

Youth deviance and Youth Violence

Findings from a European study
on juvenile delinquency and its prevention

Editors:

Thomas Görgen, Benjamin Kraus, Anabel Taefi,
María José Bernuz Beneitez, Jenneke Christiaens,
Gorazd Meško, Heloísa Perista & Olga Tóth



YouPrev



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Contents

1 Youth deviance and youth violence: Aims, background and method of a European study	6
1.1 Background, goals and structure of the project	6
1.2 Project consortium	9
1.3 Method	11
1.3.1 National reviews of existing approaches to prevention and control of youth deviance and youth violence	11
1.3.2 Local studies on prevention and control of youth deviance and youth violence	11
1.3.3 Expert views on youth deviance and violence and its prevention and control in the coming decade	13
1.3.4 Exchanging best practices knowledge on youth crime prevention and control nationally and internationally	13
1.3.5 Development and dissemination of training resources and policy recommendations	13
1.4 References	14
2 Exploring the youth crime prevention field in Belgium: Experts' and youngsters' views	17
2.1 Nationwide Institutional Expert Survey	17
2.1.1 General	17
2.1.2 Findings	18
2.1.3 Summary	21
2.2 The Delphi Survey: Looking towards the future	22
2.2.1 General framework	22
2.2.2 Findings	22
2.3 Local Study	25
2.3.1 General framework	25
2.3.2 School survey	26
2.3.3 Local interviews and group discussions	32
2.4 References	36
3 On nets and how to knot them: Juveniles and experts on delinquency and prevention in Germany	37
3.1 Expert views on prevention: institutional/expert survey	37
3.2 Expert views on future developments: Delphi survey	40
3.3 German school survey	43
3.3.1 Methodology	43
3.3.2 Victimization	45
3.3.3 Deviant behaviour	46

3.3.4	Delinquency	47
3.3.5	Frequent violent offending	49
3.3.6	Multivariate analysis – Delinquency and its predictors	52
3.3.7	Students' views on preventive measures and approaches	53
3.4	Local interview studies	56
3.5	Conclusions	59
3.6	References	60
4	Gloomy future ahead? – Results of the YouPrev project in Hungary	61
4.1	Background information	61
4.2	Nationwide Institutional and Expert Survey	62
4.3	The Delphi study	65
4.4	The school survey	70
4.5	The local interview study	79
4.6	Summary	83
4.7	References	84
5	»Youth is folly, jumping over a ditch where there is a bridge« (Slovenian proverb). Juvenile deviance in Slovenia and its prevention	85
5.1	Selection of two survey areas – Ljubljana and Kranj	85
5.2	The expert survey	85
5.2.1	Experts' experiences with youth crime prevention and their opinions about prevention	86
5.2.2	Approaches taken in prevention and control of youth deviance, violence and crime	86
5.2.3	Significance of interagency and multi-professional approaches	87
5.2.4	Financing / funding of preventive activities	87
5.2.5	Summary	87
5.3	The Delphi survey	88
5.3.1	Anticipated developments in the field of youth crime / youth violence	88
5.3.2	Information and communication technology	89
5.3.3	Family cohesion / changes in family structures	89
5.3.4	Demography / culture / social gaps / urban distributions	89
5.3.5	Education, employment and social resources	90
5.3.6	Preventive approaches in selected fields of juvenile »problem behaviour«	90
5.4	The School survey	93
5.4.1	The Survey background	93
5.4.2	Sample description	94
5.4.3	Friends and general feeling of happiness	96

5.4.4	Values and attitudes	97
5.4.5	Victimization and self-reported delinquency	98
5.4.6	Substances consumption / drug abuse	99
5.4.7	Respondents' experiences with preventive activities	100
5.5	Local interviews	102
5.5.1	Current situation and future development	103
5.5.2	State of youth crime prevention	104
5.5.3	Main activities / approaches	104
5.5.4	Target groups	105
5.5.5	Types of addressed »problem behaviour«	105
5.5.6	Interagency cooperation, funding	106
5.5.7	Perceptions of effects and efficiency of prevention activities in the studied areas	106
5.5.8	Future challenges and opportunities for prevention	107
5.5.9	Recommended approaches / strategies for prevention and control of youth crime	108
6	Juvenile violence prevention in Spain. A “worst case scenario” under construction	109
6.1	Methodology. Spanish specifics	109
6.2	Some ideas on violence(s) and crime(s)	111
6.3	Uncontrolled prevention and reinforced control	116
6.4	Prevention in a hostile context. Discourses and practices	122
6.5	What should work on the ground – main principles and proposals	124
6.6	Summary. How? What? A big contradiction between expectations and wishes	127
7	Juvenile delinquency and violence in Portugal: Drafting a picture in different voices	133
7.1	Taking stock	133
7.1.1	Youth deviance and youth violence – the state of art in Portugal	133
7.1.2	Experts’ views on youth crime prevention and control	139
7.2	Going Local: Local studies on the conditions of prevention and control of youth deviance and youth violence	141
7.2.1	School survey methodology	142
7.2.2	Young people’s perspectives	143
7.2.3	Self-reported victimization and delinquency	147
7.2.4	Young people as experts	148
7.3	Local Voices: Experts & young expertise	150
7.3.1	Methodological aspects	150
7.3.2	Crossed views.	150
7.4	Looking towards the future	152
7.4.1	Anticipated societal changes until 2025	152

7.4.2	Anticipated developments in the field of youth crime / youth violence	154
7.4.3	Information and communication technology and the changing face of juvenile crime	155
7.4.4	Prevention approaches	156
7.5	References	159
8	Analysis of the international school survey dataset	160
8.1	Description of the sample	160
8.2	Victimization	161
8.3	Deviant behaviour of students	163
8.4	Delinquency	164
8.5	Multivariate Models	166
8.6	Students' views on prevention	168
8.7	Summary	169
8.8	References	170
9	Delphi survey: Overview of the international survey round	171
9.1	Major challenges for a European youth crime prevention policy	172
9.2	Possible contributions to youth crime prevention at the European level	174
9.3	Learning from each other	177
9.4	Summary and conclusions	180
9.5	References	181
10	Summary and Conclusions	182
10.1	Juvenile delinquency as a universal developmental phenomenon and as socially embedded	182
10.2	Juvenile delinquency as both stable and changing	183
10.3	Quality indicators and need for improvement in prevention of juvenile crime	184
10.4	Heterogeneity of youth involvement in delinquency and implications for prevention	185
10.5	Young people's views on crime prevention: lay conceptions mirroring research	185
10.6	References	187

1 Youth deviance and youth violence: Aims, background and method of a European study

Thomas Görgen, Anabel Taefi & Benjamin Kraus

1.1 Background, goals and structure of the project

In the upcoming decades, European societies will be characterized by rapid demographic change. Population ageing will affect the entire structure and functioning of societies. These changes are of importance not only for the size of youth populations but also for intergenerational relations, family structures, and labour markets. They will also have substantial impact on the age structure of the staff of institutions responsible for prevention and control of youth deviance and violence; especially in the case of the police, processes of “staff ageing” are already visible in many countries.

This era of shrinking adolescent populations will furthermore be facing substantial challenges related to young people’s deviance. The current deep and prolonged economic crisis which affects European countries in very differential ways entails changes in government options concerning management and control of social problems and exposes individuals, families, communities and entire populations to considerable economic risks. The rapid progress and spread of new communication technologies affects modes of communication and social relationships and has already begun to change opportunity structures for adult and juvenile crime and deviance.

While in recent years police-recorded crime rates in many European countries mainly show downward trends, at least until very recently, juvenile violence has generally been rising. Self-report studies (e.g. Baier, Pfeiffer, Simonson & Rabold, 2009) asking young people about experiences as perpetrators and victims of violence point to the fact that part of this rise in police-recorded youth violence may be due to increased reporting of hitherto undetected offences. This indicates that the development of youth deviance and violence is embedded into larger European societal trends such as diminishing tolerance for the use of violence as a means of conflict resolution and an increasing reliance upon formal institutions as agents of conflict settlement (cf. Pinker, 2011).

Still, youth problem behaviour and violent offences committed by young people remain very important problems and matters of discourse and dispute in media and politics. Considering the countries involved in the project – Belgium, Germany, Hungary, Portugal, Slovenia, and Spain – there are a number of youth-related phenomena that are regarded and discussed as paramount problems cross-nationally. Among these are problems connected to a small but very active group of young repeat offenders, the nexus between migration and crime among young people, substance abuse among adolescents and alcohol and drug-related offences, violence in schools reaching from bullying to school shootings and killing sprees, violent youth crime including the use of guns and knives, offences committed by girls and by very young juveniles and even children, the impact of new technologies on young people’s deviance, bringing about – or making possible – phenomena like cyber-bullying or digital copyright violations, and juvenile violence committed by gangs or rooted in youth subcultures. Across countries, there appear to be widespread perceptions of an increasing brutality and rudeness of juvenile violent offences and rising levels of ag-

gressiveness in everyday life. They are linked to a perception of declining respect for authorities – including parents, teachers, and institutions of law enforcement. Though such perceptions are only partially supported by social science research, they have an impact on the ways the public and professionals – like police and social workers – perceive problems of youth deviance and violence (see Estrada, 2001). Beyond these cross-nationally consistent conceptualizations of paramount problems in the field of youth deviance, there are phenomena currently being regarded as important mainly in some countries. This holds true for offences committed by young people belonging to the Roma minority in Hungary, or severe acts of violence committed in public spaces and in public transport in Germany.

So, while it is widely recognized nowadays that certain minor forms of deviant behaviour (alcohol and substance use, truancy, petty thefts, etc.) are a broadband developmental phenomenon – most young people displaying some kind of deviance during adolescence – there is a number of critical areas of youth crime that are regarded as serious problems and as severe threats to public safety. Substantial parts of this violence happen in public places (often called street violence). This has considerable impact on fear of crime and perceived quality of life in heavily affected areas. If young people are associated with deviant and violent behaviour in public spaces (consumption of drugs and alcohol, rude and physically aggressive behaviour), the attractiveness of (especially inner city) areas diminishes, places are avoided, and this in turn influences not only individual quality of life but also the local economy, the housing market, and social cohesion in neighbourhoods (cf. Thomas & Bromley, 2000, Tiesdell & Oc, 1998; Warr & Ellison, 2000).

In multiple ways, young people's deviance is connected to lifestyle aspects. Lifestyle issues have been theoretically and empirically linked to juvenile violence as well as to violent victimization (see for example Bottoms, 2006; Nofziger & Kurtz, 2005; Pauwels & Svensson, 2009). Lifestyle approaches point both at risk factors and at opportunities for prevention and intervention. Among the lifestyle issues discussed in connection with juvenile deviance and violence are young people's consumption and abuse of alcohol and other psychotropic substances, their use of media and new communication technologies, after-school activities, especially when frequenting risky public spaces (pubs, discos, clubs, etc.) and associating with delinquent peers, and lifestyle factors related to cultural and ethnic diversity and to migration (including perceptions of masculinity and femininity and attitudes regarding the legitimacy of using violence). Taking these lifestyle issues into account may open up approaches to successfully prevent youth deviance and violence.

Among the stable findings of criminological research is that – with some exceptions – offenders and victims of crime and violence are very similar in their basic demographic characteristics and that there is considerable overlap between those committing violent acts and those affected by them. Violence committed by young people is mostly directed against young people, often their immediate peers. Thus, successfully preventing youth violence means protecting adolescents from violent victimization (Chen, 2009; Sampson & Lauritsen, 1990).

While in the past, crime-related discourses have often been dominated by rather punitive attitudes, in recent years the concept of crime prevention has gained widespread acceptance – especially with regard to offences committed by young people. In multiple ways, successful prevention and control of youth

deviance and violence require a broad perspective. As regards the actors involved, prevention should not be limited to police and law enforcement but should include social work, schools, the community etc. Concerning the characteristics and behaviours to be addressed by prevention and intervention, measures should not be focussed upon violence alone, but rather include other types of delinquency, with a special emphasis on the use and abuse of legal and illegal substances (cf. Ribeaud & Eisner, 2006; Webster-Stratton & Taylor, 2001). Regarding the target groups, a diversity of preventive approaches is needed – from measures of primary prevention addressing young people in general (e.g. in the field of alcohol abuse prevention) to specific measures targeting pre-identified high risk groups and known offenders. Consequently, prevention and control require a broad perspective in terms of the approaches taken, reaching from early onset primary prevention to custodial sanctions and to offender rehabilitation. Finally, regarding the levels of action, preventive measures should proceed at different levels, ranging from a micro to a macro perspective. Young people's deviance is deeply rooted in local and regional conditions (family, school, peer group, community) which must be taken into account. However, since these micro conditions are embedded in and partly determined by factors at higher aggregate levels, prevention also requires a national and increasingly a European perspective.

In the field of prevention and control of youth deviance and young people's violence, multiple approaches are put into action in all European countries and by many different actors. Up to now, few of them have been systematically evaluated with regard to their effects and efficiency. Exchange across projects is scarce, especially if they are located in different countries. In recent years, criminological research has produced a substantial body of knowledge on risk and protective factors, offering multiple starting points for improving deviance control and prevention (see for example the Communities that Care Programme which builds upon local analyses of risk and protective factors; cf. Brown, Hawkins, Arthur, Briney & Abbott, 2007; Cleveland, Feinberg, Bontempo & Greenberg, 2008; Harachi, Hawkins, Catalano, LaFazia, Smith & Arthur, 2003; Hawkins, Catalano, Arthur, Egan, Brown, Abbott & Murray, 2008).

What is currently lacking is a systematic up-to-date approach on best practices in prevention of young people's deviance and youth violence in European countries. Further, this knowledge should be made available to the most important professions in the field in a way suitable for training and continuing education. Conclusions and consequences for policies directed at young people and at youth deviance and violence need to be made available to policy makers and practitioners in the field.

The YouPrev project aimed at filling and narrowing these gaps by using a combination of different perspectives and methods. While the approaches are described in more detail below, the logic behind the methods applied is to first look what kind of approaches are currently being taken in partner countries and what is known about their effects and efficiency, and to ask key actors and experts in the field for their expertise on how to best tackle problems of youth violence and deviance. While this approach is primarily a national and cross-national one, the project also took a micro perspective by analysing juvenile problem behaviour and measures directed at it at the local level, thereby also comparing youth living in urban and rural areas. In this part of the project, young people's first hand perspective not only on deviance and victimization but also on their perceptions and acceptance of preventive and protective measures was taken into account via surveys conducted in schools. Having analysed the current state of

affairs, the proposed project then turned to future challenges and their implications for prevention and control of youth problem behaviour. Though, of course, no attempt to predict future developments can claim perfect accuracy, at least predictions regarding demographic changes in the coming decades are well-based on evidence. Since any type of strategic planning necessarily presupposes assumptions about the future, the challenge is to put these assumptions on a basis as solid as possible. The project undertook to go beyond the level of “implicit predictions” by including experts’ views in a systematic and structured manner via Delphi surveys.

The project also aimed at refining and disseminating project findings and making them available for training and continuing education of the most important professions in the field. Following the basic assumption that successful prevention and intervention require multi-professional and multi-disciplinary approaches, practitioners and experts from different institutions and academic disciplines were brought together in national and international workshops. Finally, the project undertook to put knowledge on youth deviance prevention and control into action by conceiving materials for training and continuing education for police officers on the one hand and social workers on the other. Recommendations emerging from the project were set up to be disseminated among policy makers and key professionals in the field.

Prevention and control of youth problem behaviour and youth violence can only be meaningfully understood as multidisciplinary, multi-professional and multi-agency endeavours. In the frame of the project, police and social work were identified as crucial and therefore teachers, trainers, and educators in this field represented the key target groups. This refers to staff at schools, colleges, faculties, universities and other educational institutions for police officers and social workers as well as to professionals in the field of continuing education. Beyond this, other groups are targeted by the project. These include practitioners from professions involved with crime and deviance prevention and control, members of crime prevention councils and networks at local, regional, national and European levels (like the EU Crime Prevention Network EUCPN and the European Forum for Urban Safety EFUS), as well as policy makers at local, regional, national and European levels.

1.2 Project consortium

The project was carried out by a multinational consortium, consisting of universities, research institutions, and NGOs; CEPOL (European Police College) was included as an associate partner. The project was coordinated by department of Criminology and Interdisciplinary Crime Prevention at German Police University (Deutsche Hochschule der Polizei), situated in Muenster. German Police University was established as a university in 2008. The university teaches senior police officers of all German police forces. Researchers at German Police University conduct research on many topics related to police and to societal phenomena tackled by police forces. The department of Criminology and Interdisciplinary Crime Prevention has a research focus in the fields of victimization, domestic violence, crimes against older persons, violent crime, and juvenile crime and delinquency. Its focus on crime prevention includes police but is based upon a concept of multidisciplinary networks.

Partner countries represent a broad spectrum of European countries (Portugal and Spain in the South, Belgium and Germany in Western and Central Europe, Hungary and Slovenia in the East and South-East). The consortium includes universities in Belgium, Slovenia and Spain, an independent non-profit organisation in Portugal, and an institute at the National Academy of Science in Hungary. Partners are very briefly characterized below:

- Free University of Brussels, Brussels, Belgium: The Free University of Brussels (Vrije Universiteit Brussel) was established as a separate university in 1970. In the academic year 2007–2008 more than 9 000 students were enrolled at the university. It has eight faculties, among them a faculty of Law and Criminology.
- Institute of Sociology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, Hungary: The Institute of Sociology at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences is the biggest sociological research institution in Hungary. The institute conducts empirical research on social processes with aspirations of developing sociological theories and methodology. The institute undertakes applied research commissioned by various types of organizations and institutions.
- CESIS – Centro de Estudos para a Intervenção Social, Lisbon, Portugal: CESIS is a non-profit independent organisation of researchers from a range of disciplinary backgrounds concerned to promote evidence-based, policy-relevant research at both national and European levels. Among the areas of research and action-research the following are worth mentioning: Poverty in degraded urban areas; Ageing and older people; Migrants and ethnic minorities; Homeless people; Gender equality; Violence; Children and youth from disadvantaged environments; Social policies.
- University of Maribor, Maribor, Slovenia: The University of Maribor is a broad-based institution with 16 faculties, among them the Faculty of Criminal Justice, the Faculty of Education, the Faculty of Health Sciences, and the Faculty of Law, and also a Centre for Interdisciplinary, Multidisciplinary Research and Studies. The university is one of the leading academic institutions in Slovenia contributing to world-quality research in the arts and the sciences.
- University of Zaragoza, Zaragoza, Spain: The University of Zaragoza is the main centre of technological and scientific production of the Valley of Ebro in the north-east of Spain. The University is made up of 12 university faculties, 9 university schools and more than 50 departments. The Faculty of Law is one of the oldest and it has a great scientific recognition. The Laboratory of Sociology of Law is in the Faculty of Law and carries out many national and international research projects.
- CEPOL – European Police College, Bramshill, UK (Associate Partner): CEPOL is a European Union Agency with the mission to bring together senior police officers from police forces in Europe and encourage cross-border cooperation in the fight against crime, public security and law and order by organising training activities and research findings.

1.3 Method

As described above, the YouPrev project combined different methodological approaches to get a fuller picture of juvenile delinquent behaviour and its prevention. The methodological steps are described below.

1.3.1 National reviews of existing approaches to prevention and control of youth deviance and youth violence

The aim of the first part of the project was to provide national overviews of existing approaches to control and prevention of young people's deviant and violent behaviour in order to identify well tried approaches and best practices and to exchange knowledge on best practices beyond the national level. The analyses undertaken addressed the areas of juvenile delinquency and youth problem behaviour defined as important social problems and paramount targets of preventive activities in the participating countries, the ways in which youth deviance is being tackled there, the paradigms behind chosen approaches to reduce youth deviance and youth violence, the most relevant actors in the field, their cooperation and interconnectedness, and the state of knowledge about effects and efficiency of measures.

Within this project element, two methodological approaches were taken:

- **Document analysis on existing approaches to prevent and control youth deviant behaviour, crime and violence:** In each country, a document analysis (including legal materials, policy papers and published reports) assessed the variety of existing approaches. These analyses give hints as to which types of youth problem behaviour are being defined as important social problems, which are paramount targets of preventive activities, and who are the relevant actors and their connections and modes of cooperation.
- **Nationwide institutional and expert surveys on existing approaches:** Each country conducted a national survey among relevant institutions, professions and experts, including researchers, practitioners, and policy makers. The topical focus of the survey was on approaches to prevention and control of youth deviance that have been tried and tested or that appear promising. The conceptual background of the survey was the concept of evidence-based crime prevention (see Eisner, Ribeaud & Bittel, 2006), applying criteria of the Maryland Scale of Scientific Methods (see Farrington, Gottfredson, Sherman & Welsh, 2002) and the Cambridge Quality Checklists (Murray, Farrington & Eisner, 2009).

1.3.2 Local studies on prevention and control of youth deviance and youth violence

The main goal of the local studies was to analyse local and regional conditions of youth deviance and violence and its prevention and control, thus providing a detailed picture of youth problem behaviour as a local phenomenon and of the ways in which communities, societal institutions and relevant professions deal with it. They enrich the macro perspective and the strategic look at prevention and control of youth problem behaviour with a micro perspective upon the realities of hands-on work in specific places. They also served to introduce young people's first hand perspective into analyses of youth deviance and violence and to give youngsters a voice regarding questions of violence prevention.

Again, this element of the YouPrev project was comprised of two – strongly interrelated - methodological approaches:

- **School survey - local self-report studies in schools:** Self-report surveys are a well-established instrument going beyond police's and law enforcement's perspective on crime (cf. Görgen & Rabold, 2009) and providing information on situational conditions, personality variables and further background factors of deviance and victimization (such as socialization experiences, family and school characteristics, peer group and neighbourhood influences, life styles and leisure time behaviour). The survey applied in the study was based upon questionnaires used in the tradition of the International Self-Reported Delinquency Study (see Enzmann, Marshall, Killias, Junger-Tas, Steketee & Gruszczyńska, 2010; Junger-Tas, Marshall, Enzmann, Killias, Steketee & Gruszczyńska, 2010, on the second wave ISRD-2, and Junger-Tas, Marshall & Ribeaud, 2003, on the first wave). Via contacts with the Steering Committee for the third wave (ISRD-3), a newly developed instrument could be used for YouPrev purposes. It was adapted for the specific purposes of this project. Other instruments like the one developed by the Criminological Research Institute of Lower Saxony (Hanover, Germany; cf. Baier, Pfeiffer, Simonson & Rabold, 2009) were used for specific components. When adapting the instrument for the purposes of this project, a special focus was put on questions regarding young people's views on crime and violence prevention. Thus, juveniles were in a sense treated as experts of their own security. Their first hand perspective not only on deviance and victimization but also on their perceptions and acceptance of preventive measures being undertaken was covered by the survey. In each partner country, two areas (one urban, one rural) were selected for self-report surveys. The survey process is described in more detail in the country chapters of this report.
- **Local interview studies:** In order to provide a coherent multi-perspective picture of (perceived) problems in the field of juvenile deviance and of attempts to prevent and reduce young people's crime and violence, interviews with relevant actors in the areas chosen for the self-report studies were conducted. These interviews addressed multi-professional and multi-agency samples, including – among others - police, judiciary, and juvenile social work. Purposive samples were selected according to interviewee's assumed expertise and with regard to professional and institutional heterogeneity. The interviews were conducted as semi-structured interviews based on an interview guideline (Lindolf & Taylor, 2002). The specific focus of the interviews was on the local situation of youth crime and prevention and on what works (or is perceived as working) and what does not work (or is perceived as not working).

1.3.3 Expert views on youth deviance and violence and its prevention and control in the coming decade

In a third step, a future-oriented expert perspective was applied to the topic of youth problem behaviour and its prevention and control. By conducting two-wave national Delphi surveys and a third multinational round anticipated demographic and social changes of the decade to come were taken into account. While attempts to predict future developments always run the risk of being inaccurate, planning for the future inevitably requires prognosis or prediction. Different methods for forecasting purposes have been developed, among them the Delphi method as a multistep interactive survey method using panels of experts (cf. Armstrong, 2006; Häder, 2009; Powell, 2003; Rowe, 2007; Rowe & Wright, 1999; 2001). The panels of the national Delphi surveys consisted of multi-disciplinary group of experts, including practitioners from different relevant fields, researchers and policy makers. The survey instrument focussed upon future developments in the field of youth deviance and youth violence and the challenges arising for prevention and control. The main focus of the international Delphi round was again on future challenges but also on perspective for exchange of good practice between European countries.

1.3.4 Exchanging best practices knowledge on youth crime prevention and control nationally and internationally

While the elements of the YouPrev project that have been described above aimed at collecting new data, other components were targeted at discussing and reflecting the findings emerging from surveys and interviews in multidisciplinary expert circles.

Thus, in each partner country, at least two national workshops were organized. They were based on the idea that prevention of youth violence is a task that cannot be accomplished successfully via criminal justice approaches alone but needs a broad institutional and professional perspective. Workshop participants included researchers, policy makers, and practitioners from different fields, in some cases also representatives of the young generation.

Subsequent to the national workshops, an international workshop was held. It was split in two parts, the first being organized in the frame of the 12th Annual Conference of the European Society of Criminology in Bilbao in September 2012, the second at German Police University in Muenster in October 2012. Participants worked on developing concepts for improved approaches for prevention and control of youth problem behaviour in the light of project results and the work done in the national workshops.

1.3.5 Development and dissemination of training resources and policy recommendations

The final phase of the project was aimed at making results and outcomes of the previous elements available by developing educational resources for continuing education of police officers and social workers, developing policy recommendations based on the analyses of best practices knowledge in prevention and control of youth problem behaviour and disseminating project results via an international conference.

In the course of the project, it became increasingly evident that on the one hand juvenile delinquency shares many similarities across countries; on the other hand, legal frameworks and institutional ap-

proaches differ a lot. And so do information and training needs of practitioners and decision-makers. Consequently, the idea of producing one leaflet with policy recommendations, one training manual for police and one for social work and to translate these products into the different languages was given up in favour of nationally tailored products. They are all available on the project website. Finally, project results were presented and discussed at a conference in Erkner (close to Berlin) in late November 2012. The conference consisted of an international expert round on the first day and a public event which attracted practitioners and policy makers from many fields on the second day.

This report provides an overview on main findings in the six participating countries (chapters 2 to 7). In a separate chapter (chapter 8), key findings from the YouPrev school surveys are highlighted from an international perspective. Results of an international Delphi round are presented in chapter 9. Chapter 10 summarizes method and key results of the project.

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2 Exploring the youth crime prevention field in Belgium: Experts' and youngsters' views

Jenneke Christiaens & Ann Evenepoel

2.1 Nationwide Institutional Expert Survey

2.1.1 General

The main purpose of the institutional expert survey was to provide a national overview of existing approaches to the prevention of youth crime. We first performed comprehensive research on the Belgian field, since this is often characterised as very chaotic and scattered (Melis & Goris, 1996). We constructed a sample of 300 relevant experts and institutions. Our final response rate was extremely low: only 11 % (33 respondents) participated in the survey. The actors in the field may have been 'over-questioned', but technical problems could also account for this low rate. For example, the experts received an invitation to take part in the survey online but unfortunately many of them were unable to open the file. Hence we tried to distribute the survey by email and post but were unable to elevate the number of participants in a significant way. A lot of invitations were also sent to general email addresses of institutions because in several cases it was very hard to find personal contact information. This meant we could not guarantee that the request to participate reached the appropriate person. Therefore we want to stress that the results discussed in the following need to be treated with caution and cannot be generalised or perceived as definitive of Belgian youth crime prevention practice.

In the table below the respondents are categorised according to their professional background. It is clear that a large majority are employed in the crime prevention service or related areas. Experts working for social (welfare) services were also well represented in our sample. This is not surprising, however, if we take a closer look at the security and prevention policy in Belgium. Local authorities can establish strategic security and prevention plans with federal government. This implies that cities and municipalities receive financial resources to implement prevention initiatives and local crime prevention services. Hence a tradition of numerous local prevention projects has developed whereby NGOs and local social services cooperate in terms of their approach to crime, deviance and general matters of security. It is not that youngsters form an important target group of this Belgian security and prevention policy (Swinnen, Hoste, & De Gruitjter, 2006).

Table 1: Institutional and organisational information (N=33)

	Frequency	Percentage
Crime prevention service (prevention project)	15	45.5
Social service / welfare	9	27.3
Prosecutor's office	4	12.1
School / educational institution for minors	2	6.1
Police	1	3.0
Counselling / psychotherapy	1	3.0
University	1	3.0
Total (N)	33	100.0

Besides the categories displayed in the table above, the experts could also indicate 'other institutions': strategic security and prevention plans, local youth child health prevention service, urban youth service, local policy, preventative work through a sport project, etc. This list clearly reveals the broad and diverse institutional field of prevention and the link with the Belgian local security and prevention policy.

2.1.2 Findings

2.1.2.1 Experts' experiences with and views on youth crime prevention

Target groups

The experts were asked to provide more information on the target groups of their prevention practices with regard to several aspects. First of all, in terms of age, gender and background features they generally described adolescent boys (14 to 17) from disadvantaged neighbourhoods and/or with substance abuse problems. This confirms a rather classical image of the juvenile offender or deviant. Prevention activities seem to focus on 'typical' risk factors. This assumption is supported when we take a look at further results.

Types of youth problem behaviour

In Table 2 it can be observed that according to the experts abuse of alcohol, illegal and legal substances, school absenteeism and youth violence are being targeted. Problematic behaviour related to the school context also seems very important, such as absenteeism and school-related violence. The respondents also noted other categories of problem behaviour. It was striking that many experts mentioned incivilities like disrupting public order, occupation of public space, etc. This phenomenon currently holds a very important place in the public debate on youth crime and deviance and is often targeted by prevention practices. We will elaborate more on this issue when discussing the local study.

Table 2: Main types of youth problem behaviour (sorted by descending means; 32 < N < 33)

	Mean	St. Deviation
Abuse of illegal substances	3.9091	1.182
School absenteeism	3.7879	0.927
Youth violence	3.7576	1.001
Abuse of alcohol / legal substances	3.5455	1.325
School-related violence	3.4242	0.830
Youth property offences	3.2727	1.179
Bullying	3.0303	1.132
Dating violence	2.7879	1.516
Gender-based violence	2.5152	1.202
Cyber crime	2.4545	1.063
Sexual offences	2.3030	1.287
Adherence to violence-legitimising norms	2.2500	1.107
Knife crime	2.2121	1.111
Hate crime / violence against minorities	2.0909	1.011
Use of violent media	2.0000	0.901
Political/religious extremism	1.7500	0.803

2.1.2.2 Approaches to prevention of youth crime

The following table shows the main approaches to prevention of youth crime. These results appear to confirm the previous statement made with regard to the target groups, namely that prevention activities focus more on risk factors or populations.

Table 3: Main approaches taken in prevention of youth deviance, crime and violence in terms of general features (sorted by descending means; N=33)

	Mean	St. Deviation
Secondary/targeted approaches (directed at at-risk populations)	3.55	1.00
Tertiary/indicated approaches (directed at those who have already become offenders/victims)	3.24	1.25
Primary/universal approaches (directed at anybody)	3.06	1.17

Preventative initiatives and activities seem to be dominated by secondary and tertiary approaches. General primary strategies that are more directed towards a broad population and which are more occupied with the general development and welfare of people are listed last.

When the experts needed to estimate specific features of approaches to prevention, they described as most important measures with a focus on social integration, measures targeted at reducing risk factors and measures with a broader focus on individual development. Measures focusing on social integration can be perceived as a primary strategy, which rather contradicts our previous observation on risk-focused prevention dominating the field. It is important, however, to reflect on the interpretation of the experts.

Stimulating social integration can also be used as a pretext to (re) integrate young offenders or risk populations, e.g. the numerous projects in Belgium aimed at directing young people ‘hanging’ around in public space to leisure activities or associations in order to prevent boredom, remove them from the streets and ‘reintegrate them in society’.

Another question dealt with the institutions and professions involved in the prevention of youth crime. The respondents perceived police and local crime prevention services as the main actors. Unfortunately we could not obtain more than one police officer in the survey although they are perceived as very important. Psychologists and the general health system were considered as least important. This may suggest that experts do not immediately relate youth crime and its causes to the general well-being and welfare of youngsters.

2.1.2.3 General structural aspects of the prevention field in Belgium

The experts were also asked to give their opinion on several structural aspects related to the prevention field in Belgium. First of all they had to estimate the value of interagency cooperation and multi-professional approaches. The results showed that the majority evaluate this as very important but they consider interagency and multi-professional cooperation as a less common practice in the field. When it comes to funding it is fair to say that in Belgium public authorities and governments are the most important providers of resources. In general the experts evaluated the financial situation as rather unstable, unpredictable and insufficient. A majority of the experts also think that Belgium has only a partial coherent political strategy with regard to the prevention of youth crime.

When we asked the respondents to provide more information on where the prevention strategies are laid down, the majority referred to the strategic security and prevention plans. They also perceive prevention services as primarily responsible for putting strategy into action together with local authorities and public administrations in consultation with communal and federal government. We can conclude that Belgium's prevention of (youth) crime in general is strongly embedded at the local level.

A rather problematic aspect was the status of evaluation in the field of youth crime prevention. The majority assessed this as average and even a significant number of experts, as below average. In general the respondents characterised the situation of evaluation in Belgium as sometimes non-existent and not scientific substantiated. Apparently there are a lot of scattered initiatives with a lack of cooperation between several governments.

The last question in this section dealt with the sources of information used in everyday practice. A lot of experts mentioned the internet and other general sources, so we assume no actual databases are to hand. A lot of sources of information stem from relevant services and institutions in the field like newsletters or conferences. The most striking fact was that a significant number of the experts turn to the media as a source of information. This perhaps says something about a possible lack of accessible and professional qualitative information in Belgium.

2.1.2.4 Experts' views on effects and efficiency of measures in youth crime prevention.

What works

It appeared that a lot of participants attach great importance to measures organised in the school environment. Restorative practices were also seen as effective in trying to reconnect youngsters with society and enforcing their feeling of responsibility. Furthermore general services and institutions established within the domain of the special youth care in Belgium were mentioned. These institutions offer assistance to youngsters and their families without an explicit focus on preventing youth crime. Finally many projects were mentioned that are aimed at behavioural change, such as sport projects or pedagogical programmes.

What is promising

Asking the experts' views on what is promising in preventing youth delinquency produced a significant non-response. The ones who did fill in this question offered a very wide range of approaches like parental guidance, placement in foster care, social skill training for young children, art projects, ... etc. A few respondents gave an explanation of why some programmes can be promising yet not effective: this largely had to do with a lack of evaluation of projects or lack of resources to establish different initiatives.

What does not work

It was remarkable that some experts criticised the general system in Belgium. Several argued that in general institutions like services for assistance to youth and special youth care (Flemish government) do not work. This is in contrast to their effectiveness in the prevention of youth crime as stated earlier. The number of measures prescribed in the national law regarding the protection of youth was regarded as ineffective owing to the lack of resources. Furthermore, many specific programmes were noted such as camera surveillance, fines, more police patrols, mono-functional organisation of public space, classic social prevention concepts like emancipation and integration for certain nationalities, ... etc.

2.1.3 Summary

Although the results described in this report have a purely descriptive character, some aspects require further reflection.

The prevention field in Belgium is often characterised as chaotic and scattered, lacking a coherent policy. This observation was also reflected in the analysis of these findings. Interagency cooperation is estimated as very important yet is not a common practice in Belgium, the financing of the field is regarded as insufficient and unstable and there is only a partially coherent political strategy in use. Furthermore, the majority of our respondents are employed in local prevention and social services usually established within the local strategic security and prevention plans. The prevention of youth crime is mainly embedded at the local policy level and contributes even more to the chaotic landscape. All these different local authorities can establish their own prevention policies and define their own priorities.

A classical picture was painted of the most important target groups and problems addressed by the prevention activities: adolescent boys from disadvantaged neighbourhoods with legal and illegal substance

abuse problems. School-related issues were also perceived as very important. It seems that the prevention strategies in Belgium tend in the direction of risk reduction.

2.2 The Delphi Survey: Looking towards the future

2.2.1 General framework

The Delphi survey aimed to explore future developments of youth crime and its possible implications for and challenges to prevention. A first wave dealt with experts' views on anticipated changes and developments in society and in the field of youth crime. In the second wave a summary of the previous one served as a basis to reflect on new perspectives and recommendations for prevention in the selected fields of youth problem behaviour.

As we had already performed an intensive study in the field of prevention of youth crime with the institutional expert survey, we used this framework as well to construct our sample for the Delphi rounds.

Because of our previous low response rate, we decided to conduct additional in-depth interviews in the first Delphi round. Unfortunately in the end the response rate for both waves was again extremely low. The first round delivered 11 paper versions (through email and post) and 13 interviews.¹ In the second wave only 14 experts took part. The sample of the first round was composed mainly of experts from the policy field, crime prevention services, the judicial domain and social work. The second wave also consisted of six people who participated in round one as well. The sample composition was somewhat similar to the first round.

2.2.2 Findings

2.2.2.1 Anticipated societal changes until 2025

In the first round the respondents painted a rather pessimistic image of expected changes within Belgian society. They foresee a rise in poverty, unemployment and social inequality owing to the economic crisis that is expected to affect the most vulnerable youngsters and their families. They are or will be confronted with a blocked perspective on their future. This precisely can, according to several respondents, have a negative effect on youth offending. A majority also think that the migrant population in Belgium will continue to increase. The experts stressed the need for more investment in education, and also in social policy measures, to anticipate these developments. Nonetheless it is feared that resources for social policy will be downsized, again affecting underprivileged families and young people in general. On the other hand many experts agree that more repressive answers to youth crime and deviance will gain ground. In brief, expected developments like technological progress, decrease of sources for education and social policy, interplay of ageing and migration, diminishing classical family structures and the individualisation

¹ In some interviews several experts participated. In this case they were not treated as separate respondents.

of society are all perceived as important factors that will contribute to increasing conflicts in society, both intergenerationally and interculturally.

2.2.2.2 Anticipated development in the field of youth crime and violence

The respondents who participated in the paper survey were convinced that youth crime will rise in the near future. Half of the experts taking part in the interviews agreed with this statement. It is important to note, however, that several interviewees nuanced their opinion. They indicated not so much that youth crime would increase as such but more that the reaction towards it would. More types of (youth) behaviour may become more criminalised (e.g. incivilities) or new phenomena may come to the fore (e.g. cyber crime), both leading to a rise in the number of youth crimes.

In the written survey the experts were asked to assess the development of offence types by gender. In general they expect for both female and male offenders a rise in cyber crime, drug-related crime and physical assault. Nonetheless, for all categories higher estimates were given for young boys than for young girls. The results of the interviews delivered somewhat similar results: drug-related offences, shoplifting and theft, cyber crime and different sorts of violence are expected to increase.

The respondents referred several times to the field of incivilities committed by youths and the related practice of municipal administrative sanctions. These sanctions are established within the framework of the previously mentioned strategic and security plans. In short, this implies that municipalities may impose administrative sanctions on 'uncivil' behaviour that are usually directed at youngsters. It is important to note that most of the experts stressed that not so much the number of uncivil behaviour will increase. Moreover due to a growing lack of tolerance within society, this type of behaviour will become subject of more severe responses. The same was stated with regard to juvenile delinquency rates in general. The figures are expected to increase because of a more repressive reaction towards youth offending. In the experts' view this is caused by a growing intercultural and intergenerational gap related to the decline of understanding, solidarity and feelings of safety and the increase of diversity and migration.

When it comes to the image of the juvenile offender, in this survey also a very classical view was elaborated: migrant youths from disadvantaged families, who are under-qualified. One expert described it as the profile of the 'usual suspect'. When it comes to the victims of youth crime a majority agreed that older people or people from the immediate surroundings would face a higher risk. Some advocated that the profile of the offenders and the victims is rather similar, which has already been confirmed in previous scientific research (e.g. Goedseels, Vettenburg, & Walgrave, 2000).

Opinions on the presence of youth gangs were rather diverse. Recent research, however, showed that youth gangs as such do not really exist in Belgium.² Drug use on the other hand was apparently perceived as an important factor in the modus operandi of youth offending. Some feared that it might contribute to

² Enhus, E., Christiaens, J., & Bruier Desmeth, S. (2011). Urban Gangs. Brussels: Federal Government-Government Service for Social Integration, Poverty and Social Economy, cooperation VUB and ULB, unpublished research report.

greater use of violence. Furthermore, the use of weapons (particularly bladed ones) is expected to increase as well.

2.2.2.3 The field of youth crime in relation to technological developments in Belgian society

The first Delphi round revealed that several respondents anticipated a significant influence of technological developments on the field of youth delinquency. Cyber crime especially is seen as an offence type that will become more prevalent. In the second round the participants were questioned about the consequences such evolution might entail for the field of youth crime and its prevention.

Generally they expect that certain offence types will become more hidden and last longer before an intervention takes place. Social media for instance can make it much easier for bullying behaviour to continue at home. Youngsters may have a false feeling of security, which may also have consequences for young victims of cyber paedophilia, for example. Keeping all this in mind, the respondents think it is necessary to give more attention to this subject within schools and general education: they indicated for example, the right use of information and the protection of human rights.

2.2.2.4 Controversial issues

In the Delphi round one some controversial issues emerged. The first dealt with the role of education in the prevention of youth crime. Whereas in the first round several experts did not agree on the value of education, those in the second round reached a consensus. They perceive school and education as an important factor in the socialisation of youngsters. An important remark was made with regard to the waterfall system (Duquet, Glorieux, Laurijssen, & Van Dorsselaer, 2006) that characterises the Belgian school system. According to the respondents, this system demotivates young people and keeps them from developing a full personality.³

Another very interesting and recurrent topic that resulted from the first Delphi round was the expected rise of conflicts in society and the approach to incivilities committed by youngsters. In Belgium an important instrument was established a few years ago to apply administrative sanctions to youngsters who commit incivilities.⁴ In round two the experts were asked to share their views and opinions on possible developments of this field. The picture that was drawn was not a very optimistic one. First they expect that the number of incivilities will rise, owing to: overpopulation and ageing trends, youth unemployment and increasing diversity. They foresee an increase of tolerance with a focus on immigrants and more generally on the individual responsibility of youngsters. The application of administrative sanctions is expected to include more and more forms of typical youth behaviour. Finally, the respondents were not too positive about this approach. According to some these sanctions ignore the underlying social problem

³ In Belgium there are three options in secondary education: general, technical, vocational and art. These types of secondary education are hierarchically structured, based on the level of theory that is offered. Students, who start in general education but have to descend to a lower level of technical or vocational education because of bad performance, usually get demotivated. They are obliged to change and usually this choice is not made in a positive way.

⁴ Currently there is even a proposal to lower the age from 16 to 14 years old.

and focus too much on the symptoms of specific behaviour. On the other hand they recommend more investment in general facilities like youth houses, sport clubs, etc.

2.2.2.5 Prevention of youth crime: what can or should be done?

The respondents were asked for their views on appropriate approaches to youth crime. Some general recommendations were formulated like giving youngsters opportunities by improving their prospects on the labour market through investment in education. Also social policy measures that increase young people's responsibilities (without patronising them), individual guidance, more rights for youngsters on the European level and a decent international legal frame for unguided minors in Europe.

The respondents were also asked to give their opinion on the most appropriate actor and designated approaches for social work and police regarding specific offence types.

First of all when it comes to drug abuse, cyber crime and violence, they foresee an important role for parents and to a lesser extent for social work and school. Apparently they attach significant value to actors involved in the daily lives of youngsters. The task of social workers in tackling drug abuse appears to involve listening to the youngsters and entering into dialogue with them. Furthermore, they think that social workers have an important task in terms of giving information and sensitising different authorities, teachers and youngsters themselves. When it comes to police they think they can only play a small role in the prevention of drug abuse and have more to do with being visible in terms of 'drug areas' and signalisation and referring youngsters to the appropriate services.

The designated approaches of police and social work to tackle cyber crime largely dealt with informing and sensitising youngsters. For both professions more room needs to be created for education on cyberspace so it can be dealt with it properly. Finally, one expert mentioned the need for protocols and international agreements on the topic.

In tackling youth violence the experts suggested that social workers need to make conflicts discussable and teach youngsters non-violent communication strategies. The respondents also emphasised the value of community policing. The police need to be approachable and learn to comprehend and communicate with youngsters appropriately.

2.3 Local Study

2.3.1 General framework

In the local study we tried to draw a detailed picture of youth problem behaviour as a local phenomenon and how it is being approached by actors and institutions in the field. Unlike other partners we selected three regions instead of two because of the bilingual Belgian context. We chose Brussels as an urban area, Hasselt as a semi-rural area and Dinant as a rural region.

The local study consisted of a qualitative part and a quantitative part. On the one hand we conducted interviews with local actors and organized group discussions with youngsters. On the other hand a school

survey based on the ISRD 3 (international self-report delinquency) questionnaire was conducted amongst 14 to 17 year olds in schools of the selected regions.

2.3.2 School survey

2.3.2.1 Sample description

Our original sample consisted of 1180 students spread over 15 different schools. With this survey as well we experienced a rather low response rate. The invitations to participate were sent in the middle of the school year. Because of an 'over-questioning' of schools in Belgium and a lack of available time, many had already decided in September in which researches they would participate.

Our final sample consisted of 1058 students aged between 13 and 18 years.

As it is clear from the figure below, the number of students is disproportionately spread over the three regions. This should be kept in mind when reading the results. They have a merely descriptive character and cannot be generalised to the related population.

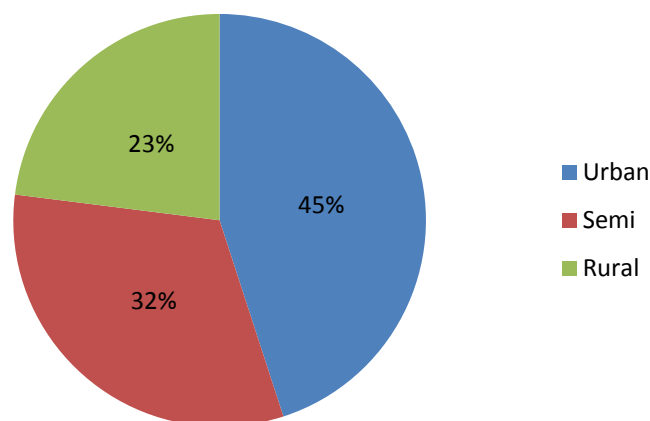


Figure 1: Number of respondents per area

2.3.2.2 Findings

In this section we will elaborate on some interesting findings and their consequences for the youth prevention field in Belgium.

Youth deviance and delinquency

One of the main purposes of the ISRD questionnaire is to compare trends in (youth) offending and victimisation across countries and to explain delinquent behaviour (Junger-Tas et al., 2010). For our study it was interesting to contrast figures on youth self-reported crime with the perception of problems occurring in the areas, as highlighted in the interviews (see below).

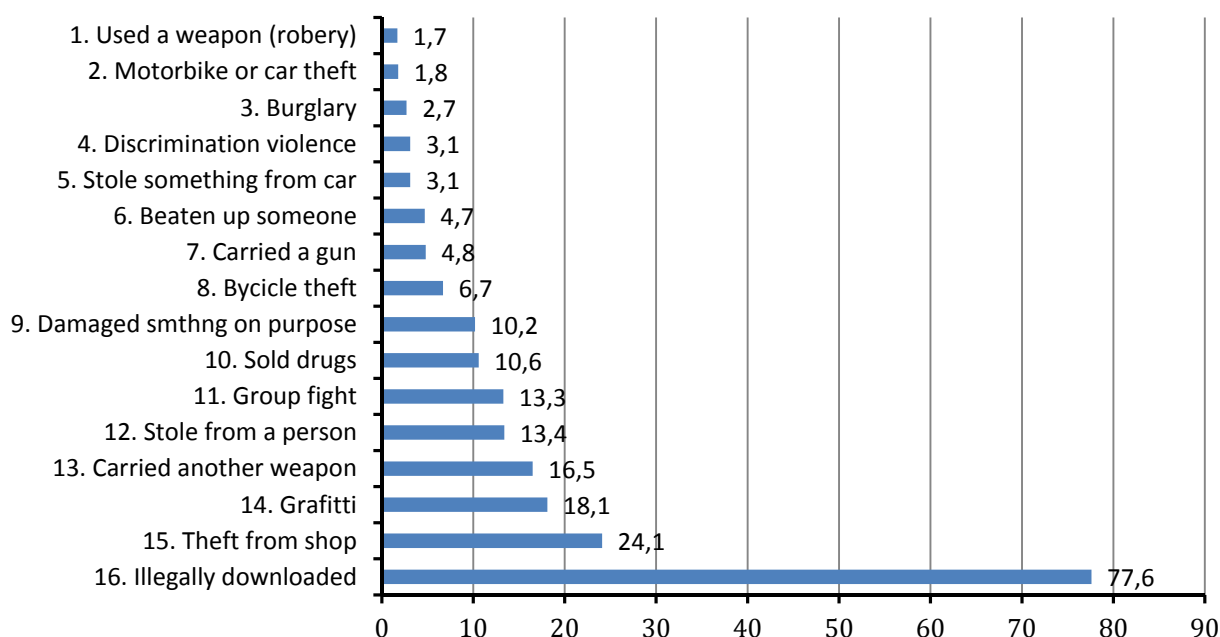


Figure 2: Percentages of self-reported deviance and crime according to different offence types.

From the figure above we can observe that illegal downloading is the most frequently reported offence type. It could be that youngsters are not aware that downloading certain things from the internet can be illegal. Other frequently reported offenses were theft from a shop, graffiti and carrying a different weapon⁵. It should be noted that ‘theft from a shop’ for example was very broadly defined and could vary from stealing sweets to stealing expensive goods. The description of ‘carrying another weapon’ could also have implications on the student’s. While conducting the surveys in class, the question, whether cutting material for art class should be considered as a weapon, was raised several times.

After further analysis of self-reported delinquency by gender, we found that boys reported higher frequencies for all offence types.

A very remarkable observation was the fact that the number of people who had never committed an offence in their entire life was almost equal to the percentage that reported at least one offence. Table 4 clearly shows that the majority committed crime very little.

⁵ This refers to carrying a weapon other than a firearm or ‘objects that could be used as a weapon’.

Table 4: Overview frequencies of offences

Valid	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
0	538	50.9	50.9	50.9
1.00	218	20.6	20.6	71.5
2.00	124	11.7	11.7	83.2
3.00	54	5.1	5.1	88.3
4.00	28	2.6	2.6	90.9
5.00	38	3.6	3.6	94.5
6.00	19	1.8	1.8	96.3
7.00	11	1.0	1.0	97.4
8.00	9	.9	.9	98.2
9.00	8	.8	.8	99.0
10.00	1	.1	.1	99.1
11.00	1	.1	.1	99.1
12.00	4	.4	.4	99.5
13.00	3	.3	.3	99.8
14.00	1	.1	.1	99.9
15.00	1	.1	.1	100.0
Total	1058	100.0	100.0	

The results for truancy were also rather reassuring, 69 % of our respondents indicated they had never skipped school in the last 12 months. The remainder missed classes an average of four times. This observation is a classic methodological consequence of the use of a school survey. There is a significant underrepresentation of dropouts or persistent truants.

