolescents; they tend to diversify more than specialise their behaviour, and usually grow out of it, except in the case of drug use; correlates are largely the same across countries, and include both attitudinal ones related to social bonding and situational ones related to conditions that are ripe for offending; and they are infrequently caught, and when caught, usually not by the police but rather by other adults.

10.2 Recommendations

This comparative self-report study has illuminated some interesting patterns, but has generated more questions than it has answered. We will now elaborate a series of recommendations for the future development of research and policy.

10.2.1 Research

This research project and the larger one that preceded it demonstrate that the self-report method is a viable way of researching juvenile delinquency. Comparative self-report studies are in fact an ideal method for researching juvenile delinquency in Europe where cultural, linguistic, and criminal justice differences limit comparisons across each country's police or court statistics. Several countries involved in the original ISRD project now commission self-report studies at the national level at regular intervals (e.g. The Netherlands, The United Kingdom). It makes sense to start thinking about establishing, at the European level, regular ISRD surveys as an alternative way to keep track of levels of juvenile offending and to enable more sophisticated analyses of this behaviour, much in the way that the Eurobarometer regularly monitors European social and economic indicators.

Were the ISRD to be repeated at the European level, it would be important to take into account all that has been learned from the present project. First, given the divergence of the England and Wales questionnaire from the general questionnaire which we have mentioned often in this report, it would be important for a European ISRD to keep in mind domestic as well as European policy interests at all stages of the project, but especially as concerns questionnaire design. Domestic policy interests determined to a great extent the divergence of the England and Wales questionnaire. There will always have to be a compromise between what member states wish to have included in the questionnaire and what can be comparable on the European level. This compromise implies paying attention to both legalistic definitions of offending – which differ depending on each member state's criminal justice systems – and behavioural ones, which are generally more comparable among different countries. We would argue strongly for fewer divergences in future comparative surveys.

Although as a rule the survey needs to be kept short, future editions should reflect more diversity in theoretical viewpoints; in this respect, more measurement of attitudes (regarding the use of violence, racism/xenophobia, gender equality, trust in institutions such as the police and schoolteachers) seems appropriate, as well as more items related to relationships with peers. The elimination of certain items would be recommendable, especially several insignificant ones from the property offence scale. A number of items could be added, such as a short victimisation scale (research suggests that youths are as much victims as perpetrators of delinquent acts), items related to bullying and school-related violence, and a scale of relationship violence (coercion and violence that occurs among adolescent couples). In order to facilitate analyses of juvenile offending careers, the questionnaire should ask for a temporal ordering of offences (when each of-

fence was committed in relation to the others). In order to compare results with other surveys (particularly those administered by public health agencies), the drug and alcohol use scales should be redesigned and expanded.

Any modification of the instrument would need to take into account the important lessons in comparative criminology derived from this project; translation nuances; the cultural meanings of supposedly comparable behaviour; symbolic value of the offences committed; the importance of identical wording and response sets for each question; and especially similar sampling strategies.

Besides the establishment of a European ISRD, we recommend that the European Union establish a research agenda for youth offending which would include a broad range of methodologies. These would entail studies using more qualitative research methods to examine young people's experiences in more detail, and to illuminate mechanisms, and processes rather than simply the outcomes of their actions; comparisons using innovative methods such as analysis of non-accidental hospital and criminal justice data; the involvement of youth practitioners in designing innovative preventive 'demonstration projects'; and the co-ordinated evaluation of these crime prevention projects.

10.2.2 Policy

The overall findings suggest that the problem of youth offending is similar in each country. Put another way, policies and practices in any of the three countries studied must tackle a problem of a similar size, affecting young people at roughly the same age with broadly similar correlates and consequences. Thus a *European* youth policy that includes attention to the prevention and treatment of youth offending seems viable.

As countries modernise and become more prosperous, the mobility of youth increases and informal social control decreases. It is harder for adults to monitor what their children are doing. Parental supervision as we have seen is an important preventive factor – knowing who your child is with and where they are going. And informal social control as we have seen is much more likely to come into play than the police when youths are detected offending. Thus families, teachers and other agents of informal social control must be encouraged and supported in their efforts to supervise youth. Since World War II, far-reaching social change in Europe and the United States has made the educational role of the family more difficult. Moreover, in most of the European countries continuing prosperity and the display of attractive goods present ample opportunities for delinquent activities. At the same time, in particular in our large cities, there is a growing concentration of poor, unemployed, welfare dependent and marginalized families; all these factors make adequate supervision and control of children and adolescents very difficult. Nurseries, crèches and before and afterschool programs should be increased. At the same time, schools should be improved so as to make attending them a positive experience; children who succeed in their school career will less commonly develop a delinquent lifestyle.

Our results show that youths first engage in delinquent or antisocial behaviour when they are as young as 11, 12 and 13. Adolescent prevention strategies, then, should be aimed at this age group. Booster programs should then be mounted for

slightly older youths. A co-ordinated, developmentally-based strategy for prevention seems most likely to succeed. Many of these programs can occur within the school context. The other side of the coin has to do with desistance: the cessation of involvement in delinquent behaviour. Not only can we make an effort to prevent delinquency to begin with, we can also take measures to foster desistance earlier. Encouraging desistance has much to do with enabling youths to lead satisfactory adult lives: incorporating them into the working world and facilitating enduring relationships with partners. Young people need to be able to compete in an increasingly skilled labour market; any effort to help them in this endeavour should also be evaluated in terms of its ability in fostering desistance from delinquent, antisocial or risky behaviour.

Much of youth offending is an adolescent phenomenon which decreases with age. To a certain extent participating in risky, antisocial, and delinquent behaviour is “normal” for young people, certainly young males, and most young people will grow out of this behaviour. For most youth, then, preventive strategies should be aimed at harm minimization: the effective structuring of attitudes and situations so as to lessen the impact of potentially dangerous behaviours. For example, the improvement of transportation between the residential and leisure zones for youth might have an effect in decreasing rates of driving without a license or insurance; the greater provision of non-alcoholic drinks in pubs might lessen the motivation to drink alcohol; social skills and assertiveness training might decrease rates of interpersonal assault. Intervention strategies with light offenders should be based on diverting youth from involvement in the criminal justice system.

Drug use is the big exception in terms of the pattern observed between delinquent behaviour and age. It certainly appears that there is sufficient similarity in patterns of drug use in the three countries to justify a common approach. However, the international politics of drugs are unlikely to allow the creation of common policies in the short term. The study suggests that a more rigorously controlled study of drug use in countries across Europe would enable a clearer picture to emerge of the relationship between drug policies and levels of drug use. Qualitative research in each country, examining the milieu and contexts within which drugs are used, and how they are used will serve to flesh out the statistical picture provided by surveys. This research suggests that there is a need to break the link between soft drugs and hard drugs – either through routes of distribution or as a legal process that does not label all drug use the same and thus encourage the indiscriminate use of all kinds of substances. It makes more sense to treat drug use as a health problem than a criminal justice one. In this respect European countries have a great deal to learn from one another.

In conclusion, our research suggests that there are enough comparable commonalities among the three countries studied that, if one were to consider them representative of all European countries, the establishment of a European research and policy agenda regarding the prevention of youthful offending and intervention with juvenile offenders is a viable option. This agenda should be firmly based on the rich empirical criminological research that exists in Europe; on respect for national differences in criminal justice systems and priorities; and on the common objective of achieving the integration of youth in Europe.

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Appendix I. Additional Tables

Chapter 3.

