



SCOTTISH EXECUTIVE

Public Attitudes Towards Young People and Youth Crime in Scotland

Findings from the
2004 Scottish Social Attitudes Survey

Education



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PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARDS YOUNG PEOPLE AND YOUTH CRIME IN SCOTLAND

FINDINGS FROM THE 2004 SCOTTISH SOCIAL ATTITUDES SURVEY

Simon Anderson, Catherine Bromley and Lisa Given
Scottish Centre for Social Research

Scottish Executive Social Research
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Chapter One: Introduction

Despite longstanding political and media debate around issues related to young people and youth crime, little systematic information is available on public attitudes in this area. As part of the 2004 Scottish Social Attitudes survey, an annual survey of 1,600 adults aimed at examining public opinion across a range of policy areas, the Scottish Executive funded a module of questions aimed at exploring public attitudes towards young people, with particular reference to youth crime.

The research took a broad definition of ‘young people’ – though one which piloting work suggested was consistent with most public understandings of the term – as referring to those between the ages of 11 and 24. For some questions, however, a distinction was drawn between 11 to 15 year-olds and 16 to 24 year-olds.

The main issues addressed by the research were the following:

- How much contact is there between young people and other sections of the population?
- Do problems associated with young people and youth crime feature prominently in adults’ accounts of the main problems facing their communities?
- What are the main themes in the way that young people are viewed by adults?
- What are the main features of adult perceptions of and anxieties about youth crime and disorder?
- To what extent are such views grounded in experience?

Chapter Two: Links between young people and older sections of the population

The research provides a reminder that ‘young people’ and ‘adults’ are not necessarily distinct groups – some 11% of the SSA sample, for example, were themselves aged between 18 and 24. Moreover, there is less continuity of experience between those aged 11 to 15 and those aged 16 to 24 than might be supposed – at least in terms of domestic circumstances and the types of problems associated with each sub-group.

A quarter (25%) of all adults (aged 18 and over) share their household either with someone aged 11 to 15 (11%) or aged 16 to 24 (17%), but such links are heavily structured by age and life stage. For example, 27% of respondents aged 35 to 44 currently live in a household with an 11 to 15 year-old, compared with none of those aged 65 and over. Respondents who are themselves aged under 25 are more likely than any other age group to live with other 16 to 24 year-olds (44%).

Although most adults would have reason to chat to or talk with young people in both age groups at least once a month, 42% said they would talk to 11 to 15 year-olds in their area ‘less often than once a month’ while 28% said the same in relation to 16 to 24 year-olds. Those over 65 tend to be least likely to talk to young people in their area, but interestingly there is also relatively little contact *between* 11 to 15 year-olds and 16 to 24 year-olds.

Seven in ten adults (72%) say they know some or most of the 11 to 24 year-olds in their area well enough to speak to. (Around one in six (16%) know most of the 11 to 15 year olds well enough to speak to, while 18% say the same of 16 to 24 year-olds.) On the other hand, the proportion of adults who know ‘none’ is significantly greater than the proportion who know

‘most or all’ - 44% of adults say that they know *none* of the 11 to 15 year-olds in their area, and 39% that they know none of the 16 to 24 year-olds.

The youngest age group (18 to 24 year-olds) are no more likely than the oldest (65 and over) to know most of the 11 to 15 year-olds in their area. They are, however, much more likely to know most of the young people aged 16 to 24. Those living in remote rural areas are much more likely than those in the most urban areas to indicate that they know most of the 11 to 15 year-olds and the 16 to 24 year-olds in their area.

Chapter Three: Young people as a local problem

At the beginning of the questionnaire, before respondents were asked to focus specifically on issues relating to young people and youth crime, they were shown a list of problems that people might experience in their local area and asked to identify which three they felt were the biggest problems in their own area.

The results suggest that issues relating to young people figure prominently in adult accounts of the problems facing their own communities. The two most frequently mentioned problems both relate explicitly to young people (‘lack of opportunities for children and young people’, 37%, and ‘young people hanging around the streets’, 36%), while the next two (‘alcohol and drugs’, 34%, and ‘crime and vandalism’, 33%) do so implicitly. Issues relating to young people and youth crime easily outscore other local issues in this context.

Respondents with higher levels of contact with young people are more likely to frame problems in terms of ‘lack of opportunities’ than ‘hanging around the streets’, as are those who have more positive orientations towards young people in general (see below).

Chapter Four: Broader views of young people in Scotland

The survey used a series of attitude statements to explore broader views of young people, addressing issues such as whether the current generation of young people is seen as different from its predecessors, and at the extent to which positive and negative constructions coexist in prevailing adult views.

Adult perceptions of young people are characterised by significant contradictions and ambivalence - while 60% of respondents disagree that the behaviour of young people is no worse than in past (i.e. think that it *is* worse than in the past) almost the same proportion agree that young people not listened to enough. Almost half agree that young people have no respect for older people; but over half agree that young people are helpful and friendly, 57% that most young people are responsible and well-behaved, and 35% that *older people* have no respect for younger people.

Four of the attitude statements (two positive about young people and two negative) were combined to create a scale of general perceptions of the young. This was then divided into tertiles, representing the most positive, the least positive and an intermediate group.

Those in the youngest three age groups were *more* likely to be in the ‘least positive’ group. It cannot be assumed, then, that older people will automatically have the most critical views of young people – 37% of those aged 65 and over were in the ‘most positive’ group, compared with just 25% of those aged 18 to 24.

Those who know most or all of the young people in their area were much more likely than those who know none to feature in the ‘most positive’ group (45% compared with 29%). But the most powerful predictor of general attitudes towards the young is level of deprivation, with a powerful association between greater deprivation and more negative views of young people.

There were mixed views about whether the media present a fair or unfair picture of young people in Scotland these days – while 42% of respondents felt that media portrayal of young people is fair, almost the same proportion (38%) feel that it paints an unfair picture. There was no significant variation here by newspaper readership.

Chapter Five: Youth crime and disorder – perceptions, attitudes and experience

Despite evidence to the contrary from police recorded crime statistics, there was a widespread view that the amount of crime committed by young people is higher than a decade ago – 69% thinking this and just 2% that it is lower. While those in the oldest age group (65 and over) were most likely to think youth crime was higher, such a view was almost equally common among those aged between 18 and 24 (75% and 73%, respectively).

Tenure and area type were also strongly associated with a belief that the level of youth crime is higher than a decade ago – 79% of those in the most deprived areas believing so, compared with 61% in the least deprived; 75% of those in the social rented sector, compared with 68% of owner-occupiers. Those with the ‘most negative’ views of young people in general were much more likely than those in to think youth crime had risen (87% compared with just 47% of the ‘most positive’ group).

Between a half and two-thirds of respondents also thought that each of a series of specific youth crime-related problems were either ‘fairly’ or ‘very common’ in their own area – groups of young people hanging around the street (67%), vandalism/graffiti (49%), problems caused by young people who have been drinking (53%), problems caused by young people who have been using drugs (35%).

The oldest age group (65 and over) again defy stereotypes by being less likely than the youngest (18 to 24) to see youth crime problems as common in their area. Based on a scale combining the four issues above, respondents in social rented housing (44%) and in the areas of greatest deprivation (53%) were clearly over-represented in the highest (‘most common’) quartile relative to the sample as a whole (25%), while owner-occupiers and those in areas of least deprivation were under-represented (20% and 10% respectively).

Respondents were also asked to what extent they had been directly affected by each type of behaviour during the previous 12 months. The proportion saying that they have been directly affected ‘quite a lot’ or ‘a great deal’ is much lower for each crime type than the proportion saying it is ‘very’ or ‘fairly common’ in their area. In other words, perceptions of prevalence tend to outstrip direct impact.

Of the four problems asked about, the one which directly affects most people, at least to some extent, is that of young people hanging around the street (mentioned by 54%, compared with between 32% and 45% for the other types of problem).

Deprivation, tenure and degree of rurality are all correlated with being directly affected by each crime type, with those in areas of high deprivation and in social rented housing *more* likely to have been affected and those in remote rural areas *least* likely to have been.

Across all the types of youth crime and disorder mentioned, those with the ‘most negative’ attitudes towards young people in general were much more likely to say they had been directly affected.

The survey also asked about the extent to which respondents worry about being the victim of crime in general and alter or condition their behaviour in response to the behaviour of young people in public places. Overall, people are most likely to say that they worry ‘a great deal’ or ‘quite a lot’ about having their home broken into or that someone they live with will be the victim of crime (42% and 45%, respectively).

When asked how they would feel about having to walk past a group of teenagers in order to get into a shop, relatively few adults say they would feel ‘very worried or uncomfortable’ (6%) or avoid walking past them altogether (6%), but a further 40% say they would be ‘slightly worried or uncomfortable’ doing so. Women were more likely than men, and older people more likely than younger people, to say they would be worried. Those in areas of greatest deprivation and those with the ‘most negative’ views of young people in general also exhibited higher levels of anxiety.

A majority of respondents thought it ‘not very’ (25%) or ‘not at all’ likely (29%) that they would directly challenge a group of fourteen year-old boys they recognised damaging a bus shelter or other public property in their area. Respondents were much more likely to say that they would call the police (39% saying they would be ‘very likely’ to do so and 27% ‘fairly likely’), confirming the hypothesis that people are generally more comfortable referring to an external agency, even in the case of relatively minor forms of crime. Those who know most or all of the young people in their area are, however, much more likely to say that they would intervene at the time, or speak to the boys or their parents later on, as are those with the ‘most positive’ views of young people in general.

When asked to identify (from a list) the most important explanations of offending by young people, respondents were most likely to mention ‘not enough discipline by parents’ (50% doing so), ‘pressure from friends and other young people’ (49%) and ‘drugs and alcohol’ (46%).

Overall, those with the ‘most positive’ views of young people in general are more likely to cite peer pressure, lack of things for young people to do and age. Those with the ‘least positive’ views are more likely to cite lack of parental discipline, too few police and drugs and alcohol.

Chapter Six: Conclusions

The findings from the 2004 SSA suggest that there is still considerable scope for inter-generational contact between young people and sections of the adult population. At the same time, however, it should also be noted that a sizeable minority of all adults have little or no social contact with young people between the ages of 11 and 24. Such contact *does* matter: while there are more powerful predictors of attitudes towards young people and youth crime, those adults who have least contact with young people are consistently more likely to have negative views of the young.

The current political and media preoccupation with issues relating to young people is mirrored in adults' own talk about the problems facing their own communities. But adult views and perceptions of young people are by no means all negative – concern *about* young people is often balanced by concern *for* the young. This ambivalence in adult views of the young can be understood in a variety of (interlocking) ways. Perhaps the most important point is to note that it exists and that it would be wrong to portray adult views of young people as overwhelmingly negative or unsympathetic.

Contrary perhaps to expectations, the oldest age group (those aged 65 and over) is not necessarily the least sympathetic to young people. Those living in deprived, urban areas, with relatively little social contact with the young people in their own community are most likely to be concerned *about* young people and to have negative views of the young more generally.

Inter-generational contact between adults and young people appears to influence not only general orientations towards young people and youth crime but also actual willingness to intervene directly when confronted with problematic behaviour by young people. This suggests that, where possible, policy should avoid reinforcing stereotypes of and suspicion about young people and that there should be explicit attempts to foster inter-generational links.

The study reveals a widespread belief that the level of youth crime is higher than a decade ago and a view that youth crime-related problems are very common in respondents' own areas – even if such attitudes are not necessarily supported by external evidence or data from the survey on the direct effects on respondents of young people's behaviour. Overall, the survey suggests that direct experience alone cannot explain levels of public concern.

The results of the module as a whole remind us that the 'problem of youth crime' is both about actions (young people's behaviour) and *reactions* (our individual and collective responses to such behaviour). Data on public perceptions of young people and youth crime are a valuable alternative index of the problem, in that they tell us something important about how our communities function and about the collective resources that can be drawn upon when problems with young people arise. In other words, public attitudes in this area should be seen as helping to *constitute* and not simply reflecting the problem of youth crime.