Finally, as regards police contact, this remained rather rare. Only 11.9 % reported ever having contact with police, usually after a theft, an act of vandalism or violence. What was interesting is the fact that in most cases the consequences of this contact were that the parents were informed, thus no official judicial answer.

Alcohol and drug (ab)use

In general we can state that the majority of the respondents do not use alcohol or soft drugs in a problematic way. In Figure 3 we can clearly see that the majority had never been drunk in the last 30 days. As regards alcohol use in their lifetime, almost half of them (49.3%) were never drunk on any occasion.

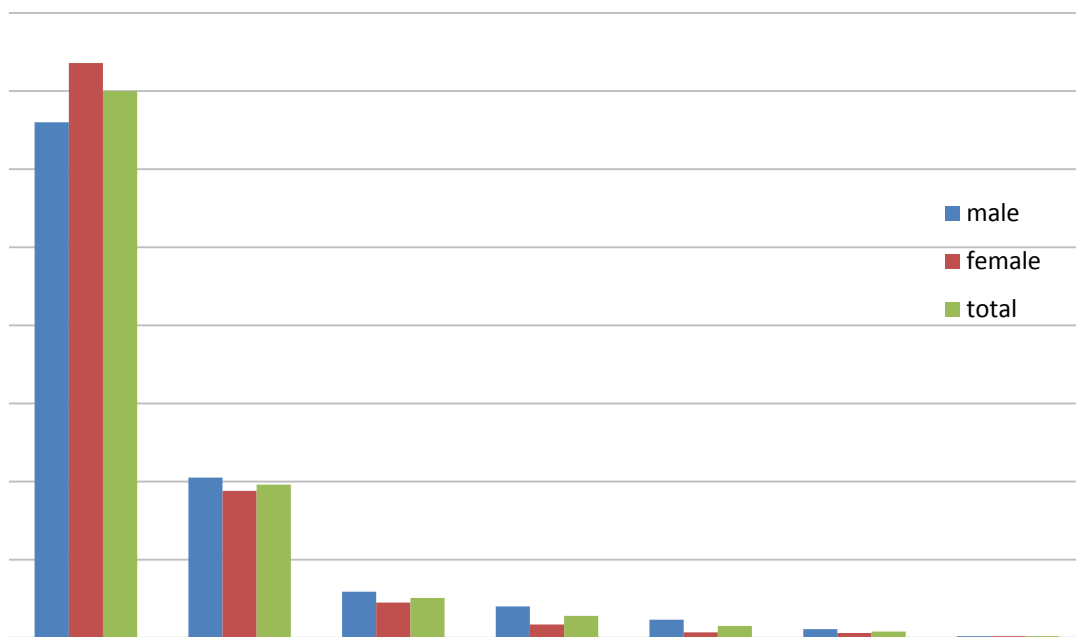


Figure 3: Percentage of alcohol use in the last 30 days

In Figure 4 we can observe that a very high number of youngsters had never used cannabis in the last 30 days (84.5 %). Moreover 74.6 % had never used it in their entire life.

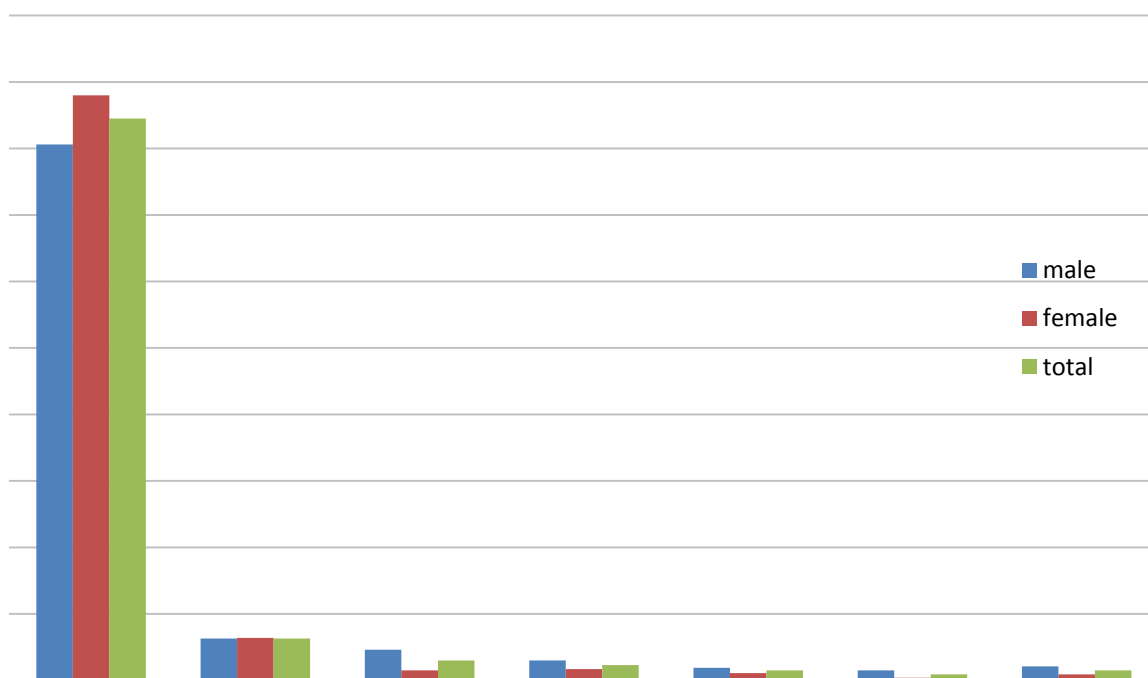


Figure 4: Percentage of cannabis use in the last 30 days

The findings for other drugs⁶ also confirmed that the youngsters in our sample do not display problematic use of drugs. Less than 10 % indicated they had used the given forms of drugs on one or two occasions. Less than 5 % reported they had used them three to five times in their lives. Finally, a very small minority indicated more problematic behaviour.

Prevention of youth crime: young people's views and experiences

As mentioned earlier, our school survey was based on the ISRD 3 but adjusted to the focus of our research. Therefore we also added a section on views of and experiences with prevention. The instrument that was jointly constructed with all partners was slightly adjusted for Belgium.

■ Prevention actors

The students were asked to estimate the value of different actors in terms of prevention. The results are displayed below.

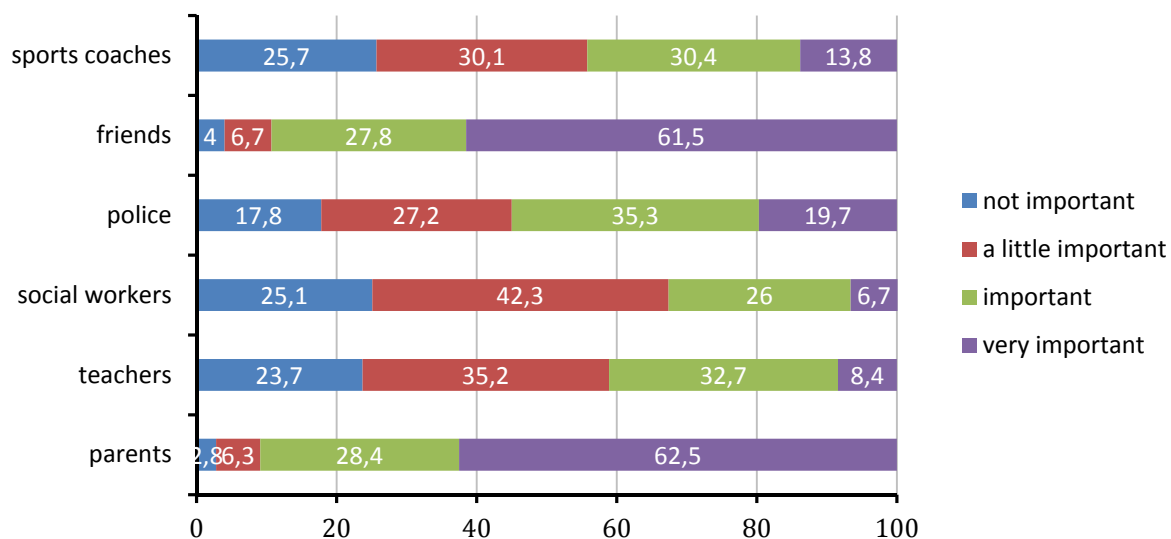


Figure 5: Respondents' estimations regarding prevention actors

The high estimations for general informal actors were remarkable. The students listed parents and friends as the most important actors. Moreover, social workers, who have an important place in the institutional field of youth crime prevention in Belgium, were estimated as of little to no importance. A total of 58.9 % also think that teachers are of little to no importance.

Figure 6 displays the results for the role of schools in the prevention of alcohol and drug use and violence. We can conclude that in general the majority does not foresee a very strong influence.

⁶ Other drugs specified included: ritalin, anabolic steroids, tranquillisers, ecstasy, glue, LSD, mushrooms, heroin/cocaine/crack, prescribed pills.

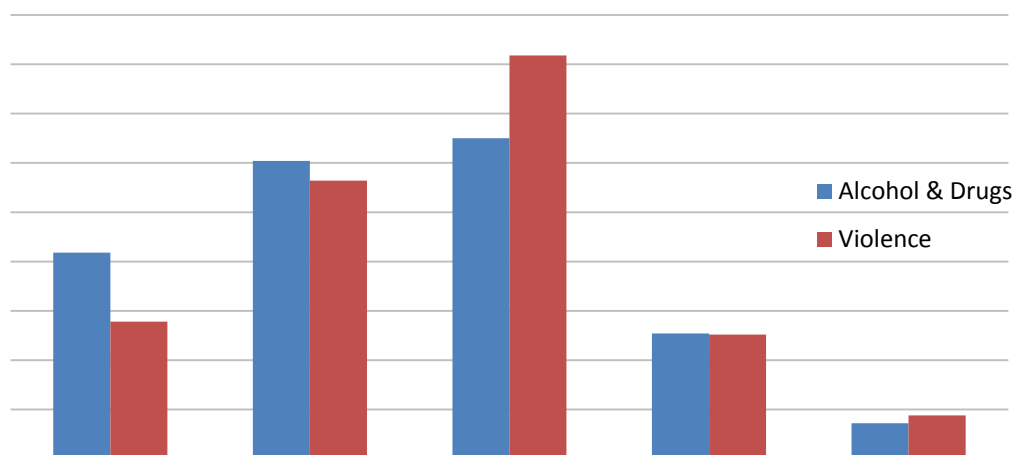


Figure 6: Respondents' opinions on the role of the school in keeping students away from alcohol or drugs and on reducing students' violent behaviour

■ Prevention methods and experiences with activities

The participants were asked what they thought would keep youngsters from doing illegal things. The majority suggested listening to their worries and problems.

A last question dealt with experiences of youth violence prevention. Table 5 shows that the majority (77.7 %) never took part in activities directed at preventing youth violence. We would also like to point to the relatively high number of missing values. This may tell us something about the knowledge of young people. Besides the fact that they might never have been targeted by prevention activities, it could also imply that the youngsters simply do not perceive certain prevention activities as such.

Table 5: Experiences of activities of violence prevention

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Valid	No	822	77.7	81.7	81.7
	Yes	184	17.4	18.3	100.0
	Total	1006	95.1	100.0	
Missing		52	4.9		
Total		1058	100.0		

2.3.2.3 Critical reflection

The youth crime prevention field in Belgium traditionally aims at tackling antisocial behaviour and incivilities and involving formal actors of prevention like social workers more often. If we take a look at the previously discussed results of the survey, we can formulate some important reflections. First of all, as regards control it appears that the youngsters in our sample attach more value to informal actors like parents and friends. Furthermore, they have very few experiences of prevention activities. This may imply that our sample is not the classical target group of the prevention field in Belgium. Although we have to

be careful about drawing premature conclusions on the basis of this rather restricted sample, the results can help us to reflect upon consequences for future research in the field. First of all on a methodological level we ought to look further than the 'classroom'. If we want to find out more about youngsters' views and experiences of prevention projects, we need to look at the real 'clientele' of the field: young people who have actually been targeted by certain measures. This cannot however be realised by quantitative research alone. In the words of the youngsters themselves, we have to 'listen to them'. Therefore we want to plead for more qualitative research in the field. Finally, we must look further than the delinquent minor. Perhaps the most effective prevention strategy is that not perceived as such. Taking a closer look at primary prevention strategies and their effects is essential.

2.3.3 Local interviews and group discussions

2.3.3.1 General framework

In addition to the school survey we also conducted interviews with experts and held group discussions with youngsters in the same three regions: Hasselt, Brussels and Dinant. The experts were selected on the basis of their relevant professional background. Since prevention covers a broad range of different institutions and actors, we covered a broad perspective in our sample construction: from teachers to social workers, police officers and prevention officers, etc. In the end 25 experts were willing to participate. The group discussions were organised strictly with youngsters so that they would feel more comfortable about sharing their experiences and views on the topic. In total three group discussions were organised, two in a classroom in Brussels, one during a lunch break at a school in Hasselt. Unfortunately we could not manage to conduct a discussion in Dinant.

The number of interviews we held was not equally divided across the three different regions. In Dinant (rural area) we conducted five interviews; in Hasselt nine and in Brussels 11. It was more difficult to find experts willing to participate in the rural area.

2.3.3.2 Findings

Perceived problems in the area

The experts and youngsters appeared to have the same views on problems with youngsters in the selected areas. They both indicated truancy, drug and alcohol (ab)use, theft and last but not least harassing people and 'hanging' around on the street and in public space. The latter type of behaviour is situated in the field of incivilities (as mentioned before). Apparently this type of problem occurs more often in urban and semi-urban areas.

The experts also profiled young delinquents, a rather classical image of young adolescent boys with a migration background. The latter characteristic mostly applied to the semi-rural and urban areas. The respondents also pointed to the importance of social and economic background and stressed the important influence of poverty and living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

If we take a look at the three regions separately, we can detect some region-specific factors. In Brussels for example several respondents stressed the importance of the urban character of the city. Many differ-

ent cultures are represented and the number of vulnerable neighbourhoods is higher. A particular concern was the lack of a coherent policy in the city owing to the presence of different governments and funding bodies.

In Hasselt we have the 'reverse racism' attitude of migrant youngsters toward native ones. This appeared to influence the number of conflicts on public transport and around the train station. A lot of schools are also situated in Hasselt, which means there are more youngsters and hence a higher risk of youth problems occurring. Several experts stressed the significant lack of space for youngsters in rural areas. The most typical problems here had to do with alcohol use and driving without a licence (and speeding).

Several youngsters shared the experts' opinion on the relevance of structural factors. They largely stressed the negative influence of the neighbourhood in which one grows up. A recurrent topic in the discussions in Brussels was the experience of racism and discrimination, not only between youngsters of different origins but also with police officers. In general both experts and youngsters stressed two main issues. First of all, they both think that young people today have become the scapegoats of society. Second, they both indicated a problematic relationship with police and (other) youngsters. In general they stressed the negative approach of police, which caused frustration, in Brussels especially both experts and youngsters problematized racist attitudes and stop-and-search actions.

Prevention: what is being done?

The respondents were asked to share their views on the current state of prevention initiatives organised in their area. In the semi-rural and urban areas measures are apparently aimed at drug use, truancy and uncivil behaviour (as mentioned above).

The experts from these areas listed traditional actors involved in prevention like welfare and social services, schools, non-profit organisations, etc. In the rural area, similar actors were mentioned but the types of activities were different. Experts referred mostly to general initiatives like djembe sessions, animation at school, and workshops on how to express feelings, etc. Possibly this observation implies the important contribution of the urban character of an area, where more secondary prevention strategies targeted at risk behaviour are applied.

The majority of the youngsters stressed the lack of appropriate activities and space. They also talked about the information available to them about possible initiatives. In the group discussion in Hasselt (semi-urban region) the youngsters listed three things that should be avoided: administrative sanctions aimed at incivilities, projects aimed at youngsters 'hanging around' and last but not least 'a severe attitude of police towards youngsters'.

The situation regarding cooperation and financing in the field was only discussed with the experts. Opinions on the state of cooperation differed. Only in Brussels was it clear that cooperation between different services is made more difficult by the diverse policies in the city. In terms of financing they all agreed about the total lack of financial resources for projects and for their evaluation.

Future challenges and recommendations regarding prevention

In this survey the importance of education was stressed. Both the experts and youngsters recommended more investment and support for schools, and making classrooms smaller, for example. Youngsters also problematised the negative influence of the waterfall system in education in Belgium. They also expressed a huge need for more activities and initiatives aimed at youngsters, more places for them to hang out or to practise sports, etc. Furthermore, some general measures were suggested such as participation of young people, emancipation, early intervention, involvement of parents, and so on.

Controversial issues

■ The role of police

During both the interviews and group discussion several issues related to the youth crime prevention field were raised.

A recurrent topic was the role of police. A significant number of the respondents agreed that the attitude of police is too aggressive and repressive. On the other hand some students stated that the police were not severe enough. Since several youngsters shared both views, this contradiction could imply that they think the police are too soft in dealing with 'real youth crime' and their method of communicating with youngsters in general is experienced as too repressive.

Some recommendations were made for dealing with acts of racism, discrimination and the stop-and-search acts in Brussels. Respondents stressed the importance of a network between police and young people. One youngster thought it would be better to have a relaxed atmosphere between both parties and to try to enhance the police's knowledge and understanding of young people's worlds.

■ Administrative sanctions

During the interviews and discussions the topic of administrative sanctions recurred several times, as it did in the report. Several experts disagreed with imposing sanctions on incivilities in the first place, whereas others stressed the need to react to this behaviour in a proper way. In the latter case doubts were still expressed as to whether sanctions were actually necessary. Youngsters did not discuss incivilities very much but rather stressed their need for space to express themselves.

■ The concept of responsibility

It was much harder to find agreement on this topic. Some think school and education in general play a very significant role in preventing youth crime, and others think that the responsibility does not rest there. According to some respondents, it is more the task of parents to guard their children from doing illegal things, whereas others are reluctant to reduce the problem to the individual level and clearly argue for society's role.

2.3.3.3 Local study: conclusion

The local study aimed to analyse local conditions of youth crime and how it is approached in the selected three areas. By combining quantitative results from the school survey and qualitative findings from the interviews and group discussion, we tried to explore different perspectives on local problems and related prevention practices.

Although we performed the study in three different regions we have to be careful not to draw premature conclusions since the areas were not equally represented in our sample (in both the surveys as well as the interviews and group discussions). Therefore we did not focus too much on region-specific features but tried to highlight interesting findings that could tell us something more about the youth crime prevention field in general.

We also detected some similarities and contradictions between the findings from the survey and the interviews. First of all the interviews showed that truancy and alcohol and drug use were one of the main problems perceived to be present in the areas under study. This observation confirms the previously mentioned methodological pitfall of using an ISRD questionnaire (underrepresentation of 'interesting respondents'). The profile that was drawn by the respondents of the youth delinquent appeared to be a classical one: young migrant boys from disadvantaged neighbourhoods. The findings from the school survey partly confirmed the assumption on gender. The boys who took part in the ISRD reported greater frequencies of offending for all the different types of behaviour. This does not apply, however, to alcohol and drug use. On the other hand, the role of the neighbourhood was stressed many times by the respondents during the interviews. Further analysis of the IRD study confirmed a correlation between a positive evaluation of one's neighbourhood and a lower probability of reporting youth crime. Finally the results from both researches on police contact appeared to be somewhat contradictory. Youngsters who took part in the school survey did not have much contact with the police. Nonetheless, during the interviews problematic relationships and contact with the police was a topic that recurred very often. An explanation for this is possibly the way in which police contact was questioned in the survey. The respondents were asked: 'Have you ever had contact with police because you did something illegal...?'. This immediately suggests contact after an illegal act. Nevertheless, young people do not necessarily meet police officers only after a criminal offence has been committed. In the interviews it was stressed that the police adopt a generally aggressive approach to communicating with youngsters. This does not necessarily imply contact after problems have occurred.

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3 On nets and how to knot them: Juveniles and experts on delinquency and prevention in Germany

Thomas Görgen, Anabel Taefi & Benjamin Kraus

This chapter summarizes main results of the YouPrev-surveys conducted in Germany. Experts' views on the current state of crime preventive activities in Germany as well as in two selected regions and their views on future developments and challenges in the field of youth deviance and delinquency and its prevention will be reported. Data collected via a self-report study on deviance, delinquency and preventive approaches which addressed students from the two selected regions will be displayed.

3.1 Expert views on prevention: institutional / expert survey⁷

In the course of the German Nationwide Institutional and Expert Survey, a sample of 73 respondents – researchers and practitioners from different professional fields (police, research, crime prevention, social work, schools, justice / penal system) – were asked about preventive approaches and the situation of prevention in Germany and in their region or city. The survey was conducted between May and October, 2011. The response rate was rather low with 20.9 % (350 invitations sent). This low rate was partly due to unforeseen technical obstacles that occurred during the realization of the survey which was mainly conducted as a web-based (online) survey. 71 % of respondents were male, the mean age was about 50 years.

Table 6: Professional Background of participating experts (N = 60)

Institutional Background	N	%
Police	29	48.3
University	7	11.7
Other research institution	6	10.0
Crime prevention organisation	6	10.0
Social service / welfare	5	8.3
School	3	5.0
Correctional facility	2	3.3
Public prosecutor's office	1	1.7
Criminal court	1	1.7

⁷ A more detailed description of results can be found in http://www.youprev.eu/pdf/YouPrev_ExpertSurvey_DE.pdf

Key perspectives of experts

From experts' experience, most preventive approaches focus on "typical" or "classical" fields of juvenile delinquency. Young males (14–24 years old) and repeat offenders were described as the main target groups of preventive activities. As main categories of youths' problem behaviour targeted by preventive approaches, experts saw youth violence, school-related violence (since preventive measures are often carried out in a school context), and abuse of substances (both legal and illegal) as deviant behaviour and as a mediator of delinquency. Asked for the main approaches taken in prevention and control of youth deviance and delinquency, experts named approaches directed at groups who are already engaged in criminal behaviour (i.e. indicated prevention) as the ones taken the most in Germany. Experts did not consider primary and universal approaches or measures targeted at strengthening protective factors as the ones mostly taken.

In the eyes of respondents, the main institutions and professions involved are police, social work, social services / welfare and professionals from the educational and school system. Institutions and professions from the judicial system received only average ratings; most experts considered psychological and physical health professions not to be very much engaged in prevention and control of youth deviance, violence and crime.

Interagency and multi-professional cooperation were seen as important features of quality prevention. Asked to assess "the perceived importance and current status of interagency cooperation / multi-professional approaches in youth crime prevention and control in your country, region or community", experts had a high level of agreement with regard to the ascribed status of interagency cooperation and multi-professional approaches (cf. Table 7). Most experts also had the impression that such cooperation is already common practice in tackling youth crime and violence.

Table 7: Importance and status of interagency cooperation and multi-professional approaches, N = 70, 5-point scale: 1 = not at all to 5 = very much

Interagency cooperation and multi-professional approaches	M	SD
... are regarded as important in tackling youth crime / violence	4.44	.895
... are common practice in tackling youth crime / youth violence	3.56	1.072

As main sources of funding in the field of prevention, experts named municipalities and (national) governments, followed by non-profit organisations, charities, foundations, and the European Union. The overall situation of funding was not viewed very positively. Funding was rated as neither sufficient, nor predictable or stable (cf. Table 8)

Table 8: Experts' views on the reliability of funding of preventive measures in the field of youth crime, deviance and violence, N = 70, 5-point scale: 1 = very unstable/unpredictable/not sufficient at all to 5 = very stable/predictable/more than sufficient

Funding is...	M	SD
sufficient	2.13	.962
predictable	2.66	1.034
stable	2.69	1.071

Additional aspects that were viewed critically by experts refer to political strategies with regard to youth problem behaviour and to the status of evaluation in the field of prevention. Asked “to what extent [they] would say there is a coherent political strategy of dealing with problems of youth deviance / youth crime / youth violence in [their] country, region or community”, the vast majority of experts think there only is a partially developed political strategy (cf. Table 9). And more than half of the experts judged the status of evaluation in the field of youth deviance, crime and violence in Germany as “below average” or even as “extremely poor”, while no respondents stated evaluation was excellent. Answers to open-format questions also revealed that from most of the experts’ points of view, evaluation is a prerequisite of quality prevention but is still neglected too often.

Table 9: Experts' opinions on the status of evaluation in the field of youth deviant behaviour, crime and violence, N = 71.

Status of evaluation is...	N	%
extremely poor	16	22,5
below average	22	31,0
average	25	35,2
above average	8	11,3
excellent	0	0

When asked for measures/programmes that can be regarded as effective in the field of youth crime / youth violence, experts came up with a multitude of programmes and approaches, some of them widely used, some of them with a local or regional focus. Respondents stressed the need to intervene at an early age, to tailor interventions to individual risk factors and to make use of cognitive behavioural interventions. They made clear that measures need to be targeted at the family (strengthening parents’ educational skills, providing support as early as possible for at risk households) and at schools and at the problem of school absenteeism, and at special support for children from migrant families. Specific trainings were regarded as helpful in the fields of alternatives to violence, social skills, empathy, conflict management, and measures against bullying at schools. According to experts’ view, young people at risk need support with regard to drug abuse problems, vocational career, and media usage. With regard to judicial processing of juvenile crime, respondents spoke in favour of a timely and at the same time moderate response, considering alternatives to punishment, including victim-offender-mediation and social skills trainings mandated by court orders. The need to bring police, courts, schools, and welfare together with regard to repeat offenders was strongly supported.

Approaches that were mentioned as non-effective or little effective included short-term measures, measures lacking a conceptual basis, measures lacking a systemic, cooperative perspective, and measures that are merely punitive, repressive or based on deterrence. In general, punitive strategies in dealing with juvenile offences were regarded as ineffective.

In summary, respondents in the institutional and expert survey see main features of quality prevention in interagency and multi-professional cooperation, aiming at risk factors / protective factors and at strengthening social skills, and in early prevention and intervention. Needs for improvement are de-

scribed mainly with regard to a more systematic, coherent strategy of prevention, more stable funding, and more evaluation (following established standards).

3.2 Expert views on future developments: Delphi survey⁸

The aim of the YouPrev Delphi survey was to examine future societal changes and challenges and their implications for prevention and control of youth problem behaviour. Since any type of strategic planning necessarily presupposes assumptions on the future, the challenge is to put these assumptions on a basis as solid as possible. The Delphi survey undertook to go beyond the level of “implicit predictions” by including expert opinions and expert knowledge in a systematic and structured manner. The survey was conducted in two waves, mainly via PDF-templates sent out by e-mail (additionally, a paper and pencil version was available). The first wave (August to November 2011) focused on anticipated changes and developments in society and in the field of youth crime. In round two (between February and April 2012), core results from the first wave were summarized as a basis for new expert judgements and, additionally, experts’ recommendations for prevention in selected fields of juvenile problem behaviour were addressed. The experts included in the sample have a broad range of professional backgrounds. Researchers from multiple disciplines, police officers, social workers, experts from the fields of judiciary as well as crime prevention were included in the sample. The response rate in the first round was low with only 19.6 %, in the second round 52 % of the experts that received a questionnaire took part. 72 respondents took part in the first survey round, 40 in the second round. Police officers and researchers were the largest groups in the sample. The sample composition of rounds 1 and 2 differed not only due to a rather high dropout-rate (61.1 %). Also, a small number of experts who were not able to take part in the first round, decided to participate in the second round (in total 30 % of the Delphi 2 sample). 28 experts participated in both rounds. Table 10 gives an overview on the sample composition.

Table 10: Sample composition and professional background of experts in Delphi survey rounds 1 and 2

Professional Field	Round 1		Round 2	
	N	%	N	%
Police	29	40.3	22	55.0
Social work	6	8.3	1	2.5
Research	22	30.6	11	27.5
Crime prevention	4	5.6	3	7.5
Judiciary	4	5.6	3	7.5
Not available	7 ⁹	9.7	0	0
Total	72	100.0	40	100.0

⁸ A more detailed description of results can be found in http://www.youprev.eu/pdf/YouPrev_DelphiSurvey_DE.pdf

⁹ The question on professional background was omitted in the first round and thus is unknown for some respondents.

Key perspectives of experts

In summary, no profound overall changes are expected in the field of youth crime during the next decade. In the eyes of respondents, juvenile delinquency will remain widespread, ubiquitous behaviour that is mainly episodic, and of low intensity in most cases.

Changes in appearance and volume of youth crime can mainly be expected resulting from

- demographic change,
- technological changes in everyday life, and
- social processes of change.

As a result of demographic trends leading to a decreasing number of younger people, the total number of juvenile offenders will also decrease until the year 2025. The majority of experts predict a drop in the number of juvenile offenders registered by police. In average these respondents expect a drop by nearly 13 % ($M = 12.70\%$; $SD = 6.720$; Range = 4–40 %). This anticipated overall decrease in the number of juvenile suspects points into the same direction as the expected reduction of juveniles in the age group 14–17 of around 15 % until the year 2020, caused by demographic change in Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2009).

Increasing numbers of offences and new developments are mainly seen in the field of youth cybercrime, i.e. delinquency in connection with communication and information technologies. Developments of these technologies change and extend opportunity structures. Respondents predict a general increase in the field of cybercrime; most often mentioned was an increasing significance of phenomena of cyber bullying, followed by increasing copyright infringements and computer fraud. Another major problem is seen in attacks on privacy and personal data. This includes spying out of personal data and misuse of pictures, financial data etc., amplified by many juveniles handling their own personal data in a very incautious way, as some respondents point out.

With regard to societal changes, the overall picture of developments in society and economy drawn by respondents is a rather pessimistic one: They expect more social inequality, a growing polarization between social groups and milieus, shrinking income, more precarious jobs; less government spending for social policy, education, and (crime) prevention. Only a minority of respondents voiced more optimistic views: They expect positive economic developments, decreasing social inequality, and advances in the field of (school) education. In the eyes of many respondents, economic and technological developments will entail that the labour market requires higher qualifications. This implies good prospects for individuals with a higher education and job opportunities in new professional fields for highly qualified juveniles on the one hand, worsening chances for individuals with low qualification on the other hand. It is seen as a major problem that there is a considerable number of underprivileged youths with a low level of education and bad chances of participation. In summary, advancing social inequality and polarization, and marginalization of societal groups are perceived as important problems with potentially criminogenic effects.

There were controversial perspectives on whether family cohesion will diminish in conjunction with a continuing societal trend towards individualisation, or if it will gain new strength in the next decade. Controversial views were also raised with regard to integration of migrants. While some respondents antici-

pated a growing social divide between native Germans and migrants and growing “ghettoization”, others predicted advances regarding cultural, linguistic, educational, and vocational integration/participation of migrants.

Expert views on prevention in the near future

When asked for recommendations for preventive approaches in selected fields of juvenile problem behaviour in the upcoming decade, experts emphasize that prevention should focus on strengthening skills and resources. This includes supporting the competencies and social resources of juveniles as well as those of parents, teachers, and social workers. Experts mention general social skills and “essential life skills” of young people as well as more specific ones. For instance, strengthening media competences – of youngsters as well as of parents, teachers, and social workers – is seen as an important goal that prevention should aim at with regard to the increasing relevance of the field of cybercrime.

Parents and schools are rated as most the important actors in prevention. Other actors (social work, police, crime prevention councils, municipality) are rated lower in average, but are not seen as unimportant. Schools are seen as the most important place to address young people and to carry out preventive efforts. An expansion of social work at schools and of (evaluated) programmes against violence/bullying in schools is recommended by many experts.

A strong emphasis is put on cooperation between different institutions and professions, especially schools, social work, and police. Additionally, it emerges from multiple statements that parents should be more involved into preventive efforts; lots of recommended approaches included support, advice and information for parents, and parental training. Another aspect that was named by several experts was that prevention ideally should start at early ages.

Police are – besides their task to implement effective criminal prosecution – also seen as an actor in prevention. Recommended approaches for the field of police include mainly cognitive approaches – in terms of giving information to and raising awareness of young people about issues such as cybercrime, bullying, and drug abuse. Again, the importance of cooperation is stressed; prevention could benefit from police putting their specific knowledge and skills into cooperation, providing information and advice to other professionals and institutions.

Anticipated developments in society and economy remain an underlying perspective of experts’ views on preventive efforts. Lots of recommended approaches for prevention of juvenile problem behaviour refer to social policy and to the need of investment in social and educational work. In the eyes of experts, social policy should aim at creating inclusive social and educational conditions, to supporting the participation of disadvantaged groups and reducing social inequality.

3.3 German school survey

3.3.1 Methodology

3.3.1.1 Selected regions

The school survey was conducted in two neighbouring regions in the federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia. The city of Muenster (290 000 inhabitants) was chosen as the urban region, the county of Warendorf (280 000 inhabitants) as the rural area. Muenster is the administrative centre of the surrounding region. It is home to a large university and multiple other institutions of higher education. More than 80 % of the workforce is employed in the tertiary sector. In the county of Warendorf, the secondary sector (mainly mechanical engineering and metal processing) is equally important as the tertiary sector. The percentage of citizens without German nationality is slightly higher in the city (7.8 %) than in the rural area (6.7 %).

3.3.1.2 German school system

In the German school system, secondary education is stratified and leads to three divergent qualification levels (“Hauptschule”, “Realschule”, “Gymnasium”). Additionally, there are schools that teach children in stratified courses or classes under one roof (“Gesamtschule”)¹⁰.

3.3.1.3 Legal restrictions / approval requirements

The first step in accessing the sample was to ask headmasters/headmistresses of schools for their willingness to participate in the study. In case of approval, each class teacher decided whether he or she agreed to participate. Afterwards, written consent from parents needed to be obtained. Participation in the survey was voluntary and anonymous.

3.3.1.4 Survey process

The survey was conducted as a paper and pencil survey in class between December 2011 and March 2012. The questionnaire was based on the new ISRD3¹¹ instrument. The instrument was shortened in order to be applicable in one lesson. Additionally, a section on experiences with and attitudes towards preventive measures and preventive actors was included (http://www.youprev.eu/pdf/YouPrev_Instrument_SchoolSurvey_DE.pdf). In total, 19 out of 34 schools agreed to participate. The overall response rate of students was 65.9 %¹².

¹⁰ Furthermore, there are schools that prepare for vocational training after grade 10 (“Fachoberschule”) as well as several types of special schools (“Foerderschule”) for children with learning disabilities or handicaps.

¹¹ Special thanks to the ISRD Steering Committee and Dr. Dirk Enzmann

¹² Reasons for not participating were sickness, unwillingness of student or not having handed in parents’ consent.

Sample description

Of 2.186 respondents, 52.8 % were attending school in the rural, and 47.2 % in the urban area. Nearly half of the students were female (47.5 %), mean age was approximately 15 years ($M = 14.77$, $SD = 1.110$, $N = 2170$). Table 11 gives an overview on sample characteristics subdivided by the area in which the school was situated.

Table 11: Sample characteristics by region, $2138 < N < 2186$

Characteristic	Urban % (N)	Rural % (N)	Total % (N)
Total sample	47.2 (1.031)	52.8 (1.155)	100 (2.180)
Sex: female	46.4 (478)	48.5 (559)	47.5 (1037)
Mean age (in y.)	14.79	14.75	14.77
Students' place of residence			
large city	69.9 (698)	1.6 (18)	33.5 (716)
small town	16.2 (162)	56.3 (642)	37.6 (804)
village	13.8 (138)	42.1 (480)	28.9 (618)
School type			
Gymnasium	45.9 (473)	29.0 (335)	37.0 (808)
Realschule	26.0 (268)	50.0 (578)	38.7 (846)
Hauptschule	28.1 (290)	21.0 (242)	53.2 (24.3)
Grades			
8 th	33.4 (344)	34.9 (403)	34.2 (747)
9 th	35.6 (367)	36.2 (418)	35.9 (785)
10 th	31.0 (320)	28.9 (334)	29.9 (654)
Migration background			
Migr. backgr. 1 st & 2 nd Gen.	31.2 (313)	20.3 (230)	25.4 (543)
among those: language spoken at home not German	39.0 (115)	21.5 (47)	31.5 (514)

Most of the students who attended school in Muenster also lived there (see Table 11); 30 % lived outside of the city in smaller towns or villages. Percentages of students attending Gymnasium and Realschule (the two higher types) differed between urban and rural area. Most of the students in Muenster (73.6 %) and Warendorf (79.8 %) lived together with both of their parents (or a stepparent) and their brothers and sisters (urban = 79.0 %, rural = 86.2 %). Over 30 % of the students attending school in the city were first or second generation migrants – in the rural area this was only true for around 20 % of the sample. The average age of migration to Germany among first generation migrants was six years ($Min = 0$, $Max = 17$, $SD = 5.074$, $N = 132$).

3.3.2 Victimization

43.1 % of all girls and boys reported having been victimized at least once in their lifetime (boys = 41.3 %, girls = 45.1 %; $\chi^2 = 3.116$, $df = 1$, $p = .078$, $N = 2.170$). The differences between victimization rates of boys (36.2 %) and girls (41.3 %) are somewhat more pronounced for the last twelve months ($\chi^2 = 5.708$, $df = 1$, $p < .05$, $N = 2.128$). Figure 7 shows that being a victim of theft is common among both sexes. While girls were a lot more likely to become victims of cyberbullying or dating violence, male students had more often experienced hate crimes, assault or robbery/extortion.

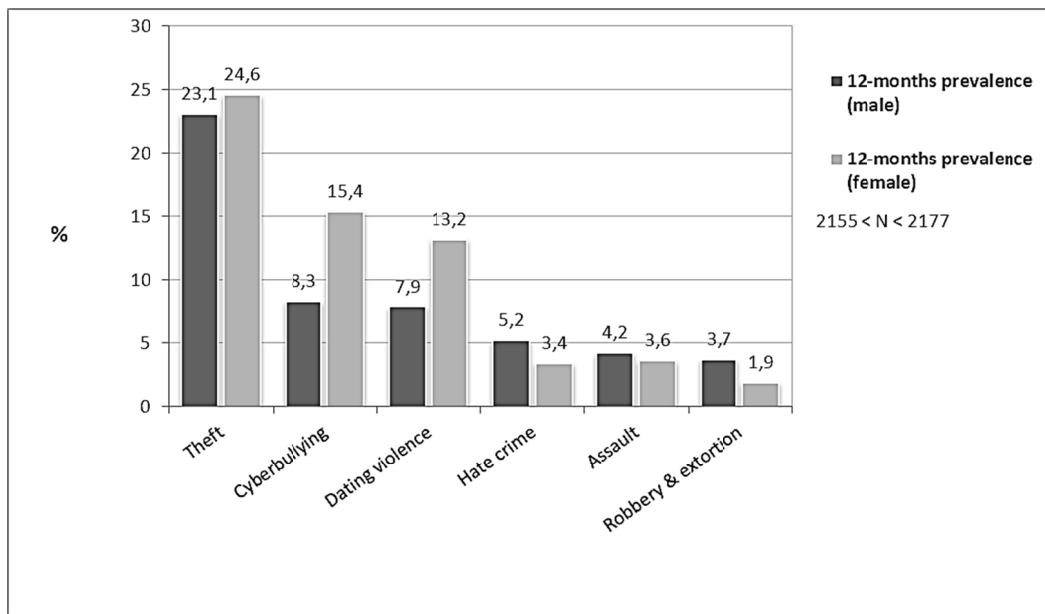


Figure 7: Types of victimization experienced by boys and girls during the last 12 months in per cent, 2155 < N < 2177

Life-time as well as 12 months prevalence of victimization was higher for urban students (cf. Table 12).

Table 12: Overall victimization rates by region

Victimization	Urban % (N)	Rural % (N)	χ^2	df	p
Life-time prevalence	46.4 (470)	40.1 (454)	8.787	1	**
12-months prevalence	42.1 (421)	35.6 (402)	9.526	1	**

During the last 12 months, students from the urban area reported that they had more often been victims of theft (urban = 27.8 %, rural = 20.4 %, $\chi^2 = 16.135$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$) and hate crimes (urban = 5.3 %, rural = 3.6 %, $\chi^2 = 3.877$, $df = 1$, $p < .05$); no differences between the regions were found for other types of offences.

3.3.3 Deviant behaviour

Different types of students' deviant behaviour were addressed in the questionnaire. An overview on truancy as well as substance use is given in Table 13.

Table 13: Deviant behaviour of students by region

Deviant Behaviour	Urban % (N)	Rural % (N)	χ^2	df	p
Truancy					
Truancy (last 12 months)	16.4 (168)	11.3 (129)	12.140	1	***
...3 or more times (for a whole day, last 12 months)	8.6 (87)	4.1 (47)	18.087	1	***
Substance use					
Being drunk - lifetime prev.	44.5 (438)	50.9 (573)	8.672	1	**
Being drunk - 12-months prev.	42.7 (398)	48.9 (531)	7.739	1	**
Being drunk - last month prev.	27.7 (255)	28.5 (305)	.164	1	.686
Cannabis use - lifetime prev.	13.0 (130)	12.7 (144)	.062	1	.803
Cannabis use - 12-months prev.	11.2 (105)	11.4 (122)	.027	1	.869
Cannabis use - last month prev.	6.1 (57)	7.2 (77)	1.031	1	.310
Substance use – life time prev.					
Inhalants	6.8 (68)	9.3 (106)	4.341	1	*
Alcohol & medical pills	3.7 (37)	5.9 (67)	5.345	1	*
Sedatives / Tranquilizers	2.0 (20)	3.7 (42)	5.323	1	*
Ecstasy / Amphetamines	3.2 (32)	2.3 (26)	1.763	1	.184
Heroin, Cocaine & Crack	2.0 (20)	2.0 (23)	.000	1	.987
Magic mushrooms	1.6 (16)	1.7 (20)	.071	1	.790
Hallucinogens	1.0 (10)	1.7 (19)	1.752	1	.186
Steroids	1.1 (11)	1.1 (13)	.008	1	.930
Ritalin	0.4 (4)	1.0 (11)	2.406	1	.121

Urban students were significantly more often truants than those from the rural area. This may have to do with higher informal social control and less attractive opportunities for activities in smaller towns. More students from the urban area (8.6 %) skipped school at least 3 times during the last 12 months than in the rural region (4.1 %). With regard to life-time and twelve months prevalence, experiences with heavy drunkenness are more prevalent in the rural region (cf. Table 13). For the last month, no significant differences between students from urban (27.7 %) and rural (28.5 %) region could be found. A lot more boys than girls had experiences with being heavily drunk, as well concerning their life-time prevalence (boys = 54.0 %, girls = 41.3 %, $\chi^2 = 33.672$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$, $N = 2\,108$) as during the last month (boys = 34.0 %, girls = 21.5 %, $\chi^2 = 38.361$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$, $N = 1\,990$).

No differences between the regions could be found regarding students' experiences with cannabis use. Nearly 13 % said they had already tried it at least once ($N = 2\,135$), 11.3 % ($N = 2\,012$) also had taken it during the last 12 months. Overall prevalence of use during the last month was 6.7 % ($N = 2\,010$). Boys are far more experienced (life-time prevalence: boys = 17.1 %, girls = 8.2 %, $\chi^2 = 38.203$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$) and active (last-month prevalence: boys = 9.6 %, girls = 3.4 %, $\chi^2 = 30.991$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$, $N = 2\,009$) than girls.

The overall life-time prevalence of having tried at least one substance other than alcohol or cannabis did not diverge significantly between the regions (urban = 14.5 %, rural = 17.6 %, $\chi^2 = 3.313$, $df = 1$, $p = .069$,

N = 1957). If cannabis is included, 21.8 % of the sample (N = 2 117) had tried at least one intoxicant. Students from the rural area showed a higher prevalence for the use of nearly all substances, even though in most cases differences were not significant (cf. Table 13). The most widespread substances are not illegal and therefore easier to access (inhalants, medical pills in combination with alcohol, sedatives and tranquilizers).

Students were also asked about their friends' perceived delinquent involvement¹³. Questions addressing friends' substance use and property offences were used to build an index "deviant peers". Questions asking for friends' violent offences were used to build an index "violent peers" (see Table 14).

Table 14: Percentage of students who responded they have deviant or violent peers, by sex and region

Characteristic	Urban % (N)	Rural % (N)	χ^2	df	p
Deviant peers	58.5 (600)	60.1 (690)	.555	1	.456
Violent Peers	20.5 (210)	15.8 (182)	8.033	1	**
Characteristic	Boys % (N)	Girls % (N)	χ^2	df	p
Deviant peers	62.7 (715)	55.6 (574)	11.917	1	**
Violent Peers	20.5 (234)	15.3 (158)	10.030	1	**

While having deviant friends was comparably prevalent among students in both regions, having contact with violent offenders was significantly more widespread in the city. Gender differences are also significant (cf. Table 14).

3.3.4 Delinquency

Delinquent behaviour was measured via 16 questions addressing different forms of offending¹⁴, asking for life-time and 12-months prevalence.

The most prevalent types of offences during the last twelve months are the less severe ones (cf. Figure 8): Vandalism as the most widespread offence¹⁵ has been committed by 9.2 % of the students. Among the property offences, shoplifting (11.1 %) and bike theft (7.0 %) are most prevalent. Participating in a group fight is the most prevalent violent offence (6.9 %), only small numbers of students reported they committed assault (2.4 %) or robbery and extortion (1.3 %). Apart from shoplifting, all offence types shown in Figure 8 have been committed considerably more often by boys than by girls. In total, 19.1 % of all students reported a property offence during the last twelve months and 8.5 % reported having committed a violent act.

¹³ Wording of questions e.g.: "I have friends who used hard drugs like ecstasy, speed, heroin or coke.", answer categories "yes" and "no"

¹⁴ Two items – carrying a firearm and carrying a weapon like object or a weapon – do not exclusively address behaviour that is defined as illegal in Germany.

¹⁵ „Carrying a weapon or a weaponlike object“ does not necessarily have to be an offence. Nevertheless, it has to be mentioned that a considerable number of boys and girls reported having carried weapons or similar objects during the last twelve months.

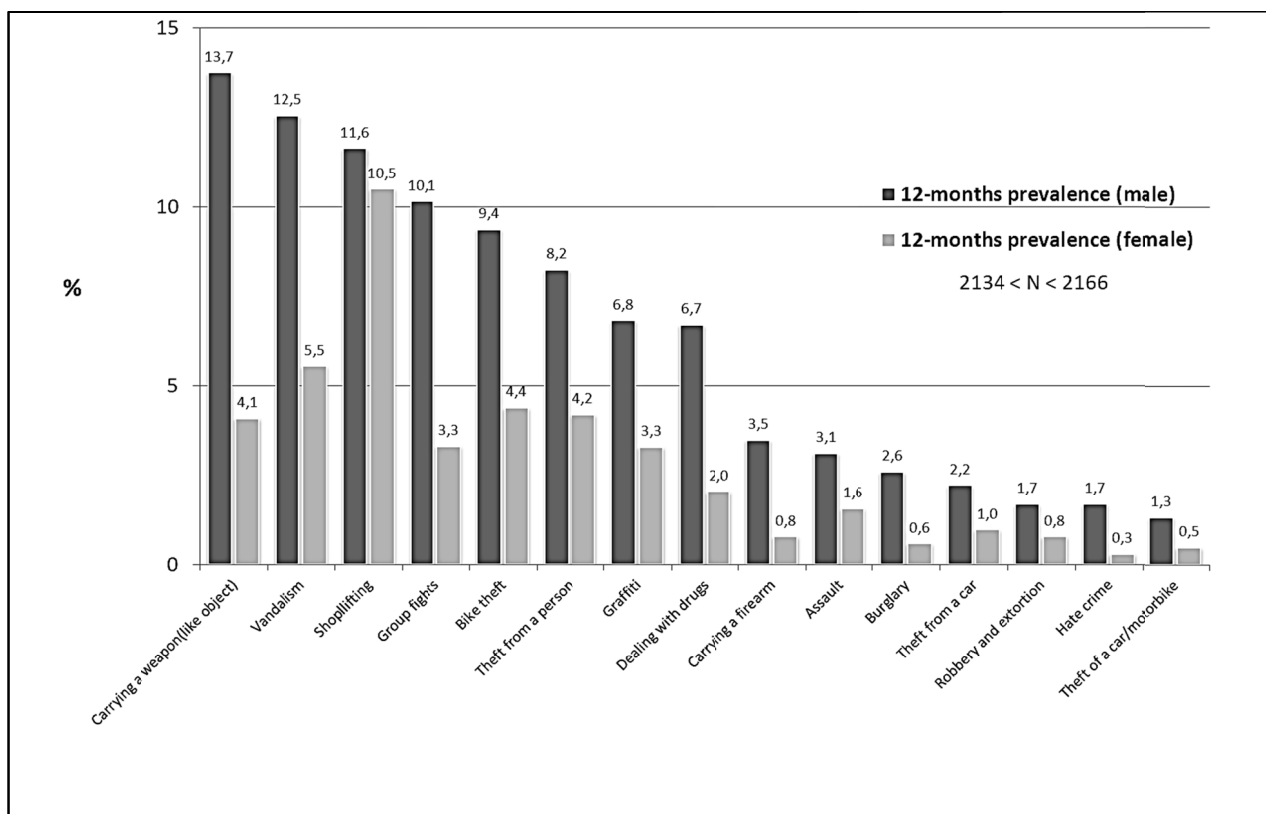


Figure 8: Twelve months prevalence of boys' and girls' self-reported delinquency

While not displayed in Figure 8 illegal downloading of e.g. music, movies or games, is in fact the most widespread offence. 47.3 % of the boys and 33.2 % of the girls stated they had done this during the last twelve months. 21.9 % of the sample had been engaged in illegal downloading but reported they had not committed any other offence during the last twelve months. When all categories of delinquent behaviour are summed up, 67.9 % of the boys and 49.4 % of the girls ($\chi^2 = 76.346$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$, $N = 2142$) reported they had committed at least one of them at least once in their life. Prevalence for the last year is 59.2 % for boys and 40.8 % for girls, if illegal downloading and carrying of a weapon (or weapon-like object) is also accounted for.

Students were asked whether they ever had contact with the police because of doing something forbidden. 19.6 % reported such contacts at least once in their life – boys (24.9 %) experienced this significantly more often than girls (13.9 %, $\chi^2 = 40.933$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$). 392 students indicated why they had been in contact with the police. Table 15 presents the most frequent reasons. In nearly one third of the cases (31.4 %) police contact was linked to minor traffic offences, committed by riding the bicycle on the wrong side of the road or without a light, for example.