Table A1. Age, sex and SES distribution by country sample

	England & Wales N = 1223	The Netherlands N = 914	Spain N = 2100
AGE			
14	11.7	11.8	11.9
15	15.2	10.6	12.9
16	14.4	12.7	12.6
17	12.3	13.1	12.5
18	10.8	11.6	14.5
19	11.4	12.6	11.0
20	11.4	15.8	13.2
21	12.8	11.8	11.4
SEX			
Male	53.1	48.6	51.0
Female	46.9	51.4	49.0
SOCIAL ECONOMIC STATUS			
Low	33.4	31.2	35.4
Average	36.8	29.9	32.8
High	29.9	38.9	31.8

Table A2. Education level of those having left school

	N=545	N=151	N=509
Primary school	—	—	16.5
Secondary school	80.2	66.2	64.4
Technical school	16.9	29.1	17.3
Higher education	2.9	4.0	1.4
Don't know	—	0.7	0.4

Table A3. Father employment –in %–

	England & Wales N=1223	The Netherlands N=914	Spain N=2100
Father employed	95.0	87.5	81.5
Father unemployed	4.5	3.5	5.0
Other (retired, dead)	0.5	2.5	11.5

Table A4. Ethnic origin of respondents –in %–

	N=1223	N=914	N=2100
White/native	88.5	81	98
Caribbean region	4	5.5	—
Pakistan/Bangladesh	4.5	—	—
Asia	1	—	—
Morocco	—	3.5	—
Turkey	—	5	—
Gypsy origin	—	—	1
Other	2	5	1

Table A5. Source of respondents income –in %–*

	N=871	N=2069
Parents	37	79.5
Employment	18	16.5
Scholarship	12	0.5
Combination	29	0.5
Welfare	2.5	1
Other	1.5	2

*No information available for England and Wales

Table A6. Ever prevalence and last year frequency of property offenses in three countries –in %–

	England N=1223		The Netherlands N=914		Spain N=2100	
	ever	last year	ever	last year	ever	last year
Theft from vending machine	3.6	1.4	5.6	0.8	3.2	0.6
Shoplifting	19.9	3.2	36.8	4.34	23.7	6.2
Theft school	5.3	0.9	24.3	8.1	15.7	2.0
Theft home	3.8	0.7	13.3	3.7	9.2	3.2
Theft job*	2.7	0.7	9.3	3.8	3.4	1.3
Theft bike	6.3	4.7	12.5	5.0	2.7	0.4
Car theft	2.1	0.6	0.2	0.0	0.4	0.1
Theft from car	3.3	0.7	1.8	0.3	1.9	0.6
Pickpocket	1.1	0.2	0.7	0.0	0.1	0.0
Theft purse	0.6	0.2	0.5	0.1	1.2	0.1
Break in house	3.9	1.6	6.9	1.3	22.8	6.4
Theft other	2.8	0.7	9.8	3.0	5.0	1.0
Fencing: buying/ selling	20.1	2.8	24.8	12.3	14.3	6.3
<i>All property crimes</i>	<i>35.8</i>	<i>12.0</i>	<i>60.5</i>	<i>28.0</i>	<i>50.1</i>	<i>19.7</i>
Carry weapon	19.5	6	27	15	17	8.5
Threats w. Weapon	1.7	0.4	1.0	0.1	1.4	0.4
Fights	17.2	5.7	19.1	10.0	30.6	16.0
Beating up non-family	5.8	1.8	6.7	2.2	5.9	2.5
Beating up family	1.5	0.3	0.9	0.0	1.9	0.5
injuring w. Weapon	6.1	1.5	3.0	0.7	3.6	1.1
<i>All violence (excl. carry weapon)</i>	<i>19.5</i>	<i>7.9</i>	<i>23.5</i>	<i>10.9</i>	<i>33.9</i>	<i>17.2</i>
Graffiti	19.9	4.0	13.0	3.4	24.0	9.0
Arson	9.3	3.3	41.8	12.0	50.2	15.1
Vandalism	4.4	0.9	5.5	0.9	3.8	0.8
<i>Violence against objects</i>	<i>26.6</i>	<i>6.4</i>	<i>45.3</i>	<i>13.5</i>	<i>55.2</i>	<i>20.4</i>
Fare dodging	26.4	9.4	52.2	21.2	45.4	20.5
Driving without licence/ insurance	17.1	8.2	40.2	20.2	40.7	20.4
<i>Traffic crimes</i>	<i>34.7</i>	<i>16.0</i>	<i>66.1</i>	<i>35.0</i>	<i>58.4</i>	<i>34.8</i>
Soft drug use	27.4	17.9	21.2	14.6	24.1	17.2
Hard drug use	19.9	10.2	1.8	0.9	5.0	3.1
<i>Use of drugs</i>	<i>29.5</i>	<i>20.8</i>	<i>21.3</i>	<i>14.7</i>	<i>24.5</i>	<i>17.7</i>
Selling soft drugs	3	1.5	2	0.5	1.5	1
Selling hard drugs	1.5	0.5	0.5	—	0.5	0.5

* Theft at job is related to the number of respondents who have a job (on the side): this number is higher in The Netherlands than in the two other countries

Table A7. Last year prevalence by age, sex and SES –in %–

		Property crimes	Violence	Violence against objects	Traffic crimes	Use of drugs	All crimes
England & Wales							
AGE *	14-15	11.9	9.4	10.9	13.7	7.9	30.1
	16-17	15.0	11.3	7.4	18.1	24.2	41.1
	18-19	11.4	5.1	3.3	17.3	23.5	38.2
	20-21	9.5	5.1	3.0	15.2	28.7	40.9
SEX *	Male	16.0	10.5	7.1	20.4	23.2	43.6
	Female	8.5	5.7	5.7	12.2	18.6	32.0
SES	Low	12.5	9.7	7.3	18.0	19.8	38.6
	Average	11.8	7.8	5.9	14.5	21.1	37.0
	High	11.7	6.1	6.1	15.7	21.3	36.7
The Netherlands							
AGE *	14-15	25.4	13.7	21.5	40.5	3.4	56.6
	16-17	33.1	11.9	19.5	44.5	15.3	64.8
	18-19	28.5	10.4	7.2	37.1	16.7	57.9
	20-21	25.0	8.3	6.7	19.8	21.4	48.4
SEX *	Male	37.8	17.6	18.2	41.4	17.3	67.6
	Female	18.7	4.7	8.9	28.9	12.1	46.6
SES	Low	31.8	11.1	8.6*	33.9	15.4	57.5
	Average	30.6	11.6	17.5	35.4	16.8	58.2
	High	22.6	10.6	13.5	35.8	12.9	55.0
Spain							
AGE *	14-15	21.3	19.0	31.0	37.5	6.0	57.5
	16-17	22.7	18.6	25.8	43.8	15.2	62.9
	18-19	19.1	19.6	16.6	33.1	22.1	58.1
	20-21	15.5	11.6	8.3	24.8	27.7	53.2
SEX *	Male	23.3	24.2	22.4	39.3	21.1	65.6
	Female	15.9	10.0	18.4	30.2	14.2	50.0
SES	Low	19.6	16.7	21.0	35.2*	19.5	58.6*
	Average	21.3	17.5	21.2	39.3	16.2	61.0
	High	18.0	17.5	19.5	30.4	16.3	54.0

*significant difference (chisq test, $p < 0.05$)

Table A8. Mean age of onset all offenses

	England N=1223	The Netherlands N=914	Spain N=2100
Theft vending mach.	13.9	12.9	13.8
Shoplifting	12.4	11.5	13.3
Theft at school	13.2	13.2	12.3
Theft home	12.9	11.1	12.9
Theft job	17.2	16.8	17.2
Theft (motor)bike	13.9	15.7	14.0
Theft car	16.3	16.5	14.7
Theft from car	15.3	14.5	14.6
Pickpocket	14.1	15.5	12.3
Theft purse	14.8	15.8	14.0
Breaking in	13.0	13.7	13.3
Theft other	13.9	12.7	13.2
Carry weapon	14.4	14.2	14.4
Threats with weapon	15.0	15.8	14.0
Fights/rioting	14.9	14.8	14.6
Beating up non-family	14.3	14.7	13.5
Beating up family	14.4	13.8	11.5
Injuring someone	14.2	14.3	13.9
Graffiti	13.1	12.9	13.3
Vandalism	13.9	12.7	13.0
Arson	12.8	11.2	13.4
Fare dodging general	13.2	14.2	14.4
Driving without license/insurance	16.5	15.0	14.9
Soft druguse	15.8	16.3	15.7
Hard druguse	15.8	18.1	16.8
Selling soft drugs	16.0	16.5	16.6
Selling hard drugs	16.3	17.7	16.4

Table A9. Ever prevalence rates by country and gender

	England and Wales		The Netherlands		Spain	
	males N=574	females N=649	males N=444	females N=470	N=1072	females N=1028
Property crimes	42.2	30.2	71.2	50.4	57.0	43.0
Violence	27.0	12.8	35.6	12.1	45.9	21.4
Violence against objects	27.4	25.9	61.3	30.2	65.6	44.5
Traffic crimes	40.6	29.4	73.6	58.9	66.3	50.2
Use of drugs	31.4	27.9	24.3	18.5	28.5	20.2