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

Concern about young people and youth crime is nothing new – as a number of academic commentators have noted (see, for example, Pearson, 1983, and Muncie, 2004), it has been a recurrent theme in Britain for at least the past hundred years – but the intensity of recent political and media debate around such issues remains striking. Implicit in these debates are assumptions about public attitudes towards ‘young people today’ – after all, when politicians refer to ‘job culture’ or the erosion of ‘respect’, they do so in the belief that they are articulating the views of the majority. And yet surprisingly little is actually known (rather than assumed) about public attitudes in this area. While it is possible to find a wealth of survey evidence about attitudes towards crime in general (largely generated by the British and Scottish Crime Surveys), research that focuses specifically on views of young people and youth crime is largely absent.

As part of the 2004 Scottish Social Attitudes survey, the Scottish Executive funded a module aimed at exploring adult views of ‘young people’, with particular reference to youth crime. More specifically, the module addressed the following questions:

- How much contact is there between young people and other sections of the population?
- Do problems associated with young people and youth crime figure prominently in adults’ accounts of the main problems facing their communities?
- What are the main themes in the way that young people are viewed by adults?
- What are the main features of adult perceptions of and anxieties about youth crime and disorder, and to what extent are such views grounded in experience?

What do we mean by young people?

Although the term ‘young people’ is commonplace and is intuitively understood, there is no obvious definition of the age groups it includes. For this module, we chose to focus on those between the ages of 11 and 24, which early piloting work suggested was consistent with most public understandings of the term. For some of the questions, though, we addressed 11 to 15 year-olds and 16-24 year-olds separately. The reason for this distinction is that the issues relating to 11 to 15 year-olds (hanging around the streets, truancy, vandalism, etc.) are very different from those affecting the older age group (more serious drug and alcohol use, late-night disorder and violence, more serious offending). Moreover, the circumstances of the two groups tend to be rather different – the former typically still living at home and attending school; the latter entering the job market or higher/further education and often having left the family home.

As a side note, it is worth noting that, although this age group as a whole looms large in popular imagination, it actually accounted for just 18% of Scotland’s population in 2003 – down from 23% in 1985. In simple numerical terms, young people are actually increasingly overshadowed by older people – those aged 60 and over currently account for around 20% of Scotland’s population. By 2020, those aged 11-16 are likely to account for no more than around 15% of the population; and those aged 60 + for nearer 30% (GRO, 2005). Thinking forwards 10 or 20 years, this may well have implications for inter-generational contact and conflict; for overall views of young people; and for the construction of the problem of youth crime.

Structure of the report

The report has the following broad structure. The remainder of this introductory chapter provides some background information about the SSA and the reporting conventions used in the analysis. Chapter 2 examines briefly the nature and extent of contact between young people and different sections of the adult population. In subsequent sections, this analysis is drawn upon in order to explore the hypothesis that negative views of young people are associated with low levels of direct personal contact. Chapter 3 looks at the extent to which issues relating to young people feature in adults' accounts of the main problems facing their communities – in other words, at whether the current media and political focus on young people and youth crime is mirrored in public attitudes. Chapter 4 looks at general adult perceptions of younger people, and in particular at the extent to which such views can be characterised as positive or negative. Chapter 5 focuses specifically on the issue of youth crime and disorder and explores public perceptions of, anxieties about and experience of such behaviour. Finally, Chapter 6 summarises the main themes emerging from the research and discusses their implications for how we understand the 'problem of youth crime'.

Each chapter starts by stating the key questions addressed within it. This is followed by an introduction which provides a brief overview of the topic matter and presents the survey questions on which the analysis is based. A set of key points highlighting the main findings can be found at the end of each chapter.

The Scottish Social Attitudes survey series

The *Scottish Social Attitudes* (SSA) survey was launched by the *Scottish Centre for Social Research*¹ (part of the *National Centre for Social Research*) in 1999, following the advent of devolution. Based on annual rounds of interviews with 1,600 people drawn using random probability sampling its aims are to facilitate the study of public opinion and inform the development of public policy in Scotland. In this it has similar objectives to the *British Social Attitudes* (BSA) survey, which was launched by the *National Centre for Social Research* in 1983. While BSA interviews people in Scotland, these are usually too few in any one year to permit separate analysis of public opinion in Scotland (see Park, *et al*, 2003 for more details of the BSA survey).

SSA is conducted annually and has a modular structure. In any one year it will typically contain four or five modules, each containing 40 questions. Funding for its first two years came from the Economic and Social Research Council while from 2001 onwards different bodies have funded each year's individual modules. These bodies have included the Economic and Social Research Council, the Scottish Executive and various charitable and grant awarding bodies such as the Nuffield and Leverhulme Foundations.

¹ The *Scottish Centre for Social Research* was formed in February 2004 as the result of a merger between NatCen's existing operation in Scotland and Scottish Health Feedback, an independent research consultancy.

Reporting conventions

Data analysis and presentation

Two types of analysis are presented in the report. The tables and figures present the findings from simple bivariate analyses between two variables. To keep the presentation simple, for some variables (chiefly age, education and social class) the tables only show the results for a selection of categories. For example, the views of 18-24 year olds and those over 65 are shown but the intervening age groups have been omitted. Full versions of the tables are available from the *Scottish Centre for Social Research* on request.

In many instances the decision as to what to present in each table was taken after multivariate modelling using logistic regression had been carried out. This kind of modelling looks at the strength of the association between one variable and a number of factors that might be related to it while controlling for the association that all of the other indicators have with the variable of interest. The results therefore make it possible to establish the relative strength of the patterns of association between variables, for example whether someone's age or their education level is most closely associated with their views on an issue. It also makes it possible to eliminate factors which are not significant once other variables have been controlled for.

Appendices

Annex 1 provides the technical details of the surveys on which the report is based and has further descriptions of the analysis techniques used. Details of some of the classification variables used in the analysis, such as social class and urban/rural residence, are also included here. Annex 2 contains the questions from the 2004 survey, and the responses people gave, that are covered within this report. Annex 3 presents the results of the multivariate analyses included in the report.

CHAPTER TWO SITUATING ‘YOUNG PEOPLE’: LINKS BETWEEN YOUNGER AND OLDER SECTIONS OF THE POPULATION

Chapter aims

This chapter addresses the following questions:

- To what extent are young people linked to other sections of the population, both through household structure and broader social contact?
- In particular, what is the nature and extent of links between the youngest and the oldest sections of the population?
- Are there differences in levels of adult contact with 11 to 15 year-olds and 16 to 24 year-olds? And what is the nature of the contact *between* those groups?

Introduction

Before looking in any detail at adult perceptions of young people and youth crime, this chapter considers briefly the extent of contact that adults actually have with young people. There are two main reasons for doing this. First, there is a widely-held hypothesis that opportunities for inter-generational contact (and, in particular, for contact between the youngest and oldest sections of the population) are reducing as a result of changes in the structure of families and communities. The survey allows us to examine this issue to a limited extent – though there is a pressing need for time-series data here. Secondly, it seems reasonable to assume that the level of contact that adults have with younger people will, in some way, shape their views and perceptions of young people in general.

Blurred lines: children, young people and young adults

Although it is common to set up a clear distinction between ‘young people’ and ‘adults’, two important points are worth noting. First, there is usually a degree of overlap between the two groups. For example, as the SSA sample is based on adults aged 18 and over, it includes a sub-group (11% of the total) who are themselves ‘young people’ according to the definition outlined in the introduction.

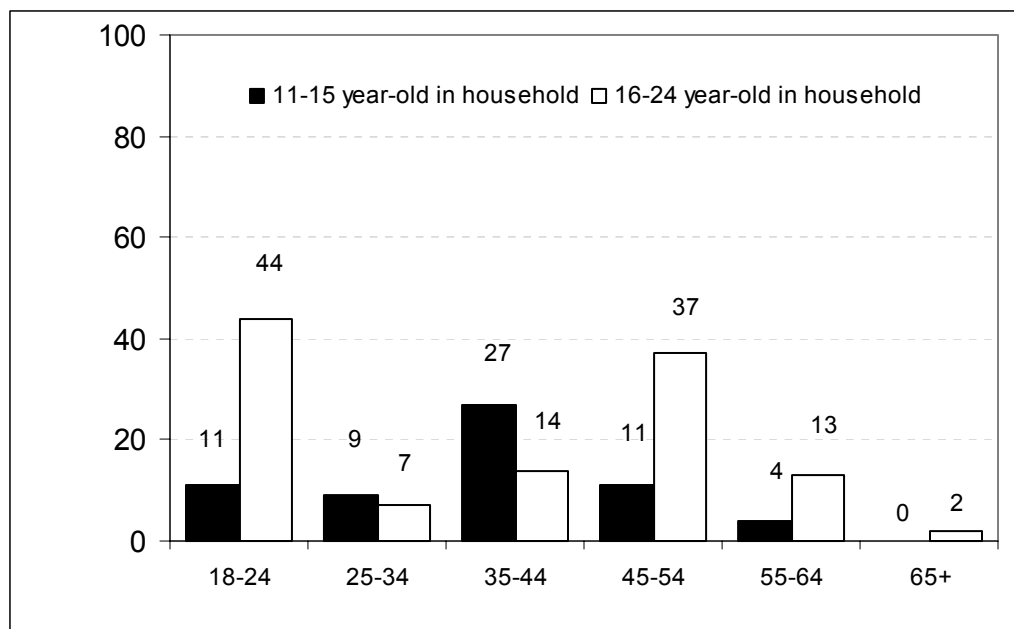
Secondly, there is much less continuity of experience among 11-24 year-olds than the blanket term ‘young people’ might suggest. Most obviously, nearly all 11 to 15 year-olds will be living at home and attending school; many of those between the ages of 16 and 24, of course, will have left home and entered the worlds of employment, higher or further education, or parenthood. Moreover, in terms of youth crime and disorder, the issues will tend to be very different for the two groups: for 11 to 15 year-olds, the main concerns will tend to relate to vandalism and other petty offending, often associated with ‘hanging around the streets’; for 16 to 24 year-olds, concern is more likely to focus on late night drinking and disorder, and on more serious forms of substance misuse and offending. Nor should we assume that there is actually a great deal of contact between these groups of ‘younger young people’ and ‘older young people’ – a theme we return to below.

Households containing young people

Apart from those respondents who themselves are aged under 25, a degree of inter-generational contact is, of course, ensured by household structure. In other words, 25% of all adults (aged 18 and over) share their household either with someone aged 11 to 15 (11%) or aged 16 to 24 (17%).

Not surprisingly, however, such links are heavily structured by age and life stage. For example, 27% of respondents aged 35 to 44 currently live in a household with an 11 to 15 year-old, compared with none of those interviewed for the survey who were aged 65 and over. Respondents who are themselves aged under 25 are more likely than any other age group to live with other 16 to 24 year-olds (44%).

Figure 1 – Proportion of respondents with young people resident in household



Contact with young people outside the household

Apart from anyone they live with, respondents were asked how often they would chat to or talk with anybody aged 11 to 15 and 16 to 24. Overall, the results suggest that most adults would have reason to chat to or talk with young people in both age groups at least once a month. Perhaps not surprisingly, given the narrower age band, adults were more likely to say that they would talk 'less often or never' to 11 to 15 year-olds (42%) than to 16 to 24 year-olds (28%), though this may also reflect a genuine difference in actual opportunities for contact (relating to employment, for example).