Table 15: Most frequent reasons for students' last contact with police, N = 392

Offence	%
Minor traffic offence (bicycle)	31.4
Theft	18.6
Violent offence	11.0
Offence against the law for the protection of the youth	6.6
Vandalism	6.4
Possession of drugs	2.8
Trespassing / breaking and entering	2.3
Shooting with softair weapons	2.3

Theft – in many cases shoplifting – was the reason for 18.6 % of the police contacts. 11 % of the students stated they had been in contact with the police over a violent offence. Another considerable group were in contact with the police because of violations of youth protection statutes (6.6 %).

3.3.5 Frequent violent offending

2.8 % (N = 59) of all students reported they had committed five or more violent offences¹⁶ during the last twelve months; they were categorized as frequent violent offenders (FVO). This small group of offenders is responsible for 69.0 % of all offences¹⁷ and 95.0 % of all violent offences¹⁸. From the current state of research (see e.g. Farrington, 2008), it can be assumed that these frequent violent offenders are characterized by the presence of a multitude of risk factors and that delinquency is only one facet of a general deviant lifestyle. Table 16 gives an overview of some (mainly family-related) risk factors and facets of deviance, subdivided by offender types.

¹⁶ Four offence types from the questionnaire were used for the construction of the variable: Robbery and extortion, participation in a group fight, assault and hate crimes.

¹⁷ All offences = All offences listed in question 7.2 of the questionnaire except illegal downloading, carrying a firearm and carrying a weapon(like object). This means: vandalism, shoplifting, group fights, bike theft, theft of personal belongings of somebody, spraying Graffiti, dealing with drugs, assault, burglary, theft from a car, theft of a car or motorbike, robbery and extortion, hate crime.

¹⁸ all violent offences = robbery & extortion, participation in group fights, assault, hate crime

Table 16: Characteristics and risk factors of self-reported non-offenders, offenders, and frequent violent offenders (last twelve months)

Characteristic	no offence (N = 1561)	all offenders (except FVO) (N = 566)	≥ 5 violent offences (FVO) (N = 59)
Male	47.7 %	63.4 %	74.6 %
Age	14.7 y.	14.9 y.	15.2 y.
Attending “Hauptschule” (lower level secondary school)	21.1 %	29.9 %	57.6 %
Mother does not live at home	9.3 %	10.0 %	23.2 %
Father does not live at home	19.0 %	23.7 %	28.6 %
Father has a steady job/is self-employed	93.4 %	91.7 %	80.0 %
Migration background	22.6 %	31.2 %	44.6 %
Language spoken at home not German	6.7 %	9.4 %	22.4 %
> 2x heavily drunk during last 30 days	4.9 %	21.4 %	62.5 %
Cannabis use, last 30 days	2.3 %	15.6 %	40.8 %
Drug use (life-time prev., w/o cannabis)	8.8 %	35.1 %	61.9 %
Deviant Peers	47.8 %	86.6 %	91.5 %
Violent Peers	9.6 %	35.0 %	74.9 %

Offenders are more strained than non-offenders and frequent violent offenders are more strained than other offenders. Not having mother or father around in one’s everyday life may be an indicator for “broken homes”; having an unemployed father could be an indicator for a low socio-economic status. Attending the lowest school type and having a migration background should be seen as constructs that often come along with social marginalization and exclusion and disadvantaged conditions for socialization. Deviant behaviour such as consumption of alcohol and drugs has a much higher prevalence among the two groups of offenders, as well as prevalence of deviant and violent peers, who are also known to be main risk factors for delinquency (see e.g. Farrington, 2008).

Figure 9 shows that victimization rates generally rise with the level of involvement in delinquency. 74.1 % of FVO stated they had become a victim of one the offences during the last 12 months; so did 52.8 % of the group of other offenders and only 32.1 % of the non-offenders.

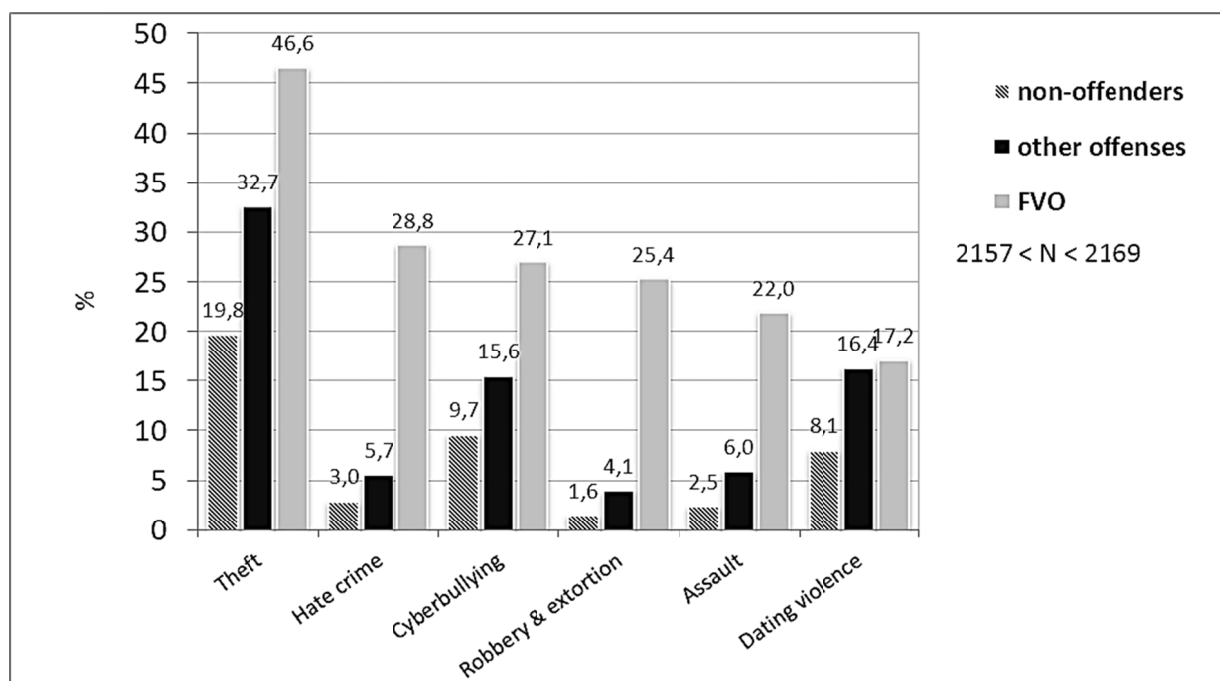


Figure 9: 12-months prevalence of victimization by offender type

As risk factors for deviance, some attitudes and external characteristics have been included in the ISRD questionnaire (cf. Table 17). Social disorganization of the neighbourhood, parental supervision, morality, adherence to violence-legitimizing norms of masculinity and self-control can be connected to violence and delinquency. Mean values for the three types of offenders are shown in Table 17.

Table 17: Offender subgroups' mean values on scales measuring person, family, and neighbourhood risk factors

Characteristic	no offence (N = 1561)	all offenders (except FVO) (N = 566)	≥ 5 violent offences (FVO) (N = 59)
Violence-legitimizing norms of masculinity (1 = rejection 4 = consent)	1.92	2.22	2.63
Morality / acceptance of norms (1 = low 4 = high)	3.50	3.21	2.80
Self-control (1 = high 4 = low)	2.49	2.48	2.72
Social disorganization of the neighbourhood (1 = low 4 = high)	1.73	1.82	2.12
Parental supervision (1 = high 5 = low)	2.08	2.53	2.87

Again, mean values for both offenders and FVO differ from those of the non-offending group, and the FVO are the most salient group. Offenders show less acceptance of norms / morality, lower self-control, higher adherence to violence-legitimizing norms of masculinity, lower parental supervision and they live in neighbourhoods which are more often characterized by social disorganization.

Overall, both offending and frequent violent offending clearly seem to be linked to certain characteristics and risk factors. In the next step, predictors of offending will be examined systematically by multivariate analysis.

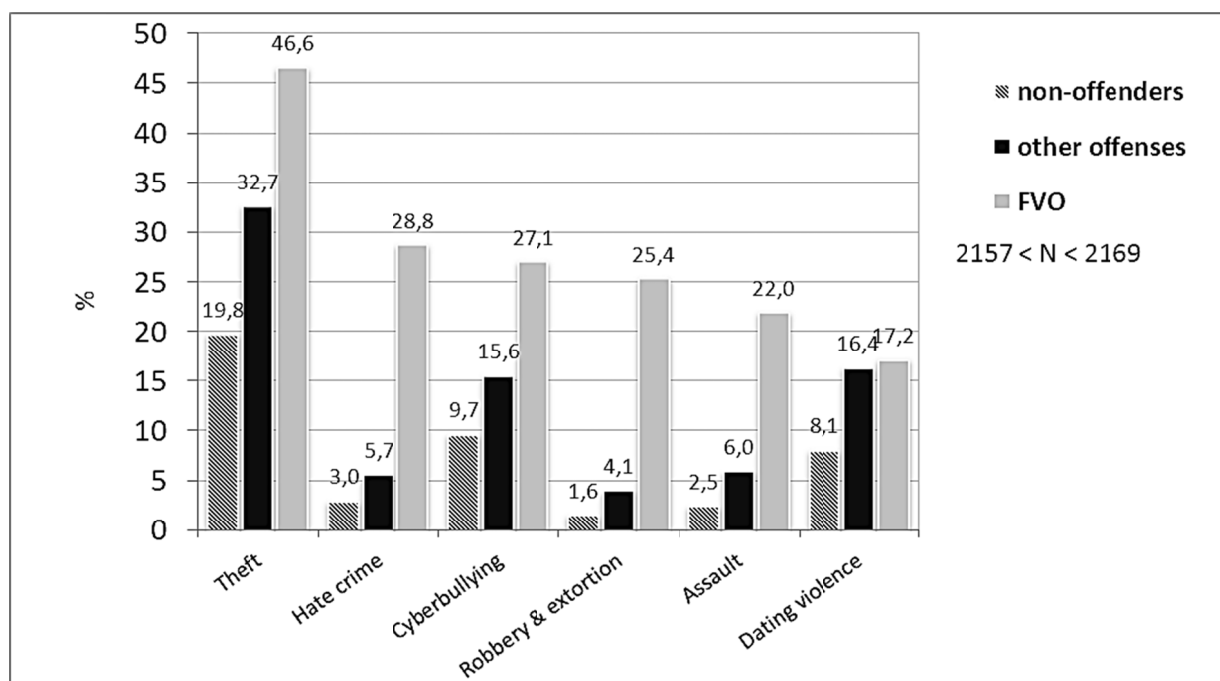


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The strongest predictor for violent offending is contact with violent peers (cf. Table 18). High impact of peers who are engaged in violent activities themselves may have a special meaning in this sample, as the main violent offence is participation in group fights. Being male and the frequency of getting drunk also show to be strong predictors. Adherence to violence-legitimizing norms of masculinity, morality, cannabis consumption, self-control and deviant peers are further significant predictors. In this model, offending is not predicted by living in an urban or rural area. Age, social disorganization of the neighbourhood and parental supervision do not have a significant impact on whether a student belongs to the group of self-reported violent offenders or not.

The model explaining self-reported property offending during the last twelve months (cf. Table 19) also has a very good model fit with $R^2 = 35.8\%$.

Table 19: Binary logistic regression on 12-months-prevalence of property offending, $N = 1819$, $R^2(\text{Nagelkerke}) = 35.8\%$

Predictor	p	Exp(B)
region	.169	1.224
sex (ref. = male)	.656	1.070
age	.814	1.016
violence-legitimizing norms of masculinity	.297	1.146
morality / acceptance of norms	***	.282
low self-control	.183	1.192
social disorganization of neighbourhood	.281	1.192
low parental supervision	**	1.497
drunk (last month)	***	1.387
cannabis (last month)	*	1.224
deviant peers (drugs, property offences)	***	3.434
violent peers	***	2.254
constant	.392	.309

Predictors of property offences are morality, contact with violent and with deviant peers, low parental supervision and consumption of alcohol and drugs. Compared to the model explaining violent offending, sex and adherence to violence-legitimizing norms of masculinity lose their influence, which is not as surprising since there were only minor differences between property offending of boys and girls, and the adherence to VLNM is conceptually linked to violent offending but not to property offences. Self-control, which may be especially important for violent offences that more often occur in the spur of the moment, is not significant. Property offending is strongly connected to acceptance of norms as well as to parental supervision and enforcement of norms. Alcohol and drug use, as well as belonging to a deviant and delinquent peer group are key predictors in both models.

3.3.7 Students' views on preventive measures and approaches

In addition to the questions adapted from ISRD, the study included a section addressing students' experiences with and views on preventive measures, especially in a school context. Students were asked what

approaches would work in preventing juvenile delinquency and who is important as a preventive actor. Results are displayed in Table 20 and Table 21. The right-hand column contains mean values for the entire sample; the left-hand column shows mean values of those students who did not report any offence for the last twelve months. The two remaining columns display mean values of those students who stated they committed at least one property offence (middle-left) or violent offence (middle-right) during the last twelve months. Both groups are not mutually exclusive; they overlap by 111 students who committed both types of offences.

All of the approaches given are ranked rather positively. While students do not completely oppose punitive approaches, they prefer those approaches which are directed at the improvement of individual problems and reduction of societal marginalization which can be causes for delinquency.

Table 20: Students' perceived efficacy of preventive approaches (4-point scale from 1 = works very good to 4 = is rather harmful, items sorted by means in the general sample)

Approach	M (SD): no offence (1322<N<1375)	M (SD): proper- ty offence (347<N<369)	M (SD): violent offence (158<N<163)	M (SD): 2118< N<2132
Improve their prospects to get a job.	1.74 (.741)	1.83 (.800)	1.80 (.824)	1.75 (.756)
Listen to their sorrows and problems.	1.75 (.767)	1.95 (.875)	1.99 (.929)	1.79 (.794)
Provide good opportunities for leisure time activities.	1.81 (.758)	1.98 (.880)	1.99 (.882)	1.85 (.792)
Provide training for better social behaviour.	1.92 (.786)	2.14 (.885)	2.12 (.945)	1.97 (.824)
Provide a good general education.	1.97 (.791)	2.19 (.909)	2.21 (.924)	2.02 (.827)
Give information on possible consequences.	2.01 (.858)	2.26 (.897)	2.26 (.944)	2.06 (.878)
Provide counselling to their parents.	2.11 (.851)	2.52 (.978)	2.49 (1.046)	2.20 (.930)
Punish them severely when caught.	2.13 (.876)	2.42 (1.010)	2.54 (1.077)	2.22 (.925)

All preventive approaches are evaluated more positively by non-offenders than by offenders. Property offenders and violent offenders differ only slightly in their views.

In accordance with criminological findings, students perceive friends and parents to be the most important agents of preventing youngsters from doing forbidden things. Tendencies are similar between groups, but in most cases offenders' ratings of possible influence are lower than in the non-offending group. Youngsters attribute considerable influence to the police; however, the group of violent offenders is more reluctant in this respect. Apart from the police, all groups of professionals – including teachers – are not perceived as very important.

Table 21: Students' views on the importance of preventive agents (4-point scale from 1 = very important to 4 = unimportant, items sorted by means in the general sample)

Agent	M (SD): no offence (1 322<N<1 375)	M (SD): property offence (347<N<369)	M (SD): violent offence (158<N<163)	M (SD): 2019<N<2 107
friends	1.34 (.647)	1.45 (.776)	1.41 (.788)	1.37 (.698)
parents	1.42 (.680)	1.68 (.904)	1.70 (.962)	1.48 (.749)
police	1.96 (.900)	2.20 (1.090)	2.44 (1.176)	2.03 (.961)
social workers	2.38 (.922)	2.66 (.976)	2.84 (1.046)	2.46 (.944)
sports coaches	2.71 (.982)	2.87 (1.045)	2.76 (1.333)	2.75 (1.009)
teachers	2.67 (.898)	3.17 (.907)	3.16 (1.002)	2.79 (.930)

Asked for the overall influence school can have on keeping students away from substance use and violent behaviour, students in general and especially offenders assign limited influence to school (cf. Table 22). Offenders and non-offenders are somewhat more positive in their views of school's potential influence on violence than on use and abuse of alcohol and drugs.

Table 22: Students' perceptions of school's potential influence on substance use and violence (5-point scale from 1 = very strong influence to 5 = no influence at all)

Influence of school on...	no offence M (N)	property offence M (N)	violent offence M (N)
substance consumption	3.25 (1385)	3.74 (376)	3.74 (171)
violent behaviour	2.92 (1377)	3.44 (368)	3.43 (169)

Finally, students were asked for their ideas on how to prevent substance use and violence if they were teachers themselves. Especially with regard to the prevention of violence, bandwidth and heterogeneity of suggested measures were great: Students suggested providing information on effects and consequences of violent offending, as well as on alternative modes of conflict resolution. Lots of students also suggested encouraging talks, communication and mediation between persons involved in violent incidents. Some stated they would clarify norms, rules, and collectively ban violence. Strengthening relevant skills and resources via training, e.g. anger control training for offenders, self-defence classes for victims or conflict mediation courses were concrete approaches named by some students. Some boys and girls voted in favour of sanctions (judicial ones as well as sanctions in the school context). Others pleaded for involving the parents of offenders and some pointed out, that teachers should talk to students involved in violent incidents, in order to understand the causes and the problems underlying their behaviour and provide support. Some students recommended improving the atmosphere in class and build trust between students and teachers, but some also suggested non-intervention, as teachers can do nothing against violent offending of students, anyway.

The main measures suggested to reduce substance use were to provide information on substances and the possible consequences of substance use for health and social development, to deter students via negative examples and to talk with substance abusing students in order to understand their underlying problems. Some students pointed out that school should refrain from prevention and intervention in this field – either because these school measures were regarded as inefficient anyway or because students claimed a right to self-harm.

3.4 Local interview studies¹⁹

In order to provide a multi-perspective picture of perceived problems in the field of juvenile delinquency and of attempts to prevent young people's crime and violence, expert interviews with relevant local actors were conducted in the two regions where the YouPrev school survey had been carried out. As a complement to the school survey, the aim of the local interview studies was to integrate expert views from different professions dealing with juveniles and juvenile delinquency into the local studies, in order to enable a profound analysis of the local conditions of juvenile delinquency and its prevention and control. Interviews were conducted as semi-structured interviews based on an interview guideline (cf. Flick, 2009; Lindolf & Taylor, 2002). Topics of the guideline included experts' perceptions of characteristics of youth crime in the areas, current regional preventive activities and approaches, perceived effects and efficiency of said approaches, and experts' recommendations on prospective strategies for prevention and control of youth crime. The interview studies addressed a broad, multi-professional sample; the sample was selected according to interviewees' assumed expertise and with regard to professional and institutional heterogeneity in order to provide a multiplicity of perspectives. 20 experts were interviewed – ten in the urban and ten in the rural region selected for the local studies. The sample included three interviewees from the field of police (all of them police officers particularly dealing with topics of juvenile delinquency and/or crime prevention), two judges from juvenile courts (one in each region), one school psychologist, and 14 interviewees from the field of social work. Social workers formed the largest part of the sample, but this group was heterogeneous with regard to institutional background and main fields of work (such as youth welfare service, social work with delinquent juveniles, probation service and court assistance service for juveniles, violence and drug prevention, and outreach social work).

Key perspectives of local experts

Experts surveyed in the local interview studies draw a picture that is in accordance with the views respondents expressed in the institutional/expert and in the Delphi survey in the course of the YouPrev study. The local experts describe youth crime as generally ubiquitous behaviour that usually remains episodic and is – in most cases – of low intensity. They consider a behaviour of youngsters "testing their limits" as normal for this stage of life.

¹⁹ For more detailed results see http://www.youprev.eu/pdf/YouPrev_LocalInterviews_DE.pdf

The overall situation concerning juvenile delinquency in both the urban and the rural area is perceived as relatively calm compared to a number of other mostly metropolitan areas in Germany; experts report neither a high quantity nor a dramatic quality of offences committed by juveniles. The areas that were selected for the local studies feature comparatively good social conditions, and the responses of the participants show that this is seen as an important factor. Experts report only moderate differences between the urban and the rural area. A higher degree of informal social control in rural areas – which has a mitigating effect on youth crime – was reported as one of the most mentionable differences. Experts state that offences very often are committed in groups and group dynamics play an important role for juvenile delinquency. Yet “groups” does not mean “gang activity” which is hardly existent in the areas. Usually the composition of groups changes quite often, and group offences occur rather spontaneously and dependent on opportunity structures.

Important background factors of youth crime are clearly seen in societal conditions. These particularly include a lack of perspectives with regard to education and jobs, and marginalization / societal exclusion of juveniles. Experts indicate that there are tendencies of growing social inequality and societal polarization, with some juveniles growing up in problematic conditions that foster criminality. Addressing these problems by creating inclusive and integrative societal conditions is perceived as prevention in a very broad sense. This corresponds with the aspect that experts very often describe prevention as a task for the entire society.

As also stated in the course of the Delphi survey, local experts assume that new technologies will create new opportunity structures. Offences related to information and communication technologies will become more important, particularly cyberbullying, computer fraud and copyright offences. Some experts are worried because inappropriate and potentially harmful content will go on to be more and more easily accessible for juveniles. Another internet-related problem field seen by respondents is reckless revealing of personal data (that especially juveniles are prone to).

Experts see good, multifaceted regional or local structures of prevention and a broad diversity of approaches both in the urban and the rural area examined in the study. The existing range of preventive approaches aims primarily at the development of social skills and the provision of information/education about consequences of criminal offences and substance abuse. Also included are measures aiming at the prevention and reduction of victimization. Interagency cooperation in the research areas is described as good by all respondents, a large majority even characterizes cooperation as very good and very close. Cooperation takes place in terms of general networking and exchange, and also as direct cooperation in specific projects. Prevention is carried by all relevant stakeholders and institutions. The financial situation with regard to prevention is described as relatively well compared to some other areas in Germany. Still interviewees report difficulties regarding financial resources. They describe no dramatic financial straits, but limited financial means; these are sufficient to provide comparatively manifold activities in the research areas, but don't leave much scope for additional measures and projects, especially those with innovative approaches. The status of prevention in criminal policy should be improved in their eyes, enabling a more continuous work instead of short-term and isolated projects and events.

Evaluation is seen as important by most experts, but also as quite challenging regarding the expertise and the resources required. Methodological difficulties arise from the complexity of situations in which measures are implemented. Experts argue that there are lots of influencing factors and causal effects are quite imponderable. Additional concerns against evaluation are brought up when experts explain that policy makers might rather try to use evaluation to justify financial cutbacks. Still most respondents express a wish for good evaluation and scientific monitoring of prevention to be able to assess and improve the quality of preventive measures.

In matters of recommendations for preventive approaches and strategies, experts especially highlight the significance of:

- early prevention (before the age of criminal responsibility)
- school as the most important place to get access to juveniles, and school as a place of social learning
- supporting social integration
- supporting meaningful leisure time opportunities
- new media not only as media of offences, but also as media to carry preventive efforts
- interagency cooperation
- continuity in preventive activities
- preventive measures adjusted to specific target groups
- development of long-term social relationships with juveniles, and the relevance of authenticity and commitment of the persons who work with juveniles.

Interviewees express a very broad understanding of the term prevention, with an emphasis on primary prevention. Lots of experts' statements show that delinquency prevention is seen to a great extent as a side-effect of social work in general.

Experts convey scepticism against or denial of punitive/repressive approaches, see rather low or even adverse effects, and instead point out the benefits of educational measures. An exception is celerity, i.e. the need for a reduction of the time passing between an offence and the succeeding judicial sanction/penalty (which should also have an educational accent and be accompanied by educational measures). Strategies and approaches that were seen as inefficient or counterproductive mainly reflect the opposite of recommended approaches: discontinuity, short-term measures and projects without proper preparation and post processing, preventive efforts coming too late in the life course and measures not suitable for their target groups.

Views and focuses of the experts from different professional fields who were interviewed are very much in accordance with each other. Key perspectives on good prevention are basically shared by experts from social work and school psychology as well as from police and justice/courts. Experts from police and courts made some more positive statements about effects of rather punitive approaches, but in general their views did not differ too much from the views of social workers.

3.5 Conclusions

Most findings of the German school survey are in accordance with what is known from other recent self-report studies: Juvenile delinquency is widespread and mostly of low severity. Overall, more offences are committed by males, but girls are highly engaged in property offences, especially theft. There is a small group of violent offenders which feature many risk factors for persistent offending and they are accountable for the majority of all offences reported. Victimization rates of students are quite high; especially theft, cyberbullying and dating violence have often been experienced. Contact with violent and deviant peers, substance use, and a low level of morality and norm acceptance are predictors of both violent and property offences. Low self-control, adherence to violence-legitimizing norms of masculinity and being male are risk factors for violent offending while low parental supervision constitutes a risk factor for property offences. The YouPrev school survey showed that self-report studies can be extended to include young people's views of and experiences with prevention. Students' views on preventive measures are to some extent in accordance with research on prevention: Punitive perspectives are not strongly endorsed by juveniles, they favour prevention via person-centred communication and improving educational and labour market perspectives. Young persons attribute preventive potential to parents and peers, but less to professional agents outside the criminal justice system. Experts' perspectives are in accordance with these findings. They state that juvenile delinquency is – and will remain – ubiquitous behaviour that in most cases is episodic and of low severity. Changes and developments in appearance and volume of youth crime can be expected due to demographic, technological, and societal processes of change. With regard to preventive approaches, experts especially recommend interagency and multi-professional co-operation, approaches that are targeted at risk factors, protective factors and the development of competencies, as well as early-onset prevention.

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4 Gloomy future ahead? – Results of the YouPrev project in Hungary

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4.1 Background information

As it is well-known, socio-economic background and deviant behaviour are related. As there are very significant regional inequalities in Hungary, these main national trends are worth mentioning for better understanding. The economic activity status of the household and the educational level of the head of household are the most important independent determinants of poverty in present day Hungary. Ethnicity, age, household composition, the type of settlement, territorial segregation all have very significant, and often mutually reinforcing effects on poverty. The unemployment or inactivity of the head of household, together with age, type of settlement and ethnicity (being Roma) play an increased role in the poverty risk of the household when 2007 and 2009 data was compared. (Gábos & Szívós, 2010, p. 68-69). Before the transition, old people were most affected by poverty in Hungary. Since the transition the poverty risk of children has increased continuously, while that of those older than 65 years decreased. The profile of the poor in 2009: almost one third of them was aged 0-17, whereas only 5% above 65 years. Half of the poor were living in completely inactive or unemployed households with zero work intensity. More than 53% lived in villages (as compared to 1/3 of the total population) (Gábos & Szívós, 2010, p. 74). At present, the poverty rate in households with children is nearly 50% higher than the overall rate for all Hungarian households, and is nearly double the rate for households without children. The proportion of children living in jobless households is the second highest in the EU (Gábos & Szívós, 2010, p. 73) and labour market opportunities also have very significant regional differences.

The risk of poverty has increased in the 1990s by geographic location. Although the settlement type (villages) and/or the settlement size (small settlements) have always been risk factors for poverty, the risk of poverty and social exclusion in rural areas has increased dramatically during the 1990s. By now it turns out that long-term poverty is mostly concentrated in rural areas and in the North-Eastern parts of the country (Vukovich, 2008). Poverty in large cities is far below the average, smaller towns are around the national average, while villages are much more affected by poverty than any other settlements. Thus, regions with significant rural areas and a lot of small villages are more extensively affected by poverty. Those living in villages are among the poor with a six times higher risk in 2009 as compared to a double risk in 2007 (Gábos & Szívós, 2010, p. 71). Differences between settlement types increased even further between 2007 and 2009: the smaller the settlement one lives in, the higher is the risk of poverty. While only 2% of those living in the capital city of Budapest are poor, this concerns 20% of those living in villages.

Due to lower prices, acquiring a home is easier in villages and less developed regions, even if employment and earning prospects are limited there. There are two main types of small villages. Firstly, ageing villages, where the population decrease is continuous. Secondly, villages in which everyone who was able has moved away, so only the old and the very poor, mostly uneducated, unemployed young and growing

population remained, with a lot of children, and high ratio of Roma. This tendency is discussed as ghettoization (Havas, 1999; Ladányi & Szélényi, 2004; Virág, 2010).

Commuting as an important form of spatial mobility appeared in Hungary after the aggressive industrialisation process in the 1950s. After the transition economic processes decreased the chances of local employment and increased commuting even more: by 2001, 30% of the employed worked in a different settlement (Lakatos & Váradi, 2009, p. 793). Commuting affects children as well: although there are no child care facilities and primary schools in all villages, this is, in most cases, solved locally by school bus services to another village with the educational institution. In case of secondary education, however (for kids aged 14+), all the schools are located in cities so youngsters either commute there every day, or during the week live in dormitories.

Two regions were selected for the school survey and thus for the local expert interview study. Budapest, the selected urban area, is the capital city of Hungary, with almost 2 million inhabitants (1/5 of the whole Hungarian population). It also hosts almost all institutions with a national scope as well. Veszprém county, selected as a rural area, is one of the 19 counties of Hungary and is situated in the region of Central Transdanubia, in the more developed Western part of Hungary. It has a total population of 358 807 who live in altogether 212 settlements. It has 6 cities with a population of at least 10 000 people. The biggest one, Veszprém, the county capital has almost 65 000 inhabitants. In Hungary schools, especially from the secondary level up, and also a number of public institutions and services can only be found in cities, thus children from all types of settlements, older than 14 years, have to go to school in such places, commuting there on a daily basis or living during the week in school dormitories.

4.2 Nationwide Institutional and Expert Survey

Data collection

The Hungarian Nationwide Institutional and Expert Survey was mainly realized as a web-based (online) survey, but due to the very low response rate, and especially the complete lack of some categories of experts (e.g. in connection with law enforcement) we tried to obtain some more responses not only via paper-based but also personal interviews. The Hungarian survey was conducted between May 18th and December 20th, 2011. In total, 270 potential respondents were contacted and asked to participate in the survey. They were selected on the basis of a detailed search for lists of various pools of experts and relevant institutions. The overall response rate of the survey was very low with 15%. The professional background of the respondents is very diverse: sociologist, lawyer, therapist, psychiatrist, teacher, psychologist, economist, criminologist, police officer, mental health specialist etc.

Main topics and target groups of prevention

From experts' experience, target groups of preventive activities are mainly youths with **substance abuse problems** and those **living in care homes/foster care**, together with **ethnic minority (Roma)** youth. Groups who are not in the spotlight of preventive approaches are young females (18-24 years), homeless youths and witnesses. Only a small minority of experts indicated further target groups, such as: victims of psycho-terror, young adults having left foster care, those under probation.

From experts' point of view, main categories of youths' problem behaviour targeted by preventive approaches is substance abuse, primarily drug abuse but also the abuse of alcohol or other legal substances. General acts of violence committed by juveniles as well as school-related violence only rank 3rd and 4th, with significantly lower means on the scale. **Problems rarely targeted are political/religious extremism, adherence to violence-legitimizing knife-crime and dating violence.**

School absenteeism does not seem to be in the focus of preventive activities, although it poses a serious problem, especially in vocational schools where it is an important factor related to the extremely high drop-out rates, affecting especially students from disadvantaged family backgrounds and the Roma. The dominance of repressive instead of preventive measures is indicated by the fact that as a "solution" to this problem legal regulations changed so in cases where the child is absent from school over 50 hours without permission, the related family allowance is denied from the family.

Although the question on problem behaviours targeted by preventive measures pointed at broad categories and widespread behaviours, experts did not consider primary and universal approaches or measures targeted at strengthening protective factors are the ones mostly taken. Approaches with a narrow focus on crime and those based on punishment and deterrence are clearly the most dominant ones, followed by situational and targeted approaches. Sadly, **primary/universal approaches and measures targeted at strengthening protective factors are considered to be the least widespread.**

Institutions doing preventive work

From the experts' experiences, the main institutions and professions involved are **police, social work, correctional facilities, probationary service**, to a lesser extent social services/ welfare. Professionals from the educational and school system, who could (and should) be good agents to reach the target group, were ranked very low. Courts/ public prosecutors or the health professions are considered to be least involved in prevention and control of youth deviance, violence and crime. Additional categories mentioned by several experts were NGOs and one also mentioned, regarding secondary prevention, foster homes for children, and also religious organisations and Sure Start Children's Houses.

Having learnt the experts' opinion on existing practices, in the Hungarian version of the survey we additionally added two parts to acquire information about the experts perception of current Hungarian youth problem behaviour and also on **actors, who should be active** in the field of prevention for youth delinquency. **The four most important problem behaviours are identical with what is perceived to be the focus of preventive activities**, with the slight exception, that according to the ranking of experts legal substance abuse is considered to be an even more significant problem than illegal substance abuse, while the major focus of prevention programs is the latter. However, there is **no such agreement on who IS and who SHOULD BE doing prevention** for the young. Although **at present the police** seems to be **the primary agent** among institutions involved in prevention and control of youth deviance and violence, **ideally, it should be primarily the educational system** (which is seen to have a minor role at present), together with the social/**welfare** system, which already plays a significant role in the field. This result can also be interpreted as a desired shift from repressive, controlling, punitive approaches toward a more general approach which targets background factors of youth problem behaviour.

Experts had a relatively strong agreement with regard to the importance of **interagency cooperation** and multi-professional approaches, still most experts have the impression that **such cooperation is not a very widespread** common practice in tackling youth crime and violence. From the experts' experience, sources of financing and funding in the field of prevention and control of youth crime, deviance and violence are the European Union, followed by non-profit organisations, foundations, and the Government. Private companies were regarded to be by far the least important.

Prevention strategy

The slight majority of experts think there is a partially developed political strategy, but almost another half of them believes that there is no strategy at all. Others know of strategies that are laid down by local governments, towns, counties, the police, or refer to specific ones, e.g. the National Drug Strategy. The National Strategy for Social Crime Prevention (2003) is considered to be based on a wide-ranging and thorough situation description, based on multi-agency and multi-institutional approaches and co-operation in tackling, among others, youth crime and violence. Regarding implementation, it should have been done via multi-sectorial cooperation of the police, the educational system, NGOs and several other actors. However some experts mentioned that it has not been realised in practice and nowadays the institutional framework behind it is also significantly modified. In case of local, or smaller, regional strategies, the municipality and its social institutions are responsible for realising the objectives.

Evaluation of prevention

Almost 40% of the experts judged the status of evaluation of prevention measures in Hungary to be “extremely poor” and almost another third as “below average”. Only one expert considered evaluation to be excellent. The judgment on program evaluation does not seem to be sector-specific in Hungary. Answers to additional open-format questions²⁰ on funding and commissioning of evaluation revealed, that evaluation would be ideally very important but is still neglected too often. As to who is funding and commissioning evaluation research: the EU, NGOs, the government or its various Ministries and ministerial background institutions as well as municipalities. Some consider evaluation as an important condition (esp. in case of EU funded projects), but even the small number of experts having an opinion on the issue had doubts regarding the efficiency of evaluation as (if) it is carried out, although they think a good quality evaluation SHOULD be a prerequisite. Obviously this must be related to the fact that no one knows of standards regarding evaluation – some consider that they are non-existent even at an EU level. Current evaluation is overwhelmingly negatively characterised as: hectic, unprofessional, formal, lacking stand-

²⁰ The four following sub-questions of question 15 were:

- a) Who is funding and commissioning evaluation research in the field of youth crime?
- b) To what extent is evaluation a condition for project funding in crime prevention?
- c) To what extent are there standards regarding evaluation of measures in the field of youth crime?
- d) If you were asked to characterize the current status of evaluation of youth crime / youth violence measures in just one or two sentences, how would you say it?

ards, without professional monitoring. Others see it almost impossible to carry out, especially to detect direct impact, or consider it would be disproportionately expensive to do so.

As to **sources of information** on prevention, experts use professional networks and keep themselves updated by attending conferences, exchanging knowledge with colleagues and specialized professionals, participating in working groups and taking part in continuing education. On the other hand they use a broad range of media. These media included books, some websites specialized in crime and crime prevention matters, databases, journals, and newsletters; however, these **were mostly mentioned in general terms** and not specified (despite the questionnaire asking for it).

When assessing measures and approaches of prevention and control, the majority of experts agreed that measures should intervene at an early age, aim at reducing risk factors and strengthen competencies and follow a multi-professional approach, however, at present they see a dominance of one-time or very temporary programs which are not seen very effective for this age group. The repressive, punitive tone of some approaches and the institutional focus on deterrence is also criticised.

4.3 The Delphi study

Data collection

The aim of the YouPrev Delphi survey was to examine future societal changes and challenges and their implications for prevention and control of youth problem behaviour. We applied a 2-wave approach in order to be able to specify controversial issues of the first round and also to bring into focus specific prevention programs. Our target group was very similar to that of the Nationwide Institutional and Expert Survey, but was extended so as to, on the one hand, try to get enough responses, on the other hand to gain information from experts (esp. in the police and law enforcement) who were very poorly represented in the first survey.

In the Delphi 1 round almost 300 email requests sent out to the formerly used, but a bit extended list of experts, again with minimal response rates. In this first email we right away offered the option of a telephone and in-person interview, which worked a bit better: finally 50 experts answered the questionnaire (response rate is 17%). In case of Delphi 2 we sent questionnaires to 100 people, including everyone who answered the first wave and also contacting some new experts. In this second round the total number of responses was 27 (response rate is 27%).

An overall negative picture of the future

Overall we experienced **unanimously negative expectations in almost all domains**, which may also reflect the presently quite gloomy perspectives of Hungary and its current economic, social and political conditions. Very sharp social polarisation is expected, increase in the two extremes in Hungarian society: the rich and the poor; and increasing impoverishment. As to demography, the problems of an aging society were often mentioned, mainly in the context of the worsening of the dependency ratio, the need for immigration to obtain workforce, but that this cannot compensate for aging, and that old people can be expected to be increasingly victimised. The proportion of and numbers of young people will decrease,

what is more, among them those who can, will migrate abroad to seek better life chances. All expect a dramatic, intense technological development, where information technology will invade everything, but on the other hand this will create and reinforce inequalities in society and thus generate new tensions.

No significant change, esp. improvement is expected, and experts suppose young people will get a job with even more difficulty, which will lead to smaller increase in crime against property. Those with low level of education will be increasingly excluded from the labour market and their only resort to make a living may be criminal activity. An unanimously shared vision of a **further polarising, impoverishing society**, where especially the poor (and the Roma) will have higher reproduction rates. The chances of reintegration of those from disadvantaged family backgrounds will significantly worsen. Some foresee the end of the “welfare state illusion”, the complete disappearance of the social policy of the welfare state. Universal provisions will decrease; social assistance will be more dominant.

Ethnicity-based hatred is expected to grow, there will be increasing socio-cultural problems with migrants, their rights. As to law enforcement / crime control, several experts mentioned that organisations permitted to “legally enforce their rights” (e.g. paramilitary groups) will be more active. Some expect more efficient detection of serious crimes, but also offenders will have better technical skills. Most experts expect more offence types and decreasing law-abiding behaviour. As to the police itself: a minority hopes for higher salaries for police: more resources, better equipment to handle increased tensions. Others on the other hand foresee an “impotent police directed by policymakers”, who follow the US pattern of “hard hand”. Others mentioned that a new model of local police will be more dominant.

Regarding education, a further polarisation between the well-educated and underprivileged groups of youth will be witnessed. Experts expect a sharp difference between those who want to learn and those who neglect it. Some consider that the importance of private schools may increase together with the segregation of the school system. As it has come up several times in various phases of this present research project, there is a very wide agreement, that the major problem of the present school system is that it is teaching without educating: despite reforms, the quality of education does not improve, schools are not inclusive, there are high drop-out rates, schools cannot make up for, but on the contrary, often increase disadvantages, and children just cannot enjoy themselves at school. Schools contribute to the mental deterioration of children, the marginalization of the young.

Although all experts consider that the **family should be the major and most effective arena** for prevention, as norm-abiding behaviour should become a part of a young child’s personality during the socialization process. Currently respondents see a polarisation in this regard as well: for some, family ties will strengthen, for those getting behind, they get even looser. Deviance inside the family is expected to increase, many see further, increasing dysfunctionality in the family system, its reproduction. Some hope to have stronger families, maybe the growing dangers will activate parental instincts to protect children. But most experts emphasised that due to the crisis parents are even more engaged with daily survival and are even less capable of performing their tasks. Several experts mentioned increasing divorce rates, family violence, and family disruptions.

Expectations regarding the development of juvenile offences

Experts were also asked to provide estimates regarding the development of police-recorded juvenile offences between 2010 and 2025 in certain fields of crime. Positive developments are not expected by the majority of experts. At best, the situation is expected to remain similar as today. However, in most offence types, the majority of experts expect a worsening situation (growth of police-recorded offenses).

Increases of offending are seen as dominant in the field of **cybercrime**. The second most dominant field is **drug use**, the third most dominant area where increase is expected is **physical assault**, but a similar volume of increase is expected by a 10% lower proportion of experts in case of theft. Most experts agree that youth delinquency will increasingly affect the poorer groups of society, and it will affect growing numbers (according to some) and at younger ages, partly due to new age brackets: the age limit of liability is to be decreased to 12 years, 16 will be a special age limit in case of certain sexual offences, 18 and 21 the same, 26 will be the upper age limit of young adults.²¹ The number of female offenders might increase, but still mainly boys act as offenders. Children living in state care will be more involved both in the offender and the victim side. There has been a wide agreement regarding the increasingly violent nature of crimes, often committed under the influence of drugs. The main increase is expected to be in the fields of crimes to sustain one's living ("megélhetési bűnözés"), robbery, physical assault, drug-related criminality, sexual offences. Most expect an increase in offenses committed under the influence of drugs, or in order to obtain drugs. Experts expect a number of new types of offences, more organised criminal activity. Some respondents mentioned that offences will be more often "completed", even at the cost of murder. Several fear of increasing offences due to racial/ethnic tensions. Others expect increase in child prostitution. There has been a wide agreement that the offenses will often be committed against peer group members and among them younger, more vulnerable children, under 14 years of age, and also against older people or females.

Almost all experts (92%) seem to agree regarding the increase in cybercrime: they expect an increase in personal offences on the Internet, cyberbullying, Internet fraud, purchases, theft, intrusion into privacy, pornography, paedophilia, blackmailing, abuse of bank cards, entry in data bases; illegal acquisition of personal data, of business data of firms, of data of state organisations. Some call attention to the fact that here also not repression but prevention would be effective, to educate people regarding the dangers of using the Internet and how to protect themselves from those, together with proper technical defence. In case of committer cybercrimes harmonised international legal background and cooperation would be necessary.

Among the causes experts mentioned the lack of parental guidance, increased social isolation, decreasing the communication within the families. The need for parental control was frequently mentioned: parents should check child's friends, often visited sites. Parents and school should provide necessary information

²¹ At present the term *young adult* is defined in the Law for Child Protection (1997. XXXI.) being someone between 18-24 years old.

for children - but if we are realistic, most children are more computer-wizy than their parents and teachers. The training for police officers should also include information in this regard.

Second round of Delphi survey

In the second round all experts emphasised that they expect an increase in **crime against property and violent crimes, school violence**. Among delinquent youth the proportion of child offenders will increase. Some expect that the penal code will be modified to be more and more repressive as a result of growing extremism. Some also highlighted that young offenders will continue to commit crimes later on in their adulthood.

In the first round there was some controversy regarding the future performance of the welfare system: a complete disintegration and withdrawal of the welfare state; or, due to the increasing social tensions and problems the state will take up a more significant role in helping the poorest. In the 2nd round of the Delphi survey, most experts (80%) seem to support the „disintegration hypothesis“, and already see signs of such disintegration as regards to the health care system. As everybody expects an increase in social problems, some fear it will weaken civil society and will have a negative economic impact as well.

In the first round the possible increase in the demand for self-protection and in the numbers that join paramilitary groups emerged. In the second round most experts (70%) share this fear, but some consider the need to belong to a community to be the major factor in joining such groups, and not self-protection. *„In case there were organisations whose values and goals would be accepted by young people, the threat that they join paramilitary groups would significantly decrease“*. Others link this phenomenon with the fact that people do not feel protected by police and other institutions, they do not trust them.

The issue regarding the more effective treatment of youth delinquency, especially regarding the expected growth of a more repressive, sanctioning justice system instead of the spread of restorative practices and a more equal treatment of the citizens resulted in the biggest diversity regarding the experts' opinion. 35% of our respondents believe that only repression and deterrence could be effective, while almost another third believes in a good combination of restorative and repressive techniques. Almost 40% of the respondents believe that only restorative practices could be effective in the long run and sanctions are especially ineffective in this age group, but at present they are not widely known so thus they are not accepted/favoured.

Regarding the debate whether the spread of restorative practices and a more equal treatment of the citizens, or a more repressive, sanctioning legal system would be more effective to prevent youth crime, even police officers claimed that they think crime prevention should not primarily be a police task, and it is not the police who should seek partnership with citizens, NGOs, schools etc. but the other way round, these should treat the police as partner and not only call in times of trouble. Some remark that although the law is quite strict, law enforcement is insufficient in certain cases, e.g. regarding family violence.

In the Delphi 2 round experts were asked about specific prevention practices of juvenile problem behaviour in given areas by given organisations. Opinions diverge regarding which organisation is considered to be most competent in handling specific problems. Based on the ranking of the means given by experts,

indicating the importance of the given organisation in the prevention of a given offence, one can see that there is wide agreement only with regard to the **prime role of the family**, in all analysed offense types (violent crimes- in groups; hate crimes; school violence; drug-related offences). **Schools have a second most important role** in preventing school violence while NGOs are seen to be able to do a lot in preventing and handling drug-related problems. The most important role of the police is connected to the prevention of violent crimes.

Although it has strongly appeared in the Delphi 1 round, experts repeated their (unfulfilled) expectations regarding the activity of the school system: not only teaching, but educating, providing positive experiences, transmitting values, deepening the student – teacher relationship, organising programs for child protection and for parents, providing opportunities for success was highlighted a number of times. Some experts stressed that schools should have a systematic opportunity for prevention activities built in the curriculum. This should include the teaching of non-violent conflict management and problem solving skills. Schools should clearly reject and sanction violent youth behaviour and at the same time provide useful free-time activities for the young. Schools could apply mediation techniques, employ psychologist, and also involve families in programs.

The major role of welfare/social organisations would be to organise preventive activities, support the families, promote healthy lifestyle, mapping resources, to help in crisis situations, and operate the signalling system. The system of welfare institutions could handle the child and his/her family as a unit and intervene more efficiently, e.g. in the framework of settlement-type social work. The role of NGOs is mainly seen in their capacity to create and maintain communities and utilize its positive impacts for preventive purposes. NGOs could only support families in performing their duties. They can also play an important role in operating institutions, organising programs, furthermore, to enhance cooperation.

Most experts consider that the police can react and intervene in case of a specific offence, but it is not the police who should play a major role in prevention of a problem. According to some experts in **case of group crimes and more violent crimes**, the police should enforce a stricter sanctioning system, a quicker, more effective jurisdiction. They could hold lectures at schools providing information on the consequences of such offences. An enhanced police presence may also be a solution according to some. *“More policemen in the streets, check-ups, cameras.”* Regarding hate crimes the police are mainly seen as capable of only sanctioning this offence, but for this proper legal background is needed. School curricula should also focus promoting tolerance, accepting differences, teaching interactive conflict management skills (instead of only focusing on promoting lexical skills). Teachers should serve as role models for tolerant behaviour. Discussions should be organised on related films, or other programs that specifically target this problem. NGOs can also promote tolerance by organising various programs with this goal. Religious education can also play a positive role in this regard.

In case of school violence, social organisations, schools and the family are all seen as bodies to teach children non-violent conflict management and problem solving skills. Child welfare services, psychologist should participate in detecting the sources of aggression of children. These institutions should participate in the creation of centres, programs, support networks to provide counselling, quality free time programs. The police should have a role only after all other methods have been used, esp. within the school.

On the other hand it would be good if schools inform the police of such cases in time, not when things got out of control. The school policeman program, if really works, may be a good solution for enhanced school presence.

In case of drug-related offences, there should be more professional training for policemen. Police should be trained and equipped to e.g. recognise signs of driving under the influence of drugs. Checking and sanctions may help according to some experts. Others feel that the demand side should be decreased. Schools should involve other competent professional organisations and organise age and personality-specific programs for drug prevention. The welfare system may play a role in solving family conflicts and providing information and safe programs for children. As mentioned before, NGOs are seen to have a major role in the prevention and treatment of drug-related problems. They can take part in training and providing information, and in case of treatment is needed, also support the families.

Apart from the real possibility of foreseeing the future, in Hungary right now – due to both global and local causes - everything is perceived to be so unstable, that it sounded almost ridiculous to enquire about the situation in 2025. As noted before in the text, a number of anticipated problems reflect directly on recent policy development and trends anticipated based on them. However, as we have witnessed before, new governments may have a completely different vision of the future. However, the results of the survey are still meaningful, as regarding several issues there was a wide agreement among experts from various backgrounds on them, and on the other hand, they seem to well represent the diversity of possible approaches to emerging problems (e.g. the case of repressive or restorative systems).

4.4 The school survey

Sample

To understand better the results of the school survey of 14-17 year-old students, let us present some facts about the Hungarian school system. In Hungary we have a clear hierarchy amongst secondary schools. After finishing primary school (at the age of 14) students may choose from three types of secondary schools. In vocational schools few general subjects are taught, the stress is on the vocational training. The dropout rate is more than 30 % in these schools. Students are coming from lower educated, unemployed families. Vocational secondary schools teach equally general and vocational subjects. Some of these schools have an outstanding level of education but some others are similar to vocational schools. Parents with medium level of education send their children into these schools. The secondary school is similar to the German “gymnasium”. Its academic level is the highest. It is the typical school for the children of well educated parents.