Table A10. Mean age of onset delinquency by gender

	England and Wales		The Netherlands		Spain	
	males N=574	females N=649	males N=444	females N=470	N=1072	females N=1028
Property	12.5	13.1	11.6	11.6	12.4	12.7
Violence	14.6	14.0	13.8*	14.7	13.9*	14.3
Traffic crimes	13.7	14.0	13.5*	14.9	14.0*	14.7
Violence against objects	13.1	13.1	12.2	12.7	12.8	12.6
Use of drugs	15.3*	15.8	16.2	16.4	15.6*	16.0

Table A11. Last year delinquency prevalence in relation with parents, social control by parents by age and sex

Age	Boys				Girls			
	14/15	16/17	18/19	20/21	14/15	16/17	18/19	20/21
Get along with father								
d.f.=6, p**=	0.06				0.12			
Well	51	60	54	51	39	45	34	30
Mostly well	57	66	69	61	43	54	53	43
Not very well	67	69	77	79	59	52	63	55
Get along with mother								
d.f.=6, p=	>0.30				>0.30			
Well	49	61	55	52	38	44	40	32
Mostly well	67	68	72	66	49	60	46	45
Not very well	68	76	77	77	68	66	65	52
Going out with family								
d.f.=6, p=	>0.30				>0.30			
Often	54	60	52	55	42	45	40	38
Average	48	60	55	63	33	46	46	32
Not often	63	69	73	60	51	58	47	46
Know where you are								
d.f.=4, p=	>0.30				>0.30			
No	71	73	76	70	78	62	57	61
Yes	53	61	58	56	41	49	43	35
Know with whom you are								
d.f.=4, p=	>0.30				>0.30			
No	80	75	78	73	76	66	58	53
Yes	62	62	60	57	48	49	43	38

* rounded to whole numbers

**probability of the interaction effects are computed with hierarchical loglinear models

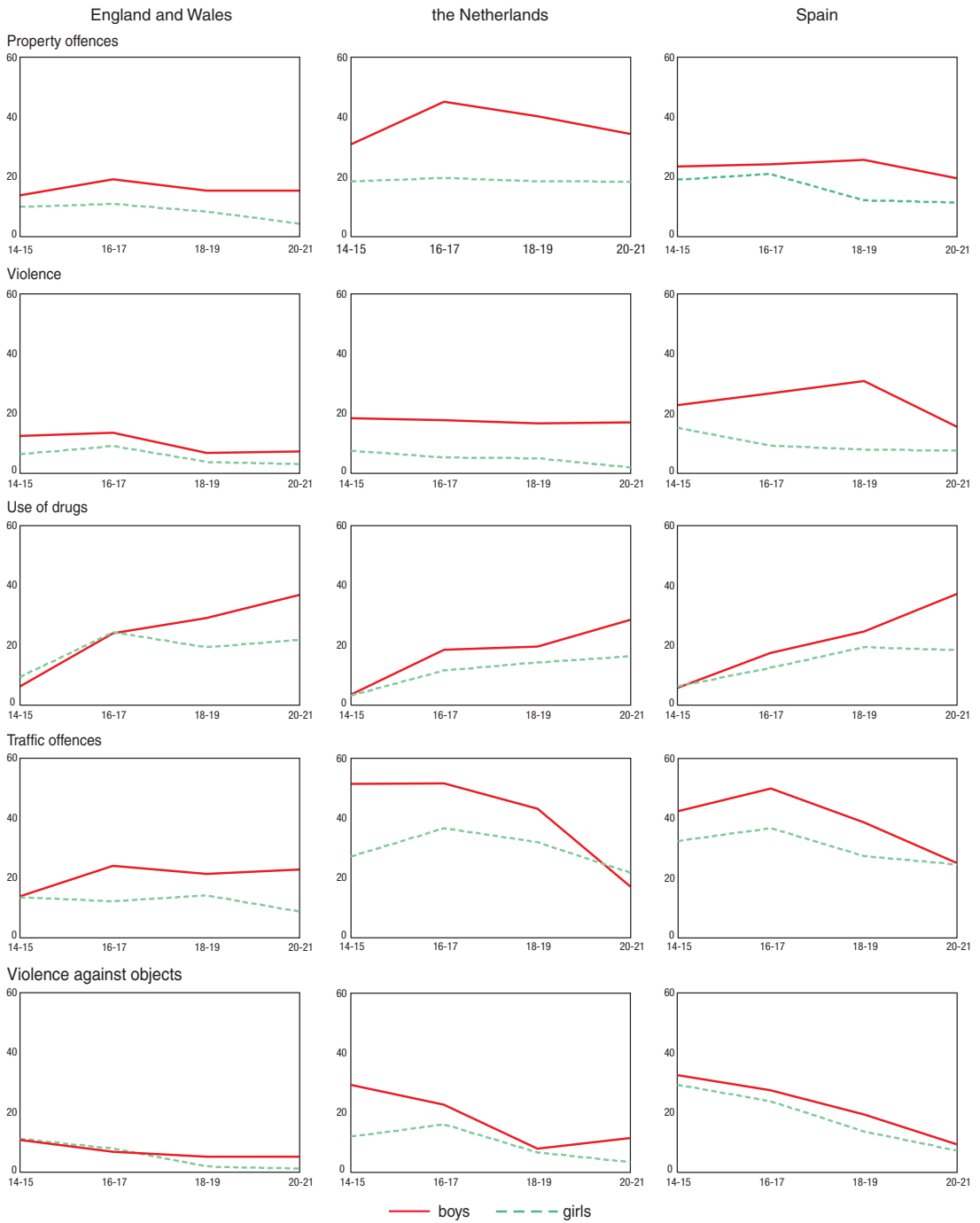


Figure A1. Categories of delinquency by age and gender for three counties

Chapter 6.

Table 7. Proportions of violent offenders (12 month prevalence) who reported committing other offences by country, by sex.

	Proportions of responses reporting committing a violent offence last year					
	Yes		Sig.	Yes		Sig.
	N	%		N	%	
	Males			Females		
Truancy						
England & Wales	43	71.7	**	19	51.4	*
Netherlands	30	38.5	*	7	31.8	
Spain	74	28.6	**	30	29.1	*
Running away						
England & Wales	6	10		10	27	**
Netherlands	4	5.1	*	0	0	
Spain	11	4.2	**	3	2.9	
Fare dodging						
England & Wales	18	30.8	**	8	21.6	**
Netherlands	32	41	**	9	40.9	*
Spain	89	34.4	**	36	35	**
Driving without licence/ insurance						
England & Wales	17	32.1	**	7	18.9	**
Netherlands	36	46.2	**	7	31.8	**
Spain	100	38.8	**	37	35.9	**
Graffiti						
England & Wales	7	14.9	**	10	35.7	**
Netherlands	10	13	**	0	0	
Spain	46	17.8	**	32	31.1	**
Vandalism						
England & Wales	10	58.8	*	9	81.8	**
Netherlands	25	32.1	**	7	31.8	**
Spain	85	38.5	**	36	48	**
Arson						
England & Wales	7	12.3	**	0	0	
Netherlands	3	3.8		1	4.5	*
Spain	7	2.7	**	4	3.9	**
Theft from phone booth etc.						
England & Wales	3	5.5	**	4	11.4	**
Netherlands	5	6.4	**	0	0	
Spain	5	1.9	*	2	1.9	

Table 7. continues...