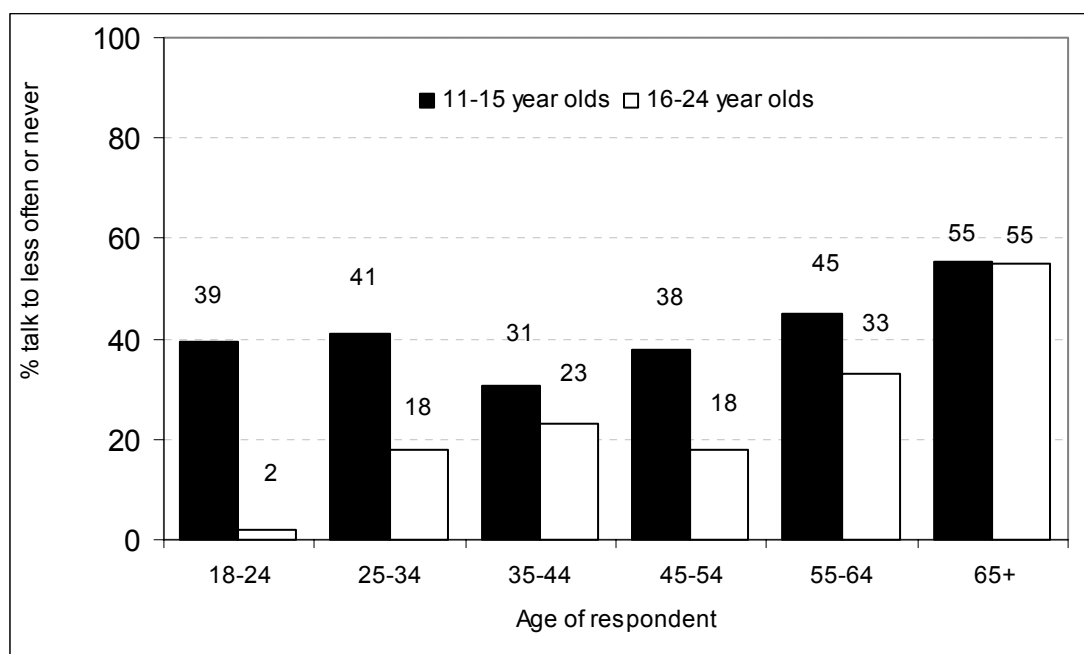
Table 1 - How often talk to or chat with young people outside the household

%	11 - 15 year-olds	16 - 24 year-olds
Every day or almost every day	21	35
At least once a week	23	25
At least once a month	13	12
Less often or never	42	28
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1637</i>	<i>1637</i>

But while a reasonable proportion of adults say that they would tend to have such contact with younger people every day or almost every day, this group is matched by those who say they would have such contact less than once a month or never. Around 4 out of 10 adults fall into this group in relation to 11 to 15 year-olds (42%), while 3 out of 10 (28%) do so in relation to 16-24 year-olds.

Not surprisingly, perhaps, those aged 65 and over are the group most likely to have little or no contact with both 11 to 15 (55%) and 16 to 24 year olds (55%). But it would be wrong to assume that the level of contact between different age groupings is determined simply by proximity in terms of age: a relatively high proportion of 18 to 24 year olds (39%) also have little or no contact with 11 to 15 year olds.

Figure 2– Proportion of respondents talking to young people less often than once a month or never

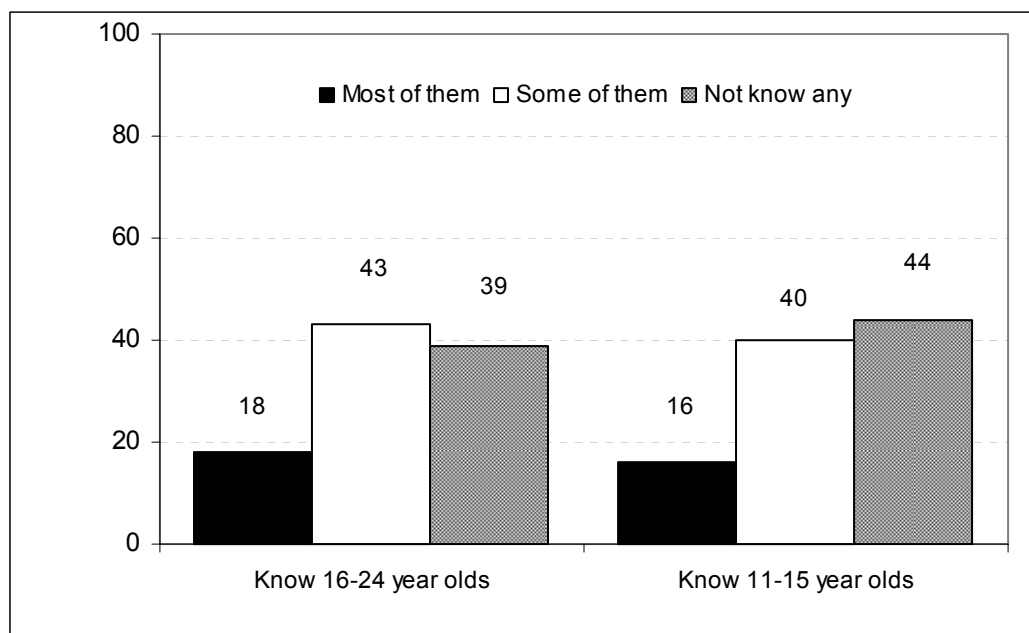


Of course, chatting to or talking with young people may occur in the course of fleeting, everyday interactions (e.g. at work, in shops, etc.) and may not indicate strong or meaningful

social links. A slightly better indicator of this comes from a series of questions about whether or not adults knew the young people in their area ‘well enough to speak to’.

Again, the results can be read both positively and negatively. Over two-thirds say they know some or most of the 11 to 24 year-olds in their area well enough to speak to (72%). Around one in six (16%) know most of the 11 to 15 year olds well enough to speak to, while 18% say the same of 16 to 24 year-olds. On the other hand, the proportion of adults who know ‘none’ is significantly greater than the proportion who know ‘most or all’ - 44% of adults say that they know *none* of the 11 to 15 year-olds in their area, and 39% that they know none of the 16 to 24 year-olds. If inter-generational conflict is borne out of a lack of contact, then this clearly leaves plenty of scope for it to happen.

Figure 3– Proportion of respondents who know young people in their area well enough to speak to



The following table shows variations in contact by key demographic variables. The key things to note here are that:

- Men are more likely than women to know none of the 11 to 15 year-olds in their area well enough to speak to – probably because they play a less significant role in childcare.
- The youngest age group (18 to 24 year-olds) are no more likely than the oldest (65 and over) to know most of the 11 to 15 year-olds in their area. They are, however, much more likely to know most of the young people aged 16 to 24.
- Those sharing a household with someone aged 11 to 15 are more than twice as likely as those who do not to know most of the young people in that age group. Similarly, those sharing with a 16 to 24 year-old are twice as likely to know most of the young people in that age group.
- Those living in remote rural areas are much more likely to indicate that they know most of the 11 to 15 year-olds *and* the 16 to 24 year-olds in their area.

- There was no significant difference between respondents living in areas of most and least deprivation.

Table 2 - Proportion of respondents who know young people in their area well enough to speak to, by key variables

%	11 to 15 year-olds		16-24 year-olds		Sample size
	Knows <i>most</i> well enough to speak to	Knows <i>none</i> well enough to speak to	Knows <i>most</i> well enough to speak to	Knows <i>none</i> well enough to speak to	
All	16	44	18	39	1637
Gender					
Male	15	49	18	37	687
Female	18	40	18	39	950
Age					
18-24	13	49	41	12	125
65+	15	54	10	52	408
Educational attainment					
Degree/Higher education	15	47	15	36	456
None	16	51	17	48	463
11 to 15 year-old in household					
At least one	39	7	25	24	161
None	14	48	17	40	1476
16-24 year-old in household					
At least one	13	34	31	16	184
None	17	46	15	43	1453
Urban/Rural classification					
Large urban	12	52	13	46	557
Remote rural	36	22	41	21	154

Note: Some categories not shown for reasons of space

Key points from this chapter

- ‘Young people’ and adults are not entirely distinct groups – 11% of the (weighted) SSA sample were themselves aged between 18 and 24.
- Contact between different age groups is partly structured by generational and family relationships – those aged between 35 and 54 are most likely to be parents and so are relatively more likely to share their household with a young person.
- A sizeable minority of the adult population has little or no social contact with young people. Four in ten adults say they would talk to or chat with 11 to 15 year-olds less often than once a month or never, while three in ten say the same of 16 to 24 year-olds.
- The difference between the oldest age group and other sections of the adult population is more marked in relation to 16 to 24 year-olds than in relation to 11 to 15 year-olds.
- Men are more likely than women to know none of the 11 to 15 year-olds in their area – probably because they play a less significant role in childcare.
- Those living in remote rural areas are much more likely to know most of the young people in their area.

CHAPTER THREE YOUNG PEOPLE AS A LOCAL PROBLEM

Chapter aims

This chapter addresses the following key questions:

- Do adults see young people as a problem in their area?
- How do issues relating to young people compare with other local problems?
- Do such concerns seem to reflect concern *for* or concern *about* young people?
- How do such perceptions vary across different sections of the adult population?

Introduction

There is no doubt that recent years have seen sustained political, media and policy interest in issues relating to community safety, anti-social behaviour and youth crime. What is less clear is the extent to which such issues actually loom large in *public* views of their own communities. In order to gauge this, at the beginning of the interview (and before the topic of young people or youth crime had been introduced), respondents were shown a list of problems that people might experience in their area and asked to indicate which *three* they felt were the biggest problems in their own area. This section of the report looks at the overall results of this exercise, compares issues relating to young people with other community problems, and looks at how characterisations of young people as a local problem vary across different sections of the adult population.

Perceptions of key local problems

What is immediately clear from the results (shown in Table 3 below) is that issues relating to young people *do* figure prominently in adult accounts of the problems facing their own areas. The two most frequently mentioned problems both relate explicitly to young people ('lack of opportunities for children and young people' and 'young people hanging around the streets'), while the next two ('alcohol and drugs' and 'crime and vandalism') do so implicitly. It should be emphasised here that respondents are focusing on their own communities here, rather than on a vague notion of 'Scotland today'. While it is not always possible to separate out 'lived experience' from the conditioning effects of media and political debate, it seems reasonable to assume that such views will be fairly well-grounded.

Table 3 – Perceptions of biggest problems in local area

	% mentioning
Lack of opportunities for children & young people	37
Young people hanging around on the streets	36
Alcohol & drugs	34
Crime & vandalism	33
Litter	27
Lack of affordable housing	25
Poor local amenities, parks & leisure facilities	21
Poor public transport	15
Unemployment	14

Poor shopping facilities	14
Noisy neighbours	7
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1637</i>

It is also worth noting that issues relating to young people and (youth) crime easily outscore concern about other local issues, only one of which – litter - is mentioned by more than a quarter of respondents.

That is not to say, of course, that there are no important variations across different sections of the adult population. Interestingly, those in the oldest age group – who are often seen to be in conflict with young people - are least likely to make explicit reference to problems associated with young people, citing litter, drugs and alcohol, and crime and vandalism at the top of the list.