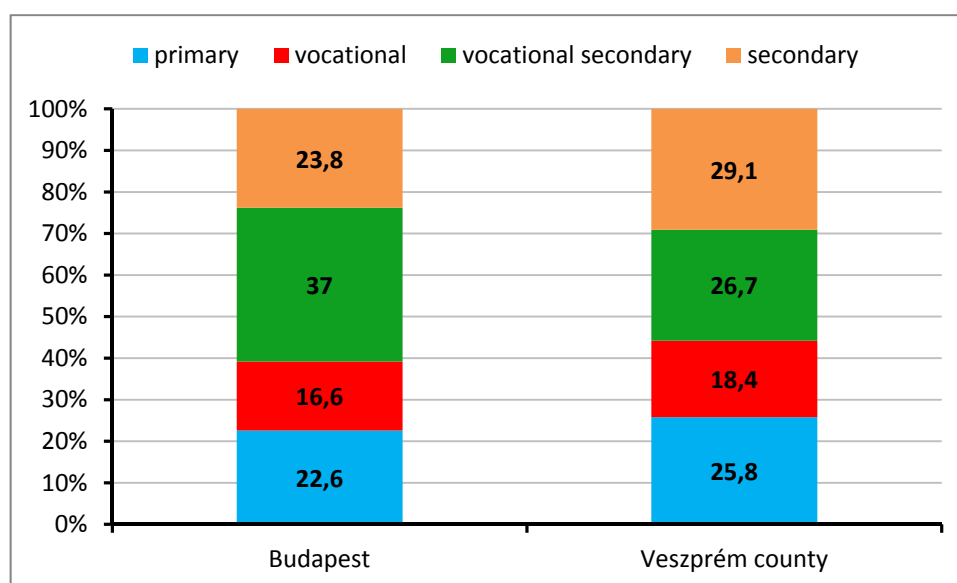


Figure 10: Distribution of the school survey sample by school type and location, %: Budapest (N=1100) and Veszprém county (N=1004)

In our sample urban schools and boys are overrepresented.²² One fourth of respondents are 8th graders, they are primary school students. We have chosen to ask more 9th and 10th graders as they are learning in various secondary schools and we supposed that the type of secondary school is one of the most important factors in young people's behaviour. In Hungary a significant proportion of secondary school students are commuting to school. More than 50 % of students of "rural schools" (in Veszprém county) live in an urban type of settlement, on the other hand one fifth of students in Budapest schools commute from the agglomeration area.

Alcohol consumption

As to problem behaviour, alcohol consumption is a very widespread and socially acceptable substance use in Hungary. Research proves that young people start regular alcohol consumption at an early age. Almost one half of primary school pupils drink beer or alcohol more or less regularly. This ratio is higher among older students. One fourth of rural vocational school students regularly drink alcohol. In urban surrounding alcohol consumption is most prevalent among vocational and secondary vocational school students. We found regular drinkers at the highest level among rural males. More than half of females consume alcohol as well. Data show that alcohol consumption is pretty frequent even in the primary school. More than 40 % of primary school pupils were drunk during the last year although law does not allow shops to sell alcohol to persons under 18. This regulation did not prevent almost half of 14 year-old

²² During the data collection stage we realized that in some schools, especially in urban vocational schools many students were not able to finish questionnaire or they did not take it seriously. We asked persons who were responsible for data collection to gather more questionnaires from these types of schools. After data cleaning (throwing unfinished or joking questionnaires) some overrepresentation remained.

children from getting drunk at least once during the previous year. Fortunately heavy drinking is not very common in this age, as just 5,2 % of urban primary school pupils and 9,7 % of rural pupils were drunk 3 or more times during the previous month. Much more heavy drinkers can be found among students of the two types of vocational schools. Rural youth is especially endangered in this regard. Heavy alcohol consumption is more frequent among males compared to females, but it is important to mention that every tenth girl was drunk during the last month 3 or more times.

Illegal drug use

Drug use as a leisure time activity is not as common as alcohol consumption. 9 % of urban youth and 7 % of rural youth ever used drugs. However, only rural girls can be considered to be more or less protected from drug use. It is important to draw attention to the fact that rural males are the most endangered concerning drug use meanwhile alcohol consumption is also the most common amongst them. It is also characteristic feature of vocational school students. The lack of future prospects, poverty, and low educational level of the schools all increase the chance of substance use.

Concerning marijuana or hash use, rural students are usually more protected compared to their urban counterparts. The only exception is rural vocational school students, who use marijuana at the highest level in the sample.

These data paint a rather black picture about substance use of 14-17 year-old students. Just one-third of them keep themselves away from all kinds of substances. Even every second 8th grader is a consumer. Very few persons use drugs alone, alcohol consumption is more common (38,7 % of the total sample), and the parallel use of both alcohol and drugs (25,5 % of the total sample). Vocational school students especially boys in the countryside are the most endangered by substance use.

Victimization

As it was mentioned earlier experts drew attention to the increasing number of **cyber crimes**. Students use internet for teasing or making fun of others without being aware of the consequences of this act. Data from the school survey also support this fact. Especially urban girls are in danger, more than 22,2 % of them have suffered from this kind of teasing. The older the respondent, the higher is the prevalence of this kind of experience. The gap between urban and rural students' experiences is a result of the different level of students regularly using the internet.

Intimate partner violence also appears among 14-17 year-old students. Girls reported to have experienced this kind of violence twice as often as boys (14 % for girls and 7 % for boys). There is no significant difference between urban and rural youth. However we have some bias against the results of this question as the Hungarian translation of the item seems to be a little bit more general compared to the English one. This translation problem may increase the number of respondents with such an experience.

Almost one out of ten students had been in a situation when **someone forced him / her to give them money or something else**. Boys and students living in urban surrounding are more endangered compared to rural youth. Stealing is a very common experience of our respondents. Something was stolen from 16,1 % of boys and 23,7 of girls. Urban schools seem to be more dangerous from this aspect.

Crime-close activity for fun

There is some slight but statistically not significant difference between the proportions of urban and rural youth who **frighten and annoy other people** just for fun. Two thirds have never done such a thing. This behaviour is the most prevalent among urban and rural vocational school students and urban vocational secondary school students. More boys than girls behave this way, but it is important to mention that 28-30 % of girls frighten others for fun at least sometimes. Unfortunately we do not know whether victims are school mates, younger children or adults. In the Delphi survey some experts supposed that this type of crime will be more common in the future.

Engaging in fight with others is traditionally a male's behaviour. Every fourth boy has done it in his life, especially rural vocational school students. It is also important to mention that more than 12 % of females both in rural and urban schools engaged in fights with others. This behaviour is connected to school type and by this way to social background of young people at a high level. Every third vocational school students (with the lowest educational level parents, with unemployed parents) spend their time often or at least sometimes with fighting other persons.

Hanging out is equally a common leisure time activity for urban and rural youth. We have no detailed data on the use of different types of places (shopping centres, streets etc.) so we can just suppose that urban youth compared to rural youth has more opportunity to hang out in shopping mall-type places. As youth clubs, community centres or other places where young people could find interesting programs or some semi-structured leisure time activities are rather rare in Hungary it is not a surprise that respondents spend much of their time with hanging out. Visiting shopping centres is more frequent among females and especially urban females.

We are sure that the lack of youth community centres is one of the main reasons of the weakness of prevention work in Hungary. A big proportion of young people spend most of their leisure time with hanging on street, fighting other groups or annoying other people. Without community centres, interesting programmes and role models amongst adults and peers they can active participants of real crimes too.

Crime

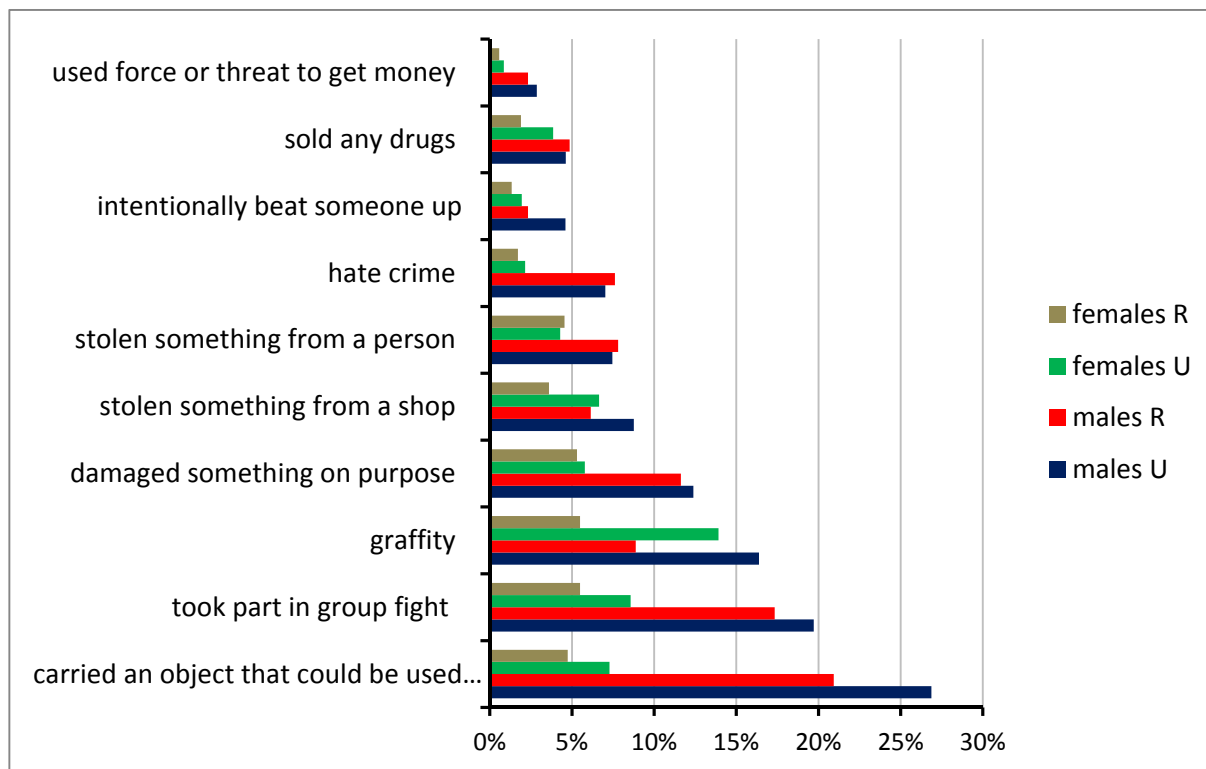


Figure 11: Lifetime prevalence of some types of delinquent behaviour split by region and sex, % (R= rural, U=urban)

All types of crimes are more prevalent amongst boys than girls. A surprisingly high ratio of boys (27 % in urban surrounding and 21 % in rural surrounding) carry objects that could be used for fighting. The second most frequent behaviour is taking part in group fights; it was 18-20 % amongst boys. **Young people – similar to the whole society – are full of frustration, hidden aggression and lack of perspective. It means that violence and the possibility of violence are the most important dangers in Hungarian society today.**

Drug and alcohol prevention programs

As to the students' awareness of prevention programs and their perceived efficiency, it seems that drug and alcohol prevention reaches most of the students especially in Veszprém county. In this region local institutions (police, local health authority, NGOs etc.) organize many drug and alcohol prevention programs. Their activities reach most of students in the region indifferently of the school type. However we cannot regard these programs to be effective enough, as it was presented before, substance use of rural students is as high as it is in urban surrounding. Drug and alcohol prevention programs reach most of urban primary school students, but secondary schools students have got fewer information. One-third of urban vocational school students state they did not take part in any drug/alcohol prevention programs. **Concerning the high rate of alcohol consumption in Hungary, prevention programs in this area need qualitative and quantitative strengthening too.**

Table 23: Ratio of urban and rural students who have got information on alcohol and drugs

	urban students	rural students
primary school	88,3	82,6
vocational school	66,1	84,3
vocational secondary school	72,5	84,8
secondary school (gymnasium)	74,8	80,8
total	75,5	83

The effects of prevention programmes can be measured by the information about what students got from them.

Table 24: Participant feels that he/she has learned...

	% of respondents	significant differences from the mean value
new facts	64,4	rural vocational: 73,1
about health effects	63,7	rural vocational: 71 rural primary: 69,6
nothing new	29,5	urban students: 33,3 rural vocational: 37,5
made him/her curious about some drugs	15,2	rural vocational: 26,6
how to keep away from drug/alcohol	53,2	rural primary: 65,5
how to help friends getting away from drug/alcohol	54,4	rural vocational: 63 rural vocational secondary: 61,4

It is an impressive result that two-third of participants of prevention programmes mentioned that they have got new information about substance use and its health effects. Especially important is the information for rural vocational school students who are the heaviest substance users in our sample. Unfortunately, only 50 % of students learned how to keep away from drugs and alcohol and also the same ratio learned something about how to help friends. These data can help experts working in prevention in Veszprém county as they can find the weaknesses and the strengths of their work.

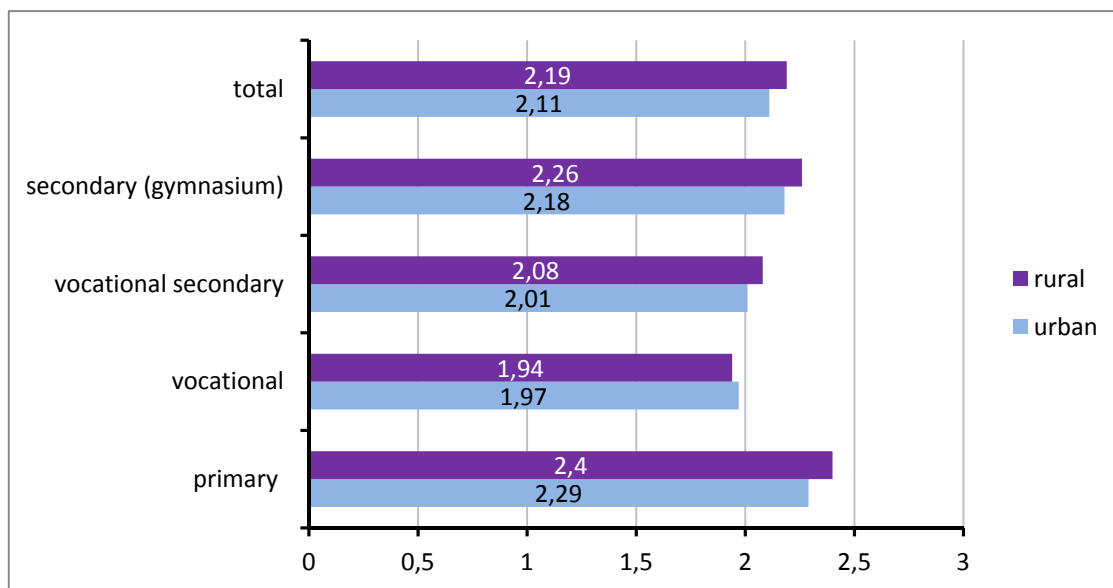


Figure 12: How much influence can school have on keeping students away from alcohol or drugs, mean (1=no influence... 4=strong influence)

Respondents attribute low influence to school in drug and alcohol prevention. The mean for the whole sample is close to 2 what means in the questionnaire slight effect. One-third of urban youth and 29 % of rural youth think that school has no influence at all on keeping students away from substance use. Especially vocational school students in rural areas attribute low influence of school. Previously we presented data that alcohol consumption and drug use is the highest among them. It seems that for this age group and especially those who are going to these low academic level and low prestigious schools it is too late for the school to keep them away from substance use. As it was presented before, these young people accept new information on alcohol and drug but do not think that school could divert them from substance use.

Prevention programmes against violence

While more than 75 % of students have got information on drug/alcohol, only one-fourth of them participated in any kind of violence prevention. Having consulted with experts we suppose that real proportions are even lower. There are some classes where most of the respondents told they participated in some violence prevention activity and we suppose they were the ones who really experienced such a thing. In some other classes 1-2 students stated that they received some kind of training against violence. However, prevention activities at schools typically target students of one class per occasion. It is unlikely that one or two students take part in it and the others do not.

Supported by expert interviews and workshops we think that **trainings against bullying and conflict management would be a very important part of school curriculum.** Not only students but adults are also unable to solve conflict situations without violence. This kind of prevention ought to enjoy the highest priority in Hungarian society.

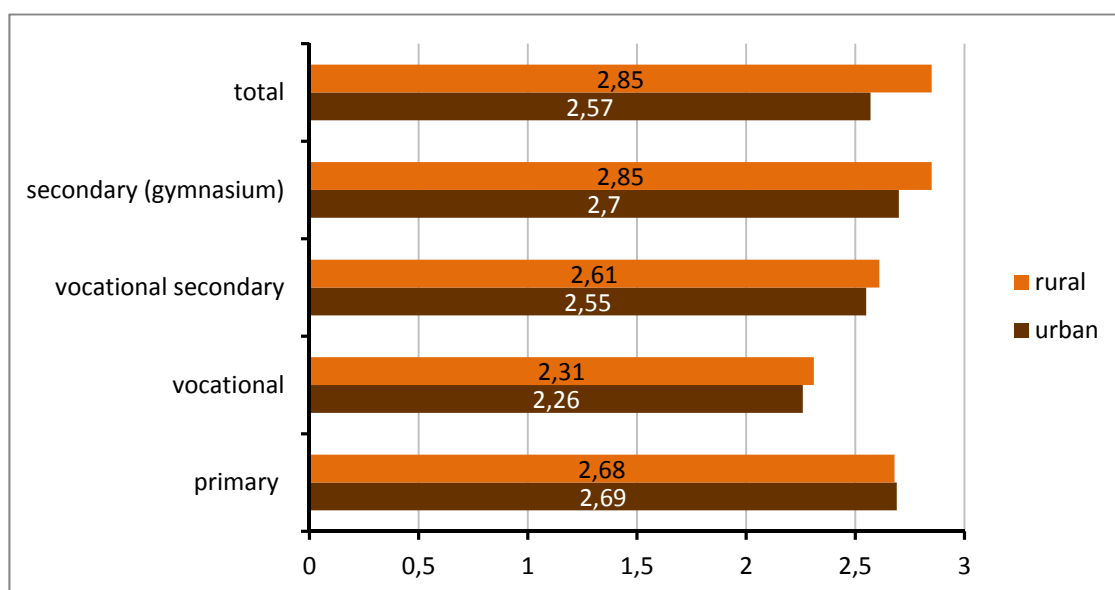


Figure 13: How much influence can school have on keeping students away from violent behaviour, mean (1=no influence... 4=strong influence)

Both urban and rural youth attribute medium or a little bit lower than medium level influence to schools in reducing students' violent behaviour. Primary school pupils and secondary school students trust this kind of influence at the highest level. As secondary school students come from families with the highest educational background and social status, so the values of middle class families and schools point to the same direction.

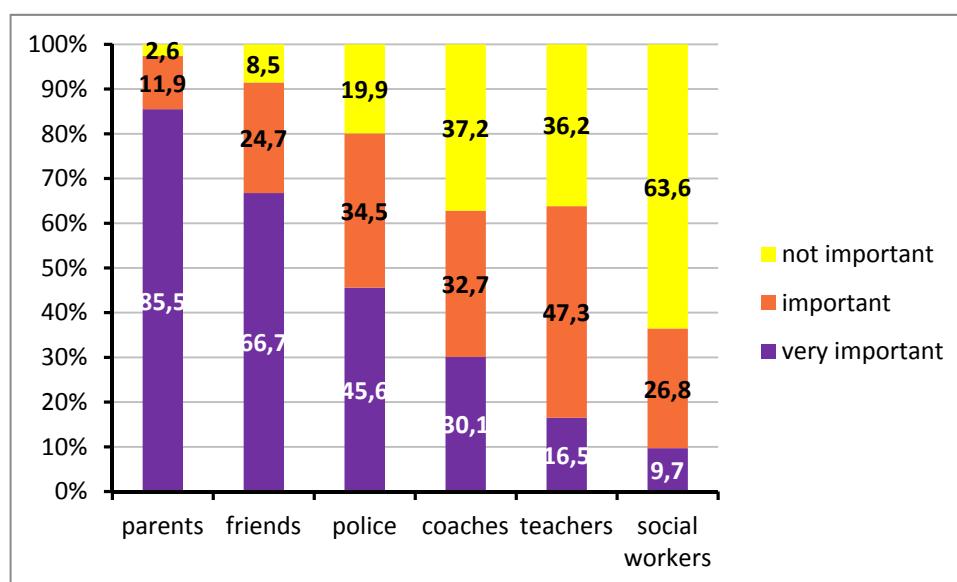


Figure 14: Who could keep youngsters away from forbidden things? %

To find the adequate persons who can influence young people is the crucial point of prevention. If school has weak influence on students' substance use and violent behaviour it is an important question what institutions or persons would do it by the respondents' opinion.

It is obvious that respondents think that parents and friends are the most important actors who can keep young people from forbidden things. Rural students attribute even higher importance to parents. The experts also stated that the role of the family and parents is outstanding in prevention work. **Effective crime and drug prevention is not imaginable without the support of family and parents.** The role of friends is also very important. Respondents attribute a medium influence to police and sport coaches in withdrawing young people from forbidden things. As it was seen in previous questions the role of teachers was regarded as very unimportant in prevention work. Students know very little about social workers, they do not realize that trainers coming from various NGOs are social workers. These facts draw attention to the low efficiency of teachers' and social workers' prevention work. It seems they should find new methods and curriculum to improve their activity.

Students consider that listening to young people's problems is the best way to keep them away from doing forbidden things. Better future job prospects and a good general education also play an important role in prevention. Providing information for them is also a very important factor in this work. It is important to mention that the efficiency of punishment was rated the lowest. Young people are expecting more empathy and prospects from the adult society and not more punishment so as to avoid forbidden things.

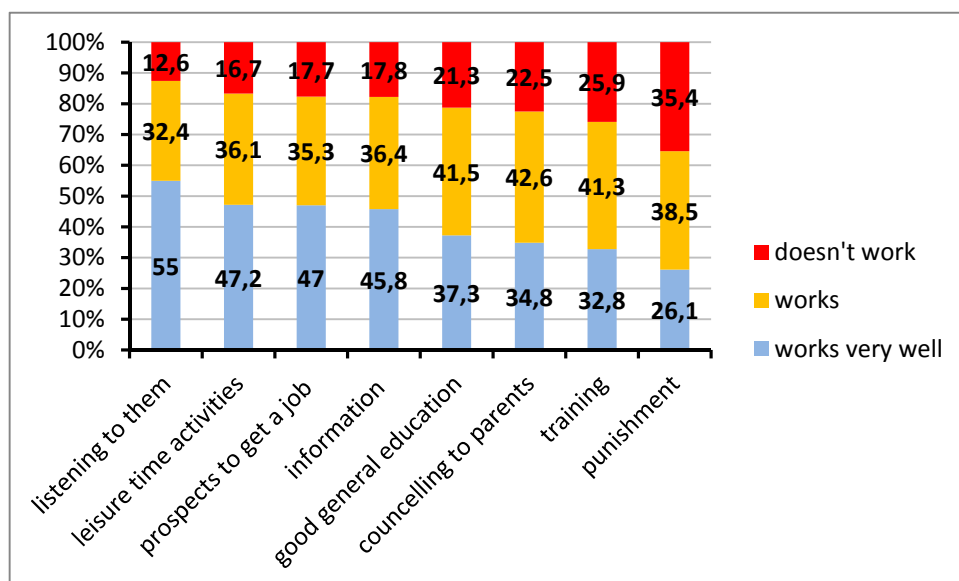


Figure 15: What could keep youngsters away from forbidden things? %

Summary of school survey

Data of the school survey did not show sharp differences in the behaviour and opinion of students coming from urban or rural areas. School type and behind it the social-economic background of parents makes most important differences in students' situation. Social inequalities have a strong effect on children's opportunities to get a good or bad education. Most of vocational school students neither get useful academic education nor vocational training. Their future does not promise job and adequate income

to have a solid level of life standard. They start substance use at very early age and not easy at all to withdraw them from this kind of behaviour.

Drug and alcohol prevention is rather widespread in Veszprém county. Most students encountered this kind of prevention activity, however only 50 % of them learnt new skills to withdraw themselves and friends from drug use and alcohol consumption. Much more problems can be found in prevention work against violence. Few students have met this kind of activity and they really do not trust teachers, social workers and other tidy adults who could help them keeping away from forbidden things. They are waiting much more empathy and respect from parents and other adults. They hope that their friends would be able to help them avoiding forbidden things.

4.5 The local interview study

The aim of the local interview study was to gain some specific insights regarding the context of the school surveys. This local approach intended to acquire expert views to accompany data from school surveys. Regarding the content, apart from local characteristic features of youth crime and delinquency, and the current state of the art of prevention, interviewees were asked to take future challenges and developments into account, as they perceive them. Altogether 20 semi-structured interviews were prepared based on an international interview guideline. We applied a multi-professional sample for the mostly individual interviews, which have been supplemented with a group discussion with selected experts and a group discussion with youngsters. Experts widely agree, that

- Prevention should start with preparing children to be (good enough) parents and/or helping their parents to fulfil their parental roles. Several experts and both expert group discussions raised the point that while we need all kinds of certificates to perform certain tasks (e.g. repair a bike) no one deals with who and how are raising children – this should be a very important challenge to handle;
- The major arena for (esp. primary) crime prevention for the target group is the school system (as in Hungary any other locations, e.g. youth centres are practically missing – the situation is the least bad in Budapest), but its existence and scope is largely dependent on the school director (“whether he lets us work or not”);
- the necessary inter-sectorial, complex approach only works on an ad-hoc basis with huge individual/regional differences, and though the inclination to cooperate is growing and various organisations are starting to search contact with one another, there is space for improvement in this regard. Some experts mentioned that in case someone has an efficient programs, other envy it and do not act supportively;
- correctional facilities at present only socialize young people for a criminal career;
- a very significant proportion of experts working in various organisations do a good part of their preventive work in their free time, from their own enthusiasm²³;

²³ which, taking into consideration to low wages in the public sector, is even more depressing.

- financing is scarce and periodic and it has a number of limitations. Very good model programs cease to exist as sustainability should be achieved via state financing which hardly ever happens. Mainly due to political changes, everything must be started all over again all the time;
- restorative practices including mediation, which is a relatively new method in Hungary, are considered very positively.

“Small programs from small money” – as an expert characterised a majority of existing crime prevention programs. Most actors active in the field perform state responsibilities. Crime prevention is part of their job; they can do it during their working hours. In most cases efficiency of programs is not measured: on the one hand experts consider it very hard, almost impossible to determine the impact of such programs (especially the occasional informative lectures), on the other, they have no resources for that or follow-up is impossible for other reasons as well.

Overall, experts perceive that there is no opportunity to measure effectiveness, to follow people *“they just disappear from the system”*. Most often the only way to gain some information on effectiveness is the feedback from teachers, participating young people (usually positive). In case of the DADA program of the police²⁴, program effectiveness was measured via the knowledge of information provided through the program. However some experts mentioned that maybe only the program implementation is bad and if so, effectiveness studies may be misleading, as the program as such might have been good.

The most frequent activity seems to be drug prevention, e.g. “once a year, several 10th grader groups have to go into a big room, there is an invited speaker: it is interesting, but with what effect, or at least they do not know how to measure it.” The school psychologist thinks experienced panic attacks or feeling bad may warn them and start considering quitting.

Institutions register the number of people involved in their programs and from this one may have a view about at least how big a circle of the target group has been reached. Of course the overlap between various programs/providers cannot be seen this way. But based on these one can tell that there is still a significant proportion of the target group is not, or only reached by very sporadic prevention activity. E.g. during the school year 2010/2011 police prevention programs in Veszprém county reached 19 settlements, 24 schools, 73 classes and app. 1500 students. In Budapest, from 360 schools 48 asked for the DADA program - and even so there are hardly any schools where the program can go on till its end. There is significant fluctuation among instructors. The other police program “Ellenőr” (Controller) gets to 3 schools in Budapest. In 2008, the “School policeman” program was launched. *“On paper almost all schools have a policeman but it is formal in almost all primary schools: just a telephone number – e.g. in XIth district the phone rings on the table of the secretary of the chief captain. There are not as many policemen as schools in the districts”*.

²⁴ D(ohányzás) A(lkohol) D(rog) AIDS (Smoking, Alcohol, DRug, Aids): a primary school crime prevention program adopted from the USA which has been implemented by the Hungarian Police since 1992.

The “Kindergarten Cop” program originated in Fejér county and is a national, cost effective program. All kindergartens get a package with a film and curriculum plus there is a half-a day preparatory training for kindergarten teachers. It is a 10-hour program. Although the police are part of the signalling system of child protection services, sometimes the police are not invited for years to a case discussion conference.

A police officer respondent called the present preventive activities “*trying to put out fire*”, as there is a serious lack of resources, including human resources, and although there are officers responsible for prevention, almost all of them have a number of other tasks as well. The fact that a number of prevention programs are realised “from the enthusiasm” of involved professionals, a number of programs arise. E.g. regarding the wide spread police program “DADA”, in practice schools have to adapt to the schedule of the otherwise quite overburdened policemen. The prescribed frequency of the program is unknown to most teachers.

“It is a problem that everything works on an interpersonal basis, not systematically.” A lot more should be invested into primary and secondary prevention, either at school or in the child protection system. E.g. in all schools there should be school social work, there should be a lot more prevention programs in the system for child protection. Results can only be achieved in the long term. Programs would be more effective if they could achieve cooperation with parents, the involvement of the family. If the parents do not cooperate there is no real chance for the kids to avoid a criminal career. They even think prison is somewhere good, for many, it has no preventive effect...*“My brother quit drugs there, he can do exercise...”*

Crime prevention should be a more dominant activity of the police: the approach which most officers working at the crime prevention departments of national and local police should spread to other police departments as well: it would mean quite a basic change of perspective.

The expert on teachers’ education called attention to the fact that teachers often do prevention without (s)he or the students being aware of it. The Eötvös Lóránd University used to have an MA on school child protection, but it was abolished due to the new reform of teachers’ training. The disappearance of these special modules is a problem, as realistically there will not be social workers in all schools due to lack of financing, so it would be good if at least some teachers would have expertise in this area. Teachers seem quite interested, but they cannot finance these kinds of trainings for themselves and the school management send them to other trainings. “Dobogó” program has some good elements for crime prevention—alternative pedagogical programs have some elements which should be transferred into mainstream programs.

The other very important point raised was that relevant, good experts and present and past good practices are not collected anywhere systematically, so even if someone (some school) is interested, it is not easy to find credible and good experts/programs. Formerly www.bunmegelozes.hu was such a webpage, but it is not updated any more. Although in English there is the webpage of the European Crime Prevention Network, but language may be a problem, and also, most Hungarian projects there are from the police (as the Ministry of the Interior is in charge).

The good practices of how the schools can keep contact with parents should be included.

Almost all experts emphasised the need for:

- early development programs for disadvantaged children, e.g. the Sure Start (“Biztos Kezdet”) program
- prevention at school but not delivered by the teachers themselves: not only the presence of teachers, but other professionals at schools, most primarily social workers, school psychologists and their regular and significant contribution in the field of prevention is completely missing and would be badly needed. Also, prevention and mental health should be included in the school curriculum, but should not be a task of the teachers teaching other subjects. *“The best would be if it was part of the school curriculum...It should not be only drug prevention, but personality development, self-knowledge, conflict and stress management, and families should also be included, although it is a very hard task.”*
- the extensive and substantial cooperation of various organisations/institutions from related sectors: NGOs, health care, police, probationary services, child protection services, schools etc.
- Regarding youth delinquency consistency, restorative techniques are ok, but short-term imprisonment doubtfully results in positive outcomes.

Prevention should start at the earliest possible age group, in socially disadvantaged groups e.g. “Sure Start” houses. At schools school and community social work should be part of the institutional framework, personality development, stress and conflict management and prevention should be part of the curricula. *“These tasks cannot be expected from the teachers, until it does not change, there will not be significant change.”*

There should be more focused programs for 12-18 year old.

“Systematic solutions are needed. It is not enough if at school one lesson is given for prevention. School psychologists should be employed together with other experts. Both young people and their offenses are increasingly violent. Also more stress should be given to help victims.”

Most experts, regardless of their professional background emphasised the need for broad approaches: e.g. personality development to be introduced into the compulsory school curriculum from the first years of education, development of conflict management and communication skills, preparing them to parental roles (to make up for the hiatus in existing family relationships), the transformation of the school system to be less frustrating for children, the deeper involvement of parents. The school system should by all means play a key role, even in providing quality free time activities, as there are no other agents doing this (apart from NGOs, but their coverage is very uneven regionally and can reach only a fraction of the target group).

Some experts would see the future in community building, through which increased community control could influence people.

“There should be several programs at a community level, activities for young people for doing sports, culture: more attention should be paid for them...”

“At schools after school programs should be organised for this age group: this activity has no prestige; the state should secure and finance this”.

Primary care services should have enough resources to concentrate even more upon early intervention, as children get in the child protection system in almost “beyond recovery” condition. In child protection institutions professionals should acquire further training to gain presently lacking skills to help these very problematic children. In correctional facilities in the future not prisons, but complex institutional networks would be needed, with one organisation who supervise the process from the beginning to real reintegration.

Despite the heterogeneous pool of experts interviewed, we could not identify significant differences in their opinion: maybe the fact that they all worked and were quite passionately involved in the field of youth crime prevention is a unifying factor. Most differences resulted from either the specificities of their geographical scope (Budapest being a metropolis and the other is a county with smaller settlements), or the organisations they worked for and thus the segment of the juvenile population they work with.

4.6 Summary

To sum up the results concerning prevention programs for youth delinquency: complex, systematic programs should be introduced from an early age, involving most children, possibly starting from/involving parenting. The currently even increasingly important repressive approach is not considered very effective, although consistency and things having a consequence is thought to be very important. Mediation, restorative approaches should be further stressed.

The educational system seems to be the best framework for prevention, but also community development should be important, as useful free-time activities and locations for such are widely missing. Central policy making efforts could be useful to put elements of crime prevention (in the broadest sense) to be part of the school curricula, available for all children, regardless of the commitment of the directors of their schools. The professional basis of prevention should also be strengthened: both regarding the numbers of such available professionals and their training. Crime prevention should be an integral part of the training of a number of professionals, e.g. teachers, social workers. The involvement of the family and ways to improve the functioning of this social institution is seen as key in prevention.

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5 »Youth is folly, jumping over a ditch where there is a bridge« (Slovenian proverb). Juvenile deviance in Slovenia and its prevention

Gorazd Meško & Eva Bertok

5.1 Selection of two survey areas – Ljubljana and Kranj

We have selected the two towns of Ljubljana and Kranj as representatives of urban and rural area, using the distinction between urban and rural area according to the European statistical office Eurostat. Rural development statistics is a European pilot (pilot) project, which was established with the aim to establish a set of indicators needed for planning and monitoring development in the countryside. The project included most of the national statistical offices of the Member States of the European Union; the main activities related to the creation of statistics for rural development were led by Eurostat. This project set the area of the town Ljubljana (municipality of Ljubljana) as urban area, municipalities, that encircle Ljubljana as “in between” areas – between urban and rural areas. Town of Kranj was recognized as between urban and rural area, but only few other municipalities in the Gorenjska region were also encoded as semi urban, others were rural. So we can conclude that majority of students in Ljubljana come from (at least semi) urban areas, while majority of students in Kranj (especially those, that are commuters) come from rural areas²⁵.

5.2 The expert survey

The purpose of the expert survey was to ask the professionals, working with young people, what is the current situation in Slovenia and what are the main topics that they think we should concentrate upon in the Delphi survey.

In three separate waves of the expert survey we received 65 questionnaires, 13 from online questionnaire, 3 paper versions, sent by ordinary mail, 49 via email; 72,3 % respondents (or 47 persons) were female; 41,5 % were 30 to 39 years old. The younger group and the two older groups (from 40-49 years and 50 to 59 years old) all ranged from 13-18% of the sample, while we only had one respondent, older than 60 years. Five respondents did not answer the question about age.

All of the respondents had higher education; 7 had bachelor degree and one respondent doctoral degree. Three respondents refused to answer the question about education.

Almost all of the respondents were from primary and high schools; 6 were involved with project work – some at youth organizations, some as teaching assistants at school. All respondents were working in their respective fields at the time of the survey.

²⁵ More information about this (in English) at: http://www.stat.si/eng/tema_splosno_upravno_podezelje_predstavitev.asp

Job descriptions teachers (12 respondents); headmasters (12), social workers at school (26), »project leaders« (13); no answer (2).

5.2.1 Experts' experiences with youth crime prevention and their opinions about prevention

Experts in general shared a view that the boys up to the age of 13 years are the most prominent target group of current activities of prevention, while on the other hand the most neglected social group are the youth in care homes/ in foster care. Our experts were quite unanimous that ethnic minority youth also is not the target of current activities. Respondents felt girls up to age 13 are target groups of current activities, but they differed greatly in their answers.

When considering youth problem behaviour that is targeted by current activities, the majority of respondents felt that youth violence is the most prominent target, which could be expected, since a lot of programs and additional school activities was done on this subject (note that nobody thought school violence is not at all targeted). On the other hand political/ religious extremism currently was chosen as the least prominent target of youth problem behaviour.

Respondents reported school absenteeism is a problem and were quite »on the same page« about this problem. They felt abuse of alcohol/ legal substances is targeted by current activities, but they differed greatly in their answers. This difference of opinion could be partially attributed to the fact that majority of primary schools that were contacted for this survey does not have this problem, while almost all high schools reported this to be the biggest issue they have.

5.2.2 Approaches taken in prevention and control of youth deviance, violence and crime

Primary/ universal approaches (directed at everybody) were chosen as the most applied approaches in prevention by our respondents. This result could also be expected due to the general programs for reducing the crime and deviance. The lowest mean was observed at the opposite pole – measures with a narrow focus on crime. This time the difference between the highest and lowest mean was even smaller.

Absence of »not at all« answers shows that participants thought that secondary/ targeted approaches, offender-focused approaches and measures with a focus on social integration had been at least in a small part involved in prevention and control of youth deviance, crime and violence.

Experts with each passing question became more and more grouped around the middle answer. Not surprisingly – since a considerable part of the experts came from the social work and educational field of expertise - they thought that social workers are the profession most involved in prevention and control of youth deviance, followed by educators (educational system). Also expected was the lowest mean - question "Are courts/ public prosecutors involved in prevention and control of youth deviance, crime and violence?", which was still relatively high considering there were no representatives of the judicial system in the sample (and all of the respondents answered quite unanimously to this question). The difference between the highest and lowest mean is again small.

Absence of »not at all« answers shows that participant thought that the police, health system, educational system and psychologists were at least in a small part involved in prevention and control of youth deviance, crime and violence.

From such high mean scores we could also conclude that either the respondents felt that everything is almost completely in order or they did not want to exclude any specific group as problematic or not involved in prevention and control.

5.2.3 Significance of interagency and multi-professional approaches

The statement: »Interagency cooperation and multi-professional approaches are regarded as important in tackling youth crime/ violence« had the highest mean score among all the questions in the questionnaire, meaning that respondents were agreeing with the statement, and none of them replied with »not at all«. High mean score was also observed with the second statement: "Interagency cooperation and multi-professional approaches are common practice in tackling youth crime / violence".

Absence of »not at all« answers shows that participant thought that interagency cooperation and multi-professional approaches are regarded as important and are common practice at least in a small way in their everyday work.

5.2.4 Financing / funding of preventive activities

Since experts from the educational field of work represented the majority of the sample, it was no surprise that the question: »Is government providing financial resources for activities in the field of prevention and control?« had the highest mean score. Respondents were answering similarly and none of them replied with »not at all«. High score of mean was observed also with the second statement: "Is municipality providing financial resources for activities in the field of prevention and control?", which was also to be expected, since the government and municipalities indeed finance majority of projects/ programs that are introduced in schools.

Contrary, commercial enterprises/ companies and foundations do not provide resources based on the answers given (no respondent answered "very much", both means were low).

Status of funding: none of the respondents, across all three questions reported that the finances are very stable, very predictable and very sufficient. Overall, mean scores are low, the lowest being the statement about predictability of funding.

5.2.5 Summary

Children up to the age of 13 are the target of preventive activities, while ethnic minority youth are not. Violent behaviour is being targeted, so is school absenteeism. Abuse of alcohol/ legal substances is being targeted by high school representatives and to a lesser extent by primary school representatives. Experts shared the opinion that the most prevalent approaches are primary or universal ones. They thought that

social workers and educators are the profession most involved in prevention and control of youth deviance and courts / public prosecutors are the profession least involved. They deemed interagency cooperation and multi-professional approaches as very important in tackling youth crime and also perceived them as a common practice in their everyday work. The experts thought that government provides the majority of financial resources, followed by municipality, while commercial enterprises / companies do not. Respondents felt that the finances are very stable, very predictable and very sufficient.

5.3 The Delphi survey

Our goal was to get the responses from all the experts that are dealing with young people and could give information about the current situation in Slovenia; professionals working in schools, therapists, police officers, social workers in Social Care Centers, experts in the field of law, NGO's...

We found that a lot of the professionals that were the main "targets" for the Delphi rounds from the two regions we chose have already been interviewed in local expert interviews. Secondly, size of Slovenia and the two regions is so small, that we encountered a lot of problems trying to find 100 professionals in each round.

We contacted 250 headmasters/ social workers/ psychologists in the primary and secondary schools for each round of the Delphi; 13 responded in the first round and 19 in the second round (5% response rate in the first round and 7% in the second round).

We received an official permission from the General police directorate for administering the surveys at the police stations. In the first round we distributed 60 surveys to eight police stations and in the second round another 60 Delphi surveys to another eight police stations. In doing so we ensured higher response rates and also received positive feedback from the respondents, because we included those police officers that usually deal with young offenders. We have collected 33 responses from the police officers in the first wave and 39 responses in the second wave of Delphi survey.

All in all, we have gathered 46 valid responses for the first round and 58 valid responses for the second round. Some surveys were not completed at all or just one question answered. We excluded these surveys from further analysis.

There was no overlap in respondents.

5.3.1 Anticipated developments in the field of youth crime / youth violence

In general, participants of all professions expect the formation of new fields of delinquency. Police officers on one hand felt that crime rates in general will stay the same, but the acts will be more daring and ruthless. Field of juvenile delinquency will be more refined by their opinion and they expect rise in crimes, connected to the drug abuse. One of the police officers wrote that the rate of investigated crimes will drop dramatically because of the lack of police force in the future.

When asked who the future offender will be majority of all respondents answered »the same offenders as today«, meaning people from similar social background, with similar personal history. Majority of the participants of all professions shared opinion that offenders will be younger than today; one third of each sample held the opinion that the future offenders are youngsters from lower social classes. Three of the participants expect young girls to offend more in the future.

The victims will be the same too, judging by the answers of our respondents; three social workers expect more hate crimes, one participant more crime against old and helpless.

5.3.2 Information and communication technology

Answers to this question were ranging from »young people know about computer more than we will ever know« to »this type of crime will remain the domain of middle aged people that possess the knowledge and technology«. All in all, respondents were deeply worried by the lowering of the moral standards and expressed the need to instill some ground moral values, particularly through the school systems.

School representatives were sceptical of the influence school can have on young people to behave in the virtual environment. Few of the school professionals expressed the need for education of parents; when we asked our experts from Social care centres in interviews, if that is a possibility, their answers were almost the same. Almost all participants have written that feeling of being anonymous on the internet is what fuels most of the crimes, even bullying.

A large part of police officers wrote that they feel they are not equipped with enough knowledge and with enough technological assets to solve this type of crime, and that this will only get worse in time – »we are standing still, while they (young offenders) are getting better at their work every day«.

5.3.3 Family cohesion / changes in family structures

This topic was first of the controversial issues that were proposed in the first Delphi round. Majority of the respondents from all the professions felt that the pace of life does not facilitate normal family life, and that in order for the families to function, we as a society should rethink our values and return to a more family – oriented life. Two police officers from the first region mentioned that primary socialization processes evolve in the family circle, one police officers expressed the need for more responsibility from the parents. One officer even suggested we should coerce family members into participation in solving the problem with their youngsters. Two officers from the second region believed we should create a way to monitor the high risk families to prevent problems.

5.3.4 Demography / culture / social gaps / urban distributions

In general, participants of all professions said that immigration will be a problem that will generate hatred towards »other people«. Only few participants mentioned we should change our immigration policy, most of them responded that if we as a society would have the feeling that there are enough jobs for us

and that economic situation is good, we would be more receptive and willing to accept immigrants. Also, some participants expressed very strong beliefs about how we should give people from other countries a chance, and not to, as one police officer said »think of them as cheap labour.« Problem with this economic situation is, almost one third of the participants said, that jobs are scarce so people's opinion are very negative towards the immigrants, since they see them as unfair competition on the labour market.

Majority of the participants think that we are heading for even greater divide between the rich and the poor, with slow degradation of the middle class. People with money will move (are moving) to the outskirts of the cities, and city centres will remain to poor people, who will be (are) forced into renting small apartments for a lot of money, this even adding to their poverty and bad status. Some police officers have written that when somebody has no means to support himself/ herself, he/ she will find another way to get the necessary money – even with crime.

5.3.5 Education, employment and social resources

Answers in this field were unanimous across the professions; employment for young people is the problem field with which we as a state would have to deal as soon as possible. Young people without jobs are by their opinion the starting point of all crimes; young people see that »normal jobs« are not worth the try and they are most likely not to succeed.

The majority of participants expressed the opinion that our school system is not effective. We should test the skills and competencies of each child and should guide him/ her to the best education, bearing in mind the demand for that particular type of employee. There are too many highly educated young people that cannot be employed. On one hand, higher education means higher cost for an employer. An employer wants for this young person applying for the job to have previous experience, which he/ she cannot get, since jobs are scarce. Young people on other hand do not want to work in other fields than that of their studies. Also, they are all brought up expecting an »office job«, and are not prepared to work with their hands.

We would also have to instill new values to young people; not to see job as a necessity, but as a challenge. Another problem is that we will have to work longer; since less people will be retiring, there will be less and less job opportunities for youngsters. Over a half of participants expressed a need for new retirement regulations.

5.3.6 Preventive approaches in selected fields of juvenile »problem behaviour«

We have asked the participants to give an answer to questions about **whose responsibility should prevention work in the field of substance abuse be**. Majority of the respondents felt very strongly about the role of parents in preventive work in the field of substance abuse, next in the preventive role were schools, in the third place were social care centres and municipalities, then the police and community. One participant expressed that church should have a big influence on preventive work, two responded NGO's, but did not elaborate on the thought.

Proposed prevention work for the social care centres was usually the survey field with most ideas; the participants expressed the need for more active preventive work of this institution; targeting at risk population, bad neighbourhoods, working with young people as a group. Preventive work should be done on younger children that it is nowadays.

Proposed prevention work for the police: some expressed the need to contact young people with the notion that police is good – so they will grow up in this notion, that they can contact the police anytime. More cooperation between schools and local police officers- to strengthen the idea that police is not there to punish you. Police distributing brochures to teachers and parents was also mentioned, to give them statistical figures, give lectures to parents on how to detect if child is using drugs. As a side notice, better cooperation between the professions was mentioned.

We have asked the participants to give an answer to questions about **whose responsibility should prevention work in the field of youth cybercrime be**. The respondents expressed that this field of juvenile delinquency should be dealt with firstly in the families, then in schools. Some of the respondents wrote comments next to parents and school, mostly saying that this is where good parenting practices would show their effect. Communities could also contribute to preventive work in this field, respondents answered. Police, municipalities and social care centres could help only to a limited degree by their opinion.

Prevention work in the field of social care centres/ social workers should be concentrating heavily upon educating young people and their parents. Many respondents addressed the problem of young people having experience with ICT in their early youth, which means that some sort of education in using the internet and ICT should be given before primary school. Also, majority of respondents felt that some parents are completely unaware of what is happening with their child concerning ICT. There should be meetings (in the community), where these topics should be discussed and parents warned against some behaviour in children.

Police prevention work proved to be a difficult question; some of the respondents left the question unanswered, some answered with strategies, that are not preventive (or even police tasks – punish them more severely etc.). All in all, a lot of respondents (majority of police officers) expressed the feeling that police officers (and inspectors) are underqualified to work in this field. They have the experts, but they are only few, when on the other hand there is more and more cybercrime. Every police officer should have at least basic knowledge of ICT to help parents that turn to them for help, was the prevalent thought among participants. Also, this basic knowledge would help them estimate the severity of offence.

We have asked the participants to give an answer on **whose responsibility should prevention work in the field of youth violence be**. Respondents across all profession reported that preventive work should start with families and in school, but did not exclude social care centres and police, then community and lastly municipalities. We can see that except in the case of municipalities, respondents felt that all other mentioned institutions should be involved a lot (or even completely) into the preventive work.

Prevention work in the field of social care centres/ social workers should be concentrating heavily upon working with families, parents and whole communities. They should be reaching subjects of peaceful conflict resolution and mediation, they should try to instill new values that oppose violence and inform

people in the community about the different types of violence that someone could be subjected to for them to better recognize it.

Police officers should have more training in recognizing different forms of violence and appropriate response to the violence. Regular visits to school were mentioned as deterrence factor for young people, along with more patrolling on the streets. Police officers of specific neighbourhoods should know the habitants by name and should be able to intervene quickly and with more attentiveness than nowadays.

Summary

If we divide our sample between school professionals and police officers, we can see that the first group expressed very pessimistic views of tomorrow – majority of respondents felt that the delinquency rates will go up for every crime. More than half of this group (school professionals) also predicted big decline in social policy, and greater divide between rich and poor in our country. There were some school professionals (4) that were more positive; they have predicted that in this economy there is a possibility for the rise of new mentality, that is not so caught up in materialistic values; that we will have to re-think our values and re-define them and that this might save a lot of things we are perceiving as problems today. Those professionals were also more positive about the new generations to come and their delinquency, usually referring to the offenders as »underprivileged« or »from difficult background«. Police officers in general held a more positive view of the future; only a small percentage (12%) had the opinion that delinquency rates will be higher. Interestingly, police officers did not answer that juvenile delinquency rates will drop, even though police statistics show that the overall number of cases reported to the police went down quite a lot in the last 5 years. Some even noted that a lot of crimes are (and will be) undetected, because we are not keeping pace with the progress in ICT field.

Across professions, almost all participants expressed the necessity of helping young people; giving them knowledge how to react, how to establish values, develop sense of empathy and altruism in them. When talking about the serious cases of juvenile delinquents, respondents felt that our system is on one hand too lenient; reprimands and warnings by their opinion do not work, often because there is a large time gap between offending and court decision. They were generally against institutionalization of juvenile delinquents.

5.4 The School survey

5.4.1 The Survey background

The School Survey was conducted from November 2011 to March 2012. Together we have administered 2049 questionnaires in the towns of Ljubljana and Kranj, but we had to take out three classes of pupils of seventh grade, because they were too young, compared to the other national samples. We have taken few precautionary measures (checking the questionnaire in class and reminding pupils if they left something out, asking for half of class to have smaller groups of youngsters etc.) so we did not have many incomplete questionnaires (7 out of 1991, which gives 99,9 % of valid response rate).

We included eight primary schools and three high schools in Ljubljana, and in Kranj we included six primary schools and three high schools. There are no definite distinctions between secondary schools in Slovenia, since most of them offer the chance of participating in the final exams, which in turn mean a chance to go to university²⁶.