	Proportions of responses reporting committing a violent offence last year					
	Yes		Sig.	Yes		Sig.
	N	%		N	%	
	Males			Females		
Shoplifting						
England & Wales	9	20.9	**	5	18.5	**
Netherlands	7	9		2	9.1	
Spain	42	16.3	**	12	11.7	*
Theft from school						
England & Wales	3	5.4	*	0	0	
Netherlands	19	24.7	**	3	13.6	
Spain	15	5.8	**	7	6.8	**
Theft from home						
England & Wales	2	3.6		3	8.8	**
Netherlands	2	2.6		2	9.1	
Spain	14	5.4		11	10.7	**
Theft from work						
England & Wales	4	7	**	0	0	
Netherlands	7	9		1	4.5	
Spain	10	3.9	*	0	0	
Theft of bike/ moped/ motorcycle						
England & Wales	12	21.4	**	7	18.9	**
Netherlands	16	20.5	**	0	0	
Spain	5	1.9	**	0	0	
Theft of car						
England & Wales	1	1.8		1	2.7	
Netherlands	0	0		0	0	
Spain	2	0.8		0	0	
Theft from car						
England & Wales	4	7.3	**	2	5.7	**
Netherlands	2	2.6		0	0	
Spain	7	2.7	**	2	1.9	*
Pickpocketing						
England & Wales	1	1.7		0	0	
Netherlands	0	0		0	0	
Spain	0	0		0	0	
Theft of purse/ bag etc.						
England & Wales	1	1.7		1	2.9	*
Netherlands	1	1.3		0	0	
Spain	0	0		0	0	

Table 7. continues...

	Proportions of responses reporting committing a violent offence last year					
	Yes		Sig.	Yes		Sig.
	N	%		N	%	
	Males			Females		
Theft of other not already mentioned						
England & Wales	4	7.4	**	1	2.9	*
Netherlands	7	9		2	9.5	*
Spain	8	3.1	*	3	2.9	*
Handling stolen goods						
England & Wales	5	8.3	*	4	10.8	**
Netherlands	28	35.9	**	6	27.3	**
Spain	41	15.8	**	11	10.7	**
Carried a weapon						
England & Wales	20	37	**	3	9.4	
Netherlands	36	46.2	**	5	22.7	**
Spain	74	28.6	**	13	12.6	**
Hard drug use						
England & Wales	19	63.3	**	10	40	
Netherlands	4	66.7		1	100	
Spain	20	71.4		0	0	
Soft drug use						
England & Wales	21	35	**	15	40.5	**
Netherlands	24	30.8	**	5	22.7	
Spain	80	30.9	**	30	29.1	**
Hard drug sale						
England & Wales	2	3.3		0	0	
Netherlands	0	0		0	0	
Spain	2	0.8		0	0	
Soft drug sale						
England & Wales	6	10	**	0	0	
Netherlands	1	1.3		1	4.5	*
Spain	5	1.9		1	1	

Notes: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, No asterisk = non-significant. All percentages based on valid cases only.

**Results from Logistic Regression analysis.
Males only.**

ENGLAND & WALES

Table 8. Correlates of violent offending: final model (England & Wales males only).

Variable	β		odds ratio	R
Truancy	1.58	***	4.88	0.21
Carried a weapon last year	2.05	***	7.75	0.23
Not well maintained housing	0.90	*	2.45	0.10
Expressive offence last year	2.03	***	7.59	0.24

Note: * = $p < 0.05$, ** = $p < 0.01$, *** = $p < 0.001$, **** = $p < 0.0001$
355 cases in model.

NETHERLANDS

Table 9. Correlates of violent offending: final model (Netherlands males only).

Variable	β		odds ratio	R
Runaway	1.65	*	5.23	0.07
Drank alcohol last year	0.92	*	2.52	0.10
Carried a weapon last year	0.74	*	2.09	0.11
Expressive offence last year	1.15	**	3.17	0.18

Note: * = $p < 0.05$, ** = $p < 0.01$, *** = $p < 0.001$, **** = $p < 0.0001$
429 cases in model.

SPAIN

Table 10. Correlates of violent offending: final model (Spain males only).

Variable	β		odds ratio	R
Truancy	0.46	*	1.59	0.06
Drank alcohol last year	0.43	*	1.54	0.04
Carried a weapon last year	1.08	****	2.95	0.16
Lowest SES band	0.50	*	1.64	0.06
Expressive offence last year	1.14	****	3.14	0.20

Note: * = $p < 0.05$, ** = $p < 0.01$, *** = $p < 0.001$, **** = $p < 0.0001$
1052 cases in model.

Violence models, Females only.

ENGLAND & WALES

Table 11. Correlates of violent offending: final model (England & Wales females only).

Variable	β		odds ratio	R
Runaway	1.64	**	5.13	0.22
Expressive offence last year	2.50	****	12.20	0.30
Note: * = $p < 0.05$, ** = $p < 0.01$ *** = $p < 0.001$, **** = $p < 0.0001$ 437 cases in model.				

NETHERLANDS

Table 12. Correlates of violent offending: final model (Netherlands females only).

Variable	β		odds ratio	R
Carried a weapon last year	1.84	**	6.33	0.21
Expressive offence last year	1.56	**	4.78	0.21
Note: * = $p < 0.05$, ** = $p < 0.01$ *** = $p < 0.001$, **** = $p < 0.0001$ 441 cases in model.				

SPAIN

Table 13. Correlates of violent offending: final model (Spain females only).

Variable	β		odds ratio	R
Drank alcohol last year	0.91	**	2.48	0.09
Carried a weapon last year	1.33	***	3.80	0.12
Expressive offence last year	1.47	****	4.37	0.25
Note: * = $p < 0.05$, ** = $p < 0.01$ *** = $p < 0.001$, **** = $p < 0.0001$ 1007 cases in model.				

Chapter 8.

Table 10. Correlates of last year hard drug use

	Proportions of responses reporting taking hard drugs last year					
	Yes		Sig.	Yes		Sig.
	N	%		N	%	
	Males			Females		
Truancy						
England & Wales	41	19.8	**	42	18.9	**
Netherlands	3	2.6		2	1.7	
Spain	16	7.2		7	3.5	**
Running away						
England & Wales	6	20.0		18	31.0	**
Netherlands	0	0		0	0	
Spain	3	15		0	0	
Weak parental supervision						
England & Wales	14	38.9		14	50.0	
Netherlands	5	71.4		1	50.0	
Spain	27	61.4		9	75.0	
Has a boy / girlfriend						
England & Wales	29	14.9		28	9.9	
Netherlands	2	1.3		0	0	
Spain	21	6.9	*	8	2.1	
Alcohol last year						
England & Wales	63	12.9	**	60	10.8	**
Netherlands	6	1.8		2	0.6	
Spain	44	5.1		13	1.7	
Carried a weapon last year						
England & Wales	12	24.5	**	5	21.7	
Netherlands	5	4.4	**	1	4.5	
Spain	20	13.7	**	3	8.3	**
No organised leisure activities						
England & Wales	0	0		0	0	
Netherlands	5	2.5		0	0	
Spain	37	6.4	**	12	1.5	
Not well maintained house						
England & Wales	15	12.8		12	7.9	
Netherlands	5	6.7	**	1	1.2	
Spain	18	6.1		5	1.8	
Father without job						
England & Wales	1	2.9		2	8.7	
Netherlands	0	0		0	0	
Spain	15	7.7	*	1	0.4	
From lowest SES band						
England & Wales	16	9.2		10	5.4	*
Netherlands	4	8.7	**	0	0	
Spain	10	6.0		1	0.7	

Notes: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, No asterisk = non-significant. The statistical significance here investigates whether there is an association between the independent variable (for example truancy) and the dependent variable, hard drug use.

Table 11. Correlates of last year cannabis drug use

	Proportions of responses reporting taking cannabis last year					
	Yes		Sig.	Yes.		Sig.
	N	%		N	%	
	Males			Females		
Truancy						
England & Wales	64	30.9	**	64	28.8	**
Netherlands	32	27.4	**	28	23.5	**
Spain	64	28.7	**	47	23.7	**
Running away						
England & Wales	10	33.3		29	50.0	**
Netherlands	3	42.9		3	75.0	**
Spain	10	50.0	**	9	45.0	**
Weak parental supervision						
England & Wales	22	33.8		19	37.3	**
Netherlands	32	30.8	**	12	25.0	**
Spain	101	31.9	**	51	28.2	**
Has a boy / girlfriend						
England & Wales	56	28.9	**	55	19.4	
Netherlands	25	16.8		24	9.6	
Spain	83	27.4	**	76	20.1	**
Alcohol last year						
England & Wales	111	22.8	**	102	18.4	**
Netherlands	75	22.8	**	56	15.9	**
Spain	204	23.8	**	128	16.5	**
Carried a weapon last year						
England & Wales	15	30.6		9	39.1	**
Netherlands	27	23.9	*	5	22.7	
Spain	53	36.3	**	13	36.1	**
No organised leisure activities						
England & Wales	1	33.3		0	0	
Netherlands	36	18.2		27	11.7	
Spain	132	22.7	*	116	14.6	
Not well maintained house						
England & Wales	27	23.1		22	14.5	
Netherlands	16	21.3		11	12.9	
Spain	70	23.7		41	14.4	
Father without job						
England & Wales	1	2.9		3	13.0	
Netherlands	9	15.3		2	3.4	
Spain	61	31.1	**	29	15.9	
From lowest SES band						
England & Wales	20	11.5	**	22	11.9	
Netherlands	9	19.6		7	10.6	
Spain	42	25.3		16	11.8	

Notes: * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, No asterisk = non-significant. The statistical significance here investigates whether there is an association between the independent variable (for example truancy) and the dependent variable, hard drug use.