Table 4 – Most frequently mentioned problems in local area, by key variables

	Mentioned most often	Mentioned second most often	Mentioned third most often	<i>Sample size</i>
All	<i>Lack of opportunities for children & YP</i>	<i>YP hanging around on the streets</i>	<i>Alcohol & drugs</i>	<i>1637</i>
Age				
18-24	<i>YP hanging around on the streets (46%)</i>	<i>Lack of opportunities for children & YP (45%)</i>	<i>Crime & vandalism (39%)</i>	<i>175</i>
35-44	<i>Lack of opportunities for children & YP (43%)</i>	<i>YP hanging around on the streets (39%)</i>	<i>Alcohol & drugs (34%)</i>	<i>326</i>
65+	<i>Litter (40%)</i>	<i>Alcohol & drugs (35%)</i>	<i>Crime & vandalism (31%)</i>	<i>347</i>
Contact with young people in local area				
Know most of them	<i>Lack of opportunities for children & YP (45%)</i>	<i>YP hanging around on the streets (40%)</i>	<i>Alcohol & drugs (39%)</i>	<i>180</i>
Does not know any	<i>YP hanging around on the streets (36%)</i>	<i>Litter (32%)</i>	<i>Alcohol & drugs (31%)</i>	<i>463</i>
11 to 15 year old in household				
One or more	<i>Lack of opportunities for children & YP (50%)</i>	<i>YP hanging around on the streets (43%)</i>	<i>Crime & vandalism (37%)</i>	<i>161</i>
None	<i>YP hanging around on the streets (35%)</i>	<i>Lack of opportunities for children & YP (35%)</i>	<i>Alcohol & drugs (34%)</i>	<i>1476</i>
16 to 24 year-old in household				
One or more	<i>Lack of opportunities for children & YP (44%)</i>	<i>YP hanging around on the streets (39%)</i>	<i>Crime & vandalism (35%)</i>	<i>184</i>
None	<i>YP hanging around on the streets (36%)</i>	<i>Alcohol & drugs (35%)</i>	<i>Lack of opportunities for children & YP (35%)</i>	<i>1453</i>
SIMD				
1 – Least deprived	<i>Housing (32%)</i>	<i>Litter (32%)</i>	<i>YP hanging around on the streets (30%)</i>	<i>334</i>
5 – Most deprived	<i>Crime & vandalism (53%)</i>	<i>Alcohol & drugs (50%)</i>	<i>YP hanging around on the streets (41%)</i>	<i>308</i>
Attitudes towards young people				
Most positive	<i>Lack of opportunities for children & YP (39%)</i>	<i>Housing (33%)</i>	<i>Alcohol & drugs (30%)</i>	<i>595</i>
Most negative	<i>YP hanging around on the streets (45%)</i>	<i>Crime & vandalism (43%)</i>	<i>Alcohol & drugs (42%)</i>	<i>469</i>

Note: Not all categories shown for reasons of space.

Two points are worth noting here about the relationship between contact and the likelihood of mentioning local problems associated with young people. First, those respondents with higher levels of contact with either 11 to 15 year-olds or 16 to 24 year-olds are relatively more likely than those with lower levels of contact to mention problems associated with young people. Secondly, those with higher levels of contact are more likely to frame such problems in terms of ‘lack of opportunities’ than ‘hanging around the streets’; among those with lower levels of contact, there is less of a difference between the two items.

A number of other points are worth noting here. First, respondents in more affluent areas are less likely than those in more deprived areas to identify problems associated with young people in general. Secondly, while respondents in urban areas are more likely to see such problems in terms of ‘young people hanging around the streets’, those in small towns and rural areas are more likely to focus on ‘lack of opportunities’ for children and young people.

Finally, and perhaps not surprisingly, respondents with more positive views of young people in general (according to responses to a series of attitude statements discussed in detail in the following chapter) are also more likely to view problems in terms of ‘lack of opportunities’, while those with the least positive views of young people are more likely to focus on young people ‘hanging around’.

Key points from this chapter

- Recent debates about young people, youth crime and anti-social behaviour do seem to be tapping into genuine concern about problems associated with young people, since such issues feature prominently when adults are asked about the biggest problems facing their own areas (and before they are asked to focus specifically on such issues).
- But concerns framed in terms of young people *as a problem* and the problems *faced by young people* are relatively evenly balanced overall.
- In general, those with more contact with young people are more likely to focus on the latter and those with less contact to focus on the former.
- There are also important variations in this respect between those in more affluent and more deprived areas and those in urban and non-urban communities.

CHAPTER FOUR YOUNG PEOPLE TODAY: BROADER VIEWS OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN SCOTLAND

Chapter aims

This chapter addresses the following key questions:

- What are the key features of adult views of young people more generally?
- Is the behaviour of young people seen as significantly worse than in the past?
- To what extent do positive attitudes towards young people co-exist with more negative views?
- What are the key drivers or predictors of positive and negative views of young people?
- Do adults consider that young people are fairly portrayed by the media?

Introduction

This section explores adult views of young people more generally, through analysis of responses to a series of attitudinal statements. In particular, it looks at whether the current generation of young people are seen as different from their predecessors, and at the extent to which both positive and negative constructions of young people coexist in prevailing adult views.

The statements presented to respondents were as follows:

- The behaviour of young people today is no worse than it was in the past
- The views of young people aren't listened to enough
- Girls are more badly behaved than boys nowadays
- Most young people are responsible and well-behaved
- Young people today have no respect for older people
- Most young people are helpful and friendly
- Older people today have no respect for young people

Unpacking adult views of young people

The results for each statement are shown below.

Table 5 – Agreement with statements about young people

	Agree/agree strongly	Neither	Disagree/disagree strongly	<i>Sample size</i>
The behaviour of young people today is no worse than it was in the past	30	9	61	1637
The views of young people aren't listened to enough	59	19	21	1637
Girls are more badly behaved than boys nowadays	38	32	28	1637
Most young people are responsible and	57	18	25	1637

well-behaved				
Young people today have no respect for older people	45	18	37	1637
Most young people are helpful and friendly	53	25	22	1637
Older people today have no respect for young people	35	22	42	1637

What is immediately obvious from this is that general perceptions of young people are characterised by significant contradictions and ambivalence. For example, while 60% of respondents disagree that the behaviour of young people is no worse than in past – i.e. think that it *is* worse than in the past – almost the same proportion agree that young people are not listened to enough. Similarly, almost half agree that young people have no respect for older people; but over half agree that young people are helpful and friendly, 57% that most young people are responsible and well-behaved, and 35% that *older people* have no respect for younger people.

It is not immediately clear how to interpret responses to the statement about gender. While a sizeable minority of respondents (38%) agree with the premise that ‘girls are more badly behaved than boys nowadays’, there is also quite a lot of disagreement (28%). Most research evidence from elsewhere points to a continuing gender gap in overall offending (and, especially, serious offending) by young people – i.e. to greater evidence of offending by young males – though the gap narrows for particular year groups and the pattern reverses entirely for some specific forms of delinquency.² It seems likely that, in a period of sustained concern about young people in general, the behaviour of girls – which is traditionally seen as less unruly and problematic – becomes a focus for more generalised concerns about social order.

Key drivers of positive and negative attitudes towards young people

In order to facilitate an analysis of the key drivers of positive and negative perceptions of young people in general, four of the items (two positive and two negative³) were scaled to create a single index with a minimum score of 4 (indicating the most positive end of the spectrum) and a maximum score of 20 (indicating the least positive). By assigning cases to tertiles, it was possible to categorise individuals as belonging to the ‘most positive’, ‘least positive’ or ‘intermediate’ groups. The following table summarises the relationship between this variable and a range of key independent variables.

² Recent research with secondary school-age pupils in Edinburgh concludes ‘that boys were considerably more likely than girls to be involved in delinquency between the ages of 12 and 15. Delinquency increased between the ages of 12 and 14, then started to decline, but the increase was more rapid among girls, so the gap in offending between girls and boys was at its lowest at the age of 14. There was much more difference between boys and girls in serious delinquency than on a broader measure including many trivial incidents. Despite this overall pattern, there were some specific kinds of delinquency - theft from home, writing graffiti, and truancy - that were more common among girls than boys.’ See Smith, D. and McAra, L. (2004).

³ The statements used were ‘The behaviour of young people today is no worse than it was in the past’, ‘Most young people are responsible and well-behaved’, ‘Young people today have no respect for older people’, ‘Most young people are helpful and friendly’.

Table 6 – General orientation towards young people, by key variables

	Most positive	Intermediate	Least positive	Sample size
All	36	35	30	1637
Age				
18-24	25	42	32	123
35-44	36	33	31	331
65+	37	36	27	397
Contact with young people (11-24) in local area				
Know most of them	45	30	25	178
Does not know any	29	38	33	452
11 to 15 year old in household				
One or more	38	34	28	160
None	35	35	30	1450
16 to 24 year-old in household				
One or more	36	38	26	182
None	36	34	30	1428
SIMD				
1 – Least deprived	45	35	20	322
5 – Most deprived	23	32	45	304
Urban/Rural classification				
Large urban	33	35	32	548
Remote rural	56	30	15	150

Note: Some categories not shown for reasons of space

Among the points to note are the following:

- Those in the youngest three age groups are *more* likely to be in the ‘least positive’ group. It cannot be assumed, then, that older people will automatically have the most critical views of young people.
- Those who know most or all of the young people in their area are much more likely to feature in the ‘most positive’ group, though living in a household with a young person is a less powerful predictor.
- Most strikingly, general attitudes are clearly linked to levels of deprivation, with a powerful association between greater deprivation and more negative views of young people. This is a theme returned to throughout the report.
- Again, the most rural areas are associated with more positive orientations towards young people.

While the above bivariate analysis highlights a number of factors associated with attitudes towards young people, it does not take account of the fact that many of these are likely to be inter-related. Multivariate analysis (logistic regression) determines the independent impact of different factors on a dependent variable, and so helps to identify the most powerful predictors of a particular outcome.

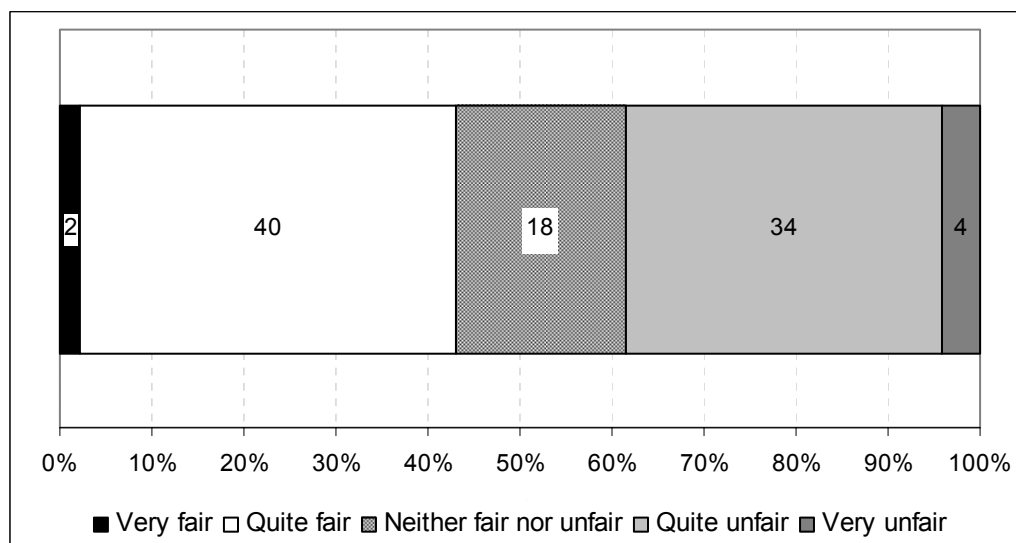
Of the variables included in the model, four were identified as being significantly and independently linked to attitudes towards young people. Of these, higher levels of deprivation emerged as the most powerful predictor of a negative perception of young people, followed closely by lower educational attainment, then belonging to the two youngest age groups, and

lack of contact with 11 to 24 year olds in local area. (see Annex 1 of this Report for the results of this analysis and Annex 2 for a more detailed description of the method).

Perceptions of media portrayals of young people

Respondents were also asked whether they felt that the media - for example, TV, newspapers and radio - present a fair or unfair picture of young people in Scotland these days. While 42% of respondents feel that media portrayal of young people is fair – almost the same proportion (38%) feel that it paints an unfair picture.

Figure 4 – How fair are media portrayals of young people in Scotland?



It is worth noting that it is the youngest and the oldest respondents who are least likely to say the picture the media presents is unfair. Not surprisingly those respondents with higher levels of contact with either 11 to 15 or 16 to 24 year-olds are relatively more likely than those with lower levels of contact to feel that the media portrayal of young people in Scotland these days is unfair. What is perhaps more surprising is a lack of any apparent relationship with newspaper readership, with tabloid readers and broadsheet readers equally likely to think that the media painted an unfair picture of young people.