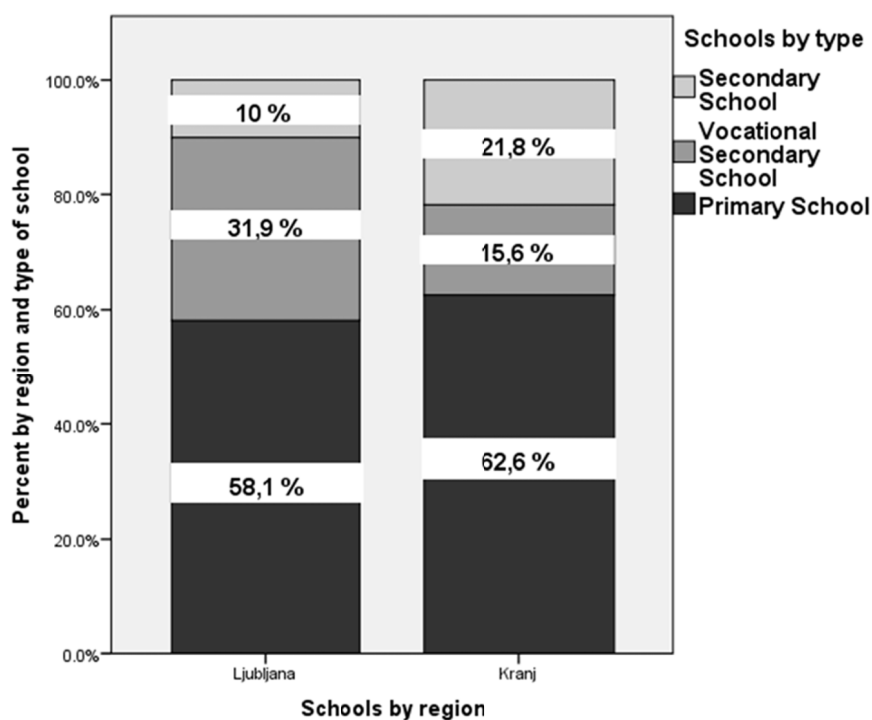


Figure 16: Distribution of the school survey sample by school type and location

²⁶ in our sample, Secondary School of Nursing, Veterinarian Secondary School, Economic and Trade School and Construction and Services Secondary School could be defined as vocational secondary, with some of the classes we surveyed being vocational, some being closer to the concept of German »gymnasium«. Most Secondary School and Kranj Secondary School have no vocational classes.

At the beginning of school year 2011/2012, there were 162.800 children enrolled²⁷ in primary schools in Slovenia; 20.096 children were enrolled in Ljubljana, 4.499 in Kranj. This means that we included approximately 13 % of population of 8. and 9. graders of Ljubljana and 60 % of population of 8. and 9. graders of Kranj.

In the same school year there were 20919 high school students, enrolled in the first year of high schools in Slovenia. In Ljubljana, there was approximately 13 % or 2719 students, in Kranj 3 % or 628. This means we collected answers from 15 % of high school students in Ljubljana and 58 % of high school students in Kranj. The share of early school leavers is one of the lowest in the European Union (5% in 2010)²⁸.

5.4.2 Sample description

Of the 1991 respondents in the school survey, 44,3 % or 883 were males and 55,7 % or 1108 were females. The majority of respondents was younger than 16 years (mean age: 14,5 years), with 11,2 % being 13 years old, 36 % being 14 years old, 43,8 % 15 years old, 7,3 % 16 ears, 1,3 % 17 years, and 0,6 % 18 or more.

We have conducted the survey in 8th (32,7 %) and 9th grade (27,5 %) of primary schools and first grade (39,7 %) of high schools. Participants' ages were distributed evenly between genders (except for the segment above 18, where there are 8 boys and 2 girls) and between the two regions (again, only difference occurs in the segment of above 17-years-old, where there are 32 from rural region and only 2 from urban region).

All of the questionnaires come from public schools, since there are only few private schools in Slovenia (with the beginning of 2011, three primary and six secondary schools).

Other characteristics of the sample:

Country of origin of foreign students

128 students were born outside Slovenia; 49 (38,3 % among participants, that were born abroad) were born in Bosnia, 28 (21,9 %) in Kosovo republic, 19 (14,8 %) were born in Macedonia, 9 (7 %) were born in Germany, 4 (3,1 %) were born in Serbia and Ukraine, 3 (2,3 %) in USA. Two students (1,6 %) were born in Croatia, Montenegro and Switzerland. Countries, in which one of the students was born (0,8 %) are Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Australia, Russia, Spain and Finland.

Family/ social context

Respondents were asked about the members of the family they are currently living with. A vast majority of respondents lived with their (step) mothers (94,5 %), little less with their (step) fathers (85,5 %). A little

²⁷ All the information was gathered at Statistical office of the republic of Slovenia: <http://www.stat.si/eng/index.asp>

²⁸ More about education in Slovenia in the brochure: http://www.stat.si/doc/pub/Izobrazevanje_ANG.pdf

more than a half was living with brother(s) (52,3 %), six percent less with their sister(s). Less than a quarter of respondents reported living with grandparents (22,6 %), 3,4 % living with other relatives, 0,4 % or 7 respondents were living with foster family.

Given percentages did not differ between genders and areas, but we found that the respondents, born outside Slovenia, were reporting a different familial circumstances; less of them were living with their mothers (88,4 %), more reported living with brother(s) (60,5 %), considerably less of them reported living with grandparents (9,3 %).

School, neighbourhoods and spare time

In general, girls like school more than boys (78,4 % of girls, compared to 65,9% of boys agreed with the statement »I like my school«), they would miss the school if they would have to move (84,8 % compared to 74,5 %), they even like to go to the school most mornings (61,6 % compared to 47,8 %) more pupils think that classes are interesting (54% compared to 46%), younger students (14 years old or less) think that they are better in school than older students (16 years or more), not surprisingly older students tend to skip school more than younger students.

More than a half of our sample (53,3 %) thought they are above average in school, 39,3 % chose the answer average, and only 7,4 % responded with below average.

Less than a third of the sample were truant (30,8 %), with the difference between the age groups being very distinct; almost twice as much high school students, age 16 years or more skipped school compared to primary school pupils age 14 or less (50,6 % compared to 26,1 %).

Girls tend to perceive less negative things, that are happening in school (fights, drug use, stealing...). Participants, who were born in foreign countries tend to perceive more negative things (drug use, stealing), while younger participants perceive less drug use and more fighting than older ones. Younger participants also shared a more positive idea about school involvement in their lives (that school organizes activities and gives them information on different topics, that school tries to solve problems they might have in school).

Girls tend to have a slightly more negative opinion about the neighbourhood, especially about neighbours being connected, people doing things together, trustworthiness of neighbours, places and activities for young people (on average, the differences between genders are 10 %). On the other hand, they seem to perceive less police patrolling, less drug selling, less graffiti, crime in general, fighting and abandoned buildings (differences ranging from 6-9 %). Participants in rural area thought that their neighbourhoods are more safe (86,9% compared to 77,2 % in urban area) and that people can be trusted (63 % compared to 51,1 % in urban areas). They perceived less police patrolling, less graffiti and less fighting (differences ranging from 7-9 %). Respondents, who were born in foreign countries, tend to perceive their neighbourhoods as less safe (69,8 % compared to 82,8 % of respondents, born in Slovenia), they perceive considerably more police patrolling in their neighbourhoods (34,9 % compared to 19,9 %), they perceive more graffiti, more drug selling, more abandoned buildings and fighting (differences are more pronounced than in other comparisons, usually the percentage is twice as high as in the other group). Younger participants

held a more positive view of their neighbourhoods and neighbours (neighbourhood is safe, neighbours get along well, less police patrolling, less drug selling), differences in answers ranged from 5-7 %.

Spare time between genders is very similar, except for girls who tend to hang out in shopping centres, streets, park just for fun more than boys (85,6 % compared to 69,8 %), they more often do something creative for fun (76 % compared to 49,1 %), they tend to engage in considerably less fights than boys (8,7 % compared to 32,1 %), they tend to frighten or annoy people just for fun less (23,7 % compared to 33,1%), but on the other hand they tend to go to bars, discos or attend pop concerts more than boys (67,7% compared to 54,9 %).²⁹

Young people from the urban area tend to hang out in shopping centres, streets, parks or neighbourhood more (82,7 % compared to 74,3%), otherwise their spare time is spent almost exactly as in rural areas.

Respondents that were born in foreign countries, tend to spend less time in the shopping centres, streets (70,9 % compared to 79,1 %), there is lower percentage of those, that never go out (1,6 % compared to 4,8 %), and they tend to do something forbidden to have fun more often (33,3 % compared to 41,8 %) and engage in fights more often (28,3 % compared to 18,4 %).

Young respondents, not surprisingly, tend to go out fewer times per week than older participants, they study/ do homework more, they go to less bars, discos or pop concerts (48,7 % in a group of 14 years old or younger, compared to 79,1 % in a group of 16 years old or older), less of them drinks alcoholic beverages (22,4 % in a group of 14 years old or younger compared to 59,2 % in a group of 16 years old or older) and less of them does something forbidden to have fun (29,4 % in a group of 14 years old or younger compared to 45,5 % in a group of 16 years old or older).

5.4.3 Friends and general feeling of happiness

Contrary to the answers given about their spare time, where a majority of students said that they were doing the homework and studying with friends, hanging out with friends, doing sports with friends, all of them were drinking alcohol with friends, doing something forbidden with friends etc., almost 21,3% of all participants said that what friends think of them is unimportant or rather unimportant to them.

A vast majority of students reported being happy most of the time in the last 6 months (88,6%).

Interestingly, participants said that their friends use ecstasy, speed, heroin or coke more than weed or hash (43 % compared to 42 %), especially male respondents (50,9 % compared to 36,7 % of female respondents). Participants in the rural area perceived much less delinquent behaviour from their peers in every question that was posed. Respondents that were born in foreign countries tend to have less friends

²⁹ One argument, why this is so, was discovered during a meeting with young people in Ljubljana. Girls were talking about attending parties at some elite clubs in the centre of the town, while no boy has ever attended such a party. When we asked, why, they responded that the bouncer at the door always allows young pretty girls to come inside and doesn't check the ID cards, on the other hand he checks the ID cards of every boy and usually refuses them, if they are younger than 21 years.

that use drugs (difference of 5-7 %), but these friends are slightly more violent (difference of 2 %). Younger participants (14 years or less) reported much less delinquent acts of their peers than older participants (16 year or more); 37,8 % compared to 52,5 % in ecstasy, speed, heroin or coke use, 27,9 % compared to 65 % in cannabis use and generally three times less delinquent behaviour in all other variables.

5.4.4 Values and attitudes

In general, more than 94 % of respondents felt that it is wrong to humiliate, hit or threat one's partner; to use a weapon or force someone to get their money or things; to break into a building to steal something; to humiliate, hit or threat someone for fun at school; knowingly insult people because of their religion; to hit someone to hurt him/ her and to destroy or damage someone else's property on purpose. Girls tend to hold more positive values than boys (difference in answers ranging from 3-8 %) as do younger participants (14 years or less) compared to older (16 years or more) (difference in answers ranging from 4-8 %).

Three quarters of respondents thought it was wrong to steal something small from a shop (75,9 %); little less that it is wrong to lie, disobey or talk back to adults (71,1 %), and only one quarter of respondents felt that it is wrong to illegally download films or music. Students, that were born in foreign countries in more than a half of cases thought that illegal downloading of music and films was wrong, which is more than twice as much as students born in Slovenia (50,4 % compared to 23,2 %).

When faced with a set of statements about violence legitimizing norms of masculinity, 93 % of respondents thought that real men have to be strong and protect their families. Three quarters of respondents felt that a man must be prepared to protect his family with violence (75,5 %), with a marked difference between genders (83,3 % in boys and 69,4 % in girls). One third of respondents thought that women and children must obey men and that the men must use violence when someone talks badly about his family. Boys held more favourable opinions also in statements that men who don't answer insults with violence are cowards (32,5 % compared to 18,3 % in girls), that men should be allowed to have a gun for self-defence (35 % compared to 13 % in girls), that fathers may use violence as heads of the families (21,8 % compared to 7,4 % in girls) and that a man may beat his wife if she cheats on him (19,9 % compared to 5,8 % in girls).

Almost three quarters of participants agreed that their scope of interest is focused on the short run, not the long run (74,7 %). Almost two thirds admitted that they act on the spur of the moment (62,4 %) and that they seek pleasure in their doing (61,3 %).

More than a third of respondents agreed that they sometimes take a risk just for the fun of it, that they like to test themselves by doing something risky, that it's not their problem, if they upset other people and that they prefer excitement and adventure over security. In all four questions boys answered considerably more favourable than girls. Around one quarter of respondents agreed that they look for themselves first, even if it makes things difficult for the others and that they try to get what they want, even if it causes problems to others.

5.4.5 Victimization and self-reported delinquency

When asked about victimization in their lifetime, less than a quarter or 23,3 % of participants reported having something stolen from them, 11,6 % were teased in a hurtful way through e-mail etc., 4 % were black mailed, 3,4 % suffered threats or physical violence (because of religious beliefs, language, colour of skin, or social or ethnic background) same percentage was violently hit or hurt by someone and needed to see a doctor, and 2,6 % were badly treated or humiliated by a girlfriend/ boyfriend. Girls reported less victimization, except with teasing, were they were leading by 4 %.

More than half of respondents reported illegally downloading files from the internet in their lifetime (52,7 %); 12,3 % reported making a graffiti, 9,8 % shoplifting, 7,2 % stealing something from another person, 6,5 % damaging something on purpose, 5,2 % carrying a weapon or something that can be used as a weapon, 4,3 % group fighting, 3 % selling or helping in selling drugs, 1,9 % carrying a real gun, 1,7 % stealing a bicycle, 1,3 % intentionally hurting or beating someone up with a stick or a knife, 1,1 % stealing something from a car, 0,9 % stole a motorbike or a car, 0,8 % broke into a building to steal something, 0,8 % used a weapon to get money from others. Boys reported a higher percentage in **every delinquent act**, but the differences were sometimes minimal (around 3-7 %, 13 % in illegal downloading). Participants from the rural region also reported less delinquent acts than those from the urban area (difference of 2-4 %), except for carrying a gun and breaking into building to steal something. Younger participants overall reported less delinquent acts, except stealing from another person and threatening someone on the basis of their religion, language, colour of skin, or social or ethnic background.

151 respondent have had contact with the police because they did something illegal; two thirds were male (101), one third female (50); 90 were from urban region, 61 from rural. 137 were born in Slovenia, 14 elsewhere; 38 were 14 or younger, 36 were 16 or older; 85 or 56,3% had contact once, 16,5% were in contact two times, 6,6% or 10 were in contact three times. Five respondents have had contact ten times or more, one even 50 times.

Offences reported were; vandalism (2 cases) destroying public property (2); painting a graffiti (3) in violation of public law and order (10), underage drinking (5); smoking cannabis (4), selling drugs (1), breaking into building (3), stealing a bike / motorbike (5), shoplifting (1), robbery (1), fighting (5), traffic offence (23), wrongful crossing (6), running from home (2), setting a fire (4), using / selling fireworks (4), racism (insulting another pupil - 1), insulting people over a phone (1). Four wrote down their contacts, even though they haven't done anything illegal; in 3 cases they were witnesses, and one was in contact because something was stolen from him.

In 56 cases (36,1%), parents were notified about the incident (two thirds of respondents were male); in 4 cases (2,5 %) teacher was notified; in 14 cases (9 %) the case went to the court or a prosecutor; in 10 cases (6,5 %), respondents got a warning from the court /prosecutor/ police; one respondent was punished in court; nine (6 %) were punished by parents, in 41 cases (26,4 %) nothing happened and in 20 cases (13 %) something else happened.

5.4.6 Substances consumption / drug abuse

Table 25: Drinking alcohol until drunk

	Lifetime	Last 12 months	Last 30 days
It never happened that participant was drunk.	1266 (64,2)	1336 (69,9%)	1617 (84,8%)
It happened 1-5 times.	456 (23,2%)	432 (22,6%)	249 (13%)
It happened 6-19 times.	153 (7,8%)	94 (4,9%)	28 (1,5%)
It happened 20 times or more.	96 (4,9%)	48 (2,5%)	12 (0,6%)

When looking the data for the students, aged 14 or less, there were 720 respondents (77,3 %), who were never drunk, and only 71 (40,3 %) of students aged 16 or more, who weren't drunk in their lifetime. On the other hand, there were 17 students, aged 14 or less (1,9 %), that have been drunk over 20 times in their lifetime compared to 34 participants, aged 16 or more (19,3 % of population of that age).

Differences between genders were seen only in serious cases of drinking, where the number of males was almost twice the number of females (32 compared to 19 in lifetime prevalence, 13 to 8 in last years' prevalence, 8 to 4 in last months' prevalence). Area did not prove to have an influence on drinking habits.

Table 26: Cannabis consumption among participants

	Lifetime	Last 12 months	Last 30 days
Participant never smoked cannabis.	1651 (83,8%)	1664 (87,9%)	1762 (93,1%)
Participant smoked cannabis 1-5 times.	199 (10,1%)	153 (8,1%)	87 (4,6%)
Participant smoked cannabis 6-19 times.	55 (2,8%)	33 (1,7%)	19 (1%)
Participant smoked cannabis 20 times or more.	64 (3,2%)	45 (2,3%)	24 (1,3%)

Five percent less girls have tried cannabis in their lifetime (14 % compared to 18,9 % among boys), but the percentage of those who tried it 20 times or more was a little higher than with boys (3,3 % compared to 3,2 %). Respondents from the rural area of Kranj held a higher percentage of not trying cannabis in lifetime (13,9 % of them have tried it compared to 17,3 % in the urban area) and also had a lower percentage of pupils that tried it 20 times or more (2,7 % compared to 3,8 %). Not surprisingly, age was the most influential factor in trying drugs; pupils, ages 14 years or less (929 pupils) haven't tried cannabis in 91,1 %, while the percentage of students, ages 16 or more who haven't tried cannabis was 60,1 %.

The trends in last years' (and last month') prevalence of smoking cannabis were the same; little less with girls, little less in rural area and still considerable difference between the two age groups -14 years or less and 16 years or more (93,9 % that haven't had cannabis in the last year compared to 70,8 %).

Other substances (highest to lowest rates)

Use of other substances was reported at the following rates: glue or other inhalants 9,9 % (6 have tried it 40 times or more – frequent users); tranquilizer or a sedative 3 % (two times more girls than boys, 1 frequent user); medical pills in combination with alcohol 2,8 % (3 frequent users); ecstasy or amphetamines 2,3 % (three times more girls, 3 frequent users); anabolic steroids 2,1 % (three times more boys, 3 frequent users); magic mushrooms 1.6 % (1 frequent user); heroin, cocaine / crack 1,7 % (4 frequent users); LSD or other hallucinogens 2.0 % (1 frequent user); ritalin 0,8 % (two times more girls, 1 frequent user).

5.4.7 Respondents' experiences with preventive activities

More than a half of respondents were given information on alcohol and harmful substances in the last 12 months (55,9 %); they were given the information (the agents are named from the most frequently named to the most seldomly named) by the youth centre (55 %), by somebody else (50,2 %), by parents (49,8 %), participants found it on the internet (44,8 %), in school by teacher (40,9 %) and in school by another person (39 %). No major differences were seen between the groups.

Less than a quarter of participants (22,1 %) were involved in any activity aimed at avoiding or reducing violence in the last 12 months; 8,5 % were involved in training against bullying, 10,3 % in training how to settle conflicts without violence.

No explanation has been given about the background of those activities – were they a part of school curriculum etc..

When asked, which preventive activities could work, they chose »listening to their sorrows« as most important (86,8 % of them said it was important, 91 % of female respondents), followed by »improving their prospects to get a job« (84,9 %), »providing good opportunities for leisure time activities« (83,7 %), »giving them a good general education« (74 %), »providing training for better behaviour« (72,6 %), »providing counselling to their parents« (70 %), »giving information on possible consequences« (69,6 %) and lastly, »punishing more severely when caught« (58 %).

Young people thought that young people themselves are the most important agents in keeping young people from doing forbidden things (89,6 %), followed by friends (82,7 %), parents (80,6 %), others (74 %), police (52,6 %, with male respondents being more convinced in a role of the police -59,2 %), sports coaches (44,5 %), social workers (40,8 %, again male respondents were noticeably more convinced in their role – 47,4 % compared to 35,6 % by female respondents) and in the last position – teachers (38,3 %, 44,4 % of male respondents, 33,5 % of female respondents).

Other persons important in prevention and mentioned by respondents were mostly grandparents and friends.

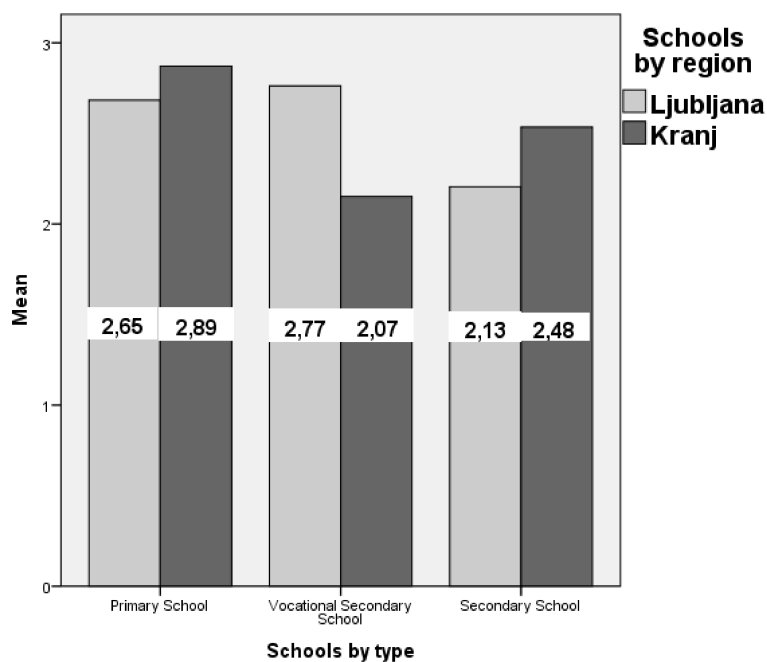


Figure 17: How much influence can school have on keeping students away from alcohol or drugs, mean (1=no influence, 5=strong influence)

Around 44 % of participants, that were involved in preventive actions against alcohol and drug abuse thought that they have learnt new facts about it, about how to keep away from it, how to keep friends from them and that it made them curious about some drugs. Region, gender, country of origin or age had almost no effect on this answer. Interestingly, same percentage thought that they haven't learned anything new.

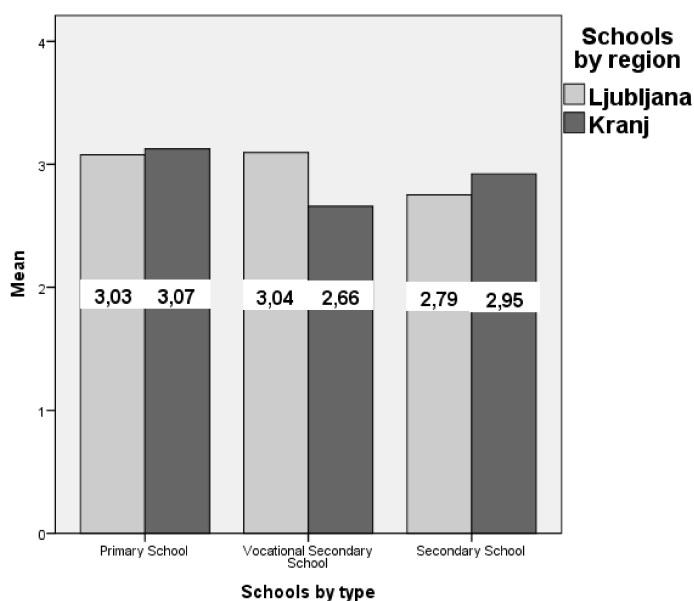


Figure 18: How much influence can school have on keeping students away from violent behaviour, mean (1=no influence, 5=strong influence)

Three quarters or 76% of participants, that were involved in preventive actions against violence mentioned positive influences of the activities; the activities were helpful to protect them from attacks by others, that they taught them to intervene when they sees violence against others, changed their way of thinking about violence, taught them how to resolve problems without violence etc.

Compared to other countries, involved in the project YouPrev, Slovenian sample ranked above average in feeling of happiness, below average in delinquency of friends and victimization rates in general. The delinquency rates were the lowest among YouPrev participating countries in seven delinquency acts, in five they were the second lowest. Our respondents were reporting below average drinking of alcohol, average use of cannabis and other drugs.

5.5 Local interviews

To better understand the situation in Slovenia, we conducted 18 interviews with key informants in both regions of Slovenia. The answers we received from key informants were then discussed with two groups of students in both selected regions of the school survey and again with all of the key informants together.

Interviews

A sample consisted of five school representatives (social workers, psychologists – numbers 1-5), six criminal police inspectors (numbers 6-11), four representatives of social work centres (numbers 12-15) and three representatives of NGO's (16-18).

Group discussion participants

We have organized three discussion groups. The first group discussion (GD1) consisted of eight young people, that attended a technical high school Iskra in Kranj, ages 15-17, all of them male. This group discussion was held in the vicinity of the school, on 21st of September 2012.

The second group discussion (GD2) was attended by 12 participants (10 female, 2 male, ages 16-17), coming from High school of economic studies in Ljubljana,. Both group discussions with young people were focussing on the results of the school survey, especially about prevention methods proposed by young people.

The third discussion group (GD1) was conducted during the annual conference »Dnevi varstvoslovja«, on the 8th of June 2012. Present were 16 professionals, that were interviewed (two missing were one school representative and one NGO's representative³⁰).

³⁰ The addition of the two discussion groups and one group discussion with professionals was agreed upon by all YouPrev partners; it was meant as a method to discuss the results of the expert and the Delphi study. For the group discussions with the young people we contacted two schools which were not participating in the school survey.

5.5.1 Current situation and future development

Out of 18 semi-structured interviews, almost all of them (two representatives of NGO's did not mention it) started the discussion with current economic crisis.

Social work centres professionals mentioned the **reduction of rights that young people have**. They have been limited in their right to repeat a grade, their scholarships were cancelled, and instead the government is giving the parents slightly higher child benefits (INT13). This considerably diminishes chances of young people educating themselves – »and nobody wants an uneducated employee« (INT13). But these young people without benefits, without education, without prospects have wishes – »and how to get something you want, if not by stealing« (INT13).

Social workers, as police inspectors and school representatives all underlined that the **number of young people that are using drugs** is rapidly escalating: »as a way to get away from the pressures of everyday life« (INT15).

The **focus of work is constantly shifting** in social work and police force: »It changes with the ruling elite, it changes with media attention. Everybody is focused on one thing, on one delinquent act, and after one serious case of some other type of delinquent act, or few less serious cases that occur in a short period of time, the focus is shifted there. Prosecution of some types of delinquent behaviour still largely depends on the politics« (INT12).

About the **nature of delinquent acts**: »We see an increase of acts that have a disproportionate amount of violence. Suddenly, a robbery is not a robbery anymore, and many times offenders use violence, sometimes they even kill a person« (INT9). »There are new forms of antisocial behaviour. Violence through the social media, through the electronic devices.« (INT17).

All of the school representatives agree that there is **no divide between urban and rural environment** in Slovenia – »Every village is less than 20 minutes away from (at least a smaller) city. And on the other hand, there is no real city centre in Slovenia.« (INT4).

A very important aspect, that was highlighted in some interviews, but was really put forward in our group meeting with professionals, was the **feeling of hopelessness**, that some of participants felt or saw other co-workers experiencing when trying to do the right thing, when faced with violence of pupils. One representative of high schools commented that he was threatened by parents of the pupils (very important people in the community), because he was trying to report this pupil for a very serious act of violence upon his schoolmate. He decided it was not worth reporting to the police, because the parents had so much influence, they would stop the case there. »All in all, you must choose your battles« (GD3).

All participants agreed that some regions in Slovenia lack the information about what to do in cases like this, that a material, that would help them decide upon what to do in a certain case (material, that would give a guidelines about the severity of different acts and in which cases school must inform the police, in which Social care centres etc.).

Another subject that was mentioned by participants in interviews and group discussion was the late response to the crimes committed. A representative of a Social care centre in Ljubljana said: »I have the statistics about the cases we have, and I can tell you – the average age when they are put to trial is 16 years. But it takes another two years approximately for the trial to end and the sentence to be given. They really do not know anymore, what they did back there and they usually have done few crimes in the period in between. So when a long sentence hits them, they are surprised – suddenly, there is the consequence of what they did, sometimes even three times bigger because of the other acts, committed in between« (GD3).

Both groups of young people agreed that there is a growing number of crimes, that are committed only because people do not have money to buy commodities. They notice the age of offenders decreasing, but this could be partially attributed to their bias (my generation is better than the next, we didn't do such offences).

5.5.2 State of youth crime prevention

There is still a chaotic state of affairs concerning prevention programs, majority of professionals agree: »There is no method of separating the ineffective methods from good ones. They all coexist and are used. Some prevention programmes are really insufficiently planned and implemented but they get the finances and they are put to practice« (INT14).

Social work centres: »More and more money is poured into NGO's, and this is not good in case of juvenile delinquency. We (Social work centres) are losing very important ways to help youngsters on account of money being transferred to NGO's. /,,,/ These NGO's are counting on young peoples' readiness to participate. We all know how volatile this readiness is with young people. This is why it's good to have centres, organizations with public authority in these matters, since we are obliged by law to help each and every one of them« (INT12).

5.5.3 Main activities / approaches

The majority of respondents thought that we should tackle young peoples' free time – that the problems start there. More than half of them expressed the need for more daily centres, where they could meet and spend supervised time while socializing, getting additional help with studying, getting new knowledge, skills. All social workers stressed the importance of volunteering in Slovenia – project Big brother, where they team older adolescents/ young adults with young people that need help studying or otherwise.

In school the most important programmes that already exist were those tackling smoking, alcohol abuse, drug abuse (many participants and young people mentioned neodvisen.si), peaceful conflict resolution.

5.5.4 Target groups

Respondents were asked about targeting a specific group with preventive actions. School representatives reported having lectures with all of the kids in the specific age group, usually with younger pupils.

Representatives of Social work centers come into contact with another type of population – the youth, that are referred to them is commonly problematic, shows some signs of illegal activity. Their scope therefore is: »Problematic (individuals), those that have already come to our attention. They have done something, but wasn't reported to the police« (INT13).

In group discussion, participants across the professions expressed the need to target more preventive measures at pupils of the first few years of the primary school. They do not see the need to have the measures divided by gender or target a specific gender with some of the activities.

What was really stressed and told many times again is that the preventive measures in Slovenia are not distributed evenly between the cities and the area around them. »I can honestly say that when talking to headmasters in faraway communities I am appalled by how forgotten they are. Some were never even contacted by some activities that should be nation-wide. They rely on themselves to provide at least some activities« (INT2).

5.5.5 Types of addressed »problem behaviour«

School representatives said that the topics of preventive measures can be partly attributed to the current situation: »Some year, they talk about dating violence more, the other about peaceful conflict resolution. There are still some preventive activities that do not shift focus, but in general, there are programmes that run for a year or two and are targeting what we would call a popular topic, something that was detected by the media and blown out of proportion, but has nothing or very little to do with our work« (INT2). When preparing their own material, representatives stressed damaging property (vandalism), harassment, harassment over the internet and aggression are the main topics.

Since drinking alcohol in public is culturally acceptable in Slovenia and is becoming more and more problematic³¹ (especially connected to the vandalism), they try to tackle that problem in their activities, but they admit that these activities cannot go beyond talking.

Representatives of Social work centres explained that they try to involve youth, that comes to them, to different youth centres and they try to fill their spare time with activities: »We aren't targeting a specific problem behaviour, we try to incorporate them all and we act according to their behaviour« (INT15).

³¹ A lot of respondents in our school survey said that their last contact with the police was because underage drinking or disturbance of the public law and order (which occurred in the night, while they were out drinking).

5.5.6 Interagency cooperation, funding

Social care centres: working with other institutions is now better than ever before. More energy. more work time dedicated to »contact police officers in the area and sort things out« (INT15). But it still depends on one person – if you are more dedicated to your work, you will do a lot more than somebody who is »just a pencil-pusher« (INT15). But police and social workers are working together: »You can see that there is a change for better, when there are police representatives present always when we are discussing any law in social work area.« (INT12).

All of the respondents said that the funding is insufficient: »we are more and more burdened with day-to-day things that are needed from us. We have less time to dedicate it to prevention activities« (INT14). »Some NGO's have really great programmes and we are really happy that there is somebody besides us that could help the child. But their funding is depending on a whim, on what media say that are most prevalent crimes, what sensationalist news let their readers to believe is happening here. After something bad happens, money starts pouring in for prevention activities almost overnight. But in a same way this money may not be there tomorrow. This situation is hard even for us, let alone NGO's« (INT13).

Another prevalent problem that has arisen before in this report and has to be mentioned is inadequate supervision of the programmes.

5.5.7 Perceptions of effects and efficiency of prevention activities in the studied areas

It's difficult to assess the effects of preventive activities, was an overall answer of our interviewees; there is a definite need for better monitoring and assessment of the programmes, that are offered now, and this may lead to misinterpretations. »A lot of our work is done without any feedback. We cannot say if we really made a difference or not, and this is demoralizing« (INT10).

During the group discussion, with a representative of the youth community present, a debate on fruitful measures of prevention was immediately drawn to the effect of a community. All participants agreed that the effect of »quiet suburban neighbourhoods« can partly be attributed to the closer bonds between people. Participants agreed that the future of preventive work is community youth centres. Representatives of Social work centres emphasized that work in their youth community centres has given a lot of positive feedback from young people, from their parents and the teachers.

A lot was said about the involvement of parents into prevention activities: »If I could reach the parents of those that are especially at risk and explain to them what they should be more attentive to – what changes in behaviour, there would be a lot less work for me, I'm certain. But it is hard to get to them sometimes. They see the problems with their child as something that must be kept in secret and this is why they come to me for an advice – if they even come – when it's almost too late« (GD3).

Another important influence on delinquency as mentioned in discussion was young peoples' attitude towards the authority: »I have always included local police officers in my work at school. There were regular meetings, perhaps once per year a short talk« (GD3). Others also mentioned that regular meet-

ings with local officers helped to introduce the police to the child as an organization that helps, not just punish people.

When talking about what doesn't work, all respondents expressed the need for work with individuals: »I do not understand the constant wish of others about making some programme general that can be applied to a classroom of children. That could work like magic. Nothing like that exists. Best work by my opinion is done one-on-one. You learn things about a child, you get his responses, and you see if it's working or not« (INT14).

Another thing, that doesn't work and was expressed across the professions is being too strict and punish first transgression harshly.

Also not working are correctional facilities: »We must work overtime to include all the young people into the educational system, not to pull them out« (INT4).

Young respondents were asked, which prevention methods that were written down as a suggestion in school survey they would recommend. The respondents in both discussion groups were making a clear distinction between approaches for prevention of alcohol and drug abuse and violence prevention (the distinction was not that clear in youth survey). Their opinion was really divided on the question of keeping the pupils or expelling them. Female respondents were more inclined towards expelling: »They must learn a lesson« (GD2), while boys were more against it.

When talking about surveillance in the halls and cameras put in the vicinity of school they also weren't unanimous. Another proposition was searching the lockers in school and strip-search of people that were suspicious; youngsters were against it. »I don't have anything like that in my locker, but I would be furious if somebody went through it. There are some private things inside« (GD2); »It's not necessary to check all the lockers. A majority of pupils know who has what and where. Ask them« (GD1).

The last idea was including the police into school with lectures and asking a local policeman to stand in front of school every week for a little while, which was greeted with disbelief.

5.5.8 Future challenges and opportunities for prevention

All for participants agreed that something should be done on the level of the society: »With values hitting an all-time low nowadays and with youngsters seeing so much of problems in everyday life, they are less inclined to do something. They are pessimistic about their future. They are scared what will happen« (INT5). Some expressed the necessity of talking less about the crisis and more about the opportunities.

Few said that we need better understanding to recognize delinquency and violence: »There should be a class for the teachers and police officers about the trends and telling signs of violence and drug abuse.

5.5.9 Recommended approaches / strategies for prevention and control of youth crime

First and foremost, interviewees expressed the need to keep young people in school. For that, more help should be given to the schools to alleviate the problem they may have in classes with disruptive children (INT2,4, 12,15). More workshops and seminars for the teachers in this matter. Less workload for the teachers. They should be able to dedicate some time to talk to the children. More emphasis on the free time the young people they have; what are they doing, are there adults. Giving them new possibilities to spend time under supervision in youth centres, teaching them new skills. Another important thing was to establish a communication with parents that would allow them to convey some information about how to recognize different forms of unacceptable behaviour and how to react. This should be established early in the child's life.

Professionals mentioned connecting the programmes, the centres, the professionals that work with young people, not just formally, but also informally. More opportunities for them to talk about their work and to find some creative solutions for the problems they may encounter. The need to establish a way to monitor and evaluate current programmes was also mentioned. Making an updated list of what is available in Slovenia and disseminate it around. One of the proposed methods of prevention work in the future is to write down proper procedures – what to do in different situations, a guideline to the severity of crimes and misdemeanours that youngsters might do and whom to call and where to turn. Participants expressed the need to educate the parents about what to do in cases of family violence.

Young people expressed the need for more security first; although they were not unanimous about what would provide security (cameras, policemen outside, security officers, checking the lockers, checking the suspicious people...). They miss talking to »people like them« about drugs and violence and generally expressed a very strong feeling of distrust towards teachers trying to lecture them on the topics.

Summary

Interviewees have expressed the need for more diverse, but on the other hand more systematic programs that would follow young people from early childhood. They were against repressive approaches and were stressing the need for more values-oriented education. They perceived the school as the most effective actor in prevention activities, since the majority of people under the age of 18 are still attending school. A lot of respondents thought that not enough attention is given to the topic of free time, saying that there is a need for more local programmes.

6 Juvenile violence prevention in Spain. A “worst case scenario” under construction

María José Bernuz Beneitez & Daniel Jiménez Franco

6.1 Methodology. Spanish specifics

The first phase of the project YouPrev (National Institutional Survey) consisted of a survey carried out among professionals from different institutions, levels and intervention areas with children and adolescents. Our goal in this phase was a first approximation to the politics and practices of prevention and control of juvenile violence on a national level according to the participants' experiences. A considerable number of participants emphasized the difficulty to respond to a questionnaire that integrates two pairs of concepts as *prevention-control* and *violence-delinquency* that are clearly in discussion and controverted³².

Subsequently, the Delphi Survey³³ intended to collect the professionals' points of view about possible settings and problems related to juvenile violence and delinquency in the near future, including all the disciplines and professional areas that keep a direct contact with children and adolescents³⁴. The main objective here was a portrait of the expected changes in the social, political, and economical order and the influence of those changes on childhood and adolescence: firstly, in relation to youthful violence; secondly, regarding the intervention and political tendencies. The main issues emerging from this phase of the project were: new technologies (cybercrime), family structures, demographic setting, educational system, labour market, drug consumption and dealing, aggression and some other violent conducts. The low number of answers obtained in this phase justifies the presentation of an especially qualitative analysis³⁵.

As a third step, a survey based on the ISRD-3 was carried out among students from 14 to 18 years in various schools of Aragon –January to April-2012. In a sample of 1,808 questionnaires, the number of valid answers reached 1,766 (97.67%). The data collection was carried out in three phases: a preliminary contact with the management team in each centre (to get their approval of the survey), selecting public, private schools and arranged in urban and rural zones –in different areas of the city of Zaragoza; a meeting in which we exposed in detail the objectives and methodology of the survey –as well as to find space and time to carry it out; and a third phase in which each student's parents or tutors received a letter giv-

³² This problem reveals an epistemological and methodological debate that is still to be solved in the field of criminology. While a prior disaggregation of categories would have minimized this difficulty, some of the contributions made in this line are highly useful for the subject of study and draw some conclusions about the (mostly critical) diagnosis carried out by professionals about the political principles and designs of intervention.

³³ Four parallel interviews were conducted among professionals from different areas: professor (non-formal education), social educator (protection center), street educator and lawyer.

³⁴ Social education, juvenile justice, social work, primary and secondary school, research-university, health, crime prevention and children's rights. Although the number of contacted police officers was not particularly high (less than 10% of the sample), their rate of response was 0 %.

³⁵ Only 6.6 % of the professionals included in the sample answered to the questionnaire.

ing them the possibility to deny their permission to their son/daughter to fill in the questionnaire. It should be emphasized that a great majority of schools and families kindly accepted the proposal and gave their permission to carry out the study. Also one must emphasize that the interest shown by the teachers in knowing and discussing the results of the study has promoted that some informative sessions are being projected –to be carried out in 2013.

To complete the obtained information on violence and youthful delinquency, 20 semi-structured interviews (carried out between January and an April of 2012) were conducted with professionals in different contexts (such as rural/urban areas, protection system, formal/non-formal education, health system, juvenile justice –district attorney's office/police)³⁶, as well as two discussion groups with students –in a secondary school and a “socio-labour” centre. The main aim was reaching some more detailed information about those preventive measures, methods, projects, programs or politics that interviewees could recognize as “good practices”, as well as youngsters’ views and opinions on these same concepts and especially on preventive measures experienced by them. A second goal of the study was an accurate portrait of the local realities related to some concrete problems –again: violence against parents, drug dealing or (legal³⁷ and illegal³⁸) consumption, new technologies.

All this information has been treated to bring up to date the knowledge on prevention challenges and concrete proposals that should be kept in mind in the eyes of participants (youngsters, professionals and/or experts). In the current context of social, political, and economic crisis, some prominent elements can be underrated. The social budget cuts (a common element in every participant’s reasoning) affect very sensitively all the professional areas and tasks.

These interviews were made, recorded and transcribed by the researchers of the YouPrev team, using the script proposed by the German team to facilitate the international comparative. The strategy of selection took several professionals of reference, through which we could reach a wider spectrum of contacts in the different areas of prevention.

Two discussion group sessions took place in May and September 2012. The first one put together 12 bachelor students (14 to 18 years old). The second session was composed of 5 students and two adults (a teacher and a social worker).

³⁶ Juvenile justice/ police; protection/ social work/ social education (non-formal); psychology (areas: health care/ family therapy/ drug addictions); Secondary (formal) Education.

³⁷ Rural areas have higher rates of alcohol consumption (69.8% have had it) than urban areas (48.9%). Self-report rates of alcohol consumption are very similar among male (51.9%) and female (55.4%) respondents. Participants who were born in Spain present higher levels of alcohol consumption (56.4% have got drunk) than students who were born abroad (42.7%).

³⁸ 86.6% of 14 year old (or younger) respondents have never had cannabis, which means that 13.4% of them have already had it, and half of that group (6.3%) have had it 3 or more times -1.8% say they had cannabis 20 times or more. 51.4% of respondents over 16 years old (17 or more) have never had cannabis, which means that 48.6% of them have had it at least once, and 34.1% did it 3 or more times -15.5% could be considered habitual consumers. Rural areas have higher rates of cannabis consumption (51.2% have had it) than urban areas (27.9%). Male respondents self-report higher rates of cannabis consumption (38.2% have had it) than female respondents (28.8%). Participants who were born in Spain self-report higher rates of cannabis consumption (34.4% have had it) than students who were born abroad (25.7%).

In the last phase of the study (October 2012), two national workshops on juvenile violence and delinquency prevention were carried out with police officers and social workers in the Faculty of Law of the University of Zaragoza. The first one (October 4th) summoned 15 professionals from different security forces and several commands with experience in different areas of juvenile violence and delinquency. The next day (October 5th), a second workshop brought together 14 professionals from education and social work areas, either in protection, educational and juvenile justice system.

The information provided by the interviews and the discussion groups shows us how professionals and youngsters look to the future, as well as their ideas on the concepts of violence, delinquency or prevention. This is why we are using the 4th phase of the study to structure the presentation of the information along the following pages and then combining some other data coming from ISRD3, institutional and Delphi surveys. The conclusions exposed in following pages for the Spanish chapter of YouPrev is turned out of the dialogue among the experts consulted, the professionals of the sector (who participated in the institutional survey, the interviews and/or the workshops) and the adolescents –school survey and groups of discussion.

6.2 Some ideas on violence(s) and crime(s)

Key factors

A controversial novelty has recently joined the typical core of delinquent behaviours (property crimes, violent acts and illegal drug use): the use of new technologies, often considered a “social amplifier” of criminal acts rather than a strict influence on them, widening the gap between experiences and perceptions –as seen in the discussion groups. The *standard* criminal profile includes some secondary factors as intervention with first offenders and ethnic minorities, truancy (the main axis of institutional intervention), gender violence and school conflicts.

New technologies and cybercrime (one of the central issues in the research) do not represent, in the eyes of the professionals interviewed, the same kind of problem frequently appearing in the published opinion. Most of them look at the use of mobile phones or social networks by young people as a new way to “publish” some acts, but few of them address this “new technological scenario” as a criminal matter –in the same line, both conflicts and preventive activities related to cyber-crime seem to be irrelevant in the eyes of professionals. It is recognized, though, that children are not aware of the consequences this (e.g. the misuse of internet) can have on them and their families. Some professionals stated: *Violence is violence. The visual expression of violence does not imply big changes. Internet is like the contact that justifies what happened / What used to be a prank between two of them can be said now by phone, text message or email. I mean, we may be exaggerating or... if we will also criminalize such acts, well, okay. We have never received a complaint about that, though.*

The “group” is commonly regarded as the usual context to commit these illegal acts that usually take place in public spaces or any other context outside the private sphere-family, as a way to overcome fear or to obtain a feeling of protection and belonging. A minority of professionals indicates the existence of

gangs³⁹ in specific areas of the city, calling it a *minor problem*, and explicitly appealing to the role of the media as selective amplifier.

The increase of domestic violence and more precisely of the violence from children against their parents is probably the most seriously emergent phenomenon in the eyes of participants. In this case, professionals indicate changes in family patterns –from *authoritarian* to *protector-neglectful*, the “absence of limits” (ambiguously described), the lack of communication, poor knowledge on childhood⁴⁰ and the meagre social policies as different parts of a broader and reinforced process of exclusion⁴¹. They indicate:

There is a curious phenomenon consisting of using consumption to compensate children for the lack of attention when their parents spend just a few hours at home / The so-called crisis of values among young people is not a crisis of his generation. The crisis of values is adults' crisis, we forgot about educational tasks or we have been super-complacent, we gave them everything to get rid of them [...] in the recent years, the wallet is what counts, isn't it? And if not, absolute indifference.

Gender-based violence is described as a relational issue (behaviour patterns, patriarchal values and female roles) rather than as a mere problem of physical aggression⁴². Main differences between ages on the subject of sexist and violent values are located in hard-core violent acts, according to the School Survey: higher “sexist and violent” rates belong to older respondents, boys far beyond girls, foreigners more than Spanish and rural areas over urban ones.

Many say that crime has not increased significantly, neither has the number of young inmates in closed institutions. Culture of fear, mass media influence and social alarm are presented as the primary factors to distort reality: the increasing violence not only moves to higher crime rates (recorded crime incarceration rates have not increased in the years of the crisis), but the current trend is still a reinforcement of criminalization (by media and political speeches) and a greater propensity to face conflicts through the courts.

Among all these factors related to violence and delinquency, recidivism, drugs and poverty are also two controversial issues in the predominant profile among the recipients of any intervention. Thus: boys, 14 to 17 years old, drug users⁴³, in trouble with juvenile justice, coming from marginal environments, already

³⁹ One of the interviewees mention the recruiting of kids by adult members of neonazi gangs, underlining that the most serious chapters of violence happen more frequently in private-concertated than public schools.

⁴⁰ Some conclusions on parental control in the School Survey: Children say where, but parents don't know / Children don't tell who, but parents know about their friends / Parents know where children are and ask about what they do, but they don't know it / The younger respondents are, the earlier is the curfew and the more they have to phone home / Control on female respondents is also higher / Control on foreign families is lower.

⁴¹ Most of the interviewees stress that the current rate of unemployment is 25%, half of the young population is unemployed and the poverty rate exceeds 25%. These data are seen as examples of a critical scenario identified in general as a pathogen or criminogen context.

⁴² Also stated by the students' perceptions in the school survey.

⁴³ A big gap is shown in the School Survey between stealing and using weed or hash (the majority of youngsters say that they have friends who did both things) and the rest of acts/ behaviours. As expected, more students from rural areas have friends with “bad behaviours”, maybe because in rural areas “everybody knows everybody” –as stated by some interviewees.

in touch with the protection services, absenteeism and dropout. The increase of the number of children (in penal institutions) with mental health problems is another question to be underlined –*50% or 60% of our kids [in penal institution] could perfectly be into a mental institution*. So, the division between protection (assistance-prevention) and justice-reform (crime control), always present in the discourses throughout the entire study, appear less defined in terms of practical implementation of the measures. *How can we define crime? That term is so perverted today. The first offense was committed on them. We need to find where the cycle begins.*

As seen in the ISRD3 self-report, some offences are seen as “normal” (or normalized) and some others (most of them, by the way) are clearly described as minority acts by the students. Female rates are under male data in all items, and rural rates are higher than urban data when referred to group fights, use of weapons, car theft, threat/discrimination, drug-selling, drug-consumption and vandalism (graffiti, etc.) – urban rates are higher for shoplifting, robbery, bike stealing or breaking into buildings. A sort of “rural culture of tolerance” seems to take (in a practical way rather than ideologically) juvenile delinquency as a transitional behaviour related to certain ages –not as seriously as its same expressions in the urban context, where relatively higher rates of victimization and awareness are located.

Violent acts committed by juveniles are “spontaneous” or “unplanned”⁴⁴. The use of weapons such as guns or knives is barely mentioned⁴⁵. The majority of crimes are located in the outskirts, “marginal” neighbourhoods and around the large commercial centres. Victims are identified among younger kids or more vulnerable peers. It should be noted that all the experts agree on identifying such acts like property⁴⁶ crimes, assault, vandalism, abuse or harassment (in school) and mistreating (focusing on violence against parents) as the most common problems to face.

Related problems

Closely related to some of the factors above, experts highlight the notion of “democratization of violence”. This “democratization”, in addition to family conflicts or some specific mental problems among different social groups is connected with the so called “collapse of the middle classes”. *The middle classes did not usually appear before the judge, and now are often*, said. In the same sense: *Some of these children come from middle class families, and are faithful portraits of their families. You can see how the family is heading to disaster, the mother is unemployed, the father, and the show starts*. The concept of protection and missing protection of children has become larger and more comprehensive in terms of either social or individual circumstances.

⁴⁴ More planned when committed by adults.

⁴⁵ In addition to being a statistically irrelevant element –as shown in the school survey.

⁴⁶ From a wider perspective and referring to marginal contexts, we find some exceptions to the general description: “when a family hasn’t got any essential resources, they must be found somehow. Then you can make a living of stealing things to sell them; this is often practiced in the neighborhood, selling stolen goods, *I steal cell phones or I ask someone to steal them, and then I sell them*. There is a spectacular black market (laughs), you can find anything. I mean, *don’t worry, I can get it*, and if there is money... that’s it”.