Appendix II. ISRD Questionnaire

Questionnaire for the International Study on Self-Report Delinquency

Research and Documentation Centre
Ministry of Justice
Postbox 20301
2500 EH The Hague
Holland

Guidelines for the interviewer

(to be read before starting the interview)

In general

The respondent should preferably, when he/she is interviewed, be alone with the interviewer. Try to prevent or minimize disturbances by third parties during the interview.

Please read aloud the introduction (on top of page 3 of the questionnaire) to the respondent. Follow the instructions on that page.

Some questions in the list feature additional instructions (for instance that you should remember to pay attention to certain aspects of a situation). Pay close attention to these instructions.

Answer the questions on the last three pages of the questionnaire (pages 48, 49 and 50) yourself after the interview has been completed.

If a respondent so wishes, the interview can be held at another place than the address at which you met him/her. Make an appointment if necessary.

Questions that give problems

We would like to know whether there are questions in the list that pose problems. If you experience specific difficulties with certain questions during the interview, please make a short note to the right side of that question stating the character of the problem.

If an interview that has started for any reason can not be completed, please state that reason next to the last answered question in the questionnaire.

Technical and procedural notes

The interview consists of 3 main parts:

1. Socio-demographic questions
2. General questions on deviant and delinquent behaviour
3. Detailed questions on deviant and delinquent behaviour.

The socio-demographic questions (**Part 1**) are in most cases fairly simple and self-explanatory. It must be emphasized however, that the questions on education and employment (e.g. question 3, 4, 6 etc.) merit some extra effort. The aim is to get as exact a description as possible. Please question the respondent until, in your opinion, you have got all possible information.

Part 2 of the interview consists of general questions on deviant and delinquent behaviour. Part 2 is subdivided into 5 paragraphs (2A, 2B, 2C, 2D and 2E, on the pages 10, 17, 19, 34 and 42) by type of behaviour, like 'violent behaviour'. To the questions in each of these paragraphs the respondent can generally reply only 'no' or 'yes'. In some instances the answer 'does not apply' is a possibility.

Part 3 is subdivided in the same way as Part 2 (5 sections, 3A through 3E, pages 11-16, 18, 20-33, 35-41, and 43-47), only in Part 3 there is, per type of behaviour, a set of more detailed questions asked. Each general question in paragraph 2A corresponds with a set of detailed questions in section 3A, each general question in 2B with a set of detailed questions in 3B, etc. The different sections follow directly after the paragraphs, so after paragraph 2A comes section 3A, after paragraph 2B comes section 3B, and so on. The sequence of the questions within each paragraph is always the same as the sequence of the sets of detailed questions in the corresponding section (e.g. the sequence of questions in paragraph 2A is the same as the sequence of the sets of detailed questions on each form of behaviour in section 3A).

Now, each time a respondent has completed answering a paragraph from Part 2 the interviewer checks which of the questions in this particular paragraph were answered 'yes'. Then, for each of these positively answered questions (and only for these), the corresponding detailed set of questions is asked.

For instance:

Suppose in Part 2, paragraph 2A, a respondent answered positively ('yes') to the questions on ever staying away from school and ever traveling on a train without paying for it (questions 010 and 050, page 10). Subsequently (that is, immediately after completing paragraph 2A of Part 2) the respondent would have to be asked the corresponding sets of detailed questions on these two types of behaviour, which can be found in Part 3, section 3A (which section follows directly on paragraph 2A).

Each general question in each paragraph of Part 2 has a number that points directly to the set of more detailed questions in the corresponding section of Part 3 of the questionnaire. In our example:

(1)no (2)yes 010. Did you ever stay away from school for at least a whole day without a legitimate excuse?

This general question has number **010**.

The set of more detailed questions about this subject can be identified by their first two digits, which have to correspond with the first two digits of the general (referring) question. In this example the specific questions are numbered **011** through **019** (on page 11). The set of detailed questions centres around the specific topic that the general question introduces.

The set of detailed questions corresponding to general question **050**(traveling on a train without paying for it) must have the same first two digits, and are thus numbered **051** and higher. These questions can be found on page 14.

For each general question in each paragraph of Part 2 that is answered ‘no’ or ‘does not apply’, the corresponding set of detailed questions in the corresponding section 3 of Part 3 can be skipped.

Special attention has to be paid to question 012, 022 and the like in each set of detailed questions in Part 3(‘Did you do it during this last year?’). These questions lead to further detailed questions concerning the same subject(if answered ‘yes’), or force you to skip to the next set of detailed questions to be answered by the respondent(if answered ‘no’). This next set of detailed questions can be inferred from the first following question in the preceding (and corresponding) paragraph (of Part 2) that has been answered positively. If there are no more positively answered questions left in this preceding paragraph, the interviewer can continue with the next paragraph of Part 2.

It is advisable that, when asking respondents about their behaviour in the ‘last year’, you try to provide them with an indication of the period to which you are referring. For instance, if the interview were to take place in June, you would ask ‘Did you do it in the last year, that is, since the start of last years summer?’. This should make it easier for the respondent to get a clear idea of the period about which you are asking. Generally speaking, ‘last year’ refers to the year before the moment of the interview.

This model illustrates the general approach. Exceptions to this rule are described in a separate paragraph (titled ‘exceptions’) below.

Answering the questions

The general rule is that a question can get **only one** answer.

For most of the questions you can circle the number of the answer that applies (in other words, the answer of the respondent to the question).

In some items (e.g. question 11, part 1) you can fill in an answer yourself, or, if applicable, mark the ‘O’ before the precoded answer.

In the question about age (e.g. question 011), you have to fill in the age of the person you are interviewing on the line before the word ‘years’.

In some items (for example question 012), you can encircle either ‘0’ (if that is the answer), **or** put an ‘X’ between the parentheses before the word ‘yes’. In this case you also have to fill in the frequency (absolute number of times) the interviewee states he/she has displayed that behaviour on the line before the word ‘times’.

Roughly the same procedure applies to questions structured like questions 016 and 017, only here you encircle the number of the answer corresponding to what the interviewee has said **and**, in some cases,(e.g. answer 4 of question 016) fill in the necessary information.

If the answer to questions like 018 is affirmative, put an ‘X’ between the parentheses before the word ‘yes’, encircle the number of the answer **and, if necessary**, fill in the given answer on the line in category (8).

Exceptions

In question 30 of part 1 (socio-demographic section) you can mark (and answer yourself, if necessary) more than one answer. This is the case for the questions 34 and 35 of the socio-demographic part as well.

The connection between the first two digits of the general referring question and the first two digits of corresponding set of detailed items does not entirely apply in paragraph 2B and the corresponding section 3B of the questionnaire (questions concerning vandalism). The detailed items (in Part 3B) that correspond to the general questions are identified by the first two digits **090** (i.e. the first two digits of the first general question about vandalism), and are numbered **091** to **099**.

In case of non-response

Non-response can occur in the following situations:

- the address did not exist/is not a private house
- no one came to the door every time you called. Your research agency will state how often you have to try a given address
- no one in the specified age range lives at the given address
- the respondent did not want to be interviewed

In any one of these cases you are requested to answer the questions on page 1 and 2 of the questionnaire.