Key points from this chapter

- There is plenty of evidence of adult attitudes that are critical of young people – for example, there seems to be a clear sense that the behaviour of young people today is worse than in the past and that young people lack respect for older people.
- But this is balanced, to a large extent, by more sympathetic opinions – relating, for example, to the need for the views of young people to be listened to more, or to perceptions of young people as largely responsible, or helpful, or friendly.

- Multivariate analysis reveals that living in an area of high deprivation is the most powerful predictor of negative views of young people, closely followed by lower educational attainment.
- There was a lack of consensus about how fairly young people are portrayed by the media, but interestingly views on this were not linked to newspaper readership.

CHAPTER FIVE YOUTH CRIME AND DISORDER: PERCEPTIONS, ATTITUDES AND EXPERIENCE

Chapter aims

This chapter addresses the following key questions:

- Do people think that the level of youth crime in Scotland is higher, lower or about the same as ten years ago?
- How common do they think that specific youth crime-related issues are in their own communities?
- How much do people worry about becoming victims of crime in general? How do such anxieties relate to their perceptions of young people and youth crime?
- To what extent is adults' behaviour conditioned by the presence of young people congregating in public places, and how willing would they be to intervene in incidents of youth crime or disorder in their own area?
- What people see as the main causes of youth crime and disorder?

Introduction

In this chapter, we move from general attitudes towards young people to a consideration of the specific issue of youth crime – an issue that has been the focus of considerable political, media and policy attention in Scotland in recent years (see, for example, recent developments in relation to child curfews, Anti-Social Behaviour Orders, Parenting Orders, Community Reparation Orders, etc.).

As part of the SSA module, respondents were asked a series of questions about their perceptions of trends in and prevalence of youth crime and crime in general; their perceptions of the causes of youth crime; their anxieties about youth crime and street disorder; and their actual experiences of such behaviour.

Do people think youth crime is higher or lower than in the past?

We begin by looking at adult perceptions of trends in youth crime. Respondents were asked whether they thought that, compared with ten years ago, the amount of crime committed by young people in Scotland was higher, lower or about the same. A clear majority – 7 out of 10 – thought that youth crime was higher than 10 years ago, while just 1 in 50 thought it was lower.

Table 7 – Is the level of crime committed by young people higher, lower or about the same as 10 years ago?

	%
Higher	69
Lower	2
About the same	25
(Can't chose)	4
(Not answered)	*
<i>Unweighted base</i>	<i>1514</i>

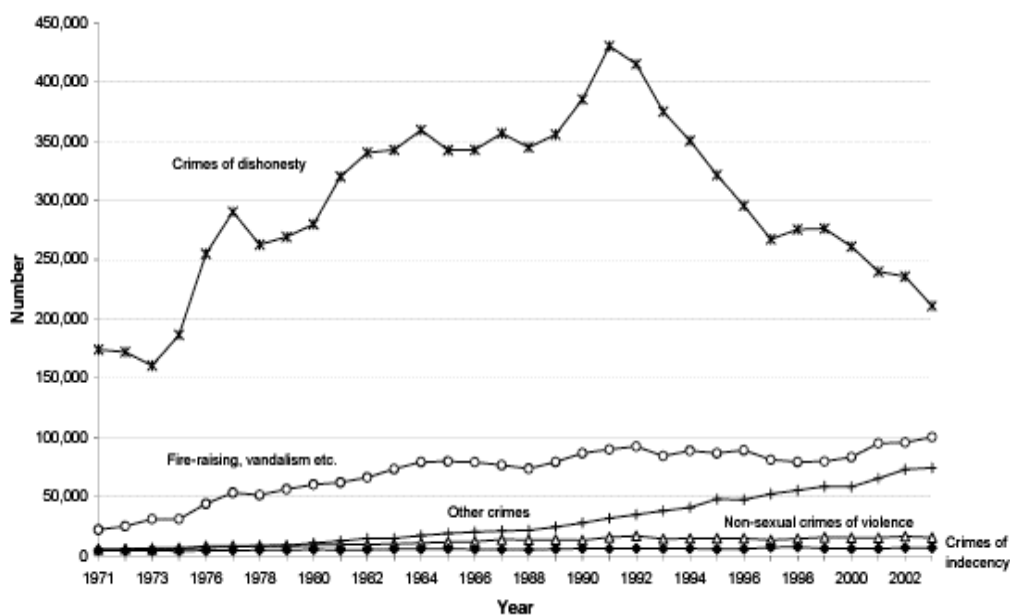
Although the same broad picture was evident across most sub-groups, one or two slight variations are worth noting. In terms of age, those aged 65 and over were most likely to think that crime had increased (75%), but such a view was almost equally common among the *youngest* age group (73%) – again, perhaps, confounding stereotypes about the relationship between age and perceptions of crime and disorder. Those aged between 35 and 54 tended to take the most sanguine view of the issue, though two-thirds (65%) still thought the level of youth crime was higher than ten years earlier.

Other key differences relate to tenure and area type. Most strikingly, 79% of those in the most deprived areas believed that youth crime was higher than ten years ago, compared with 61% of those in areas of least deprivation; similarly, 75% of those in the social rented sector believed it to be higher, compared with 68% of owner-occupiers. Those living in remote rural communities were significantly less likely to think that youth crime was higher than in the past (60%, compared with 69% overall), as were people educated to degree level or above (60%).

Perhaps not surprisingly, there was a strong correlation between perceptions of youth crime as rising and a more negative view of young people in general. Of those in the 'most negative' category (in terms of their general orientation towards young people), 87% thought that youth crime was higher than ten years ago, compared with just 47% of those in the 'most positive' group.

As other commentators have noted, such perceptions of youth crime and crime in general 'spiralling out of control' are common, but appear to be out of step with 'crime reality' (see, for example, Hough and Roberts, 2004; Anderson, Hutton and Ingram, 2002) – at least as measured by police-recorded crime statistics and crime surveys. Of course, it is extremely difficult to estimate the actual level of youth crime, since in most instances of recorded crime there is no information about the age of the offender (DTZ Piedad, 2005). We do know, however, that the peak age for offending occurs in the late teens and that young people (under the age of 25) account for a very significant proportion of *all* offending. As such, it is reasonable to assume that much of all crime is actually youth crime – and, as the following graph indicates, total recorded crime in Scotland has been on a largely downward trajectory since the early 1990s.

Figure 5 – Crimes recorded by the police by crime group, Scotland, 1971-2003



Source: Recorded Crime in Scotland, 2003: Scottish Executive

How common do people think youth crime is in their own area?

But what if people are asked to focus not on Scotland as a whole, but on youth crime-related problems in their own area? The following table shows perceptions of four specific types of problem: young people ‘hanging around’ the street, vandalism, problems associated with alcohol, and problems associated with drug misuse.

Table 8 – Perceptions of prevalence of specific crime problems in own area

	Groups of young people hanging around on the street	Vandalism, graffiti or other deliberate damage to property	Problems caused by young people who have been drinking	Problems caused by young people who have been using drugs
	%	%	%	%
Very common	33	20	22	14
Fairly common	34	29	31	21
Not very common	22	36	33	34
Not at all common	11	14	13	22
(Don't know)	*	*	2	9
<i>Unweighted base</i>	<i>1637</i>	<i>1637</i>	<i>1637</i>	<i>1637</i>

Perhaps the first thing to note here is that between a half and two-thirds of those interviewed thought that problems associated with young people hanging around, vandalism, and young people drinking were either very or fairly common in their area. The proportion who thought that problems associated with young people and drug misuse were very or fairly common was smaller, but still around a third.

In order to facilitate sub-group analysis, an overall youth crime prevalence scale was created in which each item was given a score of between 4 ('very common') and 1 ('not at all common'), yielding a theoretical maximum score of 16 and a minimum of 4. Respondents were then allocated to quartiles on the basis of their aggregate score.

Points to note here include the fact that those in the oldest age group (65 and over) again defy stereotypes by being over-represented in the quartile with the lowest aggregate score (32%, compared with 10% of 18 to 24 year-olds). In other words, the oldest age group are *less* likely than the youngest to see youth crime problems as common in their area.

In terms of the quartile with the highest aggregate perceived prevalence score (i.e. *most* likely to report that each of the four problems was very common in their area), respondents in social rented housing (44%) and in the areas of greatest deprivation (53%) were clearly over-represented relative to the sample as a whole (25%), while owner-occupiers and those in areas of least deprivation were under-represented (20% and 10% respectively).

Again, there was a clear relationship between perceptions of youth crime and general attitudes towards young people: of those in the 'most positive' group, 13% were in the quartile with the highest aggregate perceived prevalence score, compared with 42% of those in the 'least positive' group.

To what extent are adults directly affected by youth crime?

In order to gauge whether there is a significant gap between perceptions and direct experience of youth crime, respondents were asked how much they had *personally* been affected during by each of the four crime types during the last 12 months.⁴

Table 9 – How much *directly* affected by different types of crime

	Groups of young people hanging around on the street	Vandalism, graffiti or other deliberate damage to property	Problems caused by young people who have been drinking	Problems caused by young people who have been using drugs
	%	%	%	%
A great deal	4	3	3	2
Quite a lot	11	11	9	6
Not very much	39	28	33	24
Not at all	46	58	53	56
<i>Unweighted base</i>	<i>1446</i>	<i>1394</i>	<i>1412</i>	<i>1278</i>

The most obvious thing to note is that the proportion of respondents saying that they have been affected 'quite a lot' or 'a great deal' is much lower for each crime type than the proportion saying it is 'very' or 'fairly common' in their area. In other words, perceptions of prevalence tend to outstrip direct impact. That is not to say that the former are irrational or

⁴ This question was not asked if respondents indicated that each crime type was 'not at all common' in their area – only if they indicated that it was 'not very', 'fairly' or 'very common'.

unrealistic, since respondents may well be aware of victimisation affecting their friends, family, neighbours or others living in the area.

It is also evident that of the four problems asked about, the one which affects most people, at least to some extent, is that of young people hanging around the street (mentioned by 54%, compared with between 32% and 45% for the other types of problem). This suggests that much of the ‘youth crime’ problem is actually accounted for by relatively low-level street disorder, arising from the congregation of young people in public places, rather than more specific forms of ‘criminal behaviour’.

Table 10 - How much *directly* affected by different types of crime, by key variables

% affected a great deal or quite a lot	Groups of young people hanging around on the street	Vandalism, graffiti or other deliberate damage to property	Problems caused by young people who have been drinking	Problems caused by young people who have been using drugs
	%	%	%	%
All	15	14	12	8
Gender				
Male	15	15	13	10
Female	15	14	11	7
Age				
18-24	16	10	13	6
65+	10	12	7	5
Contact with young people (11-24) in local area				
Know most of them	17	11	14	12
Does not know any	12	12	12	8
SIMD				
1 – Least deprived	14	9	8	4
5 – Most deprived	24	25	19	14
Urban/Rural classification				
Large urban	19	18	13	9
Remote rural	3	4	3	2
Tenure				
Social rented	16	16	16	11
Owner-occupied	14	13	10	7
Attitude towards young people				
Most positive	10	8	6	4
Most negative	23	19	19	10

Note: Some categories not shown for reasons of space

Among the points to note about the way in which the direct effects of youth crime are patterned across different sub-groups are the following:

- With the exception of vandalism, those in the oldest age group are less likely than those in the youngest to say that they have been affected a great deal or quite a lot.
- Deprivation, tenure and degree of rurality are all correlated with being directly affected by each crime type, with those in areas of high deprivation and in social rented housing

more likely to have been affected and those in remote rural areas *least* likely to have been.

- Across all the types of youth crime and disorder mentioned, those with the ‘most negative’ attitudes towards young people in general were much more likely to say they had been directly affected.

Crime-related anxiety

We have seen that youth crime in general is widely thought to be rising, and that specific problems associated with youth crime are seen as common by respondents. But we have also seen that there is a disjunction of sorts between such views and the proportion of adults who say they have been directly affected by various types of youth crime and disorder .