Segregation of urban space, ghettos and gentrification are three underlined problems in relation to “general urban context” of conflicts. These elements are much less relevant in rural areas, where informal social control is greater. Among other determinants of children's biographies, we still find precarious work, marginalization and family *breakdown*.

Mass media, school environment, consumption patterns and success are often highlighted as main influences on social relationships and educative processes. The aforementioned “crisis of values”⁴⁷ and the cultural phenomenon of consumerism are considered as the two main factors in building a form of violence that is taken by youngsters as a means of self-assertion. Hyper-consumption⁴⁸ is, according to many respondents, the main general factor behind crime. Most juvenile delinquent acts are not considered themselves as “social problems” (either quantitatively or qualitatively), and many respondents connect property crimes with this context. Some data in the School Survey lead us to think of a lower sense of victimization between young people –mainly thefts or petty thefts in urban areas.

Although the main factors⁴⁹ in the analysis of youth violence are four (“institutional abuse”, “consumerism”, “poverty/exclusion” and “violence learned” –playing behaviour patterns), the most common crimes tend to be read in conjunction with the second one (consumerism) and from a psychological perspective: the classic lack of purchasing and/or the new frustration created from overconsumption. In a similar direction, the School Survey shows how short-term thinking and rash behaviour are quite common. One third of respondents “behave risky for fun”. Less than a fifth don't mind how their acts affect other people, even if they are aware about these consequences –note the higher percentages are found among kids over 16 from rural areas, and also the big age and sex gaps –similar results were stressed in the group discussions.

As mentioned above, another discussion related to the delinquency and factors related is the discussion on what violence is, as if its definition was the first related problem to be solved. Some professionals said: *We live in a violent society. The kids are violent because society is.* Youngsters said: *We are all violent in some moments / Violence starts in the domestic sphere. If parents don't cut this, schools cannot stop it.* Many interviewees speak of violence as a serious problem, but most of them look at children as “victims and witnesses” of such violence, considering youth crime and violent acts as a question of “played attitudes”, “frustration”, “lack of care and communication”, “media influence” and “widespread violence” at both institutional and relational, psychological or physical, passive or active levels, moving the focus of the problem from the actors to their environments. Some professionals agree to treat “self-harm” as a

⁴⁷ Some conclusions on values from the School Survey: main differences between ages are located in questions referring to sexist violence and guns. Respondents over 16 show their highest agreement in those items: higher “sexism and violence” rates belong to older respondents (mainly boys much further than girls, foreigners more than Spanish and rural areas over urban ones). Nevertheless, we must note that respect to authority, not only (but also) related to violence or abuse, is also higher among rural and foreign students. Short-run reasoning and non-reflexive behaviours are quite common among respondents. More than 25% of them say “risk is fun” and less than 20% do not mind how their acts affect others, even if they are aware of the consequences. Higher percentages are found among male respondents over 16 years old and in rural areas.

⁴⁸ “Social hedonism” and “crime for fun”.

⁴⁹ Respectively classified at 4 levels: “institutional”, “cultural”, “environmental” or “relational”.

relevant factor to understand some current problems related to violence. Some of them point to a “transition” from primary to secondary school as the most conflictive period for teenagers.

Social control is recognized as stronger in rural areas than in urban areas. Consequently, the perceived levels of violence and crime are not so worrying –in contradiction with the occasional self-report in the school survey⁵⁰. Robbery or violent assaults can be considered as a minor problem compared to urban settings, and the lack of attention to these acts seems to be linked to their status as mere pranks –more frequently taken to the juvenile justice system in the urban context. The main emerging issue in rural areas is a “problematization” of free time by factors such as drugs and alcohol. *Peñas* are typical close-knit spaces for socialization where most of that consumption is concentrated and standardized among youngsters.

The closed character of rural areas makes the *peña* a place where alcohol and drugs can be easily located, although its consequences do not seem to be taken with the same high concern as in urban areas. Although (obviously) not every youngster who uses substances is a violent offender, most of those who commit crimes or violent acts are consumers, which is shown explicitly but not dramatically (*There are just a few children involved in crimes against public health*) as a growing problem (especially in rural areas), although (*again*: obviously) there is no consensus about the direct connections between drug abuse and criminal behaviour, only when a child resorts to drug dealing as a means to make “easy money”.

The following statements can be presented as examples of the commonplace where consensus among respondents can be found:

What is sometimes worrying is how easy assaults happen (...) who knows, sometimes with the most banal excuses and very violent and aggressive reactions. It seems to be part of this generation's education. And even if it is a minority phenomenon, it is still something to worry about...

⁵⁰ Where all rates collected from young respondents (14 y-o or under) are far below the average. As expected, delinquent behaviours are mostly carried out by men. Most outstanding results are: a) downloading music or films on internet (not actually considered a “real” crime for most of the respondents) shows by far the highest rate; b) stealing things from a shop (once or twice) is something rather usual (around 25% of the young population) between young men in urban areas; c) 18% painted in train, walls, etc –mainly males in rural areas; d) 14,2% participate in group fights –mainly foreigners and youngsters living in rural areas; e) nearly 10% of the population sold or helped someone else selling drugs –more usual in rural areas; f) minority but also surprising, 1,7% of young people carried a gun mainly young men and in rural areas –possible mistake: not distinguishing gun from shotgun, very commonly used in rural areas.

6.3 Uncontrolled prevention and reinforced control

A summary of the highlighted issues on the situation of prevention and control plans from the professionals' experiences is set out below.

Key factors

When speaking of prevention, we can confirm that there are no political strategies (or only eventually and partially) for the prevention of the juvenile delinquency/violence in Spain. Main critical appraisals appear on the organizational/ methodological, political/ strategic or economic/ budgetary aspects: reductionist, punitive, based on control, false or weak preventivism, insufficient... Increasing technification, specialization and formalization of processes, protocols and methods.

The underlined trends in the survey situate the "case" work (and since there, the intervention on delinquency) as the most noticeable element on the matter of a methodological dimension in which management of delinquency prevails on the idea of prevention *stricto sensu*. Thus:

- Answers to crime, focused on individual behaviours and aggressors
- Interventions focused on social integration or based on detention and punishment
- Interventions on factors (of risk and protection) and victims⁵¹

At a practical level, tertiary interventions prevail over secondary approaches and these override the primary ones, a question that shows (on the ground of prevention and control) an opposite tendency to the theoretical principles of prevention –at least in terms of its target population. The predominance of tertiary interventions reveals a double conductual-casuistic (based on the criminal act) and individual focus – this last dimension is split in the notions of integration and punishment. And can reveal the idea that prevention is related to tertiary interventions and primary prevention is identified with child protection policies. Crime control is given priority on violence prevention. Those institutions and professions which are mentioned as more involved in prevention/control invert the logic of the prevention:

- Functions of control and response belonging to the penal system
- Educational/ welfare/ protection functions

Some emphasized elements in prevention strategies are: a) a smaller investment in social prevention in the context of economic crisis; b) families, school and group of peers as main actors of violence and delinquency prevention; c) shortage of clear objectives in prevention and the focus centred in the "classical" expressions of violence (the ones that cause *social alarm*); d) the role of children as helpless victims and witnesses of violence without decision-making capacity. In this same line: *The boy is always the one that leaves home. He/she is who carries the can [...] there are no institutions for parents, you cannot remove*

⁵¹ The victim is given a minimum role as an object of preventive intervention and, as stressed above, risk factors are prioritized over protection factors, always under the approaches on crimes and aggressors.

them... you cannot enclose the parents in an institution. You take the child, even if it's not his fault or responsibility.

Related problems

Some of the following ideas are specifics related to either the goals or the handicaps of prevention activities in the eyes of professionals and students.

The measures we apply to children depend on the crime, not on the child.

The debate about the mere existence of a preventive work seems to sum up itself a big amount of related problems in the field of violence and crime prevention: *I do not think that a true politics of prevention exists / because money is needed... and commitments, that is to say, to keep in mind that there are people who need help... since they are born. They do not get there suddenly. And, well, "your father beats you... come on, done". Of course, his father used to beat him, but he was beaten too, and ¿what is happening there? We only feed the wheel, nothing else. For the time being.*

The general portrait of the status of juvenile delinquency prevention describes it as weak and deficient: We invest in the last parts of the chain and not in the first ones (laughs) [...] There is no system for detection, because the whole protection system is based on abandonment and abuse. Those kids who mistreat themselves are not in this system, are they? [...] Nobody works with them. A diagnose that confirms the information obtained in the first part of the research, during the National Institutional Survey. More examples: From social services, nothing. What social services do is reports, reports, reports. Absenteeism, whatever, reports that come and go from school to social services and back. Some of them arrive to the childhood services, but nothing happens". "Nowadays our work is only palliative treatment and the resources are being dedicated to plan a lot of measures that don't go beyond habits and attitudes. We will go back to this question later –see "supervision-evaluation".

As another expert said: In [the field of] prevention, I believe that there is a lack of criteria, resources, coordination, unity, conviction (laughs). We cannot have only specific resources, I insist. That should be in everybody's minds. In a second level of analysis and depending on the area they speak from, the interviewees indicate different problems and conflicts directly associated to the principles of the intervention, to those professionals who are responsible for those plans or to those who are in charge of putting those principles in practice. Self-criticist allusions are abundant and the general perspective adopted by the majority of professionals on the reality of the prevention is structural and institutional (financial and political levels) rather than methodological or technical: The only thing they do is cut, cut, cut. Resources are cut, and... where? Let's cut here. I always say: the kid doesn't vote, the kid doesn't talk... then... it's *easy to cut here*.

Since social services are being minimized by a process of privatization and commodification (*an intervention market which is seen as a business on others' misfortunes*), many professionals express a permanent

sensation of "working with minimums"⁵² – on most serious and urgent situations and producing a serious burnout when tasks are being carried out on the ground and closer to the target population. *We work with the classical children that can shock you ... what produces social alarm / We have created and continue to create ghettos, unfortunately. That is, families who only have access to those resources and will be excluded when a poorer family arrives / We may have the information but this is a problem of means, there are no means, there is no will.*

The main points of consensus on prevention are closely linked to the analysis from the first section, since the members in those target groups are usually identified by the “problems” they share –symptoms of a material, behavioural, learning... or psychosocial conflict. Two categories must be distinguished here. Firstly, institutional pathways and target groups are identified by labelling, segregative factors or socio-geographical distribution by the professionals in the justice system and other institutional fields. Secondly, the evolution of violent behaviours and the “democratization” of conflicts (beyond any classist pattern) are underlined by those who work “on the ground” in out-of-court contexts.

Although the recipient’s typical profile has already been described above, some other elements and a couple of controversial comments must be added in order to stress how often some “experts” can unconsciously reproduce those stereotypes that reveal a conflict between ideals and practices in the field of preventive interventions. Let’s remember: 16-18 years old, mostly male (considering a certain increase in the number of girls, sometimes “as violent as boys”⁵³), with absenteeism/dropout⁵⁴ (including a controversy: causal factor or symptom of the problem?), both from “impoverished Spanish middle-class families” (as a result of *failed class stigma*) and from those who are “excluded among the excluded” (*poor immigrants*). A self-accomplished prophecy that is built in the broad framework of social control (criminal and assistential management of illegalities) helps the stereotype of the *poor offender* remain safe and sound, and its presence in some experts’ statements warns us to be cautious when exposing our conclusions: *Social environments are, not always but often, low-class contexts, people with low cultural level, with problems at home. Separated people / problems with alcohol. It is known, isn’t it? And then there are a smaller percentage of normal people who just loses control. That’s true, I can tell you*⁵⁵ / *Most of first-time offenders do not reappear. Well, I mean criminals who are not criminals, only guys who committed an aggression and do not appear again, with minimal intervention and the opportunities given by the organic law... From more standardized families, with a control / The level of mental disorders increases... among the general population and among children of course... I think there is a child psychiatrist for every 150,000 inhabitants. This makes no sense.*

⁵² “Intervention with families has been frozen for years and there are only 4 family educators in the whole historical area of the city” [...]

⁵³ Violence is described as basically external among boys and internal among girls. From a different perspective, the minor rate of *delinquent girls* is due [in the participants’ eyes] to the fact that they are pushed to assume more tasks in their leisure time – working at home, family responsibilities, taking care of their younger brothers and sisters...

⁵⁴ Particularly linked to gipsy population.

⁵⁵ The scene: etiological explanations *versus* so called “exceptions” emerging among “normal people”. After so many years trying to fight reductionism, we should joyfully (and ironically) say... “Nice shot, you expert!”

In spite of having been presented as a not too precise reference, mental health has become a central element in the process of identifying groups “at/of risk”. Either as a result of substance abuse or due to a general trend to diagnose and medicalize problems, this contributes to keep the management of many problems away from its social or familiar dimension.

Regarding violence against parents, the target group is currently identified with the profile of *that child who has been given objects instead of attention and, when reaching a certain age, reclaims things as violently as if he was four years, but with 80 kilos*. The increasing number of offenders located in “middle class” families is (this must be emphasized) one of the factors to be carefully analysed. As colloquially stated by one of the interviewees:

The emergency of posh children in our area (psychology) has been a surprise for us (laughs), you know why? Because you do not know what to do, you are not ready, you are used to dealing with other individuals [...] There is a kind of violence today under the same scheme but different, not related to needs but to wishes. We find individuals who feel very frustrated without being poor, only for not having access to higher consumption levels.

Gender differences are often described in terms of role taking and distinguished by degrees and intensities. Subordination and dependence are also factors that reproduce unequal gender relations. Some warn of increasing violent behaviour among girls as a potential target. “Double discrimination” and “feminine concealment” are two cross elements that explain the differences in the social and institutional treatment delivered to girls or boys: *Violence among Boys is easier... you can have a fight or beat someone. At a social level, this is more accepted... as a part of masculinity, using the force. A different attitude is expected from girls*. Some experts also link this kind of violence to migration, others believe that many youngsters do not see violence against their partners as “gender”; others emphasize some girls’ “addictive” attitudes to violent boys or even suggest that there are battered women who stay at home “voluntarily”.

As stated by one of the interviewees (juvenile justice professional), some keys refer the analysis to a wide scope: taking in account that one in every 400 children (0.25%) is sent to prison or “closed” centres⁵⁶; 50-60% of those children suffer mental health problems; 40% start their institutional itineraries in the protection system and most of them are bred in “marginal” environments; the amount of immigrants in the juvenile justice system has decreased recently; the rural milieu is barely represented in these closed institutions –note that social perception of violence in rural areas is relatively lower and non-formal levels of social control are much higher –*We have almost nothing from rural areas [ref. kids in prison], only a few, there is much more social control there...*

⁵⁶ “Once you get to the juvenile justice system, prevention has failed”. “The profile we worked with has changed a lot (...) 10 years ago, 80% [ref. kids in prison] came from gipsy families. Then the amount of foreign youngsters (...)”

Financial situation

A worrying confusion is shown between funding sources and private entities (companies, foundations, NGOs ...) that are not funding sources but managers of public money –including *regular* for-profit entities.

State (central and regional), municipalities and EU are mentioned sources of financing –priority order, and the departmental governments manage most of the budgets in for childhood and social services. The budgetary position in the field of prevention/control of juvenile delinquency is defined as quite unstable, unpredictable and insufficient, as shown in most of the statements. Some of them in general terms: *Funding levels are levels of survival / Money is never enough (...) what is clear is that this investment [in open environments] makes things work better / Means? There is a scarcity of means (...) There are no resources, no money, no chances*), and some with concrete examples: *We have 110 euros per month to do things in the neighbourhood. There are no resources and this is due to the competition for the service among entities that receive good money for it, but what's left to be used at work is not enough, the point is that it's business.*

Some stress the low budgetary levels and some link this situation to a more complex critique of a private managing system joined by private entities (associations, foundations, companies ...) dependent on public funding. This general consensus on the critical situation of resources in the area of prevention is particularly stressed nowadays in the case of outpatient treatment and specific areas such as drugs or psychiatry. The progressive reduction of leisure projects and the removal of non-formal education resources (“day centers”, “street education”) are also mentioned as negative consequences of this situation. As shown below, these budget problems are connected with technical and institutional handicaps affecting the work on the ground: *They take money from us as years go by. We used to work in lots of situations and areas, now less and less / This quote is enough. Too bad, the current deputy mayor saying that “social services are not a basic service to the population”. Then I guess that services for children are even less important / Prevention does not give political revenue, so it does not matter. The juvenile plan in this city is a copy of the one they did some years ago, but it does not go beyond... They do not evaluate what is happening. Politicians live in revenue, immediacy and frontpages, what do I get and what should I invest. These projects became a way to make money, with the perversion that implies. When the city council out-sources some services or to keep precarious competitions where entities [private] apply... with no experience in the area but with much experience in reducing costs, maximizing profits, making it cheaper for the administration (...) and the recipient group becomes an excuse to make money, everything is perverted (...).*

Supervision-evaluation

Coming from above, this quotation gives a clear explanation: Today's general trend is transporting measurement techniques from business areas to the “social” sector. Management by objectives and so on. Waiting for the administration to spend some money and arrange programs. Much more to do with budgets than results.

The overall status of supervision and evaluation is poor. The departmental administration (that is given the powers in protection and treatment of young offenders by law) is the main responsible for evaluation

and supervision, but 20% of respondents stated that nobody funds and performs evaluation of interventions or that evaluation does not exist, and over 50% of respondents deny that evaluation is a condition to finance projects or defines it as scarce. 80% of descriptions on the current status of the evaluation are negative –non-existent, inadequate, insufficient, poor...

Mostly connected to the financial situation, the main obstacles to a proper evaluation in the experts' eyes are: there is no money to dedicate some time to evaluation / there is no demand for evaluation / institutions are not interested because this might put the efficiency of their programs in question / there are no clear goals / bureaucracy is excessive... Some statements stress the recent changes to worse, and some experienced interviewees describe the poor supervision as a structural condition in the system –all of them giving a similar conclusion: The workload has increased significantly and now... The reports we used to do every year... now we do not make any report / It is a mere formality. I should not say it (...) Evaluation is badly done / It is not carried out, in Spain in general ... I have spent 25 years working in social services and we do not have evaluations.

Evaluation is then practiced only as “self-assessment” for self-control in certain teams and projects – some professionals say that there is much self-evaluation but “null external control”. When implemented, this evaluation is always quantitative and never qualitative. So, according to most of the respondents' experiences, effective institutional control (on projects and entities) does not exist, since the goals of many prevention programs are not clear, protocols do not exist and evaluation is extremely difficult in those conditions and this implies the risk of hiding those youngest recipients of institutional care from a society that should feel responsible⁵⁷.

Coordination

Cooperation between sectors and professional interventions is regarded as *an important factor to reduce juvenile delinquency more than as a standard practice to reduce juvenile delinquency*, which means that interagency coordination is considered fundamental for the achievement of objectives with minors and for the effectiveness of prevention, but ideals do not materialise on the ground as often as the professionals appear to wish: *The more tertiary is prevention, the better institutional coordination is kept. And the more primary, the less coordination. We need more networking, better knowledge of the resources... This is how we have always worked. (...) There have been many problems, for example, between the city hall and the provincial services (...) they are closed compartments, and there should be more communication between them, not only with the city: school, municipal center, mental health resources, family physician, pediatrician...*

Among the main obstacles to an efficient coordination: the protection of a minor's privacy as a pretext, institutional self-defence, avoiding intrusive practices, ethical codes and “the right professional distance”, professional secret, personal reasons... or just *Protocols... there are lots of papers. A different question is*

⁵⁷ “Law is, in my opinion, a double edged weapon. Protection is good, but in the other side it's like contributing to obscurantism (...). Those children who come to our center are almost invisible (...). Zaragoza, Spain, first world...”.

our knowledge on them, and I include myself. We are very busy... all of us; There is a network of resources trying to filter people at risk, but the net is not dense enough, it has a lot of holes, it's not well coordinated (...) It's a matter of resources, coordination and attitude. The problem of hyper-specialization.

The opposition between these next two statements (taken from two different interviews) illustrates the aforementioned gap between the discourse of the juvenile justice system (based on educative principles to cover up a practice that is essentially penal) and practice of the system of protection –that tends to get closer and closer to the justice system, despite its theoretical socio-educative goals: *We are coordinated with everyone / Working together does not exist. We do not share purposes nor a specific objective, which means that the collaboration is... rare. It is difficult to work with something that does not pursue my goal. In addition, without the same tools, if we do not speak the same language... it is even more complicated.*

Coordination is essential to improve intervention and reduce the burnout among professionals, families and children, but it seems very difficult to make it effective. Interviewees consider it a basic condition for a good work in prevention, sometimes even more important than the financial conditions, but the status of coordination is only described as “good” or “very good” by a small minority of professionals from upper-middle-responsibility levels. Its “formalization” is higher in the field of tertiary prevention and more precarious at primary levels (where interventions are considered as much more effective), but the complaints come from every sphere. From a general perspective, we can conclude that crime prevention does not incorporate a comprehensive planning and plans do not take into account the design of medium-long term itineraries for young people.

6.4 Prevention in a hostile context. Discourses and practices

As seen above, we cannot have an optimistic view of the context in which prevention plans must be developed and its activities should be put in practice. The social consequences of these last years of crisis have had a big influence on the field of institutional intervention and its professional tasks and achievements. *What 7 years ago used to be successful for us and anyone would have valued as an achievement, we must now recognise that it was not a success. They are young people that were used by the market for a while and now we have them back with the problem that there is no service in this city for people of 25 years, and all must be reinvented (...) we could be excluding this social group ourselves. We are those who inserted them in precarious conditions, and now we exclude them for not giving a certain profile.*

When planned in comprehensive terms and executed with the appropriate means, primary prevention plans usually work. In general, special and institutionalised interventions –internment, criminalization, medicalization (psychopathologization), labelling... don't work because they usually act on the symptoms of those phenomena which are meant to be prevented.

What works

- In the family: training parents, reinforce the work with children under 14, family therapies.
- At school: programmes against school absenteeism, addictions⁵⁸ and conflict resolution.
- On protection and social services: street education, leisure centres, youth houses or any other means to "organize time", "outdoor" work with the community.
- In tertiary prevention: out-of-court redress, community services.

Among those resources that work, the following issues are highlighted: working with small and heterogeneous groups from systemic perspectives, normalized contexts and continuous work to prevent stigmatization; "classical" community resources, neighbourhood coexistence, family support and "work on the field" are the most effective preventive means, in addition to a good network of coordination where professionals from different areas have the ability to maintain a close and permanent communication; social environment is a key for primary prevention, where any measure must be applied as soon as detection protocols work, with the necessary commitment of experts in the area of health –the ones who can perform an accurate diagnosis at early ages.

Children should collectively manage the conflicts that affect them, as the best way to turn these conflicts into an educational opportunity to enhance accountability, the ability to respond by acts themselves, face the consequences and interact with peers –who are the most important reference to prevent forbidden behaviours in the eyes of youngsters themselves –followed by parents. It's quite relevant that teachers (the only item in which foreign respondents' statements are higher than Spanish rates) are given the last position in the tasks of preventing young people from doing forbidden things –although schools are the most active institutions in giving information about this behaviours. Social educators in the school or external agents on specific projects (drugs, conflict resolution, road safety, gender-based violence...) also work (at least in the eyes of many participants⁵⁹), although students do not grant an excessive value to this type of activity. Restorative justice, mediation and conciliation (extrajudicial measures in general) reduce recidivism.

What does not work

- In the field of education: tendency to trial conflicts, expulsion, lectures in classrooms.
- In the field of juvenile justice: retribution measures, internment, lowering of the age of criminal responsibility or aggravating penalties⁶⁰, behavioral approaches –which only consider the fact committed.

⁵⁸ The incidence of school in drug prevention seems to be considered by the students as a not too effective means –since acquired knowledge is meant to be more important than learned means of prevention. Violence prevention is given a better value in those terms.

⁵⁹ Depending on the professional sphere where these external agents come from. Police officers are the most controverted participants in these kinds of *awareness activities*.

⁶⁰ The School Survey shows a higher preference for severe sanctions among students –although still minority.

- In childhood protection: internment, medicalization, short interventions without continuity, precarious working conditions...

Among those measures that do not work are the following: prosecution; any action tending to aggravate the penalties or reduce the age of criminal responsibility; weekend arrest and/or house arrest (*Continued measures of internment on weekends [ref. prison] are a disaster, those measures are useless. Or home arrest on weekends, there is no educative content in it, at all*); diagnosis and diversion to psychiatric itineraries –*both criminal detention and the psychiatric hospital are simple containers*; “large groups” – institutionalized and/or full-scale working; tagging, behaviorist methods; put the police within the schools, giving a version too populist intervention in juvenile justice, focusing on detention and abandon the social awareness; deny social assistance to families with absenteeist children –*This happens very often, e.g., gipsy students are the most absenteeist. The pressure they receive with the withdrawal of social aid. Not to go to school means “no help”, and that’s all. I mean: why do they go? Why do they absent? Nothing different is done to take them into the classroom...*

Some other significant statements related to these questions: It consists of punishing poverty. Poverty is punished. Here [ref. prison]... those children who have a good lawyer, a family... they normally don’t get in. They don’t come in here / The problem shows up when you are 17 years and 364 days old, but 2 days later you are already an adult, although you are the same person / You take them out of their families to a protection center and you add (laughs) all its problems there. It is horrible. They incorporate everyone else’s problems there.

6.5 What should work on the ground – main principles and proposals

See below a summary of the most remarkable references and proposals resulting from the study:

- In the family: family intervention to prevent situations of exclusion. Before that, maintenance of social basic rights is a key factor to avoid situations of extreme exclusion and help interventions to be carried out in a sustainable context. You can’t work on habits and attitudes when the kid needs to be fed, washed and get rid of head lice.
- At school: education in values, student councils, workshops, interdisciplinary teams...: More money for schools, because if the child grows up in the street, you can see how he is going to end up. If you can at least keep him at home and motivate him to study and so on... I do not know, he could be like me, I didn’t obey my parents.
- In the field of juvenile justice: assistance to a day center, compulsory occupational training, more resources for probation, coordination between protection and reform, expanding the subjective scope from 18 to 21 years. Develop a better and more complete handling of the tools and resources included in the juvenile criminal law. So: The law must be used to improve the situation of minors and reduce delinquency, as simple as this. We must ask the administration to be able to sit and use its brain (they have very valid experts) to consider the itineraries from childhood. Do not answer violence with violence: When a 15-year-old boy is sent to jail, he may get out worse than he came in, because he has been labelled as a criminal and that means a threat for the rest of children, for their peers. That

means that he has taken a step forward. And many of them stay in that step until they suffer the final shock [ref. adult prison] but... they live in this paranoia for years / We're in a boomerang. We can get back to... stay on the tip of the iceberg of violence, and then respond with violence. They are frustrated, expectations remain unfulfilled, and furthermore, we estigmatize them. It is perfect to keep them in the wheel.

- On social assistance and protection: economic support to families, foster care, mental healthcenters, mediation, improvement of working conditions...: The problems of adolescents should be resolved by psychology, education, pedagogy... laws won't save them.

Respondents to the School Survey still consider primary intervention through education, employment and care system as the best prevention strategies. Over 80% of students think that general prevention (a better education system, improving the possibilities of getting a job or having good emotion support) is the best way to keep them from doing forbidden things. Around 65% claim for better activities in leisure time, training on better behaviours, information on consequences and supporting their parents. More severe punishment or police activity is the last option according to the ISRD3 but not insignificant at all, though: nearly half of the young people would support a more severe punishment –rural-Spanish-male is the profile that shows the highest rate supporting repression of violence and crime.

The majority of professionals and experts claim for less criminalization; more intervention in the social causes of violence and crime; improving and reinforcing the policies on equality and social justice as a necessary way to address the structural phenomenon of social exclusion; as well as investing and improving the resources in the following areas: mental health, therapy-support-assistance, school sports, leisure centres, youth houses, street education, scholar committees of coexistence, restorative justice, institutional inspections, continuous training, education in the "open environment"... Among other measures we find family education⁶¹, a better educational system, more coordination-supervision-evaluation... and commitment on the part of the professionals: *If we really want to do something useful, we must stay in touch or we will always work in a fragmented way; We cannot turn the first step of prevention in a matter of luck; Losing fear to be in touch with people who are different from you is the factor key to generate a more egalitarian and real society.*

Many interviewees mentioned the need for a comprehensive plan in the medium/long term for children and adolescents, as well as more investment in education and social assistance. Other recommendations included: training and coordination for teachers; educational prospects should avoid contributing to the segregation of students or their categorization/tagging, as well as punishing absenteeism with the expulsion from school or the withdrawal of support to the family.

Even though family is the first agency of prevention among adolescents, the peer group represents the best educational context in most of the participants' eyes.

⁶¹ "I would not run a prevention campaign for youngsters but for parents, focussed on responsible parenting".

No more changes to the criminal law are proposed: *leave it as it is*, with the instruments at its disposal and without punitivist reforms. Restorative justice is conceived as a good tool to reduce recidivism and take care of the victim. A majority of experts bet for non-criminalization, normalization of situations and social integration: *No, we don't need control. We need soft controls, with professionals, educators, psychologists... in a different way.*

- Control formal control vs. Improve non-formal control: less formal and institutional control vs. More social/community work. Since the permanently underlined keys are education and the family/community environment: protection must be in the mind of everyone who interacts with children (...) We should pay special attention to the school as a basic element for the prevention of violence, abuse... / As a health worker, I hope to get some respect, but the best thing I can do to be respected is to respect, isn't it? / If you prevent, you avoid theft and violence. That's an expense for public safety (laughs). As easy as that; The personal commitment of each individual who lives in society... going from general to the particular issues... the commitment of those who live around the child and know him/her, and real commitment from the institutions that play a supporting role / The family, the school, the leisure centres, they are part of the environment for a normalized socialization and that is what must work as prevention system.
- Don not privatize basic public resources. More means for public interventions.
- Social justice should be the central criterion for a necessary change in structures and institutional designs. The structural dimension of violence is connected to a social problem that should be resolved politically rather than from technical approaches: This is clearly a cultural matter, about educating and building a model of responsibility, not only for children but including citizenship in the pack. Everyone is responsible.
- More investment in training professionals and better coordination between areas.
- More resources for outpatient treatments and therapies.
- Working method: general, precocious, familiar, primary and open. General plans in broad terms –vital processes instead of punctual interventions, itineraries of insertion and political will to support childhood and adolescence: I am talking about children in their 14 to 16, when school is already more important than family. I see this so clear. What happens in the family during the first 12-14 years cannot be fixed at school.
- Kids must be the subjects of their educational process and in the resolution of the conflicts that affect them: the objective is the child. The goal cannot be our comfort (...) prevent is working with the child in a process. They should be the axis / Less technocracy and more training for those who integrate the social environment of the boys.

Socializing the management of problems is the considered the best preventive strategy in a broad sense. This means strengthening the support for families without replacing or disabling them, but quite the opposite: educating and helping them to solve their (economic, social, affective...) problems by themselves. Education and prevention are, without a doubt, two keys that almost all participants highlight in their responses.

It's all about giving people chances. If they spend all day in the street, the street is a bitch. It's about filling the leisure time and feeding the illusion for something. Always from the public system, because private projects are welcome but you cannot trust everything to them / We must avoid doing nothing. What is already being done isn't bad but isn't enough.

- Public policies should avoid any contribution to reproduce of the violence and replace the control measures with general and primary prevention plans. Any tendency to solve conflicts in a vertical way and without mediation should be avoided. Most of participants choose mediation, restitution, out-of-court solutions, a bigger involvement of minors in the processes and a better consideration of the role of professionals in policy-making. Given that juvenile delinquency is not a problem that can be addressed independently of the economic, educational, social or cultural context, professionals should avoid the scientific perspective that addresses the problem as an isolated object and flee from the tendency to harden the law –since the contact between aggressor and victim (or their environments) is often enough to resolve it.

6.6 Summary. How? What? A big contradiction between expectations and wishes

The overall portrait drawn by participants approaches a worst-case scenario: cuts in public budgets, dismantling of welfare structures and widespread insecurity. Despite everything, a dramatic increase in crime rates is not expected by a majority of professionals and experts. According to a big majority of replies, budget cuts will minimize the social intervention and worsen exclusion and poverty, perpetuating administrative and urban ghettos. Many of those elements can increase the visibility, the significance, the emergency, the dangers and those threats that have been traditionally enforced by means of communication. In addition to the crisis and the collapse of the welfare structures, more violent spectacle can help expand the gap of injustice and inequality.

The reduction expected in the volume of immigration will move the approach to the problems of the so-called second generation of immigrants. The permanent reproduction of profiles reveals a worsening of “social inheritance” and its related problems, both in material terms and in relation to the coexistence, not only connected with demographic aspects (*we must learn from bad experiences from other countries...*) but also with a broader concept of *culture* –often focused on consumption, consumerism, competitive values and other violent behaviours.

Public health (drugs) and crimes against property will remain in the first place among the stated problems. Unfortunately, violence and crime are too frequently seen as inevitable. Its effects could get “democratized” and increase, but also could remain stable –as it seems to have happened during the recent years. There are no clear conclusions in this regard. Changes in the types of offences committed by youngsters, especially those related to [the *access to* and the *mediation of*] new technologies, may change the terms in which such acts are carried out.

We cannot find many remarkable allusions to major changes in gender (some participants did mention a possible increase in violent behaviours against girls) or age, so that the pattern seems to be held around the difference in class, the social reproduction of inequality, ethnic minorities and other foreign and low-

class groups, more among boys than among girls, *multi-problematic families, people from poor areas with resources in poor areas*. Earliest risk behaviours are attributed to a certain precocity or early maturity related to the rise of consumerism rather than to the organization or planning of crimes –such as gangs, which are not seen as a particularly serious phenomenon.

The main highlighted problem in the questionnaire is an apparent generalization of violence that can be explained by the extent of conflict in areas such as the family or the school. Victimization⁶², therefore, affects people in direct contact with the aggressor, as family members, classmates or teachers –usually those who present specially weak or lesser authority conditions.

An increase in the punitivism (which comes already shaping the current policies) is also expected, first allowing the social situations worsen and then presenting the measures to the audience to give it a feeling of efficiency. Hardening of criminal law depends on how effectively the social alarm can be broadcasted, but empty budgets make the any practice useless.

Virtually all participants are opposed to proposals such as reducing the criminal responsibility age or hardening the measures, arguing that these proposals have not shown any efficacy to reduce violence or crime. Many of them also emphasize the risk involving psychiatric resources delivered as an answer to psychological problems or even introducing the treatment with psychoactive drugs to treat problems whose origin is social: *it is easier to deal with a violent teenager who is medicated than with one who is not. If resources are precarious, more medication is used / If the current situation is maintained as up to now... the question is not gender or religious or nothing else. It is purely economic. Being poor is dangerous, dangerous for the poor / If at least 40% of young people are unemployed, honestly, with this future waiting for them... reactions may be very diverse...*

Reducing the current rate of youth unemployment (50%); compensating the “social regression”; facing the absence of limits; managing the increase in violent behaviours (including self-harm) and in the number of children “at risk” (and the extension of the concept); fighting punitive populism, social alarm, the culture of fear; reversing the criminalization of disruptive and antisocial behaviour, as well as the role of the media in the trivialization and “selective dramatization” of violence... are some of the challenges identified along the survey. Most of them appear in the Delphi study, the institutional survey and the interviews (as seen below) or even in the school survey.

On “limits”: *One of the most identified problems in the core of violence nowadays is absence of limits. Lack of education in limits is a feature in society of consumption. Not something that only affects youngsters, but all of us too (...) delay, dilemma or conditional are not accepted, and these are the three fundamental conditions of education.*

⁶² Although the rest of acts show a low grade of victimization among students, note that the highest collected rates are: foreign-urban-male for theft (non-violent), urban-Spanish for robbery (violence-intimidation), younger-urban-female for harassing-abuse, older-foreign-male for discrimination, urban-foreign-female for dating abuse.

On self-harm: *Violence is transmitted. It can be exercised against others or oneself. There are more and more cases of self-harm. Violence in adolescence always seems to be focused on others, but I have been seeing many self-aggressions recently. What happens is that, once the glass is full, violence turns against others because it must be expelled in some direction.*

On overcrowded facilities and overbooked services of attention: *With the crisis, evidently, we are getting focused on the most serious cases, and all the preventive... and community... and educative phases... will be ruled out.*

On fear: We shouldn't live in fear. We can't look only at the 5% that commit serious crimes. That is the problem. (...) Now that crisis is so severe, talking about children is not interesting.

On values and "double messages": Adult world says one thing but does the opposite. Adult world has some behaviour rules, some social patterns for success, its own moral play about what to say and what to do actually / The problem is rooted (laughs). While the system is running like this, there will be violence among boys. Because the frustration for not achieving your goals must be released in some way. This can be educated, but rage cannot. When there is much of it, you must release it.

Actors of prevention point to a foreseeable increase in the police presence and insist on the importance of family education and the responsabilisation of school in training and educative tasks.

Thus, without the possibility to identify a specific area for the development of new violent behaviours, the qualitative key that can be identified is a further increase in violence (social/structural dimension) than in crime –at a technical/specific dimension: These last 3 years show a firm trend downwards. This is important. The capacity in our correction centre is up to 69 people, it has been full for years, and now it is under 50%.

Drug traffic increases by proliferation of domestic cultivation and extension of consumption. In the field of mental health, an intensification of psychosocial symptoms (anxiety, depression) and a greater role of medicalization/psychopathologisation are emphasized, as well as an increase in addiction pathologies – including social networks.

Protection and juvenile justice systems get closer to each other, connected and harder to distinguish, while social spending is reduced, resources get saturated and professionals *work harder with fewer means: The current dynamic is involuntional. Now that the world clings to the crisis... what first falls is everything that does not give immediate results, which does not give a result right now, a result that can be used. Every politician or institution that spends money expects to use it for their own benefit. This has much more to do with the institution itself than with children –because with children, what doesn't give an immediate result... But the number of abandoned children is growing and the administration, before the legal obligation of giving them a shelter with the basic conditions, keeps cutting the funds –an extreme example of what could be considered the common logic in all areas related to (mostly primary or secondary) preventive intervention. Primary prevention resources continue to decline (there is almost no preventive work) and social work appears to be reduced to charity and pacification, acting on the symptoms and not on the basic problems –at the same time, control policies remain untouched.*

Social justice and structural interventions (focused on social, family and educational areas) are the two most demanded ingredients by the interviewees when asking about prevention in a large/strong sense. The importance of families and schools to prevent future conflicts is sometimes accompanied by a warning about the risk of renouncement that any intervention has to minimize.

Both collectives of professionals (high agreement) and youngsters (to a lesser extent) seem to share the conviction that (repressive) tertiary prevention doesn't work as it appears to be designed. While adults (in the interviews) speak of a solid structure focused on social support, family training and educational efforts, young people (in the discussion groups) ask for "more surveillance" in search of clear references, external control or socially established "limits" to take consciousness of a safe and balanced environment.

The common place for statements on primary prevention stresses that it must attend concept of primary and social security, which brings up the following question: does primary prevention work as it is conceived to? If its effects are positive, why does their target population grow? And why do their means get weaker? While the analysis takes place at a general, structural, political, economic and psychosocial level, some qualified experts' present their views as clear examples of "positivist allucination":

The criminal expertise of young people who have been tried and sentenced by juvenile courts during the recent years is very crude and poor except for rare exceptions, which implies that it is not likely in the next few years to reach the level of specialization that requires to be committed cybercrimes, referring to "young criminals" not as youngsters who committed a crime but as a specific, delimited, partial and efficiently tagged sector that is not only attributed the monopoly of current aggressions but also the potential commission of new crimes. Some others show a clear reductionist capacity with simple statements such as some mistreated women remain at home voluntarily or funny arguments like when kids commit a crime they know they're acting badly versus I don't agree with that. They take it as a game.

Coordination between professionals is also described as fundamental [*what should be*] and, not infrequently, precarious [*what is*] –some participants questioned the adequacy of coordination between different agents with (especially) different interventions, objects and objectives. The absence of evaluation is one more reason to show frustration when talking about the effectiveness of policies, projects and activities of prevention.

The vast majority of participants stressed the *need for policies and programmes for social integration*, as well as the *reinforcement of education as an element of integration*. Now another good number of replies points beyond the term *integration*: *Do not talk about integration but of inclusion and justice / not to talk about compensating inequality but about programs that actually guarantee the possibility of improving the level of equality.*

But the policies of privatization, competitiveness, precarity, temporality, the new status of "working poor", social cuts and the return to charity are some items included in the social portrait in advance by participants. The school is located in the place of the basic elements of integration, cohesion, correction of inequalities and social promotion, sometimes adding its condition of mechanism for the reproduction (and not promotion) of social differences already established on the basis of the broad economic conditions:

If the good times did not see a proper public investment in prevention, protection and juvenile justice, this won't happen from now on.

The dismantling of welfare structures and interventions (especially the protection of childhood) leads individuals to the “save yourself” solution and opens the way to the rise of a criminal state in which juvenile delinquency is often used to legitimize (fast-trials, lower criminal responsibility age, aggravation of penalties) state intervention –many recipients of control policies (which are also consumers in a society of the spectacle) arrive to support those discourses and practices. But the success of juvenile justice depends on the law, and its application depends on the investment.

To sum up: the system is privatized and competitiveness is a priority; a transfer of non-formal education formal education is being carried out; school failure reveals a failure of the school as an academic space and a basic context of socialization.

Training is considered a key (work helps prevent the exclusion) but the increase in unemployment reduces the spectrum of opportunities for young people and vocational training is devalued: training does not guarantee economic stability. The distorting role of the media and the social alarm they manage affect the alleged direct relationship between lack of education and crime.

Completing the above, some participants indicate that poor people are not the most violent nor those who commit more crimes but their violence is more explicit and exposed in the media and we talk about situations in which a number of variables make up the itineraries of exclusion –economic regime (crisis), working conditions (insecurity and unemployment), policies on social rights (privatization and reduction), families (impoverishment and internal conflicts), school (gentrification and segregation), lifestyles (competitiveness and individualization) and habits of consumption (frustration). This serious strengthening of the exclusion itineraries is summarized in other two quotes: it took decades to pass from charity to social rights and now we are going back in 15 minutes / It seems that we are returning to charitable assistance instead of respecting rights.

Community work, based on the role of youngsters as agents of prevention, is the key word for preventive proposals. In that sense, information and responsible consumption require a good level of coordination between agents and areas to improve training, evaluation and available resources. Another feature under consideration is the development of comprehensive programs in degraded areas and focused on vulnerable groups –always ahead of the measures for juvenile justice. However, some replies point to the example of drugs as a confirmation of the status quo of inequality in which marginal areas and poor population groups are under control. The argument between universality and residuality remains in force, and the problem of criminalization stays behind –the need for common and specific intervention protocols is another majority proposal, proving the gap that shows how far the diagnosis on the conflict stay from the proposed solutions.

Some participants add a demand for more attention to economic crimes and money-laundering rather than criminalizing minor crimes, an issue which directly involves the role of the media: *stop selling operations against small crime as great news and pursue major economic crimes*. Other two allusions related to

police activity are the need to prevent further privatization of public spaces and the convenience of just accomplishing what the law says.

There is no agreement neither on a deeper collaboration between police and social workers/educators, nor the need to bring police agents into schools or other educational spaces. Some include them as part of the prevention programmes, even in schools and other educative facilities, but most of the participants limit the powers of police officers to the investigation and not to those classic spaces and tasks of the educational sphere.

Beyond the debate on coordination/communication between areas or the delimitation of their respective competences, a common place is the need for training police officers to face specific problems and apply the law without adding violence to a violent situation. The *quid* of the question is if an effective coverage of that need is actually feasible. “Contradiction” is the key word covering any specific conclusion in the survey, and the explicit lack of consensus among professionals on issues like coordination and distribution of tasks is the clearest example of this dilemma.

The goal would be getting back to a starting point, as far back as possible. Trying not to make it happen. This is difficult because the current trend is building institutions like this one [ref. prison]. High walls. In a liberal society, this kind of institutions is a part of the discourse, isn't it?

If the deal is giving chances to crime to disappear... we must stop it from the source, which is economic. Inequality is brutal and, in the end, kids do what they do, they behave according to their situation... in a concrete system of social relations... where hierarchy, exploitation and denial of individuals are involved. All these elements can be a product for those who make a living of the social intervention. And this business area should disappear.

7 Juvenile delinquency and violence in Portugal: Drafting a picture in different voices

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7.1 Taking stock

7.1.1 Youth deviance and youth violence – the state of art in Portugal

7.1.1.1 Legal framework

Reforms of the juvenile justice system in Portugal were introduced by the end of the 1990's. These introduce a distinction between the young offenders and the children and youngsters in need of protection. The first cases are framed by the Law 166/99 of 14 September, the Educational Guardianship Law (*Lei Tutelar Educativa*). The second are framed by the Law 147/99 of 1 September, the Protection of Children and Youth at Risk Law (*Lei de Protecção de Crianças e Jovens em Perigo*).

Despite this clear distinction between young offenders and children/youth victims, the law (Law 133/99 of 28 August) foresees the articulation between the two cases, since the young offenders also often bestow risk situations.

7.1.1.2 Generic aspects on the Educational Guardianship Act.

The Educational Guardianship Law establishes a set of educational guardianship measures. According to the spirit of the law, it is the juvenile delinquency and not the young offender who is sentenced.

This law applies to all youngsters aged between 12 and 16 years who committed an offence qualified as a crime by law in Portugal. However, the execution of the educational guardianship measures may be extended up to 21 years.

Institutional and non-institutional measures may be established.

7.1.1.3 Educational guardianship measures.

The non-institutional measures mentioned in the Educational Guardianship Law set: Admonition; Deprivation of the right to drive mopeds or get permission to do so; Compensation to the offended; Economic benefits or work for the community; Imposing rules of conduct (e.g. not drinking alcohol); Imposition of obligations (e.g. school attendance); Frequency of training programmes; Educational monitoring activities.

The institutional measure under the Law is the detention in Educational Centre. This detention can take place in an open, semi-open or closed regime depending on the age of the youngster and the type of crime.

7.1.1.4 The intervention of the public prosecutor and the juveniles and family courts.

The Public Prosecutor is responsible for defending the interests of the minor and, duly assisted by criminal police and probation services, for directing the investigation and determining the need for educational guardianship measures and its nature.

It is also the Public Prosecutor competence the appointment of an officially appointed lawyer.

If the measures applied refer to educational monitoring activities, or to detention in centres, it is up to the prosecutor to give an opinion on the educational project, as well as make visits to the educational centres and contact with the minors.

The Juveniles and Family Courts shall ensure: the practice of judicial acts for application of the educational guardianship measure; the implementation and review of the educational guardianship measures; and the declaration of cessation or termination of those measures.

The jurisdiction of the Juveniles and Family Courts ends when a custodial sentence is applied or when the youngster is 18-years-old.

7.1.1.5 The role of police and probation services in the prevention and control of juvenile crime.

The role of police forces

When acts deemed criminal by the law are practiced by young people, the police forces (Policia de Seguranca Pública - PSP or Guarda Nacional Republicana - GNR) can be involved from the beginning of the process receiving the complaint and/or detaining the minor in flagrante delicto. The procedure of identification of the minor must follow. When he/she is unable to submit the identification document by himself/herself, the police should get in contact with parents, legal guardian or person having the custody of the minor. The minor cannot remain in the police station for the purpose of identification, for more than three hr.

On the other hand, if the measure to be applied is detention in Educational Centre in closed regime, the young person must be accompanied to this centre by law enforcement agents.

The role of the probation services

Under the Educational Guardianship Law, is the Directorate General of Rehabilitation and Prison Services (*Direcção Geral de Reinserção e Serviços Prisionais*, DGRSP) (part of the Ministry of Justice), and more specifically to their probation services, which competes assist prosecutors in the task of assessing the concrete situation of the youngster and the identification of measures to be implemented through the development of social information's, social reports and reports of psychological assessment.

It is also incumbent DGRSP to advise the Court with regard to the process of monitoring the implementation of educational guardianship measures. Under the educational support measure, the role of the probation teams is even more crucial.

Beyond these obligations incumbent upon DGRSP in the field of crime prevention and rehabilitation of juveniles, generally: designing, implementing or participating in programmes and activities to prevent

crime through cooperation with other public or private institutions pursuing an aim of crime prevention and social reintegration; managing educational centres (in a total of eight) and other facilities for the social reintegration of young people; promoting the training of technical staff; and producing official statistics in the area of Justice.

7.1.1.6 Evaluation outcomes.

Although not very abundant, the evaluation of policies for the prevention of juvenile deviance and violence in Portugal has evolved around a few key instruments such as the Educational Guardianship Law. At this level emphasis should be made to the studies developed by the Permanent Observatory for Portuguese Justice, of the Centre for Social Studies, Faculty of Economics, University of Coimbra, in 2004 and 2010.

It is, therefore, from these studies possible to identify some evaluation outcomes:

- A weak responsiveness of the justice and prevention system at the number of young people who are identified by formal control mechanisms.
- The inappropriate functioning of the educational centres in view of the purpose of the "rehabilitation" of young people, being recommended an objective assessment of its operation and the "creation of more effective mechanisms that allow the transition between the centres and the "real" life, helping young people to look for alternatives and providing them with adequate resources" (Gomes, 2004, p. 646).
- The existence of a lack of interest on the part of lawyers, in the Law of Minors.
- An underutilization of some educational guardianship measures provided for in the Law, such as the frequency of training programs; imposing rules of conduct and the work for the community.
- The existence of different interpretations and procedures regarding the Educational Guardianship Law, between courts, and even within the same court, among magistrates.
- A lack of answers to problems related to the mental health of children and young people who commit criminal acts qualified by law as a crime and, consequently, a lack of differentiation and specialization of intervention for young people with those specific needs.
- Imbalance in the composition of the probation teams, and the absence of multidisciplinary, which makes some of the competences are not fully fulfilled.
- An excessive focus on criminal behaviour on the part of the teams of probation deriving in a vision predominantly punitive.
- Lack of mechanisms allowing a gradual approach of the young, while in the educational centre, to his/her usual living context.
- Weak coordination between the various actors in the guardianship educational processes, implying waste of knowledge about the young and their social context and little swift interventions.
- Lack of official data, and empirical studies on recidivism in the field of juvenile delinquency.

In light of the research, and among other issues, the authors of the study recommend the establishment of a National Plan for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency establishing prevention programmes directed to the factors of socialization of children and young people; enabling community involvement;

which qualify the technical teams with emphasis not only on their "socio-technical training, but also training for human rights and for the care of vulnerable social groups" (Gomes, 2010, p. 322); and which is able to establish a system of monitoring and evaluation.