TO BE FILLED IN BY INTERVIEWER IN CASE OF NON-RESPONSE

Please answer the following questions (A to L) **only** if you were **not** able to conduct an interview at the given address:

- A. I am:
(1) male
(2) female
- B. What is your age?
_____ years
- C. Did anyone at any time you tried answer the door?
(1) yes
(2) no → go to question H
(3) address did not exist/was not a private house
→ skip remaining interviewer questions
- D. Was the person who came to the door a potential respondent?
(i.e. did he/she fall within the specified age range of 14-21 years)?
(1) yes
(2) no → go to question G
- E. What was the gender of this person?
(1) male
(2) female
- F. What was the approximate age of this person?
_____ years
- G. What was the main reason that the interview could not take place?

- H. How has the house/building been maintained?
<interviewer: pay attention to the quality of the painting, the staircase, casings, doors etc.>
(1) badly
(2) mediocre to badly
(3) mediocre
(4) reasonably well
(5) well
(6) I can not estimate

- I. How has the street where the house/building is situated been maintained (in terms of cleanliness)?
- (1) badly
 - (2) mediocre to badly
 - (3) mediocre
 - (4) reasonably well
 - (5) well
 - (6) I can not estimate
- J. When standing with your back to the front door of the house (if it is a single-family dwelling), or to the front door of the entrance hall (if it is an apartment building), indicated by the given address, can you, within an angle of 45 degrees to the left and right, see any vacant or disused houses/buildings or houses/buildings that are boarded up?
- (1) no
 - (2) yes → about how many?
 - (1) only a few(1-3)
 - (2) some (4-10)
 - (3) many (more than 10)
 - (4) I can not estimate
- K. When standing with your back to the front door of the house (if it is a single-family dwelling), or to the front door of the entrance hall (if it is an apartment building), indicated by the given address, can you, within an angle of 45 degrees to the left and right, see any vandalized (public) objects (objects that are ruined or objects with graffiti on them)?
- (1) no
 - (2) yes → about how many?
 - (1) only a few(1-3)
 - (2) some (4-10)
 - (3) many (more than 10)
 - (4) I can not estimate
- L. Overall, how would you yourself rate the house/building?
- (1) upper class
 - (2) higher middle class
 - (3) middle class
 - (4) lower middle class
 - (5) lower class
 - (6) I can not estimate

INTRODUCTION TO PART 1

Hi,

The _____<name>_____ is conducting a survey amongst young people in this country. We are carrying out this research in collaboration with foreign institutions who are similarly surveying in their respective countries. The aim of these studies is to increase the level of knowledge about several aspects of the behaviour of the youth in different countries.

For this reason we would like you to answer some questions.

The first few issues concern your age and the circumstances in which you live. The main part of the questionnaire however, is concerned with behaviour of which we think it is rather common, but about which we know little.

Anything you say or answer to the questions remains confidential, that is to say, nobody except of course the researchers will ever come to know what you said.

Is this all clear to you?

<If the respondent replies in the affirmative sense, ask:>

Shall we carry on with the interview?

<wait for consent, then go on with the interview-questions on page 4>.

Carry on with the phrase on top of page 4: **'To start with I will ask you'**.

<This introduces the socio-demographic questions>

If there is an indication of (a) problem(s): try to answer any questions and/or clarify any misunderstandings that exist on the part of the interviewee before advancing to page 4. Because we can not anticipate all possible situations, we will give you two global hints that might be useful.

1. Only you and the researchers will know the credentials of the respondent. You might stress the fact that the data-processing will be completely anonymous, for the reason that there is no interest in individual data, just in information from lots of people.
2. Pay close attention to the respondent. If he/she seems not to be feeling at ease, try to locate the cause of this. It could be that other people in the same room cause the interviewee to be a bit nervous. In that case and if it is possible, it might be better to carry out the interview in a separate room, away from the others.

Part 1: SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

To start with I will ask you some questions about your situation.

1. What is your age?
_____years
2. Are you still attending school?
<interviewer: if on vacation from school, ask if enrolled next year>
(1) no → go to question 7
(2) yes / sometimes
3. What kind of school are you in at this moment?
<interviewer: keep on asking for an as detailed answer as you can get; e.g. just 'university' is not enough, you would have to ask for the discipline and the level>

4. What is your highest school-certificate/grade completed?
<interviewer: keep on asking for an as detailed answer as you can get>

5. Do you have a job besides school?
(1) no → go to question 12
(2) yes,(about) hours per week
6. What kind of work do you do?
<interviewer: keep on asking for an as detailed answer as you can get; e.g. just 'teacher' is not enough, you would have to ask what subjects and at what level the respondent teaches>

Go to question 12

7. At what age did you leave school?
_____ years
8. What was the last school you attended?
<interviewer: keep on asking for an as detailed answer as you can get>
9. What is your highest school-certificate/grade completed?
<interviewer: keep on asking for an as detailed answer as you can get>
10. Are you employed at this moment?
(1) no
(2) yes,(about) hours per week
11. What kind of work do you do or did you do when you were last employed?
<interviewer: keep on asking for an as detailed answer as you can get>

 Have not been employed yet

12. Do/did you usually like school?
<interviewer: for respondents who no longer attend school this question refers to the last school they attended>
- (1) always
 - (2) most of the time
 - (3) sometimes
 - (4) never
13. Do you think it is important to work hard in school in order to get a diploma?
- (1) no
 - (2) yes
14. Did you ever repeat classes?
- (1) no
 - (2) yes → how many times? times
15. Do/did you usually like your job?
<interviewer: for respondents who are still in school or have not yet been employed mark answer (5) and go to the next question; for respondents who do not have a job at the moment but have been employed previously, this question refers to the last job they had>
- (1) always
 - (2) most of the time
 - (3) sometimes
 - (4) never
 - (5) does not apply (still in school or not yet been employed)
16. Do you think it is important to work hard in order to achieve something in life?
- (1) no
 - (2) yes
17. Did you ever change jobs?
<interviewer: for respondents who are still in school or have not yet been employed mark answer (3) and go to the next question>
- (1) no
 - (2) yes, → how many times? times
 - (3) does not apply (still in school or not yet been employed)
18. Does your father have a job right now?
<interviewer: if respondent indicates that he/she has not enough contact with the father to answer questions about him, mark answer (3) and go to question 20>
- (1) no → why not?
 - (2) yes
 - (3) respondent doesn't know → go to question 20
 - (4) does not apply

19. What kind of work does your father do or did he do when he was last employed?

<interviewer: keep on asking for an as detailed answer as you can get>

respondent doesn't know

20. In which country was your father born?

respondent doesn't know

21. Does your mother have a job right now?

<interviewer: if respondent indicates that he/she has not enough contact with the mother to answer questions about her, mark answer (3) and go to question 23>

(1) no → why not?

(2) yes

(3) respondent doesn't know → go to question 23

(4) does not apply

22. What kind of work does your mother do or did she do when she was last employed?

<interviewer: keep on asking for an as detailed answer as you can get>

respondent doesn't know

23. In which country was your mother born?

respondent doesn't know

24. Do you usually get along really well with your father?

(1) always

(2) most of the time

(3) sometimes

(4) never

25. Do you usually get along really well with your mother?

(1) always

(2) most of the time

(3) sometimes

(4) never

26. How many times a month do you and your family go out together, for example to see a movie, to attend a sports event, or to have a family gathering?