We now turn to the indirect consequences of such phenomena – specifically, the extent to which adults *worry* about becoming the victim of crime in general and the extent to which they alter their behaviour as a result of anxieties about young people in public places.

Respondents were asked how much they worried about becoming the victim of three main types of crime: housebreaking (the type of household crime which tends to have the greatest impact on victims); car crime (the most common form of victimisation); and assault (the type of victimisation that attracts the greatest public concern). They were also asked how much they worried that someone else they live with would be the victim of crime.

Table 11 – How much respondents worry about different types of crime

	Having your home broken into	Having your car stolen or vandalised	Being attacked or assaulted in the street.	Someone else that you live with being a victim of crime
	%	%	%	%
A great deal	17	14	14	19
Quite a lot	25	30	19	31
Not very much	46	45	49	38
Not at all	11	10	17	11
(Can't chose)	1	1	1	1
<i>Unweighted base</i>	<i>1458</i>	<i>1171</i>	<i>1435</i>	<i>1201</i>

Note: ‘Does not apply’ responses (e.g. non car-owners, people living alone) excluded from analysis.

Overall, people are most likely to say that they worry ‘a great deal’ or ‘quite a lot’ about having their home broken into or that someone they live with will be the victim of crime.

Table 12 - How much respondents worry about different types of crime, by key variables

% worried great deal/quite a lot	Having your home broken into	Having your car stolen or vandalised	Being attacked or assaulted in the street.	Someone else that you live with being a victim of crime
	%	%	%	%
All	43	44	33	49
Gender				
Male	41	44	31	50
Female	44	43	35	49
Age				
18-24	33	41	34	42
65+	55	50	44	55
Contact with young people (11-24) in local area				
Know most of them	46	39	33	50
Does not know any	45	44	38	49
SIMD				
1 – Least deprived	32	35	21	38
5 – Most deprived	57	57	49	65
Urban/Rural classification				
Large urban	44	46	34	50
Remote rural	18	19	12	19
Tenure				
Social rented	50	50	53	64
Owner-occupied	42	42	28	46
Attitude towards young people				
Most positive	33	34	22	41
Most negative	57	59	47	65

Note: Some categories not shown for reasons of space.

'Does not apply' responses (e.g. non car-owners, people living alone) excluded from analysis.

How consistent are such anxieties across different sections of the adult population? As the above table shows:

- Those in the oldest age group are significantly more likely than those in the youngest group to worry about each type of crime asked about (though the analysis here excludes those who said that the issue 'did not apply' – e.g. because they did not have a car, or lived alone – and the numbers of these are much higher in the oldest age group).
- Neither gender nor level of contact with young people are especially clear predictors of crime-related worry.
- But the area-based variables of deprivation, tenure and degree of rurality are all correlated with levels of worry, as is general orientation towards young people – those in the 'most negative' group are *much* more likely to report that they worry 'quite a lot' or 'a great deal' about each form of victimisation.

The survey also looked at the extent to which adults modify their behaviour as a result of anxieties about young people congregating in public places. Respondents were asked to imagine a situation in which they had to walk past a group of teenagers in order to get to a shop. They were then asked to indicate (from a list) how they might feel in that situation.

Table 13 – How respondents would feel about walking past group of teenagers

	%
Not bother me at all	47
Slightly worried/uncomfortable	40
Very worried/uncomfortable	6
Avoid walking past them	6
(Don't know)	*
<i>Unweighted base</i>	<i>1637</i>

Although relatively few adults say that they would feel ‘very’ uncomfortable or avoid walking past the teenagers altogether, a sizeable minority say that they would feel slightly worried or uncomfortable. Indeed, more than half of all adults say they would be worried to some degree. Moreover, the proportion saying they would be very worried or avoid the teenagers altogether is markedly higher among particular sub-groups. Women were more likely than men – and older people more likely than younger people – to be worried. Those in areas of greater deprivation (21%) were twice as likely as those in areas of least deprivation (10%) to say they would be very worried or avoid walking past them altogether; while those in large urban area were three times as likely as those in remote rural areas to say the same (15% compared with 6%). Again, those with the ‘most negative’ attitudes towards young people exhibited much higher levels of anxiety – 19% saying they would be very worried or avoid walking past, compared with 8% of those in the ‘least negative’ group.

Willingness to intervene

One of the key features of an effective community is, arguably, its ability to regulate itself and to deal with minor conflicts without recourse to external agencies. To tap into this issue, the questionnaire included a scenario designed to test individual willingness to intervene in such situations. Respondents were asked to imagine a situation in which they saw a group of fourteen year-old boys they recognised damaging a bus shelter or other public property in their area. They were then asked how likely they would be to do the following things: challenge the boys directly at the time; talk to them later when they are on their own; speak to their parents about it later on; or contact the police

As the following table shows, the most likely course of action appears to be calling the police, rather than attempting to intervene directly or speaking to the boys or their parents later on.

Table 14 – How likely respondents would be to intervene in different ways

	Challenge directly	Talk to them later on their own	Speak to their parents	Call the police
	%	%	%	%
Very likely	21	11	16	39
Fairly likely	24	22	26	27
Not very likely	25	31	26	17
Not at all likely	29	33	29	14
(Can't chose)	1	2	3	3
<i>Unweighted base</i>	<i>1299</i>	<i>1182</i>	<i>1205</i>	<i>1340</i>

A majority of respondents thought it as either 'not very' or 'not at all' likely that they would attempt to speak to the boys at the time or later on, or attempt to speak to the boys parents. This confirms the hypothesis that people are generally more comfortable referring to an external agency, even in the case of relatively minor forms of crime.

Table 15 – How likely respondents would be to intervene in different ways, by key variables

% very/fairly likely to	Challenge directly	Talk to them later on their own	Speak to their parents	Call the police
All	21	11	16	39
Gender				
Male	24	13	15	38
Female	18	8	16	40
Age				
18-24	9	11	7	20
65+	16	12	18	52
Contact with young people (11-24) in local area				
Know most of them	34	14	23	40
Does not know any	15	7	16	40
SIMD				
1 – Least deprived	20	12	19	40
5 – Most deprived	19	12	18	38
Urban/Rural classification				
Large urban	18	11	18	38
Remote rural	19	12	17	32
Tenure				
Social rented	19	14	19	29
Owner-occupied	22	10	16	43
Attitude towards young people				
Most positive	24	12	19	36
Most negative	18	9	13	46

Note: Some categories not shown for reasons of space

Among the variations worth noting here are:

- Not surprisingly, those who know most or all of the young people in their area are more likely to say they would intervene at the time, or speak to the boys or their parents later on.
- Men are more likely than women to say they would intervene at the time or speak to the boys later, but not to speak to the boys' parents.
- Those in the youngest age group are much less likely than those in the oldest to intervene in any way, and are much less likely in particular to say that they would call the police.
- Those in areas of greatest deprivation are more likely to say they would intervene at the time, but do not differ from those in areas of least deprivation in relation to the other possible courses of action.
- Those with 'more positive' views of young people are more likely to say they would intervene at the time, or speak to the boys or their parents later on; while those with 'more negative' views are more likely to say they would call the police.

What do people think causes youth crime and disorder?

We have seen that issues associated with young people figure prominently in adults' views of problems affecting their communities; that there is a widespread perception that youth crime is more prevalent than it was ten years ago; and that there is significant anxiety about youth crime and disorder. How, then, does the adult population make sense of such behaviour? More specifically, where do adults in Scotland tend to locate the causes of youth crime – with young people themselves, with their parents or teachers, or in broader social or structural factors (such as unemployment or the failures of the justice system)?

Respondents were shown a list of things people might say about why young people get into trouble and asked to identify the three that they think are the most relevant or important. The most commonly mentioned explanations were as follows:

1. Not enough discipline by parents (50%)
2. Pressure from friends & other young people (49%)
3. Drugs & alcohol (46%)
4. Not enough for them to do (36%)
5. Not enough care & attention from parents (34%)
6. Too few police on the streets (27%)
7. They're copying things from films, TV & music (19%)
8. Unemployment among young people (13%)
9. It's just what they do at that age (11%)
10. They have more money than sense (10%)

Overall, those with the 'most positive' views of young people in general are more likely to cite peer pressure, lack of things for young people to do and age. Those with the 'least positive' views are more likely to cite lack of parental discipline, too few police and drugs and alcohol. Lack of care and attention from parents was equally likely to be mentioned by either group.

Key points from this chapter

- Despite evidence to the contrary from crime statistics, there is a widespread perception (across all sections of the adult population) that the level of youth crime is higher than it was ten years ago.
- Specific youth crime-related problems are also thought to be very common in respondents' own areas.
- But this is not necessarily mirrored by direct experience of youth crime-related problems within the last twelve months.
- Perceptions of youth crime as rising and as being common in respondents' own areas, and various forms of crime-related anxiety, are all more common among people living in areas of greatest deprivation and those with 'more negative' views of young people in general.

CHAPTER SIX CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

This final chapter recaps some of the key themes to emerge from the research, discusses how best to understand the tensions that exist in prevailing adult views of young people, and argues for a move towards seeing public attitudes as helping to constitute – and not simply reflecting – the ‘problem of youth crime’.

Key themes emerging from the survey

One of the consequences of the recent focus on youth crime and ‘yob culture’ has been an ‘othering’ of young people – a tendency to regard them as ‘a tribe apart’, distinct and differentiated from adult society⁵. At one level, the findings from the 2004 SSA challenge such a view by reminding us that young people continue to live in households, families and communities, and that these settings provide considerable scope for inter-generational contact. At the same time, however, it should also be noted that a sizeable minority of all adults have little or no social contact with young people between the ages of 11 and 24. The results of this study suggest that such contact *does* matter: while there are more powerful predictors of attitudes towards young people and youth crime, those adults who have least contact with young people are consistently more likely to have negative views of the young.

One of the main aims of this study has been to see whether the current political and media preoccupation with issues relating to young people is mirrored in adults’ own talk about the problems facing their own communities. The results suggest that, to a large extent, it is. When asked to choose from a list of problems affecting their area, adults are much more likely to mention problems relating to young people than any other type of issue (e.g. unemployment, housing or transport).

But adult views and perceptions of young people are by no means all negative – concern *about* young people is often balanced by concern *for* the young. The issue of young people hanging around the streets is certainly seen as a major concern, but so too is a perceived lack of opportunities for children and young people. Most people seem to think that the behaviour of young people is worse than in past but also that young people not listened to enough. We return to possible ways of understanding this ambivalence below – for the time being, it is sufficient to note that it exists and that it would be wrong to portray adult views of young people as overwhelmingly negative or unsympathetic.

Of course, perceptions of young people among some adults are more negative than among others – but one important finding from the research is that, contrary perhaps to expectations, the oldest age group (those aged 65 and over) is not necessarily the key group here. Indeed, on a number of measures, those aged between 18 and 24 are more likely to have negative attitudes towards young people than are those at the other end of the age spectrum. If one wants to predict general orientations towards the young, it is much better to look to factors such as the extent of individuals’ social contact with young people, degree of rurality and, especially, level of deprivation. In other words, those living in deprived, urban areas, with relatively little social contact with the young people in their own community are most likely to be concerned *about* young people and to have negative views of the young more generally.

⁵ See, for example, the front page of the *Daily Mail*, 18 May 2005, ‘The feral gangs who rule our streets’.

The issue of the level of inter-generational contact between adults and young people is perhaps especially important, as it appears to influence not only general orientations towards young people and youth crime but also actual willingness to intervene directly when confronted with problematic behaviour by young people. Two obvious (and related) policy implications flow from this, especially against the backdrop of an ageing population: the first is that, where possible, policy should avoid reinforcing stereotypes of and suspicion about young people, since this will have the effect of reducing contact further; the second is that there should be explicit attempts to foster inter-generational links.