7.1.1.7 Programmes and instruments for the prevention of violence and juvenile delinquency.

In addition to the prevention and control deriving from the legislation mentioned above, there are some programmes which are intended for specific situations and distinct from each other and have a particularly important role in the prevention of some behaviour that may indicate risk, or underlie the practices considered as crime.

Instituto da Droga e da Toxicodependência

The Institute for Drugs and Drug Addiction (*Instituto da Droga e da Toxicodependência, I.P.*, IDT) was a public institute under the Ministry of Health. The Organic Law of IDT - Decree-Law 221/2007 of 29 May - sets as competences of IDT, in particular, to support the Government in defining the national strategy and policies on drugs, alcohol and drug addictions; as well as to promote and evaluate prevention programmes, treatment programmes, risk reduction, harm minimization and social reintegration.

In the context of prevention, the IDT had an important instrument: Operational Integrated Response Plan (*Plano Operacional de Respostas Integradas*, PORI) that, from the identification of priority areas of intervention, tried to articulate and comprehensive prevention answers with the needs locally diagnosed. In 2012 about 45 prevention projects were ongoing, funded under the PORI, promoted by different local entities that favours an approach targeting specific population groups (children, youth, families ...) and which take place in diversified contexts (schools, neighbourhoods, universities, etc..).

In 2012 the IDT was extinguished and gave rise to the Intervention Service on the Addictive Behaviours and Dependencies (*Serviço de Intervenção nos Comportamentos Aditivos e nas Dependências*, SIDAC), created by Decree Law 17/2012 of 26 January.

Programa Escolhas

The Choices Programme (*Escolhas*) was created in 2001. It is a governmental programme established by Resolution of the Council of Ministers 4/2001 of 9 January, and is run by the High Commissioner for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue (*Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e o Diálogo Intercultural*, ACIDI).

At its inception, crime prevention and youth inclusion of the most vulnerable neighbourhoods has been a central concern and had a territorial focus on the largest urban areas in the country: Lisbon, Porto and Setúbal.

In its beginning, the Choices Programme addressed in a special way the young people from 12 to 18-years-old and was structured into three strategic areas of intervention: social mediation, leisure and community participation.

Currently, the Programme is in its 4th phase, having been already launched a new phase for 2013-2015.

The Programme has, since 2010, a nationwide level and the target groups were successively extended: from 6 to 18 years and 6 to 24 years, keeping the attention on groups with increased risk of social exclusion, particularly descendants of immigrants and ethnic minorities. Also its objectives were being re-worked, following the evolution of society and the problems that most affect young people.

Crime prevention was losing centrality regarding the problems of school failure and early dropout and the difficulties of transition from school to the labour market, as risk factors in the social integration of young people.

The last evaluation of the Choices Programme dates of 2010 and refers to the work done between 2006 and 2009.

This assessment underscores the ability of Choices to be flexible and adapt, in their successive generations, to the challenges emanating from the society. Its contribution to the empowerment of civil society organizations, through their co-responsibility and effective mobilization is also stressed.

It is acknowledged that the Programme deals with core issues and that its design is appropriate, consistent and relevant in the national context. Successful objectives are the rapprochement between the associations and the State and the adequacy of responses, along with the co-responsibility of families in community work (Duarte, 2007).

The purpose of enabling the empowerment of young people in skills and knowledge that constitute competitive advantages for the social and professional integration was also accomplished (Duarte, 2007).

Escola Segura

In addition to its role in the control of juvenile delinquency and crime, the police are involved, too, in terms of prevention, particularly with the Safe School Programme (*Escola Segura*).

The Safe School Programme has its origins in an agreement signed in 1992 between the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Education. The Joint Order 25649/2006 of 29 November states the current priority objectives for the Safe School Programme, namely to "promote a culture of safety in schools".

This Programme is implemented by the Security Forces and, according to the PSP's Strategic Directive 10/2006 of 15 May, the police officers assigned to the Safe School Programme organize themselves into specialist teams (EPES) that have vehicles with the identification of the Programme and that are located near schools. These teams have as their roles, among others:

- Ensuring the safety and protection of persons and property in the school areas;
- Develop awareness raising and training sessions addressed to the whole school community with a view to preventing risk behaviours and to adopt procedures for self-protection;
- Enlighten students and parents on the need to press charges in the case of being victims of crime;
- Flag situations of youth at-risk, with delinquent behaviour, consumption of alcohol or narcotic, or repeated practice of crimes or incivilities, in the sense of these being oriented to the competent authorities;

- Making the diagnosis of the security situation in the vicinity of schools in their area of responsibility and inform the competent authorities;
- Support the victims of crimes and proceed to his post-victimization referral to the competent authorities.

7.1.1.8 Statistical data on juvenile delinquency and crime in Portugal.

According to the 2009 Annual Report of Homeland Security, a total of 416,058 crimes were reported to the Security Forces – GNR, PSP and criminal police (Polícia Judiciária). The theft of motor vehicle was the crime most reported (45,631 reports, equivalent to about 11%). From 2009 to 2011 the number of police-recorded crimes has declined: 413,600 in 2010; and 405,288 in 2011.

The same trend, though even more pronounced, has been observed in the numbers of juvenile delinquency. Understanding youth violence as the *de facto* practice qualified by law as a crime, by individuals aged between 12 and 16 years, in accordance with the Law of Guardianship Education, in 2009 there were 3,479 police-records. In 2011 the Annual Report of Homeland Security refers to 1,978 police-records.

This means that not only the number of police-recorded crimes relating to acts of juvenile delinquency falls in absolute terms (-1,501, i.e. -43%), as their relative weight in all the records also decreased: in 2008, the juvenile delinquency represented 0.8% of the total while in 2011 represented 0.5%.

Instead, and certainly following a growing dissemination of the Safe School Programme, the number of records of unlawful acts committed in school environment, to the GNR and PSP under that Programme, increased. Thus, in the academic year 2008/2009, there were 4,763 records and, in the academic year 2010/2011, the number of records was 5,762. The fact that these numbers are higher than those recorded as "juvenile crime" may be due to the fact that the acts recorded under the Safe School Programme are not necessarily committed by young people; a part of them refers to situations of victimization among the youth population.

Over the years under analysis the trend to most acts being committed within the school space remains (approximately two out of three). The most frequent type of illegal activities also remained: "offense to the physical integrity" and "theft." On the way home-school, the students have been subject mostly to "offense to the physical integrity", "injury" or "threat" and "sexual offenses".

According to the data included in the Summary Statistics from the Directorate General of Social Reintegration (*Direcção Geral de Reinserção Social*), on 31 October 2012, 267 young people, of whom 237 were male, were admitted in educational centres (DSEP, 2012).

Moreover, as part of its mission, the Directorate General of Social Reintegration received, between January and October 2012, 1,834 requests by the Juveniles and Family Courts relating to educational guardianship measures distributed as follows:

- Stay of proceedings – 183
- Compensation to the offended – 2
- Tasks and economic benefit for the community – 535

- Obligations and rules of conduct – 267
- Educational monitoring and training programme – 463
- Measures for detention in educational centre – 380
- Other - 4

7.1.2 Experts' views on youth crime prevention and control

7.1.2.1 Survey process.

The Portuguese Nationwide Institutional and Expert Survey was conducted between 18 May and 9 October 2011.

The questionnaire was sent to 355 potential respondents. Those respondents were selected on the basis of a detailed search for experts and relevant institutions; in this process the knowledge and contacts of the Portuguese National Advisory Board members was used. We tried to include in the sample professionals from different services and areas: researchers; professionals of local projects addressed to young people and crime prevention organisations; social services; correctional facilities; probationary services.

The overall response rate of the survey was 22.5 %, i.e. 80 experts participated in the survey.

In terms of professional background, most respondents are practitioners since those who work in research institutions (universities or not) represent only 5%. We can assume that there are also researchers working for police or crime prevention organisations. In fact there are not many Portuguese researchers working in this area; on the other hand, they seem to be less open to collaboration.

Among practitioners there is a balance between those who work in a control and correctional approach and those who work in a preventive perspective.

In general the respondents are highly educated – more than 80% have a degree. They hold a diploma in diverse fields, such as law, military sciences, educational science, psychology, social sciences.

Among the experts who took part in the Portuguese Nationwide Institutional and Expert Survey, 47.4 % (37) are male and 52.6 % (41) female⁶³.

This group of respondents is relatively young: 48.7% are less than 40-years-old; the average age was 39.21 years (SD = 9.12, Range 22–61).

⁶³ Two of the respondent didn't give information about sex.

7.1.2.2 Experts' experiences with and views on youth crime prevention and control.

According to the experts' experience, the target groups of preventive activities are mainly young males, and females, aged between 14 and 24 years and youths from disadvantaged families/neighbourhoods.

People at risk of becoming victims; boys up to 13 years, victims and semiformal professional are other groups considered as involved in activities in the field of prevention and control of youth deviance, violence and crime.

On the other hand, the main problems of youth behaviour targeted by preventive approaches are:

- Problems related to school (school violence; school absenteeism, bullying) – this may be linked to the focus on youths from disadvantaged families/neighbourhoods among which the school problems in general are very important;
- Youth violence in general;
- Abuse of substances (legal or illegal);
- Gender-based violence, in a context of dating or not.

Measures with a focus on social integration were the ones mostly taken by the Portuguese experts followed by secondary approaches directed at at-risk population as well as measures targeted at reducing risk factors, at strengthening protective factors and individual development. As said before, this also seems to be consistent with the focus on young people from disadvantaged neighbourhoods but may convey the perspective that youth deviance, violence and crime is merely a matter of poor families and poor areas.

Also from the experts' experience, sources of financing and funding in the field of prevention and control of youth crime, deviance and violence are mostly the national governments and the European Union. Interesting is the fact that municipalities, as a source of funding, are considered less important than non-profit organisations. Private companies are regarded as the least important.

The funding provided is considered by experts as neither sufficient, nor predictable or stable.

7.1.2.3 Experts' views on effects and efficiency of measures in youth crime prevention and control.

When asked about measures/programmes that can be regarded as "working" in the field of youth crime / youth violence, the Portuguese experts came up with different programmes and approaches, some of them nationwide and some others with a local focus.

Most approaches and programmes regarded as "working" can be grouped in the following categories:

- Behavioural programmes targeted at preschool and elementary school children: Programmes aimed at the early prevention of behavioural problems fostering social and emotional skills. Several NGO and non-profit organisations implement this type of programmes at a local level being oriented by local needs. These are not programmes included in a national approach.
- Programmes targeted at school violence and bullying at schools: The main reference in this category is made to the Governmental programme Safe School, a programme that involves special police agents and provides training to auxiliary staff in the schools' playgrounds.

- Behavioural training programmes for adolescents: These programmes usually aim at strengthening participants' positive social skills, in order to build a positive peer culture and to be able to avoid engaging in at-risk behaviours such as drugs abuse. This kind of programme is usually included in local projects carried out in the frame of the national programme against drugs addictions.
- Also in this category we can consider the Take Care of Yourself Programme (Cuida-Te) which intends to promote the emotional and social development in order to live a healthy life.
- Programmes integrating multiple problem areas (education, employment, health, social skills) in disadvantaged neighbourhoods:
- In this category we may consider two different groups:
 - a) One specifically targeted at young people, like the Choices Programme very much oriented to schools and the social integration of youngsters from poor families, particularly those who have a migration background.
 - b) Programmes at a community level, including a systematic analysis of problems, strengths and weaknesses in a community, like the Local Contracts for Social Development (Contratos Locais de Desenvolvimento Social).

Regarding legal approaches a mention is made to the Local Committees for Children and Young People at Risk and to the Educational Guardianship Law in what concerns mediation.

With regard to „what doesn't work“, the majority of the respondents seems to point out that “what works” at a certain level could also “not work” in practice, therefore the programmes referred to are the same. However they also mention some more strategic aspects that, in their opinion, do not work:

- Short-term measures stipulated by specific events.
- Measures designed and launched by a single institution, lacking a systemic perspective.
- Late onset measures (when criminal careers are already well established and the young person is well accustomed to a delinquent lifestyle).
- The publication of news about crimes with the presentation of videos.

7.2 Going Local: Local studies on the conditions of prevention and control of youth deviance and youth violence

According to the project design, the local approach was oriented to:

- The application of a self-report questionnaire addressed to young students aged 12 and 18 years;
- The conduction of interviews with local experts.

These instruments were implemented in two different areas: one urban and one rural.

The urban area is located in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon. It is a municipality with 175,135 inhabitants very close to Lisbon-capital where about 26% of the population is aged less than 24 years. In the last decades it has been the hosting place for a large migrant population, mainly coming from the former Portuguese colonies in Africa. This immigration flow contributed to a decrease in the ageing of the local population. In 2011, 7.1% of the total population in that municipality was born out of the country.

The rural area is located in the Centre Region on the littoral coast. It is a municipality that combines a still strong agricultural activity with fishing and tourism activities. In 2011, the total population was 56,676 inhabitants. Contrary to most rural areas in Portugal this is a municipality with a relatively high presence of young population: 25% are less than 25 years old.

7.2.1 School survey methodology

In Portugal, the implementation of a survey addressed to young students at schools requires the authorisation from the Ministry of Education. And this authorisation can only be issued on the basis of the questionnaire's final version.

The request to the Ministry was addressed on 23 November 2011 and the permission was given on 20 January 2012. After this date, the contact with the local schools could finally start.

In order to involve local organisations in the process and to facilitate contact with experts; and in order to get the schools acceptance and cooperation the following procedures were adopted:

- Meeting with the municipalities;
- Project presentation in the CLA meeting⁶⁴;
- Face to face meetings in all schools with school masters / representatives. The main objective was to get the schools' agreement regarding the questionnaire's application and to organise all the process, namely taking into consideration the need for the parent's authorization in a written form.

The time frame for the questionnaires' application was from 29 February to 15 June 2012.

The members of the Portuguese YouPrev team visited the schools who declared to be available for collaboration after the collection of the parent's permission (in written form) by a school delegate. The survey was conducted among the students by three members of the CESIS' permanent team.

In Portugal we did not do any change in the questionnaire, having thus adopted the version prepared by the international team.

The number of questionnaires to be answered was previously defined when the project proposal was developed: a total of 2,000. Considering the desertification of rural areas, particularly in countries like Portugal, it was established by the international partnership that those 2,000 questionnaires could be unequally split: 1,400 in the urban area; 600 in the rural area.

However there was a difference between the initial prediction and what really happened due to a lower cooperation of parents and/or less involvement of school teachers. In total, in the urban areas, we made contacts with 13 schools but only 12 of them cooperated and the total of filled questionnaires was 984. In the rural area the team made contact with five schools which lead to 593 completed questionnaires.

⁶⁴ CLA is a local coordination structure where the different local (social) organisations take part.

In the sample there is a balance between the number of boys and girls surveyed: 52.9% are young girls. This is in line with the knowledge that there is a higher percentage of female in the total of students.

The gender balance is more evident in the rural area than in the urban one.

Table 27: Young students by sex and area (%)

	Rural	Urban	Total
Men	49.1	45.9	47.1
Women	50.9	54.1	52.9
TOTAL	100	100	100

More than 60% of the respondents are younger than 16 years. The rural sample seems to be a bit younger than the urban one: 61.7% are less than 16 years old; this percentage is 60.4% in the urban area. However the mean age is the same for the rural and the urban area: 15.3 years.

7.2.2 Young people's perspectives

7.2.2.1 Family: Relations and parental supervision.

The majority of the young students respondents was born in Portugal (85%) but, as expected considering its characteristics, the percentage of young people born outside Portugal is higher in the urban area (20.9% compared with 5.4% in the rural municipality).

However, the incidence of migration flows is not limited to the young people's country of birth. Considering the parents, the percentage of those who were born outside Portugal is higher: 26.4% for mothers and 26.8% for fathers. Similarly to what happens among young people, migrant parents are more frequent in the urban than in the rural area.

Most young people speak Portuguese at home - 93.9%. This percentage is higher than the one regarding those born outside Portugal which means that some of the migrants also speak Portuguese at home.

The absence of a male figure in the families of these young people is rather frequent since more than 20% are not living with their father or stepfather. Also as expected it is in the rural area that the father presence is higher. This is an indicator that in the rural area a more traditional family form can still be found.

Trusting the information given by the young people, it is clear that good (and close) relationships are preferably established with mothers both in the rural and the urban area.

What about parents' supervision, knowing the importance of this aspect as prevention factor for juvenile delinquency? What do parents know about their children? What do parents ask about children's life considering leisure time and school responsibilities? And what do young people think about this?

Most young people answered that their parents always or often *"know when she/he goes out"* (86.2%); *"what she/he is doing when goes out"* (70.8%); *"with what friends they are"* (74%). It is in the rural area that this knowledge is more widespread among parents.

Concerning a more proactive approach by parents, we can understand, from the answers given by the youngsters, that a large part of the parents always or often “ask what she/he did and with whom was” (74.2%); “give youngsters curfew” (74.2%); “demand call” (73.7%). However, and contrary to the previous questions, it is in the rural area that fewer parents have concerns about the supervision of young people’s life outside home. The idea that they live in a “small place” where everyone knows each other could be one explanation for this different attitude between rural and urban parents.

In general, parents seem to be much less oriented to support young people in their homework and to check about the watching of films. Once again it is in rural area that this concern is less evident.

Weekends are special times for going out with friends. The differences between rural and urban are clearly marked in these two questions: in the urban area there are more young people who are not allowed to go out on a weekend; in the rural area going out on weekends and not having curfew is more frequent. Therefore parents in rural areas seem to be more confident on their sons and daughters; more trusting in the social environment; with a weaker supervision attitude.

7.2.2.2 Perceptions about the neighbourhood.

„My neighbourhood is a safe neighbourhood” is a sentence with which 78% of the young respondents agree. As we might expect, students from the rural area seem to be involved in much more positive and safe communities.

There is “a lot of graffiti” and there is „a lot of crime” both are perceptions particularly expressed by young people in the urban area (49.8% and 22%, respectively, compared with 10.3% and 6.8%, respectively in rural area).

Concerning drugs selling the difference between rural and urban is less pronounced, at least as expected to be. However the percentage in urban area regarding drugs selling is almost twice than in rural one (14% in rural; 27% in urban area).

7.2.2.3 About school.

Skipping classes without excuse in the last 12 months before the survey is an assumed practice by 19% of the young respondents and it is more frequent in the urban area (22.1%).

As expected those who did not skip classes are those who, to a larger percentage, have success at school (83.4%). This relation between “good behaviour” and “good school performance” is more pronounced in the rural area. As a hypothesis it can be said that skipping school in the urban area is something transversal to different types of students.

School is, in general, important for young people and this is expressed in the answers given to the questionnaire. But, as in other studies carried out in Portugal, school is much more than classes and the effort of leaving home every morning; school is a place for conviviality with other youngsters. That’s why the percentages referring to more generic questions such as “I miss school” and “I like school” are higher than others both in rural and urban areas.

On the other hand, school is more attractive for girls since there is a big difference between the percentages of young girls saying that they like “*to go to school most mornings*” (67.2%) and that “*classes are interesting*” (67%) and those concerning young boys: 58.8% and 58%, respectively.

There is also a big difference between what is perceived by the youngsters from the rural area as being happening at school and by those who are living in the urban place. As a matter of fact, the existence of stealing; fighting; things broken or vandalized in schools, is pointed by a percentage of urban boys and girls that is more than the double of the percentage in rural area. However, the perception of drugs existence at school is very similar.

Boys and girls have very similar perceptions on these matters – the only expressive difference is the one that refers to the existence of fighting in schools. In this questions girls tend to perceive schools, both in rural or in urban areas, as more violent than boys.

7.2.2.4 Young people’s values and opinions.

Taking into account the youngsters’ opinions about some morally reprehensible behaviours (or even illegal activities in some cases) it is clear that most of those who agree with these statements represent a minority among the respondents. The only exceptions, in relative terms, refer to the illegal download of films or music (28.1% agreement) and, in a minor percentage, to stealing small things from a shop (16% agreement).

Table 28: Morality: Young people’s agreement with... (%)

	Rural	Urban	Total
Lie, disobey or talk back to adults	5.2	6.2	5.9
Insult someone because of his/her religion...	1.3	2.1	1.8
Purposely damage or destroy property that not belongs to him/her	0.9	2.3	1.7
Illegal download of films or music	70.2	64.0	28.1
Steal something small from a shop	13.8	17.8	16.0
Break into a building to steal	0.9	2.4	1.8
Hit someone with the intent of hurting	4.3	3.8	4.0
Use weapon or force to get money	1.3	1.2	1.3
Hit or threaten someone at school just for fun	2.0	2.6	2.4

As to the legitimisation of violence, namely within the family, the youngsters tend to express agreement on traditional views on the role of men and women. The statement “*real men are strong to protect their family*” is accepted by the large majority of the respondents (92%), both in rural and urban areas.

The notion of obedience in the family towards the male figure is still present (34.7%) and curiously it is a lit bit more expressive in the urban than in the rural area. On the other hand, the idea that if “*women cheats on her husband he may beat her up*” is accepted by 7.6% of the young respondents, with slight predominance in the rural area.

High is also the percentage of youngsters who think that a „man should be allowed to have a gun to defend himself” (44.4%).

Table 29: Violence legitimising norms of masculinity: Young people’s agreement with... (%)

	Rural	Urban	Total
Real men are strong to protect their family	91.2	92.4	92.0
Men who are not prepared to answer insults with violence are cowards	18.4	21.1	20.1
The father is the head of the family and may use violence	9.3	11.4	10.6
If woman cheats on her husband he may beat her up	8.1	7.4	7.6
Man should be prepared to protect his partner and children with violence	75.5	76.1	75.9
Women and children must obey man	31.2	36.8	34.7
Real men use violence to overcome somebody who talks badly about his family	27.2	29.0	28.3
A man should be allowed to have a gun to defend himself	44.0	44.6	44.4

„I act on the spur of moment without stopping to think” is the expression which got agreement from the larger part of the respondents (55%). This impulsiveness of young respondents is followed by a taste for risk – „I like to test myself every now and then by doing something a little risky” (53.1%) – and a certain absence of future perspectives, since 50% present themselves more „concerned with what happens to me in the short run than in the long run”.

Table 30: Self-control: Young people’s agreement with... (%)

	Rural	Urban	Total
I act on the spur of moment without stopping to think	59.6	51.5	54.5
I do what gives me pleasure	41	39.4	40
I am more concerned with what happens to me in the short run than in the long run	50.6	50.7	50.6
I like to test myself every now and then by doing something a little risky	54.5	52.2	53.1
I will sometimes take a risk for the fun of it	38.1	35.5	36.4
I think that excitement and adventure are more important to me than security	31.5	22.2	25.6
I try to look out for me first, even if it means making things difficult for other people	22.9	27.1	25.5

7.2.3 Self-reported victimization and delinquency

A low level of self-reported victimization among young people is noticeable. The perception of having been a victim is higher in the urban area. In general, there is no much difference between male and female young people. Most of the typical victimizing acts previously experienced by the respondents are thefts or cyber-bullying. Cyber-bullying and dating violence are as expressive in urban as in rural areas.

Table 31: Life-time prevalence of victimization by area and sex (%)

		Women	Men
Robbery	Urban	2.7	7.1
	Rural	0.7	3.4
Assault	Urban	1.7	2.5
	Rural	0.7	1.4
Theft	Urban	14.2	15.2
	Rural	6.0	8.9
Hate crime	Urban	3.8	4.9
	Rural	1.7	1.7
Cyber-bullying	Urban	11.5	8.1
	Rural	12.0	5.8
Dating violence	Urban	6.6	3.8
	Rural	6.3	3.8

Concerning the self-reported practice of delinquency among girls there is a life-time higher prevalence of two offence types: shoplifting (12.5% in the urban region and 8.6% in the rural) and vandalism (12.5% in the urban region and 6.2% in the rural). Among boys, there is a greater heterogeneity in terms of offence types: the most prevalent offence is also vandalism (24.9% in the urban region and 21.4% in the rural); group fights (22.1% in the rural region and 14.9% in the urban); personal theft (10.7% in the rural region and 12% in the urban), and shoplifting (11.8% in the urban region and 8% in the rural). Carrying a knife was reported by 5.8% of boys.

Differences are therefore evident according to the region. In general terms, young people in the urban area reported a higher life-time prevalence of delinquency. However, group fights are more prevalent among boys in the rural region (22.1% of the rural boys reported that they had been involved in these type of situation). Also hate crimes are more prevalent among boys in the rural area; however this type of offence has a low relative weight: 2.8% among boys in the rural area compared with 2.2% among urban boys.

Table 32: Life-time prevalence of delinquency by area and sex (%)

		Women	Men
Vandalism	Urban	12.5	24.9
	Rural	6.2	21.4
Personal theft	Urban	6.6	12.0
	Rural	1.3	10.7
Shoplifting	Urban	12.5	11.8
	Rural	8.6	8.0
Bike theft	Urban	0.6	3.6
	Rural	0.7	2.8
Robbery / Extortion	Urban	1.9	7.1
	Rural	0.6	7.2
Carrying a gun	Urban	0.6	3.1
	Rural	0	2.4
Carrying another weapon	Urban	4.0	9.8
	Rural	1.3	9.0
Assault	Urban	1.4	6.0
	Rural	0.7	3.8
Group fights	Urban	7.2	14.9
	Rural	5.6	22.1
Hate crime	Urban	1.1	2.2
	Rural	0.3	2.8
Dealing with drugs	Urban	2.7	5.8
	Rural	1.7	3.1

Substances consumption and drug abuse is more prevalent in the rural than in the urban area with the exception of young males' cannabis consumption in urban areas.

Table 33: Prevalence of substances consumption and drug abuse by area and sex (%)

		Women	Men
Never been drunk (lifetime)	Urban	73.6	68.6
	Rural	66.6	60.7
Drunk 3 times or more during last 30 days	Urban	1.5	3.2
	Rural	1.7	3.4
Never used cannabis (lifetime)	Urban	92.8	82.0
	Rural	88.4	84.7
Used cannabis 3 times or more during last 30 days	Urban	0.9	6.8
	Rural	2.0	3.8

7.2.4 Young people as experts

When asked about previous experience with prevention measures, the answers given by the respondents pointed out for a more frequent experience with substance abuse prevention measures than with

those preventing violence. However, there is a difference between rural and urban areas: the experience with substance abuse prevention measures is more reported by rural young people; while the experience with violence prevention measures is referred, particularly, by urban young people.

Despite the prevention experiences being more oriented to substance abuse, young people believe that school influence is more positive concerning violence than drugs.

Concerning the perceptions of approaches to juvenile delinquency, repressive measures as well as information about possible consequences are, in the youngsters' opinions, the approaches that are less positive.

The general idea is that "what works" best is the improvement of prospects to get a job and good general education. The first implies working on future perspectives and creating opportunities for young people having a place in the adult society; the other certainly refers to the importance of family environment.

Table 34: Perception of Approaches to Juvenile Delinquency (Mean Values)

	Total
Good general education	1.64
Improve prospects to get a job	1.69
Listen to problems/sorrows	1.82
Good opportunities for leisure activities	1.84
Counselling for parents	1.88
Behavioural training	1.90
Information about possible consequences	2.02
Severe punishment	2.02

Note. Mean values - 1 = "works very well", 2 = "works", 3 = "doesn't work", 4 = "is rather harmful".

The importance of the family is, moreover, stressed by the youngsters when asked about the main actors in prevention. Parents, followed by friends, are the most important actors in prevention in young people's perceptions.

Table 35: Perceived Importance of Actors in Prevention (Mean Values)

	Total
Parents	1.28
Friends	1.56
Police	2.12
Teachers	2.29
Sports coaches	2.34
Social workers	2.51

Note. Mean values - 1 = "very important", 2 = "important", 3 = "little important", 4 = "not important".

7.3 Local Voices: Experts & young expertise

7.3.1 Methodological aspects

In each municipality (rural and urban) we tried to choose respondents from different educational and professional backgrounds and people with different expertise and experiences concerning youth delinquency and prevention.

Following those criteria the interviews were made to:

- Urban area: Social worker at a parish council; Person in charge for youth policies at the municipal Council; Leader of a local youth association; Member of the local probation services; Coordinator of a local project addressed to young people; School principal; Police officer (PSP); Persons in charge of the local commission for children and young people at risk (2); Person in charge of the municipality programme for prevention of domestic violence.
- Rural area: Person in charge for youth policies at the municipal Council; Leader of a local youth association; Member of the local probation services; Coordinator of a local project addressed to young people; School psychologists (4 from different schools); Police officer (PSP); Person in charge of the local commission for children and young people at risk.

The time frame for the interviews was from 10 April to 31 June 2012.

In both municipalities the project promoted group discussions with young people. For the recruiting we got the collaboration of local projects. In the urban area we got the participation of 15 young people (aged 13 – 18 years), the majority of them living in poor degraded areas. In the rural area we had 18 participants and they came from different schools and had diverse social backgrounds.

7.3.2 Crossed views.

It is important to highlight that the information collected through the interviews, in the urban area in particular, does not reflect a global knowledge on violence and juvenile delinquency; the information is deeply influenced by professional experiences and by what is going on in each organisation where each expert is working.

According to the experts' opinions, in the rural area juvenile violence and delinquency are quantitatively not relevant although their visibility is increasing due to a greater awareness on these issues among local professionals.

In the urban area the opinions differ: there are ones saying that *"it is not an alarming phenomenon"* (urban - interviewee 3); others refer that *"it is a municipality where juvenile delinquency is very high even compared to other urban areas"* (urban - interviewee 7).

The deep social cleavages and the existence of "pockets of poverty" in the urban municipality are strongly associated, according to the interviewees: *"there are areas with great economic needs and this leads to certain behaviours among young people"* (urban - interviewee 2); *"there is a socio-economic context that encourages delinquency"* (urban - interviewee 1).

This association between precariousness / poverty / delinquency it is not clear on the interviewees' statements in the rural area. Here there is a notion that *"It is a transversal phenomenon to every social group"* (rural - interviewee 5). However, there is a consciousness that the consequences are not the same to everybody: *"the cases of the most needed families end up in the probation services. In some cases, when people have money to pay the fine, these do not reach the services"* (rural - interviewee 5).

Also in the urban area a reference to this aspect is made. Families with higher incomes "are those who better protect themselves from the probation services intervention" (urban - interviewee 7). On the other hand, *"vulnerable populations are more available for that intervention which is faced as a support"* (urban - interviewee 7).

Both in rural and in urban areas the relationship between the youngsters and the family is seen as crucial.

A parental super-protection is mentioned which in some occasions prevents the youngsters' possibility of a full emotional development: *"Not knowing how to manage things that didn't go well, not having emotional autonomy may even lead to suicide; to violence among peers"* (rural – interviewee 1).

On the other hand, the interviewees spoke about a lack of parental skills: lack of responsibility; lack of family dialogue; no supervision; no rules: *"these are young people who are left on their own with neither limits nor rules"* (urban – interviewee 2).

These issues, among the urban interviewees, are again linked to the families' economic precariousness which leads to long working hours, as well as to the existence of many lone-parent families in which the male figure is absent.

The importance of the family; the need of family dialogue, young people being part of; the need for parental supervision; and even the need for rules are aspects outlined by young people in the rural and urban workshops: *"the family is the start"; "parents should listen to young people"; "there are young people who never speak with their parents"; "my parents never ask me where I'm going (they trust me) but they should want to know more"*. These are some of the expression voiced.

The interviewees in the urban area refer to the existence of robbery, theft and bullying among young people: *"They are young people, more boys than girls, who are not adapted to school, don't have success and the acts they carry out are robbery, theft and bullying and other uncivil behaviour that are not crimes but bother people and originate a feeling of insecurity, becoming associated to juvenile delinquency"* (urban – interviewee 3).

In the rural area acts of violence and alcohol and drugs consumption are put in evidence. The increased trivialization of this consumption is a matter of concern: *"the consumptions are so trivialized that they don't reach the probation services, so trivialized that the health services also devaluate and do not do the screening of these consumptions"* (rural – interviewee 5).

The trivialization of the problem of alcohol and drugs consumption was also expressed by the young participants in the workshop. They were equally open about how good is their knowledge on the places where to get drugs as well as on frequent private local parties where the consumption of drugs and alcohol is seen as a normal behaviour and a strategy to become part of a peer group.

7.4 Looking towards the future

The experts included in the Portuguese sample for the Delphi survey have a broad range of professional backgrounds: police officers; social workers working in different areas and services; scientists from different universities and research units; experts from the fields of justice as well as crime prevention.

The time frame of the Delphi first round was from September until November 2011; the second round was conducted between January and March 2012.

In the first round of Delphi survey we sent out 150 questionnaires and we received 31 answers which mean a response rate of 20.7%. In the second round we also launched 150 questionnaires and the response rate was 22.7%, which represents 34 answers.

In order to complete the information from Delphi (first round) five interviews were conducted. The topics of the interviews were the same used in the questionnaire. The interviews were addressed to: two researchers; one person working in the Social Security System; the person responsible for the Observatory of Safety, Organized Crime and Terrorism; one person from Casa Pia de Lisboa – one of the oldest foster homes in Lisbon.

7.4.1 Anticipated societal changes until 2025

In general, the scenario pointed out by the respondents is a rather pessimistic one. In what concerns the main changes in Portuguese society until 2025, a rise in the unemployment rate is expected as well as a rise of social inequalities and consequently an increase of social conflicts.

Another important issue is the idea that in the Portuguese society there is a generalization of certain social risks (such as unemployment, for instance) and an erosion of family support and family life due to more and more family unfriendly working conditions, that is “less family time”. As one of the interviewees said: *“society is changing and there is less time for the family to be with the children. This is getting worse. We are also assisting to a culture based on the “little prince” which means a “little dictator”. The word NO it is not used and children are educated without limits”* (interviewee 3).

In the eyes of many respondents, the economic weaknesses in Portugal lead to a weakness of social protection and social welfare gets limited to an assistance perspective in parallel with a growth of individualisation and the loss of a citizenship perspective.

Other experts anticipated that there will be reinforcement in family cohesion. This reinforcement is assumed as a way of facing the economic crisis and the weakness of the state role, leading people and families to a life style less consumerist and where social bonds and affection ties are valued.

In the second Delphi round, respondents were asked about their opinion on these positions regarding the meaning of the family in the future.

The position of experts in the second round is predominantly (20 out of 34 answers) in favour of the hypothesis *“weakness of family ties”*: *“The trend is to a progressive weakening of family ties due to: unemployment; economic needs and the need of finding new ways of economic support”*.

In the experts' opinion this has different consequences; one of them is the way how families provide support to their children: *"I see the discredit on justice, an increase of social inequalities and a lack of opportunities which is an appeal to revolt and social conflict. Family gives way to problems and they lose conditions to accompany the children"*.

However, there are 4 respondents who maintain an optimistic perspective: *"the individualisation that we feel in our days will be enhanced by a strong family cohesion because crisis can unite people. Therefore I think that there will be a reinforcement of the social ties and a weakening of the State social role for economic motives"*.

We can also find 6 respondents who have the idea that the two different trends may happen in parallel, i.e. they are not mutually exclusive: *"I believe that economic problems will affect families in a severe way. Because of this parents have to work more hours or have to find different smalls jobs and have less time to be with children. But, on the other hand, I believe that the moments of crisis bring people together"*.

The simultaneous presence of those two different trends is rooted on the existence of strong social inequalities that most probably will get worse: *"Functional families are going to protect themselves; Disadvantaged families are going to collapse"*.

In general experts also agree on the diversity of family structures and the growing up of new forms of family and family life.

Also in the field of education the respondents pointed out to a controversial issue: in parallel to a highly educated youth, school dropout among youngsters from underprivileged families should raise, meaning a cleavage among young people and a higher risk of delinquency among youngsters who dropout from school.

This is one of the main ideas emphasized by the interviewees:

"School environment will be more and more demanding in the field of competences and knowledge and everybody must study in order to get there. But this is very difficult for those who are coming from a culture where school is not important and family does not give them the adequate support. (...) Kids who do not fit, who are not able to live in society as society demands; who do not fill right in school, who don't have success; these kids are frustrated. Delinquency is another way for them to get success; it is a process of adaptation, a negative one but still of adaptation" (interviewee 1).

"We know that a great percentage of the youngsters who are in the judicial system dropped out from school. And now we have a great challenge with compulsory school until 18 years old, because the school system it is not prepared to keep certain young people in school for so long" (interviewee 5).

In the second Delphi round, respondents were asked again to express their views on this controversial issue. 18 out of 34 responses reinforce the opinion that the increase in social inequalities is supported by the inequalities in the educational system.

These inequalities have not only to do with economic crisis and school demotivation, as pointed out in the first round, but also with other factors:

- More selective and exclusive educational system;
- Lack of resources at schools to prevent school failure and early dropout;
- Difficulties of the school system with respect to a greater heterogeneity of students;
- Fewer resources for local prevention projects.

“With the decrease of public investment in social policies, namely those addressed to families; and concerning the increasing of economic precariousness and financial difficulties already felt in schools the trends should be towards a higher rate of school dropout”.

“The general trend is to increase educational level even if among young people in disadvantaged areas there is an increase of early dropout from school. Equally fundamental will be the existence of local institutions in order to support these youngsters”.

Only 7 respondents refer to the importance of the increasing educational level of young population: *“I predict a general trend among young people towards higher educational levels due to the enlargement of compulsory school. This will contribute to a greater social cohesion, despite the unemployment problems among youth, included those with higher educational levels”.* Some experts even reinforce the idea that *“a higher qualification of young people is a protection factor concerning young delinquency practices”.*

7.4.2 Anticipated developments in the field of youth crime / youth violence

Generally, the respondents expect an increase in the volume of police-recorded juvenile delinquency. For the period up to 2025, 79.3 % of the Portuguese respondents of Delphi round 1 anticipate a growth in the number of juvenile offenders registered by the police by 25.6% in average ($M = 25.57\%$; $SD = 5.57$). This could be linked to the fact that *“the life of young people in 2015 will be much more difficult”* (interviewee 1); *“if we put oneself in the other’s place, particularly in those from underprivileged areas which expectation does exist? Which possibilities of getting a better life? In these contexts delinquency comes out in a “natural” way, enhanced by a parallel economy that is growing in times of crisis”* (interviewee 4).

The decrease of youth, among the general population, seems not to be contradictory with the perception expressed above. Once again the main focus is put on the State procedures: *“all resources are channelled to the elderly; childhood and youth are forgotten”* (interviewee 2).

The increase in youth violence is seen as an issue for boys and girls and some respondents argue that the numbers of female offenders – also regarding violent offences – might increase. Still, mainly boys will be the dominant group of (juvenile) offenders.

This increase in youth crime and juvenile delinquency is, in the respondents’ opinion, closely connected to a decrease of the families’ purchasing power, on one hand, and to a growing dissatisfaction with school among youth, on the other.

Another question is the “symbolic dimension” of some robbery in shops and this also could increase: *“The target of the robbery is no longer food but some equipment top-of-the-range and brand clothes”* (interviewee 4).

Another important matter is the use of new technologies considered as a factor of new opportunities (such as learning) but also as a tool for cybercrime and for changing the way young people live, in particular regarding the communication process with each other and with the society in general.

Some experts also stated that the share of juveniles with mental health problems will increase. This was often mentioned in connection with substance abuse.

If a kind of consensus emerged about the evolution tendencies for juvenile delinquency and youth crime a certain contradiction is present in the way the respondents see how those crimes shall be committed.

About 50% of the respondents have the opinion that more crimes shall be committed by organized groups – *“In Portugal we can already see a “culture of gang” which could be an expression of youth identity, the problem is when there is an advocacy of violence”* (interviewee 2).

The other 50% agree on the increasing of violence committed in a group but they state that this may occur in an organised way, or not. In fact, a small number of experts mentioned the growth of spontaneous crime in groups of young people.

An increase in the use of weapons and violent crimes, in general, was assumed by a considerable number of experts in the first Delphi round: *“Today there are large opportunities for having a weapon. The incidents that have been occurring in schools are due to the fact that students are carrying out weapons that they find at home. Most part of them brings the weapon to show it to their friends but when there is a problem... (...) It is too easy to buy a knife (...) there are conflicts that before used to be spotted with a punch; now the easy accessibility to weapons increases the fights gravity”* (interviewee 2).

Another question stressed out in the interviewees was the younger age of some young people involved in some crime situations: *“I prefer not to speak about delinquency because it happens with too small children that escape any kind of intervention but they are used by their families with experience in organised crime. It is something linked to a family history where state measures failed and it creates a pattern of behaviour”* (interviewee 5).

Still concerning boys and girls, it can be said that criminality among young female is a more hidden issue (linked to drugs and prostitution) but when it comes out shows a violent face: *“It is not a matter of girls being more violent but a matter of society getting excuses and when they reach the justice system is with major crimes”* (interviewee 5).

As to the characteristics of victims of juvenile crime no major changes are expected. Some respondents anticipate an increase in older victims of offences committed by juveniles, but still a large amount of offences will be directed at other juveniles.

7.4.3 Information and communication technology and the changing face of juvenile crime

In the first Delphi round, the respondents indicated that developments in information and communication technology will have a significant impact particularly in the type of crime and that “cybercrime” committed by young people will be an increasing and more relevant topic in the near future.

“Social networks change life style (...) these give more speed to conflicts. The violence committed with the use of technology is anonymous” (interviewee 2).

On the other hand, it is a type of crime where it is much more difficult to find the guilty and for the police to operate. It is a process that hides the delinquency or violence but it is also a process making it possible to disseminate images and acts of delinquency. Therefore *“there are several cross lines and divergent paths ways that lead to new forms of delinquency”* (interviewee 5).

Since cybercrime can include a wide range of offences, respondents were asked about this issue in the second Delphi round in more detail, using an open question format (“What are the main changes you expect with regard to juvenile offences linked to use of information and communication technology in the era up to 2025?”).

Most often an increasing significance of the phenomena of cyber bullying, followed by increasing copyright infringements and computer fraud were mentioned. Another major problem is seen in the attacks on privacy and personal data. This includes spying out of personal data and misuse of pictures, financial data etc., amplified by many juveniles handling their own personal data in a very incautious way, as some respondents point out.

Pornography and sexual crimes are also another kind of crime showing a trend towards augmentation.

7.4.4 Prevention approaches

A main topic of the second Delphi wave was the experts’ views on prevention, their opinions about what can be done and what should be done in selected fields of juvenile problem behaviour such as substance abuse; cybercrime and crimes against property.

Table 36: Experts' opinions on the importance of certain actors or institutions

Actors / Institutions	Substance abuse	Cybercrime	Crimes against property
Parents	3.94	3.93	3.93
School	3.81	3.43	3.43
National Institute for Drugs	3.74	2.07	2.19
Local projects	3.69	3.69	3.40
Social work (from Private Non Profit Institutions)	3.35	2.50	2.69
Probation services	3.26	2.45	3.14
Police	3.16	3.83	3.83
Municipalities	3.10	2.47	2.76
Social work / Social Security System	2.97	2.03	2.48

Note. Scale from 1 = "not at all" to 4 = "totally important".

In the opinion of experts, parents are the most relevant preventive actors regarding juvenile delinquency, considering the three mentioned aspects. Schools, National Institute for Drugs and local projects are also referred as important in what concern substance abuse. The importance of police is stressed regarding the prevention of cybercrime and crimes against property.

The recommendations given by experts for social work in the field of prevention of youth crime / delinquency pointed out to measures related to educational work in an early phase with the aim of the reinforcement of "soft life skills" that protect children and young people of facing risk factors. This kind of measures should address both children (Social and Personal Competence Development Program) and parents (Parental Programmes).

Sports, cultural and leisure activities addressed to young people and running in local institutions / associations or at schools are also considered important, as well as awareness raising campaigns.

It emerges from the experts' responses that social work in schools with young people is very important.

Also important seems to be the implementation of community projects with a strong component of citizenship education; support and follow up to youngsters and families. These projects should be carried out in strong collaboration with schools and other local institutions.

For police forces the recommended approaches mainly refer to community policing, on one hand and criminal prosecution, on the other hand.

A programme pointed out as a good example of community policing is the programme *Safe School (Escola Segura)* where there is a close cooperation between police and schools: *"it is very important that police come to school; the initiatives between police, teachers and youngsters are very important. When they*

play together it is not only a game, it is a way of learning how to deal as a team and of demystifying police work” (interviewee 5).

Effective criminal prosecution was the second aspect mentioned by several respondents. This includes prosecution of drug trafficking and higher pressure on drug dealers, especially large-scale dealers.

Several experts also referred the need for further research and training of police forces especially in what concerns cybercrime.

7.5 References

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8 Analysis of the international school survey dataset⁶⁵

Anabel Taefi & Thomas Görgen

8.1 Description of the sample

The school survey was conducted in two regions per country, one rural and one urban; in Belgium, three regions were chosen in order to include French as well as Dutch speaking students (one urban, one rural, one semi-urban)⁶⁶. The total sample of 10 682 respondents is composed as follows (see Table 37).

Table 37: Sample characteristics of the international school survey dataset (in per cent)

Characteristics	Belgium	Spain	Germany	Portugal	Slovenia	Hungary	Total
N	1 058	1 766	2 186	1 577	1 991	2 104	10 682
Mean age (in years)	15.9	15.3	14.8	15.3	14.5	15.5	15.1
Sex: Female	51.9	50.8	47.5	52.9	55.7	47.3	50.8
Region: Urban	45.1 ⁶⁷	77.5	47.2	62.4	51.4	52.3	56.0
Origin: Migr. Background (1 st and 2 nd Gen.)	38.6	19.9	25.4	32.8	22.7	5.7	22.5
Language spoken at home: Native ⁶⁸	65.2	34.8	31.5	18.5	34.1	6.7	33.8
Single parent household	15.4	12.9	17.2	22.2	13.7	23.6	17.6
Both parents unemployed	10.4	6.1	2.9	9.7	3.1	4.7	5.6
Get along with parents? ⁶⁹ , mean values (SD)	1.79 (0.749)	1.64 (0.618)	1.58 (0.644)	1.48 (0.586)	1.58 (0.721)	1.59 (0.688)	1.60 (0.671)

Table 37 shows that the mean age of the total sample is 15.1 years (SD = 1.186). Students in Belgium are the oldest (15.9 y.) and Slovenians are the youngest (14.5 y.). Sample sizes varied between countries. In every country, approximately half of the respondents were female. Beyond that, particular differences are visible regarding the geographical composition of the sample: In Spain (77.5 %) and Portugal (62.4 %) there is an overlap of responses from students who attend school in the urban area. Samples also differ regarding the composition of the population and the ethnic origin of the participants: Only 5.7 % of the Hungarian students had a migration background (1st and 2nd generation migrants), in contrast to the heterogeneous population structure of especially Belgium and Portugal, where around one third of the participants had their origins in other countries than the ones they were living in. Outstanding differences

⁶⁵ We heartily thank Pawel Streltchenia for his support with creating and correcting the international dataset and for preparing the analyses.

⁶⁶ Further information on the regions chosen in each country can be found in the country summaries of this report.

⁶⁷ Belgium: 3 regions; 45 % urban, 32 % semi-urban, 23 % rural

⁶⁸ Participants with migration background (N=2379: 89 missing values) were asked for the Language the participant most often speak with the people he / she lives with: *Native language* (N=777); Language of the Country, where the study is conducted (N=1520).

⁶⁹ Wording of questions: “I get along just fine with my father (stepfather)”, “I get along just fine with my mother (stepmother)”, “I can easily get emotional support and care from my parents.”, “I would feel very bad disappointing my parents.” 5-point scale from 1 = totally agree to 5 = totally disagree

can also be found regarding the migrants' language spoken at home: While 65.2 % of Belgian students with foreign origins spoke their native language at home, only 6.7 % of migrants in Hungary did not speak Hungarian with their parents.

In Portugal and Hungary, nearly one fourth of students lived in single parent households (22.2 % and 23.6 %, respectively). Most often students lived with both parents in Spain (77.1 %) and Slovenia (76.3 %). Differences are also visible regarding the analysis of the parental inclusion in the labour market. In average across the six participating countries, 5.6 % of all students are living with an unemployed mother and father. However, differences between the countries are visible here as well; Belgium and Portugal have the highest rate of households with both unemployed mother and father (10.4 % and 9.7 %). Furthermore, students were asked how well they get along with their parents on an item set containing four questions. In general, mean values for countries are very high which means they get along very well. Only tiny differences across the countries could be found.

8.2 Victimization

Girls have been victims of at least one type of offence (theft, robbery and extortion, assault, hate crime, cyberbullying or dating violence) at a higher rate than boys. Rates of twelve months prevalence of victimization are very similar to life-time prevalence rates; differences between boys and girls are significant for current victimizations experienced (cf. Table 38). In the overall sample, it shows that experiences with victimization are outstandingly and highly significantly more prevalent in the urban than in the rural regions.