<interviewer: for respondents who are living on their own, these questions refer to the time when they still lived with their parents>

_____ times a month

27. Do your parents generally know where you are when you are going out?
<interviewer: for respondents who are living on their own, this and the following question refers to the time when they still lived with their parents>
 (1) no
 (2) yes
28. Do your parents generally know who you are with when you are going out?
 (1) no
 (2) yes
29. With how many persons do you share the house in which you live?
<interviewer: if no persons at all, enter '0' and go to question 31>
 _____ persons
30. Who are the persons with whom you share the house in which you live?
<interviewer: more than one answer can be entered if required>
 (1) father
 (2) mother
 (3) _____ brothers
 (4) _____ sisters
 (5) husband
 (6) wife
 (7) _____ child (ren)(of the respondent)
 (8) boy-friend
 (9) girl-friend
 () other namely: _____
31. How much money do you have at your disposal on average per week?
<interviewer: if no money at all, enter '0' and go to question 33>
 on average _____ per week
32. What is your main source of income (per week)?
<interviewer: only one answer>
 (1) parent(s)
 (2) work
 (3) welfare
 (4) scholarship
 (5) other: _____
33. Do you participate in organized sports/leisure activities?
<interviewer: 'organized' means on a regular basis, with other people. For example: somebody who goes for a swim each week on his own, or goes jogging alone each afternoon should answer this question with 'no'. However, someone who has an appointment with a group of people to sport regularly on a certain day of the week should answer this question positively. Of course, if the respondent is a member of an official sporting club, he/she should answer this question positively>
 (1) no → go to question 36
 (2) yes

34. What kind (s) of sports/leisure do you practice?
<interviewer: more than one answer can be entered if required>
(1) _____
(2) _____
(3) _____
(4) _____
35. How often do you do this?
<interviewer: refer to previous question>
sports/leisure no. (1) _____ hours/week
sports/leisure no. (2) _____ hours/week
sports/leisure no. (3) _____ hours/week
sports/leisure no. (4) _____ hours/week
36. Do you have a boy-/girlfriend?
(1) no → go to question 38
(2) yes
37. Do you wish this to be a lasting relationship?
(1) no
(2) yes
(3) I don't know yet
38. How many close friends do you have?
_____ (enter number)
39. With whom do you spend most of your free time?
<interviewer: only one answer>
(1) by myself
(2) boy-/girlfriend
(3) family
(4) one or two best friends
(5) with a group of friends
40. Do you usually get support from your friends when you get in trouble?
(1) always
(2) most of the time
(3) sometimes
(4) never

Part 2A: INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL QUESTIONS ON DEVIANT BEHAVIOUR

INTERVIEWER:

Many young people sometimes do things that are in fact not quite permitted. We would like to know if you too have done some of these things. Remember that all your answers are confidential and no one except the researchers will ever see them.

Now I will read to you a number of activities and you can tell me then if you ever did these things, yes or no.

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| (1)no (2)yes 010. | Did you ever stay away from school for at least a whole day without a legitimate excuse? |
| (1)no (2)yes 020. | Did you ever run away from home to stay somewhere else for one or more nights without your parents or guardian's permission? |
| (1)no (2)yes 040. | Did you ever travel on a bus, tram or metro/underground/subway without paying? |
| (1)no (2)yes 050. | Did you ever travel on a train without paying? |
| (1)no (2)yes 060. | Did you ever drive a car, a motorcycle or a moped without a license or insurance? |
| (1)no (2)yes 070. | Did you ever write or spray graffiti on walls, buses, bus seats, shelters, etc.? |

<if one or more of these things has/have been answered positively:>

INTERVIEWER:

You have indicated that you have ever done one or more of these things. Now I would like to ask you some details about them.

Part 2B: INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL QUESTIONS ON VANDALISM

INTERVIEWER NOTE: writing or spraying graffiti does not fall in this category of questions (damaging or destroying objects). This type of behaviour belongs under question number 070(Part 2A) and the corresponding questions 071 through 079b on page 14(Part 3A)

INTERVIEWER:

A lot of objects in the streets are vandalised as we all can see. Maybe you did that sometimes too. Now I will read to you a list of such objects and you tell me if you ever damaged or destroyed any one of these objects.

Did you ever damage or destroy on purpose

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| (1)no (2)yes 090. | a bus shelter? |
| (1)no (2)yes 100. | a traffic sign? |
| (1)no (2)yes 110. | a telephone booth? |
| (1)no (2)yes 120. | a window? |
| (1)no (2)yes 130. | a (public) litter bin? |
| (1)no (2)yes 140. | a street light? |
| (1)no (2)yes 150. | school furniture? |
| (1)no (2)yes 160. | trees, plants or flowers in parks or public gardens? |
| (1)no (2)yes 170. | a seat in bus, tram or train? |
| (1)no (2)yes 180. | a private car? |
| (1)no (2)yes 190. | someone's bicycle? |
| (1)no (2)yes 200. | someone's motorcycle? |
| (1)no (2)yes 210. | something else belonging to someone else? |

<if one or more of these things has/have been answered positively:>

INTERVIEWER:

You have indicated that you have ever done one or more of these things. Now I would like to ask you some details about them.

097. Did you do this alone or with others, then?

(1) alone

(2) with (approx.) ____ others

098. Were you detected?

(1) no () yes _____ → by whom?

(2) parents

(6) accidental witness (es)

(3) store staff

(7) police

(4) teachers/school staff

(8) other namely:

_____ (5) public transport staff

099. What was the consequence of the fact that you were detected doing this?

_____ Does not apply (was never detected)

Part 2C: INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL QUESTIONS ON PROPERTY CRIME

INTERVIEWER:

Sometimes people take away things from others, without the intention of returning them. Now, we would like to know if you have ever done something like that. Of course all your answers will be treated strictly confidential.

- (1)no (2)yes 230. Did you ever steal money from a public telephone or from a vending machine?
- (1)no (2)yes 240. Did you ever steal something from a store?
- (1)no (2)yes 250. Did you ever steal something from school?
- (1)no (2)yes 260. Did you ever steal something from home or the place you live?
- (1)no (2)yes 270. Did you ever steal something from the place you are working?
- (8) does not apply (respondent has not had a job yet)
- (1)no (2)yes 280. Did you ever take away a bicycle, moped or motorcycle?
- (1)no (2)yes 290. Did you ever take away a car?
- (1)no (2)yes 300. Did you ever steal something out of or from a car?
- (1)no (2)yes 310. Have you ever done any pickpocketing?
- (1)no (2)yes 320. Did you ever snatch from a person a purse, a bag, or some other thing?
- (1)no (2)yes 330. Did you ever sneak or break into a private garden, a house or a building?
(not meaning abandoned or ruined objects)
- (1)no (2)yes 340. Did you ever steal something I did not mention yet?
What was it:___
- (1)no (2)yes 350. Did you ever buy something that you knew or suspected at the time, had been stolen?
- (1)no (2)yes 360. Did you ever sell something that you knew or suspected at the time, had been stolen?

<if one or more of these things has/have been answered positively:>

INTERVIEWER:

You have indicated that you have ever done one or more of these things. Now I would like to ask you some details about them.

Part 2D: INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL QUESTIONS ON VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR

INTERVIEWER:

Now I have some questions about violent behaviours.

- (1)no (2)yes 380. Did you ever carry a weapon, like a knife, stick etc.?
(1)no (2)yes 390. Did you ever threaten somebody with a weapon or to beat him up, in order to get money or other valuables?
(1)no (2)yes 400. Were you ever actively engaged in fighting or disorder in a group in a public place?(e.g. in situations such as: on the football-grounds, in railway stations, music festivals, rioting, demonstrations or just on the streets)
(1)no (2)yes 410. Did you ever set fire intentionally to something like a barn, a car, a forest, a basement, a building or something else not belonging to you?
(1)no (2)yes 420. Did you ever beat up someone not belonging to your immediate family, to such an extent that you think or know medical help or a doctor was needed?
(1)no (2)yes 430. Did you ever beat up someone belonging to your immediate family to such an extent that you think or know medical help or a doctor was needed?
(1)no (2)yes 440. Did you ever hurt someone with a knife, stick or another weapon?

<if one or more of these things has/have been answered positively:>

INTERVIEWER:

You have indicated that you have ever done one or more of these things. Now I would like to ask you some details about them.

You mentioned being actively engaged in fighting or disorder in a group in a public place, e.g. in situations such as: on the football-grounds, in railway stations, music festivals, rioting, demonstrations or just on the streets.

401. At what age did it happen for the first time?
_____ years old
- 401b Did the police ever find out that you did it?
(1) no (2) yes (3) don't know
402. Did it happen during this last year? <INTERVIEWER: that is, since ...>
(0) no → next specific subject () yes → How often this last year?
(check part 2) ___ times
403. Speaking about the last time, what kind of situation was it?
(1) football-ground
(2) railway station
(3) music festival
(4) rioting
(5) demonstration
(6) just on the streets
(7) in a bar, café, pub etc.
(8) somewhere else
- 403b If you used a weapon, what type of weapon was it?
(0) did not use a weapon
(1) stick
(2) stiletto (or similar knife)
(3) handgun
(4) other, namely: _____
404. Did you cause any damage to objects or persons?
(1) no () yes _____→(2) objects
(3) persons
(4) both
406. Where did this happen?
(1) at home or the place you live, or within a 10 minutes walk
 from your home or the place you live
(2) at a shopping centre/shopping mall
(3) downtown or in the city centre
(4) somewhere else, namely: _____
407. How many others were involved?
(approx.) ___ others
408. Were you detected?
(1) no () yes _____→ by whom?
(2) parents (6) accidental witness (es)
(3) store staff (7) police
(4) teachers/school staff (8) other namely: _____
(5) public transport staff
409. What was the consequence of the fact that you were detected doing this?