Turning from perceptions of young people in general to perceptions of youth crime in particular, the study reveals a widespread belief that the level of youth crime is higher than a decade ago and a view that youth crime-related problems are very common in respondents' own areas. But such attitudes are not necessarily supported by external evidence (crime rates as a whole are generally accepted to be lower than ten years ago, while the number of young people is falling), nor are they necessarily mirrored in direct experience of problems associated with young people – a large majority of respondents said that they were affected either 'not very much' or 'not at all' by each of four youth crime problems asked about.

This is not to suggest that there is *no* relationship between perceptions and experience. Those people who had been directly affected were more likely than those who had not to think that the level of youth crime was higher than in the past and that specific problems were very common in their area. But, overall, the survey seems to provide evidence that direct experience alone cannot explain levels of public concern.

Making sense of the ambivalence in adult views of young people

One of the key themes identified above is an ambivalence (rather than outright negativity) in adult perceptions of the young. How are we to make sense of this? A number of possible (and interlocking) frames of explanation suggest themselves.

The first is that adults can be roughly divided into those who are sympathetic and those who are hostile towards or suspicious of the young, perhaps on the basis of their own age or circumstances (e.g. whether or not they have children in those age groups, or are in regular contact with young people for other reasons). As we have seen, there is certainly an element of truth here, in that some groups of adults are much more likely than others to hold positive views of young people.

A second possibility is that adults make conscious or unconscious distinctions between those young people who are known to them and those who are not. As other studies have noted (see, for example, Anderson, 1997) it is not uncommon for highly critical views of young people in general to coexist with warm and supportive attitudes towards one's own children, grandchildren or neighbours.

A third and related possibility is that adults make distinctions between 'good' and 'bad' young people based on criteria such as social class, ethnicity or other characteristics (e.g. in rural communities there is often suspicion about the children of incomers – see Anderson, 1996).

Fourth, it is possible that while some adults consider young people's attitudes or behaviours to be unacceptable or problematic, they do not blame the young people themselves but,

rather, see such problems as being the result of deprivation, inadequate parenting, lack of opportunities or amenities and so on. As such, it may be consistent to believe, for example, that the behaviour of young people is worse than in the past *and* that the views of young people are not listened to enough or that older people have no respect for younger people.

Finally, we should admit the possibility that such tensions and contradictions are simply part of age-old stories in which children and young people are portrayed as both ‘angels’ and ‘devils’ (Valentine, 1996), or simultaneously viewed both as threat (in that they symbolise social change and the dismantling of the existing order) and as hope (in that they symbolise the possibilities of a new beginning) (Jenks, 1996; Warner, 1994). These concurrent themes can be found throughout recent Western history, but are perhaps even more apparent in an era of increased uncertainty and risk anxiety (see Scott *et al*, 1998; Brownlie, 2001).

Rethinking the ‘problem of youth crime’

The problem of youth crime (like the problem of crime more generally) is not - and has never been - simply about an objective number of criminal actions (the ‘things that happen’). It is also about individual and collective *reactions* to those things and the ability of communities to absorb, defuse and deal with conflicts that arise between young people and other groups (see Anderson, 1999). In this sense it is possible for the problem of youth crime to intensify (or to become less intense) without any underlying change in the number of incidents experienced.

In this context, public perceptions of young people and youth crime are a valuable alternative index of the problem, in that they tell us something important about how our communities function and about the collective resources that can be drawn upon when problems with young people arise. In other words, public attitudes in this area should be seen as helping to *constitute* and not simply reflecting the problem of youth crime.

The 2004 SSA provides a starting point in this respect but, like any such index, its real value will be in providing a baseline against which to assess changes over time in the character and extent of inter-generational links and of how adults perceive and relate to younger people.

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ANNEX 1 TECHNICAL DETAILS OF THE SURVEY

Background to the survey

The *Scottish Social Attitudes* (SSA) survey was launched by ScotCen⁶ (part of the National Centre for Social Research) in 1999, following the advent of devolution. Based on annual rounds of interviews with 1,600 people drawn using random probability sampling its aims are to facilitate the study of public opinion and inform the development of public policy in Scotland. In this it has similar objectives to the *British Social Attitudes* (BSA) survey, which was launched by the National Centre in 1983. While BSA interviews people in Scotland, these are usually too few in any one year to permit separate analysis of public opinion in Scotland (see Park, *et al*, 2003 for more details of the BSA survey).

SSA is conducted annually and has a modular structure. In any one year it will typically contain four or five modules, each containing 40 questions. Funding for its first two years came from the Economic and Social Research Council while from 2001 onwards different bodies have funded each year's individual modules. These bodies have included the Economic and Social Research Council, the Scottish Executive and various charitable and grant awarding bodies such as the Nuffield and Leverhulme Foundations.

Sample design, fieldwork and response

The data in this report are taken from a module of questions asked in the 2004 Scottish Social Attitudes survey. This survey involved a face-to-face interview with respondents and a self-completion questionnaire, completed by over nine in ten of these people (93%). The numbers completing each stage are shown in Table 1. See Bromley, Curtice and Given (2005) for technical details of the 1999-2003 surveys.

Sample design

The survey was designed to yield a representative sample of adults aged 18 or over living in Scotland. The sample frame was the Postcode Address File (PAF), a list of postal delivery points compiled by the Post Office. The sample design involved three stages:

1. 84 postcode sectors were selected from a list of all postal sectors in Scotland, with probability proportional to the number of addresses in each sector. Prior to selection the sectors were stratified by region, population density, and percentage of household heads recorded as employers / managers (taken from the 2001 Census). The list was also stratified using the Scottish Household Survey (SHS) six-fold classification of urban and rural areas (see below for a description of this), and sectors within rural and remote categories were over-sampled.
2. In order to boost the number of respondents from remote and rural areas 31 addresses were selected in each sector located within the first three SHS urban-rural classifications (the four cities, to accessible small towns), while 62 addresses were selected from the

⁶ The Scottish Centre for Social Research (ScotCen) was formed in February 2004 as the result of a merger between The National Centre's existing organisation within Scotland and Scottish Health Feedback an independent research consultancy.

sectors within the three most rural categories (remote small towns to remote rural areas). The issued sample size is shown in Table 1.

3. Interviewers called at each selected address and identified its eligibility for the survey. Where more than one household was present at an address, all households were listed systematically and one was selected at random using a computer generated random selection table. In all eligible households with more than one adult aged 18 or over, interviewers also had to carry out a random selection of one adult using a similar procedure.

Weighting

Data were weighted to take account of the fact that not all households or individuals had the same probability of selection for the survey. For example, adults living in large households have a lower selection probability than adults who live alone. Weighting was also used to correct the over-sampling of rural addresses. All the percentages presented in this report are based on weighted data, the unweighted sample sizes are shown in the tables.

Fieldwork

Fieldwork ran between July and December (with 77% completed by the end of September). An advance letter was sent to all addresses and was followed up by a personal visit from a Scottish Centre for Social Research interviewer. All interviewers attended a one day briefing conference prior to starting work.

Interviews were conducted using face-to-face computer-assisted interviewing (a process which involves the use of a laptop computer, with questions appearing on screen and interviewers directly entering respondents' answers into the computer). All respondents were asked to fill in a self-completion questionnaire which was either collected by the interviewer or returned by post. The next table summarises the response rate and the numbers completing the self-completion in 2004.

Table 1 - 2004 Scottish Social Attitudes survey response

	No.	%
Addresses issued ¹	3,007	
Vacant, derelict and other out of scope ²	308	10.2
In scope	2,699	100.0
Interview achieved	1,637	60.7
Self-completion returned	1,514	56.1
Interview not achieved	1,062	39.3
<i>Refused</i> ³	<i>698</i>	<i>25.9</i>
<i>Non-contacted</i> ⁴	<i>130</i>	<i>4.8</i>
<i>Unknown eligibility</i> ⁵	<i>100</i>	<i>3.7</i>
<i>Other non-response</i>	<i>134</i>	<i>5.0</i>

Notes to table

¹This includes addresses identified by interviewers during fieldwork.

²This includes empty / derelict addresses, holiday homes, businesses and institutions.

³Refusals include refusals prior to selection of an individual, refusals to the office, refusal by the selected person, 'proxy' refusals made by someone on behalf of the respondent and broken appointments after which a respondent could not be re-contacted.

⁴Non-contacts comprise households where no one was contacted after at least 4 calls and those where the selected person could not be contacted.

⁵'Unknown eligibility' includes cases where the address could not be located, where it could not be determined if an address was a residence and where it could not be determined if an address was occupied or not.

Analysis variables

A number of standard analyses have been used in the tables in this report. Most of the analysis variables are taken directly from the questionnaire and to that extent are self-explanatory. These include age, sex, household income, and highest educational qualification obtained. The analysis groups requiring further definition are set out below.

The Scottish Household Survey six-fold urban-rural classification

The six categories used in this classification are: 1) large urban, 2) other urban, 3) small accessible towns, 4) small remote towns, 5) accessible rural, 6) remote rural. For more details see Hope, S. *et al* (2000).

National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification (NS-SEC)

The most commonly used classification of socio-economic status used on government surveys is the National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification (NS-SEC). SSA respondents were classified according to their own occupation, rather than that of the 'head of household'. Each respondent was asked about their current or last job, so that all respondents, with the exception of those who had never worked, were classified. The seven NS-SEC categories are:

- Employers in large organisations, higher managerial and professional
- Lower professional and managerial; higher technical and supervisory

- Intermediate occupations
- Small employers and own account workers
- Lower supervisory and technical occupations
- Semi-routine occupations
- Routine occupations

The remaining respondents were grouped as “never had a job” or “not classifiable”.

Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD)

The Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) 2004 identifies the most deprived areas across Scotland. It is based on 31 indicators in the six individual domains of Current Income, Employment, Housing, Health, Education, Skills and Training and Geographic Access to Services and Telecommunications. SIMD 2004 is presented at data zone level, enabling small pockets of deprivation to be identified. The data zones are ranked from most deprived (1) to least deprived (6505) on the overall SIMD 2004 and on each of the individual domains. The result is a comprehensive picture of relative area deprivation across Scotland.⁷

The SSA analysis used a variable created from SIMD data indicating the level of deprivation of the data zone in which the respondent lived. This allowed us to analyse differences between the attitudes and experiences of those living in the most and least deprived areas of Scotland.

Analysis techniques

Regression

For the more complex analysis in this report logistic regression models have been used to assess whether there is reliable evidence that particular variables are associated with each other.

Regression analysis aims to summarise the relationship between a ‘dependent’ variable and one or more ‘independent’ explanatory variables. It shows how well a respondent’s score on the dependent variable can be estimated from knowledge of their scores on the independent variables. This technique takes into account relationships between the different independent variables (for example, between education and income, or social class and housing tenure). Regression is often undertaken to support a claim that the phenomena measured by the independent variables cause the phenomenon measured by the dependent variable. However, the causal ordering, if any, between the variables cannot be verified or falsified by the technique. Causality can only be inferred through special experimental designs or through assumptions made by the analyst. All regression analysis assumes that the relationship between the dependent and each of the independent variables takes a particular form. In *logistic regression*, the form of regression analysis used in this report, it is assumed that the relationship can be adequately summarised by an S-shaped curve, where the impact on the dependent variable of a one-point increase in an independent variable becomes progressively less the closer the value of the dependent variable approaches 0 or 1.

⁷ See <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/stats/simd2004/> for further details on the SIMD

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ANNEX 2 SURVEY QUESTIONS AND RESULTS

Q181- [ProbArea]§

Q183 CARD B1

Here is a list of problems that people might experience in their area. Can you tell me up to **three** things that you think are the **biggest** problems in your area?

PROBE: What else?

CODE UP TO THREE

Multicoded (Maximum of 3 codes)

	[ProbAre1]	[ProbAre2]	[ProbAre3]
	%	%	%
Litter	18	4	6
Crime and vandalism	16	10	10
Noisy neighbours	4	2	1
Lack of affordable housing	12	7	7
Young people hanging around on the streets	13	17	10
Poor public transport	7	7	3
Alcohol and drugs	8	17	14
Lack of opportunities for children and young people	9	15	18
Unemployment	2	6	8
Poor local amenities, parks and leisure facilities	3	9	12
Poor shopping facilities	2	6	9
Other (WRITE IN)	*	1	2
(None of these)	5	-	-
Don't know	-	-	-
<i>Unweighted base</i>	<i>1637</i>	<i>1457</i>	<i>1310</i>

ASK ALL

Q190 [Talk1115]

CARD B2

Apart from anyone you may live with, how often, on average, do you chat to or talk with anyone else **aged 11 to 15**?

Q191 [Talk1624]

CARD B2 AGAIN

(And apart from anyone you've just told me about or anyone you may live with), how often, on average, do you chat to or talk with anyone else **aged 16 to 24**?

	[Talk1115]	[Talk1624]
	%	%
Every day or almost every day	21	35
At least once a week	23	25
At least once a month	13	12
Less often or never	42	28
(Varies too much to say)	1	1
(Don't know)	-	-
<i>Unweighted base</i>	<i>1637</i>	<i>1637</i>

Q192 [Area1115]
 Now thinking specifically about the **11-15 year olds** in your area, how many of them would you say you know well enough to speak to ...READ OUT...

Q193 [Area1624]
 Now thinking specifically about the **16-24 year olds** in your area, how many of them would you say you know well enough to speak to ...READ OUT...

	[Area1115]	[Area1624]
	%	%
Most of them	16	18
Some of them	40	43
Not known any	44	39
(Don't know)	-	*
(Not answered)	-	-
<i>Unweighted base</i>	<i>1637</i>	<i>1637</i>

[YPIntro]
 For the next few questions, I'd like you to think in particular about people aged between **11 and 25**. So when I use the term young people, **11 to 25** is the broad age group I'm referring to.

Q195 [YPBehavr]
 CARD B3
 Here are some things that people might say about young people in Scotland. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of them.
 Firstly, the behaviour of young people today is no worse than it was in the past?

Q196 [YPViews]
 CARD B3 AGAIN
 (How much you agree or disagree...)
 The views of young people aren't listened to enough?

Q197 [GirlsBvr]
 CARD B3 AGAIN
 (How much you agree or disagree...)
 Girls are more badly behaved than boys nowadays?

Q198 [YPresp]
 CARD B3 AGAIN
 (How much you agree or disagree...)
 Most young people are responsible and well-behaved?

Q199 [YPNoResp]
 CARD B3 AGAIN
 (How much you agree or disagree...)
 Young people today have no respect for older people?

Q200 [YPFriend]
 CARD B3 AGAIN
 (How much you agree or disagree...)
 Most young people are helpful and friendly?

Q201 [OlNoResp]
 CARD B3 AGAIN
 (How much you agree or disagree...)
 Older people today have no respect for young people?

	[YPBehavvr]	[YPViews]	[GirlsBvr]	[YPResp]
	%	%	%	%
Agree strongly	3	6	7	3
Agree	27	53	31	55
Neither agree nor disagree	9	19	32	18
Disagree	52	20	26	22
Disagree strongly	9	1	2	3
(Don't know)	*	1	2	1
<i>Unweighted base</i>	<i>1637</i>	<i>1637</i>	<i>1637</i>	<i>1637</i>

	[YPNoResp]	[YPFriend]	[OlNoResp]
	%	%	%
Agree strongly	9	2	2
Agree	36	52	33
Neither agree nor disagree	18	25	22
Disagree	35	21	40
Disagree strongly	2	1	2
(Don't know)	*	1	1
<i>Unweighted base</i>	<i>1637</i>	<i>1637</i>	<i>1637</i>

Q202 [YPMedia]
 CARD B4
 Generally speaking, do you think that the media - for example, TV, newspapers and radio - present a fair or unfair picture of young people in Scotland these days?

	%
Very fair	2
Quite fair	40
Neither fair nor unfair	18
Quite unfair	34
Very unfair	4
(Don't know)	2
<i>Unweighted base</i>	<i>1637</i>

Q203 [YPGGrComm]
 CARD B5
 I'd like you to tell me how common the following things are in your area generally.
 Firstly, groups of young people hanging around on the street?

Q204 [VandComn]
 CARD B5 AGAIN
 (And how common is this in your area:)
 Vandalism, graffiti or other deliberate damage to property?

Q205 [YPAlComn]
 CARD B5 AGAIN
 (And how common is this in your area:)
 Problems caused by young people who have been drinking?

Q206 [YPDgComn]
 CARD B5 AGAIN
 (And how common is this in your area:)
 Problems caused by young people who have been using drugs?

	[YPGGrComn]	[VandComn]	[YPAlComn]	[YPDgComn]
	%	%	%	%
Very common	33	20	22	14
Fairly common	34	29	31	21
Not very common	22	36	33	34
Not at all common	11	14	13	22
(Don't know)	*	*	2	9
<i>Unweighted base</i>	<i>1637</i>	<i>1637</i>	<i>1637</i>	<i>1637</i>

Q207 [YPGGrAfct]
 CARD B6
 And how much have you **personally** been affected during the last 12 months by groups of young people hanging around on the street?

IF 'Very common', 'Fairly common' or 'Not very common' AT VandComn

Q208 [VandAfct]
 CARD B6
 And how much have you **personally** been affected during the last 12 months by vandalism, graffiti or other deliberate damage to property?

IF 'Very common', 'Fairly common' or 'Not very common' AT YPAlComn

Q209 [YPAlAfct]
 CARD B6
 And how much have you **personally** been affected during the last 12 months by problems caused by young people who have been drinking?

IF 'Very common', 'Fairly common' or 'Not very common' AT YPDgComn

Q210 [YPDgAfct]
 CARD B6
 And how much have you **personally** been affected during the last 12 months by problems caused by young people who have been using drugs?

	[YPGGrAfct]	[VandAfct]	[YPAlAfct]	[YPDgAfct]
	%	%	%	%
A great deal	4	3	3	2
Quite a lot	11	11	9	6
Not very much	39	28	33	24
Not at all	46	58	53	56
(Don't know)	-	*	*	1
(Not answered)	*	*	2	12
<i>Unweighted base</i>	<i>1446</i>	<i>1394</i>	<i>1412</i>	<i>1278</i>

ASK ALL

Q211 [WalkTeen]

CARD B7

I'd like you to imagine a situation in which you had to walk past a group of teenagers in order to get to a shop. Which of the answers on this card best describes how you might feel in that situation?

	%
Not bother me at all	47
Slightly worried/uncomfortable	40
Very worried/uncomfortable	6
Avoid walking past them	6
(Don't know)	*
<i>Unweighted base</i>	<i>1637</i>

Q212- [YPtrWhy]\$⁸

Q214 CARD B8

On this card are things people might say about why young people get into trouble and I'd like you to tell me up to **three** that you think are the most relevant or important.

PROBE: What else?

CODE UP TO THREE

Multicoded (Maximum of 3 codes)

It's just what they do at that age

[YPtrAge]

They don't get enough care and attention from their parents

[YPtrNoca]

Drugs and alcohol

[YPtrDrug]

They're copying things from films, television and music

[YPtrTV]

Pressure from friends and other young people

[YPtrPres]

Not enough discipline by parents

[YPtrDisc]

There's not enough for them to do

[YPtrBore]

Unemployment among young people

[YPtrUnem]

Too few police on the streets

[YPtrCops]

They have more money than sense

[YPtrMony]

Other (WRITE IN)

[YPtrOth]

(None of these)

[YpTrNone]

	[YPtrAge]	[YPtrNoca]	[YPtrDrug]	[YPtrTV]
	%	%	%	%
Yes	11	34	46	19
No	89	66	54	81
(Don't know)	*	*	*	*
<i>Unweighted base</i>	<i>1637</i>	<i>1637</i>	<i>1637</i>	<i>1637</i>

	[YPtrPres]	[YPtrDisc]	[YPtrBore]	[YPtrUnem]
	%	%	%	%
Yes	49	50	36	13
No	51	50	64	87
(Don't know)	*	*	*	*
<i>Unweighted base</i>	<i>1637</i>	<i>1637</i>	<i>1637</i>	<i>1637</i>

	[YPTTrCops]	[YPTTrMony]	[YPTTrOth]	[YPTTrNone]
	%	%	%	%
Yes	27	10	1	-
No	73	90	99	100
(Don't know)	*	*	*	*
<i>Unweighted base</i>	<i>1637</i>	<i>1637</i>	<i>1637</i>	<i>1637</i>

Imagine a situation in which you saw a group of fourteen year-old boys you recognised damaging a bus shelter or other public property in your area.

Please tick one box to show how likely you would be to do the following things.

[Challdir]

Challenge them directly at the time.

[Talkown]

Talk to them later when they are on their own.

[Speakpar]

Speak to their parents about it later on.

[Police]

Contact the police.

	[Challdir]	[Talkown]	[Speakpar]	[Police]
	%	%	%	%
Very likely	18	8	13	35
Fairly likely	20	18	21	24
Not very likely	22	25	21	15
Not at all likely	25	26	23	12
(Can't chose)	1	2	2	3
(Not answered)	14	22	20	11
<i>Unweighted base</i>	<i>1514</i>	<i>1514</i>	<i>1514</i>	<i>1514</i>

[YPCrime]

From what you know or have heard, would you say that, compared with ten years ago, the amount of crime committed by young people **in Scotland** is ...

	%
Higher	69
Lower	2
About the same	25
(Can't chose)	4
(Not answered)	*
<i>Unweighted base</i>	<i>1514</i>

In general, how much would you say you worry about the following things happening to you or to someone who lives with you?

[HomeBrk]
Having your home broken into.

[CarStln]
Having your car stolen or vandalised.

[AttackSt]
Being attacked or assaulted in the street.

[ElseVict]
Someone else that you live with being a victim of crime.

	[HomeBrk]	[CarStln]	[AttackSt]	[ElseVict]
	%	%	%	%
A great deal	17	11	13	16
Quite a lot	24	24	19	26
Not very much	44	36	47	33
Not at all	11	8	17	10
(Does not apply)	*	13	1	9
(Can't chose)	1	1	*	1
(Not answered)	4	7	4	6
<i>Unweighted base</i>	<i>1514</i>	<i>1514</i>	<i>1514</i>	<i>1514</i>

ANNEX 3 RESULTS OF MULTIVARIATE ANALYSES

The logistic regression model commented on in this report is presented below. Logistic regression uses binary dependent variables where the value of interest is coded 1 and the rest of the cases are coded 0. The binary dependent variable coding is shown at start of the table. This analysis method compares the parameter estimates for each category within a variable to a “reference” category. The reference category for each variable is shown in brackets. Two asterisks (**) denote significance at the 1% level, one (*) denotes significance at the 5% level.

Table 1 Negative attitudes towards young people

Dependent variable coding: 1= Most negative attitudes towards young people, 0=or not	Odds Ratio (Exp (B))	95% Confidence Intervals for Exp (B)	
		Lower	Upper
SIMD (Least deprived)			
2	0.920	0.610	1.388
3	1.388	0.946	2.038
4	1.504*	1.019	2.221
Most deprived	2.44**	1.682	3.542
Educational attainment (Degree/FE)			
Highers/ A’Level	1.611*	1.109	2.342
Standard grade/GCSE	2.009**	1.437	2.808
None	2.604**	1.795	3.777
Age (18-24)			
25-34	1.110	0.696	1.769
35-44	0.855	0.547	1.338
45-54	0.612*	0.381	0.985
55-64	0.613*	0.378	0.993
65+	0.492**	0.302	0.800
Contact with 11-24 year olds in local area (knows most well enough to speak too)			
Knows some	1.483	0.965	2.277
Does not know any	1.998**	1.260	3.166

Number of cases in model: 1451

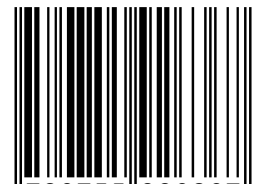
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