 Does not apply (was never detected)

You mentioned beating up someone belonging to your immediate family to such an extent that you think or know medical help or a doctor was needed.

431. At what age did you do it for the first time?
____ years old
- 431b Did the police ever find out that you did it?
(1) no (2) yes (3) don't know
432. Did you do it during this last year? <INTERVIEWER: that is, since ...>
(0) no → next specific subject () yes → How often this last year?
(check part 2) _____ times
433. If you used a weapon, what type of weapon was it?
(0) did not use a weapon
(1) stick
(2) stiletto (or similar knife)
(3) handgun
(4) other, namely: _____
434. Speaking about the last time, what kind of medical help was, or would have been needed?
(1) only first aid
(2) first aid and follow up check
(3) admission into hospital
(4) other _____
(5) I don't know
435. Who was this person?
(01) father
(02) mother
(03) sibling
(04) other member of the family
436. Where did you do this, this last time?
(1) at home or the place you live, or within a 10 minutes walk from your home or the place you live
(2) at a shopping centre/shopping mall
(3) downtown or in the city centre
(4) somewhere else, namely: _____
437. Did you do this alone or with others, then?
(1) alone
(2) with (approx.) ____ others
438. Were you detected?
(1) no () yes _____ → by whom?
(2) parents (6) accidental witness (es)
(3) store staff (7) police
(4) teachers/school staff (8) other namely: _____
(5) public transport staff
439. What was the consequence of the fact that you were detected doing this?

 Does not apply (was never detected)

You mentioned hurting someone with a knife, stick or another weapon.

441. At what age did you do it for the first time?
____ years old
- 441b Did the police ever find out that you did it?
(1) no (2) yes (3) don't know
442. Did you do it during this last year? <INTERVIEWER: that is, since ...>
(0) no → next specific subject () yes → How often this last year?
(check part 2) _____ times
443. What type of weapon did you use?
(1) stick
(2) stiletto (or similar knife)
(3) handgun
(4) other, namely: _____
444. Speaking about the last time, do you know or think medical help was,
or would have been needed?
(1) no () yes → what type of medical help?
(2) only first aid
(3) first aid and follow up check
(4) admission into hospital
(5) other _____
(6) I don't know
445. Who was this person?
(01) parents (09) friend (16) self-service store
(02) father (10) neighbours (17) department store
(03) mother (11) stranger (18) transport company
(04) sibling (12) company I work for (19) other company
(05) the school (13) fellow worker (20) municipality
(06) teacher (14) boss (21) tourist
(07) pupil (15) small store (22) other: _____
(08) acquaintance (23) I don't know
446. Where did you do this, this last time?
(1) at home or the place you live, or within a 10 minutes walk
from your home or the place you live
(2) at a shopping centre/shopping mall
(3) downtown or in the city centre
(4) somewhere else, namely: _____
447. Did you do this alone or with others, then?
(1) alone
(2) with (approx.)others
448. Were you detected?
(1) no () yes → by whom?
(2) parents (6) accidental witness (es)
(3) store staff (7) police
(4) teachers/school staff (8) other namely: _____
(5) public transport staff
449. What was the consequence of the fact that you were detected doing this?

 Does not apply (was never detected)

**Part 2E: INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL QUESTIONS
ON ALCOHOL AND DRUGS**

INTERVIEWER:

And now at last I would like to know something about the use of alcohol and drugs.

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| (1)no (2)yes 450. | Did you ever use marijuana, hashish or pot? |
| (1)no (2)yes 460. | Did you ever use any hard drugs such as heroin, coke, PCP, LSD, or speed etc.? |
| (1)no (2)yes 470. | Did you ever use beer, wine, hard liquor or other alcoholic drinks? |
| (1)no (2)yes 480. | Did you ever sell marijuana, hashish or pot? |
| (1)no (2)yes 490. | Did you ever sell any hard drugs such as heroin, coke, PCP, LSD, or speed etc.? |

<if one or more of these things has/have been answered positively:>

INTERVIEWER:

You have indicated that you have ever done one or more of these things. Now I would like to ask you some details about them.

You mentioned selling marijuana, hashish or pot.

481. At what age did you do it for the first time?

_____ years old

481b Did the police ever find out that you did it?

(1) no (2) yes (3) don't know

482. Did you do it during this last year? <INTERVIEWER: that is, since ...>

(0) no → next specific subject () yes → How often this last year?
(check part 2) ___ times

484. How much money did you get for it then?

486. Where did you do this, this last time?

- (1) at home or the place you live, or within a 10 minutes walk
from your home or the place you live
(2) at a shopping centre/shopping mall
(3) downtown or in the city centre
(4) somewhere else, namely: _____

487. Did you do this alone or with others, then?

- (1) alone
(2) with (approx.) ___ others

488. Were you detected?

- (1) no () yes _____ → by whom?
(2) parents (6) accidental witness (es)
(3) store staff (7) police
(4) teachers/school staff (8) other namely: _____
(5) public transport staff

489. What was the consequence of the fact that you were detected doing this?

- Does not apply (was never detected)

TO BE FILLED IN BY INTERVIEWER

(not to be asked to respondent)

Please answer the following questions (1 to 15) **only** if you if were able to conduct an interview **at the given address**:

1. I am:
 - (1) male
 - (2) female
2. What is your age?
_____ years
3. What was the gender of the respondent?
 - (1) male
 - (2) female
4. To what ethnic group would you think the respondent belongs?

 Don't know
5. How long did the interview take?
_____ minutes
6. Were you alone with the respondent during the interview?
 - (1) no
 - (2) yes → go to question 8
7. How many other persons were present in the space where the interview took place?
_____ other persons
8. Do you think the presence of (some of these) persons has influenced the way the respondent answered the questions?
 - (1) no
 - (2) yes
9. Did the interview take place at the address given to you by the research agency?
 - (1) no
 - (2) yes → go to question 11
10. Where did the interview take place?
 - (1) café/bar/restaurant/tearoom etc.
 - (2) house of a friend of the respondent
 - (3) somewhere else, namely: _____

Skip questions 11 through 15

11. How has the house/building been maintained?
<interviewer: pay attention to the quality of the painting, the staircase, casings, doors etc.>
- (1) badly
 - (2) mediocre to badly
 - (3) mediocre
 - (4) reasonably well
 - (5) well
 - (6) I can not estimate
12. How has the street where the house/building is situated been maintained (in terms of cleanliness)?
- (1) badly
 - (2) mediocre to badly
 - (3) mediocre
 - (4) reasonably well
 - (5) well
 - (6) I can not estimate
13. When standing with your back to the front door of the house (if it is a single-family dwelling), or to the front door of the entrance hall (if it is an apartment building), indicated by the given address, can you, within an angle of 45 degrees to the left and right to you, see any vacant or disused houses/buildings or houses/buildings that are boarded up?
- (1) no
 - (2) yes → about how many?
 - (1) only a few(1-3)
 - (2) some (4-10)
 - (3) many (more than 10)
 - (4) I can not estimate
14. When standing with your back to the front door of the house (if it is a single-family dwelling), or to the front door of the entrance hall (if it is an apartment building), indicated by the given address, can you, within an angle of 45 degrees to the left and right to you, see any vandalized (public) objects (objects that are ruined or objects with graffiti on them)?
- (1) no
 - (2) yes → about how many?
 - (1) only a few(1-3)
 - (2) some (4-10)
 - (3) many (more than 10)
 - (4) I can not estimate
15. Overall, how would you yourself rate the house?
- (1) upper class
 - (2) higher middle class
 - (3) middle class
 - (4) lower middle class
 - (5) lower class
 - (6) I can not estimate