Table 38: Prevalence of boys' and girls' life-time and twelve-month victimization rates, overall sample

Victimization	Boys	Girls	χ^2	df	p
Life-time prevalence (N = 10 545)	48.3	51.7	1.958	1	.162
Twelve-months prevalence (N = 10 179)	47.6	52.470	5.652	1	*
Victimization	Urban	Rural	χ^2	df	p
Life-time prevalence (N = 9 529)	62.4	37.6	69.317	1	***
Twelve-months prevalence (N = 9 255)	61.8	38.2	51.135	1	***

⁷⁰ Percentage is higher than for life-time prevalence because of a reduced N

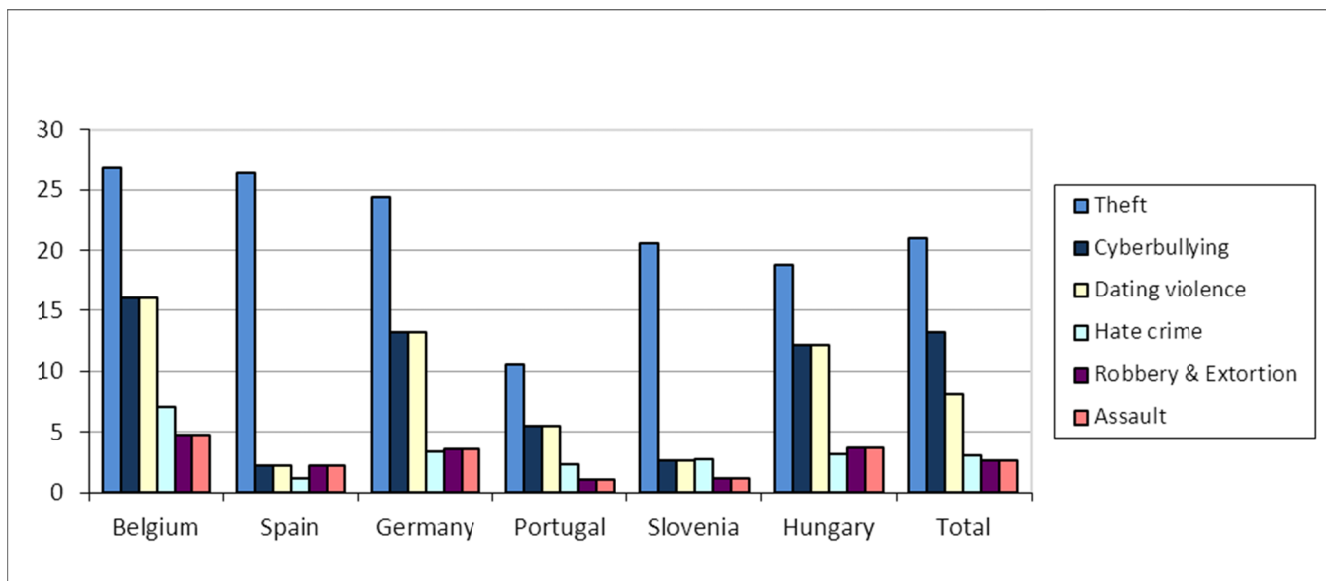


Figure 19: Girls' twelve-months prevalence of victimization by countries and offence types, 5 314 < N < 5 374

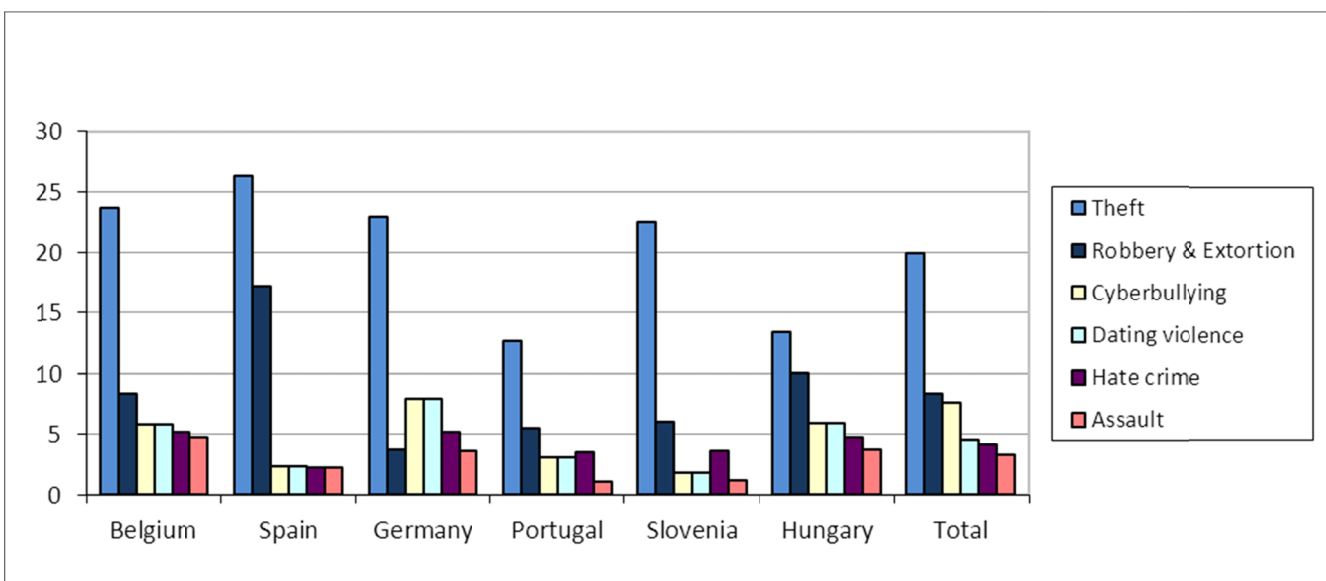


Figure 20: Boys' twelve-month prevalence of victimization by countries and offence types, 5 164 < N < 5 184

If subdivided by types of offences and countries (cf. Figure 19 and Figure 20) Slovenian and Spanish girls generally have very low rates of victimization, except for the Spanish girls' rate of being a victim of theft, which is exceedingly high. Portuguese rates for violent offences (hate crime, robbery and extortion, assault) are very low, but the girls reported having experienced emotional violence (cyberbullying and dating violence) more often than Spanish and Slovenian girls. All rates of victimization of German girls are comparably high, but they do not reach the outstandingly high number of Belgian girls' experiences as a victim of theft and physical as well as emotional violence.

The pattern of boys' victim experiences is different. Still, Belgian and German respondents are comparably strained, but German boys' experiences with being victims of robbery and extortion are the lowest of the entire sample. In contrast, victimization via emotional violence was most prevalent in Germany.

Hungarian boys were comparably often victimized in all categories apart from theft where they exhibit very low rates of victimization. Again, victimization rates of Portuguese and Slovenians are generally low, apart from the high percentage of Slovenian boys who experienced theft. Spanish boys' rates are exceptional again, since being a victim of theft and robbery and extortion was more widespread than elsewhere, while cyberbullying, hate crimes, dating violence and assault were reported exceptionally rarely.

8.3 Deviant behaviour of students

Different types of students' deviant behaviour were addressed in the questionnaire. An overview on truancy as well as substance use is given in Table 39.

Table 39: Deviant behaviour of students by country

Deviant Behaviour	Belgium	Spain	Germany	Portugal	Slovenia ⁷¹	Hungary	Total
Truancy							
Truancy (last 12 months)	30.9 (327)	22.8 (399)	13.7 (297)	19.0 (299)	8.0 (156)	14.1 (296)	16.7 (1 774)
...3 or more times (for a whole day, last 12 months)	15.0 (158)	9.4 (158)	6.2 (134)	6.6 (101)	-	5.3 (108)	6.7 (659)
Substance use							
Being drunk - lifetime prev.	50.6 (518)	53.6 (922)	47.9 (1 011)	31.5 (1 011)	35.8 (705)	63.5 (1 309)	47.5 (4 960)
Being drunk - 12-months prev.	46.6 (473)	48.7 (798)	46.0 (929)	24.9 (390)	30.1 (574)	56.9 (1 098)	42.3 (4 262)
Being drunk - last month prev.	29.9 (303)	24.3 (394)	28.1 (560)	10.7 (168)	15.2 (289)	37.1 (705)	24.2 (2 419)
Cannabis use - lifetime prev.	25.4 (258)	33.1 (577)	12.9 (276)	12.6 (197)	16.2 (318)	18.7 (387)	19.2 (2 013)
Cannabis use - 12-months prev.	21.8 (220)	26.8 (428)	11.3 (227)	9.3 (145)	12.1 (230)	14.4 (272)	15.3 (1 532)
Cannabis use - last month prev.	15.5 (156)	15.2 (248)	6.7 (134)	5.9 (93)	6.9 (130)	9.0 (170)	9.3 (931)
Substance use – life time prev.							
Inhalants	11.4 (117)	1.7 (30)	8.1 (174)	3.4 (53)	10.0 (198)	4.7 (99)	6.4 (671)
Alcohol & medical pills	5.4 (55)	8.7 (4.9)	4.9 (104)	1.9 (29)	2.8 (55)	5.8 (121)	4.9 (515)
Sedatives / Tranquilizers	13.0 (133)	3.3 (58)	2.9 (62)	2.5 (39)	3.2 (63)	8.2 (172)	5.0 (527)
Ecstasy / Amphetamines	5.9 (61)	1.9 (33)	2.7 (58)	2.3 (35)	2.2 (44)	5.0 (105)	3.2 (336)
Heroin, Cocaine & Crack	4.1 (42)	1.9 (33)	2.0 (43)	2.0 (31)	1.6 (31)	2.4 (51)	2.2 (231)
Magic mushrooms	4.9 (50)	1.5 (26)	1.7 (36)	2.3 (36)	1.6 (31)	2.3 (49)	2.2 (228)
Hallucinogens	5.7 (59)	2.5 (43)	1.4 (29)	2.0 (32)	2.0 (40)	2.2 (45)	2.4 (248)
Steroids	2.9 (30)	0.8 (14)	1.1 (24)	1.2 (19)	2.1 (41)	2.7 (56)	1.7 (184)
Ritalin	7.8 (80)	0.6 (10)	0.7 (15)	1.4 (22)	0.6 (16)	1.0 (21)	1.6 (164)

⁷¹ Slovenian rates of substance use differ marginally from the ones reported in chapter 5.4.6 due to corrections of the dataset, which were not yet included when the international analysis was conducted.

Comparing students' deviant behaviour across countries, many differences can be found. Truancy is widespread in Belgium and Spain, while Slovenia, Hungary, and Germany have comparably low prevalence rates. In Portugal, the difference between the overall rate of students who had skipped school at least once and of those who stayed away for at least three days during the last twelve months is notably big. Hungarian students have the highest prevalence of heavy drunkenness, whereas rates of having been drunk during the last month are relatively low in Portugal and Slovenia. Prevalence of cannabis consumption is high in Belgium and Spain while only few German, Portuguese and Slovenian students use this substance, especially on a regular basis. The table shows that the most widespread substances are the ones that are not illegal and therefore easier to access. Inhalants, such as glue or nitrous oxide, medical pills in combination with alcohol (in order to get high) and sedatives and tranquilizers are the intoxicants most common among juveniles. Again, consumption seems to be comparably prevalent among the Belgian students, especially compared to the very low rates among Portuguese and Slovenian students. Differences in prevalence rates should be seen in connection with the age structure of the samples with the Belgian students having the highest mean age. Although Slovenian students generally show very low rates of substance use, one tenth of them reported they had tried inhalants at least once.

8.4 Delinquency

Delinquent behaviour of students was measured via 16 questions addressing different forms of offending⁷², asking for life-time and twelve-months prevalence.

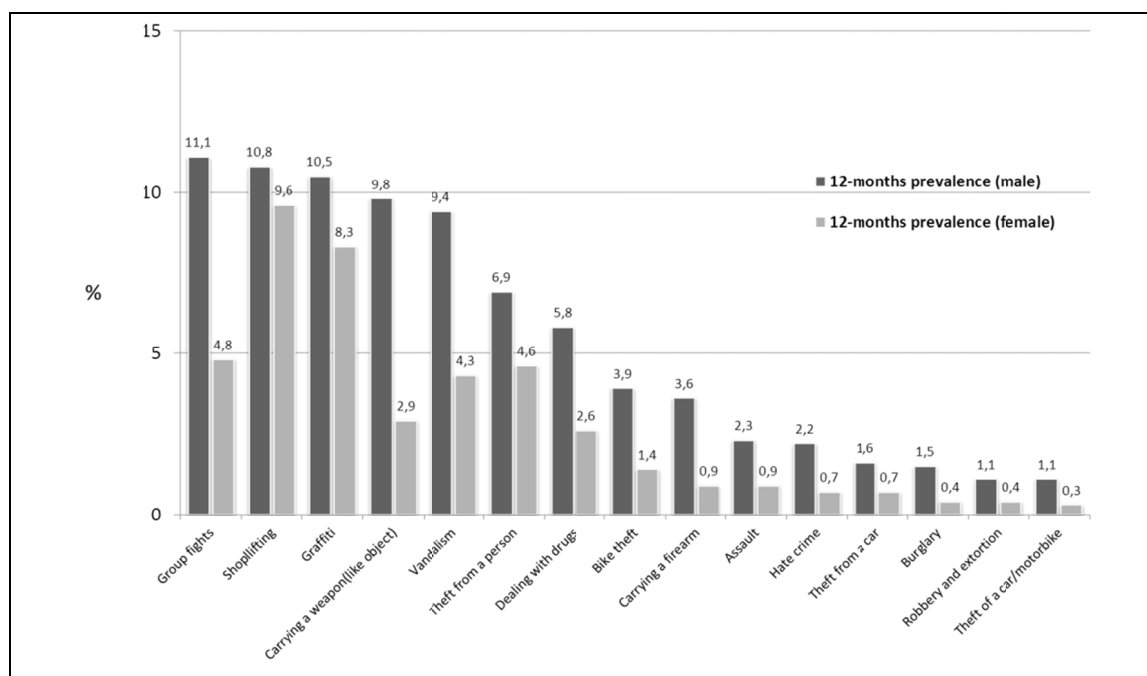


Figure 21: Twelve-months prevalence of boys' and girls' self-reported delinquency

⁷² two items – carrying a firearm and carrying a weapon like object or a weapon – do not exclusively address behaviour defined as illegal in all countries.

The most prevalent types of offences that have been committed during the last twelve months are the less severe ones (cf. Figure 21): Participation in group fights, shoplifting, spraying graffiti, carrying a weapon (like object) and vandalism are fairly widespread.

Shoplifting is the most prevalent offence in total (9.9 %) and the main property offence; spraying graffiti is the second most prevalent with overall 9.2 %, other forms of vandalism were reported by 6.7 %. Participating in a group fight is the most prevalent violent offence (7.6 %), only small numbers of students reported they committed more severe acts of violence such as assault (1.5 %) or robbery and extortion (0.7 %). Apart from shoplifting and spraying graffiti, all offence types shown in Figure 21 have been committed considerably more often by boys than by girls. In total (see Table 40), boys are highly significantly more prone to offending than girls: around one third of the boys and only one fourth of the girls reported they had committed at least one offence during the last twelve months. Differences between the sexes become most apparent regarding the different types of violent offences and carrying weapons (cf. Figure 21), whereas the difference between boys' and girls' involvement in property offending is not as big (17.2 % vs. 13.4 %), albeit highly significant.

In total, 19.1 % of all students reported they had committed a property offence during the last twelve months and 8.5 % reported having committed a violent act. The most widespread offence is of course illegal downloading of e.g. music, movies, or games. 60.8 % of the boys and 52.3 % of the girls stated they had done this during the last twelve months (cf. Table 40, life-time prevalence: boys = 67.5 %, girls = 59.2 %). During the last twelve months, 32.6 % of the sample had been engaged in illegal downloading while at the same time reporting no other offence.

Table 40: Offending rates by sex

Offence type (N)	Boys	Girls	χ^2	df	p
at least one offence w/o dl (9967)	36.9	24.8	171.418	1	***
Violent offence (10280)	13.2	5.8	166.625	1	***
Property offence (10184)	17.2	13.4	29.309	1	***
Illegal downloading (9213)	60.8	52.3	67.751	1	***

For the entire sample (see Table 41) the twelve-months prevalence of offending is 30.7 %. Similarly to deviant behaviour, again Belgium and Spain are the front runners with rates of self-reported delinquency in the 40 % range, whereas Portuguese and Slovenian students reported offending comparably seldom with around 25 %.

Table 41: Rates of twelve-months prevalence of offending by country

Offending in % (N)	Belgium	Spain	Germany	Portugal	Slovenia	Hungary	Total
12-months prevalence of one offence (w/o downloading)	43.8 (403)	38.2 (624)	30.7 (625)	24.5 (365)	24.7 (486)	28.8 (555)	30.7 (3058)

8.5 Multivariate Models

Descriptive analyses have shown that some types of deviant and delinquent behaviour are widespread among youngsters and that boys are – in general, with the exception of shoplifting – more prone to deviance and delinquency than girls.

In order to determine the significance and effects of predictors of offending, binary logistic regression models were applied. Since the two main types of offending – property and violent offences – could be influenced by divergent predictors, two separate explanatory models were tested. Twelve predictors have been chosen to be included in the analysis; assumptions for logistic regression are satisfied. The predictors chosen are known as classical explanatory variables for delinquency, except for the “region” variable, which will be included in order to answer the underlying research question of the school survey, whether there are differences between rural and urban areas. Scales included in the models are the self-control scale by Grasmick et al. (1993, shortened version) which was developed in order to test Gottfredson and Hirschi’s general theory of crime (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990), it has a high reliability ($\alpha = .815$), answer categories are coded from 1 = low self-control to 4 = high self-control. The morality scale features “pro-social values” and “shaming” (Wikström & Butterworth, 2006; Wikström & Svensson, 2010) which are central aspects of Wikström’s Situational Action Theory of Crime Causation (SAT). Reliability is high with $\alpha = .788$ (var = .429), answer categories are coded from 1 = low to 4 = high acceptance of norms. The adherence to violence-legitimizing norms of masculinity scale was developed by Enzmann & Wetzels (2002) on the basis of culture of honor theory (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Reliability is high with $\alpha = .706$ (var = .227), the value 1 indicates rejection of the statements, 4 is consent. Parental supervision and perception of neighbourhood (“social disorganization”) are measured via scales which have been constructed by ISRD. The parental supervision scale consists of twelve items that address parental knowledge, child disclosure, parental supervision and whether parents set a time. Reliability of the scale is high with $\alpha = .836$ (var = .483, answer categories from 1 = low to 5 = high). Regarding the social disorganization of the neighbourhood scale, three additional items were added compared to the scale of ISRD 3; they address perceived security of the neighbourhood, presence of police and possibilities for leisure time activities for youngsters. Still, reliability was high with $\alpha = .775$ (var = .207, answer categories: 1 = low to 4 = high). For the analysis, items have been recoded and turned (whenever necessary). For calculation of descriptive and regression analysis, scales were summed up to a mean value for each person.

Table 42 shows that the model explains 21.1 % of variance. Violent offending is predicted by all of the explanatory variables but the urban or rural character region. The strongest predictors are contact with peers who commit violent offences themselves, “being male” and the frequency of being drunk. Contact with peers who consume drugs and commit property offences, acceptance of norms, adherence to violence-legitimizing norms of masculinity, a low self-control and a high social disorganization of the neighbourhood clearly contribute to explaining violent offending, while effects of a lack of parental supervision, age and consumption of cannabis are moderate.

Table 42: Binary logistic regression on twelve-month prevalence of violent offending, N = 9419, $R^2(\text{Nagelkerke}) = 21.1$

Predictor	p	Exp(B)
region	.655	1.037
sex (ref. = male)	***	.575
age	**	1.100
violence-legitimizing norms of masculinity	***	1.388
morality / acceptance of norms	***	.685
self-control	***	1.386
social disorganization of neighbourhood	***	1.386
parental supervision	*	.866
drunk (last month)	***	1.912
cannabis (last month)	*	1.082
deviant peers (drugs, property offences)	***	1.764
violent peers	***	2.144
constant	***	.065

Some differences show comparing these results to the model explaining twelve-months prevalence of property offending (cf. Table 43). Overall, property offending is explained quite well with $R^2 = 21.5\%$. In this model, according to what could have been assumed by descriptive analyses, sex does not significantly predict property offending. The effect of neighbourhood social disorganization is not significant, while region in this model predicts offending: The probability of belonging to the group of youngsters committing property offences is higher for boys and girls from rural areas. This model's strongest regressors – deviant and violent peers – influence property offending even more than violent offending. Acceptance of norms and self-control have a strong effect on the dependent variable, while parental supervision, consumption of alcohol and cannabis and age only have a moderate influence. Interestingly, adherence to violence-legitimizing norms of masculinity has a lowering effect on the outcome variable.

Table 43: Binary logistic regression on twelve-month prevalence of property offending, N = 9312, $R^2(\text{Nagelkerke}) = 21.5\%$

Predictor	p	Exp(B)
region	**	1.212
sex (ref. = male)	.125	.903
age	**	.925
violence-legitimizing norms of masculinity	***	.725
morality / acceptance of norms	***	.427
self-control	***	.581
social disorganization of neighbourhood	.629	1.036
parental supervision	**	.863
drunk (last month)	***	1.147
cannabis (last month)	***	1.218
deviant peers (drugs, property offences)	***	2.927
violent peers	***	2.070
constant	***	34.157

8.6 Students' views on prevention

In addition to the questions adapted from ISRD, the study included a section addressing students' experiences with and views on preventive measures, especially regarding those which they encountered in school. A short summary of the international dataset will be given in addition to the separate countries' analyses.

Overall, 26.1 % of all students have participated in measures aiming at reducing violence (N = 9058) and 70.0 % have been given information on harmful substances (N = 10420) during the last twelve months. Students were given a set of approaches which could prevent young people from doing forbidden things and were asked to express their view on the effectiveness of these approaches on a four-point scale from 1 (= works very good) to 4 (= is rather harmful). All of the approaches given are ranked rather positively with a mean value of < 2.25 (Table 44). While students do not completely oppose punitive approaches, they prefer those approaches, which are directed at the improvement of individual problems and on giving them good opportunities for their individual development and future.

Table 44: Students' perceived efficacy of preventive approaches, items sorted by means (scale from 1 = works very good) to 4 = is rather harmful)

Approach	M (SD): 10428<N<10491
Listen to their sorrows and problems.	1.78 (.758)
Improve their prospects to get a job.	1.79 (.766)
Give them a good general education.	1.88 (.798)
Provide good opportunities for leisure time activities.	1.88 (.807)
Provide training for better social behaviour.	2.02 (.811)
Give information on possible consequences.	2.03 (.843)
Provide counselling to their parents.	2.08 (.846)
Punish them severely when caught.	2.25 (.910)

Asked for their opinion on the importance of preventive agents, in accordance with criminological findings, students perceive parents and friends to be most important agents for preventing youngsters from doing forbidden things (cf. Table 45). Among the groups of professionals, youngsters attribute relatively much influence to the police, but in general, perceived influence of all professionals only ranks between "important" and "little important". In an additional open answer field, students were asked to fill in other agents, who can have an impact on their behaviour. Very often, students mentioned their brothers and sisters to be important to them; this can be regarded as a confirmation of the perceived importance of peer influence.

Table 45: Student's' views on the importance of preventive agents, items sorted by means, 4-point scale from 1 = very important to 4 = unimportant

Agent	M (SD): 10266<N<10480
parents	1.47 (.719)
friends	1.51 (.760)
police	2.19 (.987)
sports coaches	2.48 (1.000)
teachers	2.59 (.903)
social workers	2.65 (.919)

The mediocre influence which is ascribed to teachers is also reflected in student's overall perception of schools' potential influence on students' substance use and violent behaviour (cf. Table 46).

Table 46: Students' perceptions of school's potential influence on substance use and violence (5-point answer scale from 1 = no influence at all to 5 = very strong influence)

Influence of school on...(N)	M (SD)
substance consumption (10 392)	2.53 (1.119)
violent behaviour (10 330)	2.88 (1.057)

8.7 Summary

Comparative analysis of the international dataset of the YouPrev school survey showed some differences and some similarities across the six countries. Belgian and Spanish students exhibited the most risk factors as regards deviant behaviour; also delinquency was rather widespread there. In contrast, students from Portugal and Slovenia showed comparably low rates. Rates of victimization are rather high in most of the countries and girls have more often been victimized than boys. Overall, delinquency is characterized by a low severity. Offences most widely spread are illegal downloading, shoplifting, participations in group fights and spraying Graffiti. Severe forms of offenses occur very seldom in the sample. Violence and property offending can be explained by different risk factors: While both types of offending are strongly influenced by peers, violent offending primarily comes along in the context of boys' alcohol abuse, while property offending is explained by the acceptance of societies norms and self-control. Students' concepts of what can influence their behaviour are partially mirror approaches endorsed and taken in prevention practice and they attribute preventive potential to parents and peers, but less to professional agents outside the Criminal Justice System.

8.8 References

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9 Delphi survey: Overview of the international survey round

Daniel Wagner, Benjamin Kraus & Thomas Görgen

In addition to the two-wave national Delphi surveys in the frame of the YouPrev project, one more round with an international focus has been conducted (on Delphi surveys see e.g. Adler & Ziglio, 1996; Jones & Hunter, 1995, Rover & Wright, 2001; Armstrong, 2006; Powell, 2003). The aim of the survey was to put a special focus on international aspects regarding phenomena of youth crime and violence. Experts were asked to sketch their views about

- major challenges of a European policy with regard to youth crime prevention in the years up to 2025,
- possible fields of future contributions to youth crime prevention at the level of European policy,
- lessons regarding youth crime prevention Europe could possibly learn from approaches in their country, and what, in return, their country could learn from approaches/policies in member states and at the European level.

The survey was conducted between August and early October, 2012. It was sent out as an e-mail questionnaire in English language. The majority of potential respondents were selected from the national Delphi samples; some additional experts from countries that were not part of the YouPrev consortium were included. The response rate was low with 12.4 %; only 21 experts participated while 169 questionnaires were sent out. Table 47 and Table 48 give an overview of the professional background and the countries of origin of the respondents.

Table 47: Professional fields of respondents, N = 21

Professional field	N
Science/Research	9
Social Work	1
Police	3
Justice/Courts	2
Crime prevention	1
Local Authority	1
Ombudsman	1
Probation officer	2
Education	1

Table 48: Countries of origin of the respondents, N = 21

Countries of origin	N
Northern Ireland	1
Belgium	2
Portugal	7
Germany	5
Romania	1
Italy	1
Hungary	1
Denmark	1
Slovenia	1
Estonia	1

9.1 Major challenges for a European youth crime prevention policy

Economic and social developments

Multiple respondents referred to the current economic crisis in Europe and its ongoing and long-term impact on both the budgets of the member states and the job opportunities of citizens. Former defines the financial scope for investments in social services; latter determines the individual chances for personal welfare let alone social advancement.

In fact, several experts mentioned a rise of poverty due to a worsening of economic conditions and shrinking career opportunities. Those in already tense economic positions suffer the most. *“The international crisis seems to be impacting more low income communities”*. Especially the high rates of unemployment among youths in several countries (among the respondents those from Portugal and Italy put the biggest emphasis on this issue) were seen as a big challenge for present and future. Lack of chances and perspectives and life prospects in general are seen as a *“lack of incentives for children to want a future based on values, work and honesty”* and therefore as a *“significant determinant with respect to involvement in illegal activities”*. The growing difficulty in accessing the labour market might lead to a rise of crime committed out of poverty.

“Public as well as private budgets suffer a decrease in resources [...], social inequality grows, society drifts more and more apart”. Budgetary cuts affect some social groups more than others: *“The economic crisis at the European level can have long term effects with implications for juvenile delinquency due the disinvestment in social policy and prevention”, a “decrease in the number of training / social reintegration programmes [and a] prevalence of securitarian approaches”*. A better coordination of prevention and intervention measures and a better cooperation of the institutions and individuals involved should be pursued to counter the consequences of these budgetary restrictions.

Several experts drew a direct connection between the economic development and a possible increase in ethnic tensions. An intensifying competition between locals and immigrants in a tough job market might promote right-wing extremism on the one hand and radicalization among youths from ethnic minorities on the other hand.

The risk of ethnical segregation and other exclusion situations increases, notably in urban areas, and so might the level of juvenile crime. *“Especially in big cities deprived neighbourhoods will host poor and minor educated young people. The challenge is to develop a housing policy which allows and concentrates on integration”*. In the opinion of some experts the growing diversity makes it harder to agree on common social norms and to communicate them.

Social segregation not only alongside ethnical lines is seen as a big problem and possible criminogenic factor. A decline of community solidarity, a weakening of social bonds and a general trend to individualism is identified as another sign of disintegrating social structures and thus a lack of orientation and support that affects young people in particular. One respondent puts it in a nutshell:

“Postmodern society. [...] Parental supervision is weakened; socializing agencies such as the family and the school are weakened as well; value patterns conveyed by the media in some cases do not inhibit and in some other cases favour delinquency; apparently solid role expectations [and] tolerance for the diverse [...] cannot be taken for granted [anymore]”.

In contrast to the rather pessimistic views sketched above (which had to be expected as the question was aimed at “challenges” after all), one respondent surmised that demographic change might have the potential to improve *“the chances for juveniles for social and economic participation and therefore reduce some reasons for delinquency”*, but even so *“a small group will still be at risk”*.

Crime trends

For some types of crime, recent and impending developments were discussed. One field was clearly dominating in the responses: the rise of cybercrime. *“The growing access to IT will facilitate all types of fraud and cybercrime. For youth, whether as perpetrators or victims, these new challenges will imply training and prevention but also effective persuasion”*. The main manifestations of cybercrime covered in the answers are cyber-bullying, fraud and crimes that target youths and children. One specific feature of internet fraud and sexual predation – they cross or transcend national borders – qualifies these crimes as a problem that has to be handled on a European level. Countries should share information and assess ways to detect and control these new perpetration realities.

Another class of crimes mentioned were drug-related offenses. Respondents covered drug abuse and addiction amongst young people and also their involvement in transnational drug trafficking. One respondent reported a growing participation of girls in drug related crimes, another expert accentuated the necessity of an intensification of transnational police cooperation to control trafficking and the need for more drug control in clubs frequented by young people.

Two respondents from Portugal (both from the same profession) mentioned another problem area: One of them states that *“reorganization of family structure as a result of the economic crisis increases youth violence within the family and school, to parents or caregivers”*. The colleague describes this phenomenon as *“currently a significant problem in Portugal, which has appeared in recent years”*.

Challenges for cross-border cooperation

The two core fields of crime mentioned above, cybercrime and proliferation of drugs, share (serving the question which focused on European challenges rather than on national ones) a common denominator – transnationality: Drug trafficking is a crime with a long history and consists in the penetration of national borders in a most physical sense, while cybercrime describes a broad range of criminal activities in an environment where borders are of almost no significance for committing a crime but quite crucial for law enforcement and prosecution.

Accordingly, experts saw a key challenge in facilitating cooperation between law enforcement and prosecution agencies across borders. The fundamental obstacles were seen in *“different legislation”, “different national attitudes”* and a *“variation of challenges in different countries”*.

Last but not least (and not limited to the European level but also as a challenge on the national level) respondents reported a need for more thorough research into both the fields of development of crime and crime prevention in Europe, and for exchange of the findings of said research. *“There is a lack of consistent official data and empirical studies to support the discussion on youth crime prevention [...]. Without scientific knowledge and consistent official data, policy making is not reliable”*.

In the opinion of one respondent, research should be focused *“on the cost-benefit aspects of crime comparing it to the crime prevention programmes cost-benefits, as also to the costs of non- intervention”* to make sure that policy makers acknowledge that prevention does indeed pay, even in a fiscal sense.

9.2 Possible contributions to youth crime prevention at the European level

The experts provided some perspectives on how to facilitate and how to shape not only cooperation but a collective effort on the European level and in which areas and in what form this could and should be implemented. In this context they also outlined problem areas and possible solutions much in the sense of the challenges sketched above, and as further elaboration of these.

Harmonization and professionalization

An important foundation for cooperation and the development of common legal standards and prevention practices is *“to define what can be considered ‘youth’”* and to find a *“common language about youth crime in Europe. Apart from differences in the age of criminal responsibility, the laws of different countries contain specificities difficult to translate into the reality of others”*. Several of the other respondents also proposed common legislation or at least more congruency in the types and ranges of punishment. *“Common concepts, criteria, and methods should be fostered in order to establish a common ground-work”*.

Obstacles originating in differences in the administrative systems and other problems associated with the bureaucracies of the European countries and the European Union itself should be reduced. The final goals are harmonization of national laws, cooperation across borders, and joint efforts to face challenges originating in transnational developments (e.g. economic problems, but also cross-border crime) as well as guaranteeing the enactment of interventions in case of border crossings. To allow for continuity in the

prevention of recidivism, it should be made possible that youths comply with juvenile justice measures even when they and their families move from one country to another.

Several participants stressed the importance of multi-agency approaches. *“Youth crime prevention has to be seen as a transversal, multidimensional approach. [...] It is not about the police officers (only), the parents (per se), the schools, the peer-groups, the social services, etc. Only by creating local consortiums that are co-responsible for designing local solutions, the problem can be tackled”.*

The call for a comprehensive exchange of knowledge and experiences (good practices) was quite frequent in the responses. Several experts advocated the multilateral cooperation of police forces covering joint efforts and permanent forms of collaboration in the fields of prevention and repression, as well as institutionalized *“space(s) where several members of each police force [...] could work in cooperation, sharing information, studying about national youth crime methods”*. EU education and training policies should be promoted and reinforced. One respondent was even so specific as to proposing the development and intensification of cooperation and information exchange in the framework of existing institutions, namely EUCPN, CEPOL, EUROSTAT and other European Institutions. Another expert found it *“useful to create in perspective a more integrated approach of youth crime prevention in the EU, maybe an institutional building similar to EUROPOL and EUROJUST”*.

“Crime prevention is still too often “handmade” and too seldom conceptualised. On the supranational level standards for master-courses in crime prevention and urban security could be developed, and a EU-wide database on crime prevention programmes could support the transnational knowledge management”.

These points can be summarized under the term professionalization. Youth crime prevention and the management of (urban) security should receive a better foundation in regard to both the training of professionals and the underlying knowledge of prevention measures. Measures should be tailored to the respective target groups and evaluated in regard to their effectiveness.

In line with the emphasis put on the key role of knowledge exchange between European institutions and professionals, several experts stressed the importance of research (and the provision of funding for said research) to advance the knowledge base and, consequently, the development and execution of prevention programmes. This covers basic research as well as scientific evaluation of the effectiveness of prevention programmes and projects. This should take place in the form of international comparative research.

Focus of prevention at a European Level

In reference to the current problems (namely the ones concerning economic development and social justice, as illustrated above), respondents once again related to issues of poverty, unemployment, marginalization and social change, and to the importance of mitigating them. So the task of opposing social distortions and marginalization was seen as a key issue. An important mission brought up by several respondents is the establishment of *“better standards for care, education and career opportunities of young people [...]”. The EU can influence the national policies with legislative work and funding programmes”*.

“Documentation indicates that sustained efforts with respect to schooling/training and labour market initiatives make a constructive/positive impact”.

Criminogenic factors in EU policies should be taken into consideration. In this context, one respondent referred to the policies of labour, mobility, consumer protection and social security, concluding that *“crime prevention is a cross-sectional task and stimulating aspects of deviance and delinquency are hidden in different policies”*. Obviously, social services are an essential political field in this respect. As the tight national budgets due to the financial crisis bring about cutbacks in many EU countries, cutbacks in terms of less investment *“should not imply the violation of the international conventions states ratified, and priorities should be established regarding the fulfilment of the principles established by law”*; a children’s rights perspective should be observed in all social services and measures related to children and youths. *“Better funding of social projects and education”* in general was brought up as desirable. Other examples for social and educational services were advancement in the accessibility of psychotherapy by making it free of charge, and the funding of support programmes for infants and families, located at schools and elsewhere. Another recommendation aimed at the institution of school: *“A European-wide school bullying prevention programme [...] would be useful in all European countries”*. Along these lines, another respondent advocated that school education should include more social learning.

Parents and other closely related persons should also be involved and addressed in crime prevention strategies as juvenile delinquency is related to their family circumstances and their peers. Young people themselves should be involved as an active part (not only as a target) of prevention programmes because *“they contribute a valuable perspective on the problem as they build skills that will help them make positive contributions to their neighbourhoods”*. The importance of community-based approaches was also reflected in the response of another expert who emphasized the role of neighbourhood policing that serves as a deterrent factor and at the same time fosters a sense of security.

In general, preventive measures should have priority over punitive measures. A related promising approach is seen in non-penal alternatives because *“there is no scientific documentation showing that punitive measures in whatever form they take will reduce youth crime. In particular ‘prisonisation’ is likely to enhance rather than reduce criminal activities”*. Amongst judicial actors and prosecutors, *“awareness [...] of the issue of crime prevention, mostly of the importance of early intervention”* should be raised. One expert put social reintegration in the focus, another one proposed restorative practices, strength-based initiatives and the desistance paradigm.

In addition to these rather general subjects of crime prevention, participants named some more specific types of crime that should be targeted in the future. This included the *“promotion and reinforcement of EU anti-racist policies”* which should be approached in local and peer programmes, and the fight against organized crime. One respondent put emphasis on tackling both conventional and organized crime committed by inner-EU migrants in the wake of social problems and lack of perspectives.

9.3 Learning from each other

In the final questions experts were asked about two complementary issues. On the one hand they were requested to examine national programmes they knew in their home country with regard to possible suggestions for EU policies. On the other hand they were asked about policies on the European level or on the level of other countries which would be desirable to be implemented in their home country. However, sometimes respondents simply referred to fields where they see need for action, without pointing to countries with exemplary policies in these areas. The following section is a selection of experts' recommendations.

Portugal

The field of locally based interventions in Portugal was seen as commendable. One programme was central in this respect: "Programa Escolhas" follows a community as well as a multi-agency approach. *"This programme supports, encourages, and enables local partners to develop local strategies to tackle social problems, including neighbourhood crime and youth problems"*. There should be more efforts to devise programmes like this and to accomplish participation. *"In this field much could be learned from other countries where the involvement of local communities and individuals is much more pro-active than the registered one in the Portuguese society"*.

Another programme in the field of neighbourhood policing was brought up: "Policamento de Proximidade" focuses on avoiding to bring children and youths into the juvenile justice system. Not unlike the "Programa Escolhas" this programme also aims at activating local knowledge and at the identification of local solutions.

However, need for improvement was also seen, especially in the fields of cooperation, exchange and integrated policy. As a noteworthy example for coordination between state and private institutions, the Irish model of "Young Persons Probation" was brought up which focuses on community based sanctions, restorative justice and offers counselling to offenders. Another respondent saw room for improvement in the fields of restorative justice and alternative, non-penal forms of conflict resolution as well. Diversion and mediation were reported to be far from an adequate and effective implementation in Portugal.

Germany

Experts provided a quite diverse compilation of exemplary practices in Germany. The main focus was put on professionalization and (institutionalized) cooperation. *"Most stakeholders in (youth) crime prevention [...] have absolved a higher education and with this learned to plan and implement, sometimes also evaluate projects"*. The solid education at universities of applied science was highlighted as crucial in this respect. *"All relevant stakeholders for youth crime prevention have a legal mandate to act and to cooperate with the other agencies"*; police, probation officers, youth welfare offices and youth welfare services are to cooperate in the service of prevention. As an institutionalized practice of concerted efforts, the "houses of juvenile justice" as established in some German cities came up, where police, public prosecutors, and juvenile probation officers of the local youth welfare office work together *"to identify young people with high risk becoming 'routine offenders' and develop specially tailored measures for tertiary preven-*

tion". An additional accent lies on rapid proceedings. Other recommendations following the German model were the involvement of local communities and juveniles in particular in social projects, and offender-oriented investigations (instead of offense-oriented) as they are seen as a reliable practice with regard to multiple and chronic offenders.

However, there is seen room for improvement in the field of cooperation, too. One respondent mentions mandatory cross-institutional cooperation in aspects of *community policing*, following the example set by the UK as an approach which should be transferred to Germany to force public agencies and non-statutory stakeholders to work together more closely. Also referring to the UK, a proper theoretical foundation for and evaluation of prevention activities is desired.

Belgium

One expert mentioned mediation, incentive-based forms of crime prevention and tailored measures for each primary, secondary and tertiary prevention as established and successful practices particularly in local settings (e.g. *"hot spot neighbourhoods"*) where a good cooperation between stakeholders can be found.

Another respondent perceives Belgian law enforcement to work too slowly regarding conflicts with the need for quick reaction in the sanctioning of juvenile delinquency. The Netherlands are seen as a possible example concerning quicker reactions.

Denmark

The SSP-cooperation in Denmark (with similar approaches adopted in other Nordic countries) stands for *"local/municipal efforts to working together amongst the social services, schools and the police (SSP), sharing (weekly) information about current youth problems"*. Two other recommended Danish efforts are programmes promoted by known figures that procure employment to youths at risk, and online initiatives that offer information dealing with certain forms of (sexual) abuse.

Without labelling these fields as particularly insufficient in Denmark, a look across the borders was highlighted as reasonable in some areas. A need for exchange is seen with regard to the handling of problems in multicultural settings and to dealing with female youth offences.

Estonia

A national youth violence and crime prevention programme has been worked out, yielding first results which could be interesting for other European countries, too. Good results are already reported for the practice of expedited procedures regarding offences committed by juveniles. While children and youth at risk are in the focus of Estonian politics, there is still a need for early intervention programmes and the active promotion of involving young people and NGOs in crime prevention. Need for action is also seen with regard to cooperation between different institutions active in the field of crime prevention.

Hungary

The Hungarian practice of probation was seen as exemplary; the probation service *“works on a high quality level”* due to *“juvenile-focus programmes within the frames of probation office”*. In some other fields the respondent expressed a need for development in Hungary by referring to several examples of good practices from other countries which he sees as worthy of imitation. First of all, programmes from Finland and Germany serve as potential role models for *“early intervention programmes by focusing on sensitive groups (such as minorities, the poor, children with hyperactivity, HDH symptoms and children at foster homes!!!)”*.

Other requests aimed at the provision of more independence for judges and prosecutors in their choice of sanctions and the training of police officers specialized on juveniles to offer young people appropriate treatment in the criminal procedure. Also there's a need for incentives (in terms of social respect and adequate wages) for teachers to deal with *“problematic teenagers”* along the example set by German and Scandinavian programmes.

Italy

For Italy, a high relevance of family is reported. This cohesion offers obvious benefits but is also seen as a problem when young Italians are dependent on their families or show a rather passive attitude. This problem is also seen in relation to the absence of a guaranteed minimum income, thus preventing adolescents from being self-sufficient.

An interesting suggestion is made with regard to European cohesion measures, meaning a harmonization of economic performance and living standards. *“Europe should carefully avoid the mistakes made in the Italian policies for the development of the Mezzogiorno. Unfortunately, so far the reverse happened”*.

Northern Ireland

Two examples of well-established and exemplary practices were reported. Firstly, community-based restorative justice measures are quite advanced in Northern Ireland. According to the respondent, some of these initiatives *“represent a model for international best practice”*. Secondly, initiatives led by ex-prisoners were named. *“Because of the conflict in Northern Ireland, there is a very large and very strong community of ex-prisoner activists on both sides of the political divide who have utilised their grassroots community legitimacy [...] to become youth workers”*.

In contrast, the prison service (in particular with regard to adolescent offenders) in Northern Ireland is seen as a very deficient institution desperately in need of international guidance.

Romania

Crime prevention in Romania is seen as quite rudimentary. Social and economic problems are described as an unbeneficial frame requiring attention, too. According to the respondent, schools in Romania are underfunded and disorganized, with teachers being targets of violence. The economy is in regress, intensifying the problem of (youth) unemployment, and society becomes more and more polarized while cor-

ruption and organised crime prevail. *“Crime prevention activities are simply irrelevant”,* with the bodies of law enforcement being unable to deal with youth delinquency. As a countermeasure, situational and community-based forms of crime prevention should be transferred to Romania. Cooperation between civil society, communities, and law enforcement is seen as a key issue in this respect. Additionally, European models for probation and restorative justice are perceived as *“extremely valuable because these institutions are very recent and very inexperienced in Romania”*.

According to the Romanian respondent, children are particularly at risk if their parents – in their effort to provide for the family – leave them with other relatives or even by themselves for long periods. Also children and adolescents lacking perspectives, having been uprooted, or living in difficult conditions are prone to crime both as victims and as offenders. The expert sees Romania heading towards being a *“‘criminogenic society’ and a prolific source of exporting crime into western society”* as the state is unable to find ways of good governance and especially to handle the most pressing problems, e.g. unemployment.

9.4 Summary and conclusions

Due to the small sample size, the answers can’t provide a comprehensive picture of expert views across Europe. Respondents’ frames of reference differ distinctly, and there haven’t been enough responses to carve out national or professional distinctions. Even so, contrasts between respondents from different countries are quite striking.

The economic crisis at hand, and the unpredictability of the near future makes elaborate guesses for a 15 year time frame (as established in the first question) complicated, and the answers especially of respondents from those countries which are particularly troubled by these circumstances seem to reflect the current state of insecurity. The German experts, being situated in a country with rather stable outlooks and a comparatively low level of unemployment (particularly among youths), are less fixated at the international crisis, the marginalization of vast portions of the population, and social conflicts. They do mention economic problems and budgetary restraints, but the emphasis on these issues is distinctly more pronounced for the Southern European countries. However, the essential importance of chances and perspectives being available to young people was seen by several respondents, independent of their home country and profession.

Furthermore, respondents across several countries and professions put particular emphasis on the importance of integrated multi-agency approaches and an exchange of knowledge about best practices. Also the role of local stakeholders and community-based action was stressed as important. Overall, the need for professionalization, more basic research, and evaluation of prevention measures (including exchange of proven and tested programmes) was underlined. The potential of conflicts (e.g. along ethnical lines) due to an increase of competition on the job market should be kept in sight, according to experts.

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10 Summary and Conclusions

Thomas Görger, Anabel Taefi & Benjamin Kraus

In the years 2011 and 2012, the study „Youth deviance and youth violence: A European multi-agency perspective on best practices in prevention and control“ (YouPrev) has successfully been conducted in six European countries (Belgium, Germany, Hungary, Portugal, Slovenia and Spain).

The main goal of the project was to deepen knowledge on prevention and control of juvenile delinquent behaviour and to make this knowledge available to relevant professional groups and institutions. In order to accomplish this goal, multiple methodological approaches were taken. These approaches included:

- reviews of existing approaches to control and prevention of juvenile crime and juvenile violence via expert surveys and analyses of available materials;
- local studies of juvenile delinquency and its prevention in urban and rural areas in each country; these studies were based upon surveys among adolescents in school contexts and on interviews with multi-professional samples of practitioners who – due to their professional connection to the field of adolescent problem behaviour – could be regarded as local experts;
- Delphi surveys in which practitioners, policy makers, and researchers were asked for their views and estimates regarding future developments in the field of youth crime / youth violence, the challenges arising from it and the perspectives emerging for prevention and control;
- national and international workshops in which results of the preceding methodological steps were discussed with interdisciplinary groups of experts;
- finally, manuals for continuing education of police and social work professionals were set up in each country; brochures summarizing key results and pointing out policy implications were published, and findings were presented and discussed at an international conference.

Findings are presented in this volume and in greater detail in national reports (in national languages). All project documents are available at the project website www.youprev.eu. Some key points shall be highlighted in this chapter.

10.1 Juvenile delinquency as a universal developmental phenomenon and as socially embedded

YouPrev results emphasize that juvenile delinquency is on the one hand a universal developmental phenomenon. Breaking rules is part of the process of growing up, and most adolescents commit some offences during their adolescence. For the majority of young persons, involvement in delinquency is biographically limited to a certain span of time and rarely goes beyond petty offences.

As much as being a universal developmental phenomenon, juvenile delinquency is also socially embedded. Findings from YouPrev school surveys show the relevance of family and peers. Growing up under conditions of low or unstable parental supervision, spending one's time with delinquent friends are both highly significant risk factors for delinquent behaviour. Social disorganization of the neighbourhood is a risk factor for juvenile violence.

Beyond family, peers, and neighbourhood, expert interviews point at the impact of the wider social and economic context. During the two years of research, the participating countries were very differentially affected by the deep economic crisis which is currently challenging most governments and economies. This refers to youth unemployment and lack of job perspectives for school students as well as to cutbacks in government spending in the field of social policy in general and of juvenile social work in particular.

10.2 Juvenile delinquency as both stable and changing

Taking a look into the future in the Delphi surveys, experts across countries pointed at the dual character of juvenile delinquency as a stable and time-bound phenomenon. On the one hand, youth crime will retain its basic characteristics, well known from a long tradition of criminological research: in the years and decades to come, it will still be widespread and mostly of low severity; for most youngsters it will remain a transitory developmental phenomenon, while a relatively small group of prolific and persistent offenders will keep committing a large percentage of all offences.

On the other hand, juvenile delinquency will be affected by large societal trends. Taking into perspective the years up to 2025, experts mainly pointed at three developments which are going to impact phenomenology and volume of youth crime:

- The ongoing demographic change will lead to shrinking youth cohorts. Since young people (especially young men) are and have always been overrepresented in crime statistics (and also show higher levels of delinquency in self-report studies), it can be assumed that the changing age structure of European societies will lead to a reduction in the overall volume of youth crime.
- Technological changes, especially the ever growing importance of electronic media are changing the face of juvenile delinquency. Modern electronic communication and data transfer create opportunities for many offences. Phenomena like cyber-bullying or digital copyright offences were unheard of a generation ago and are widespread today. Online fraud is an offence with a steep increase in police crime statistics in the last year, although mainly committed by adults. According to experts' views, processes of "virtualization" of youth crime will continue in the future by opening up new opportunity structures (like in the case of online fraud) and by changing the appearance of offences while maintaining their fundamental characteristics (like in the case of cyber-bullying).

In the years to come, youth crime will be affected by economic trends and developments in diverse fields of policy. Experts pointed at the European economic crisis and at tendencies towards growing inequality and marginalization of parts of the population. In recent years, research has pointed at inequality as a growing social problem and a matter of political concern (see e.g. Angelini, Farina & Pianta, 2009; Franzini & Pianta, 2009; OECD, 2008). This may have multiple effects on juvenile delinquency by reducing opportunities for youngsters from disadvantaged neighbourhoods and marginalized social groups in the educational system and on the labour market and thus strengthening tendencies towards delinquent behaviour. Economic crises and policies governed by the principle of austerity limit state spending for the educational system and in the field of social policy and may contribute to a widening and deepening gap between social groups and milieus.

10.3 Quality indicators and need for improvement in prevention of juvenile crime

Across countries, experts shared many views on quality criteria and indicators in youth crime prevention. High-quality prevention measures can be characterized by a number of overarching features:

- They are targeted at risk factors and protective factors. Prevention should try to strengthen protective factors such as good parenting and access to a high level of education; prevention should also aim at reducing risk factors for criminal behaviour such as substance abuse, involvement with delinquent peers and a high degree of (perceived) social disorganization in the neighbourhood.
- Prevention can be directed at factors close to the delinquent act (as in the case of most types of situational crime prevention). However, experts stressed the importance of prevention measures at earlier stages and directed at at-risk populations (i.e. going the way of selective or even indicated prevention). Programs like the Nurse-Family Partnership model with its basic cornerstone of home visits by nurses to vulnerable first-time parents follow such an approach. Long-term evaluation results are promising (see Kitzman et al., 2010, Olds et al., 2010), especially for girls (Eckenrode et al., 2010), though there is still some doubt about type and strength of effects that can be reached (Macdonald et al., 2007).
- Quality prevention includes and connects multiple institutions and professions. Police, school, and social work can be considered the most important institutions in youth crime prevention. While cooperation entails the need to broaden one's perspective and to communicate with practitioners following a different professional logic, the complexity of the factors that have an impact on juvenile delinquency requires a multi-disciplinary approach.
- Prevention should include evaluative measures. While randomized controlled trials will rarely be possible in everyday prevention work, process evaluation starts with defining goals and indicators of goal achievement and can be used as a means of quality management in prevention projects.

Compared to these high standards and to the need for preventive work, experts across countries noted a number of deficits in "real world" youth crime prevention: There is simply too little prevention, with policies still being based on punitive criminal justice approaches. Prevention often lacks theoretical and empirical foundation and is launched in an unsystematic manner. Prevention is too seldom accompanied by evaluative measures, and it often lacks stable funding. While the need for multi-professional cooperation is widely accepted, prevention of juvenile delinquency is still too often either a matter of school or of police or of juvenile social work alone.

10.4 Heterogeneity of youth involvement in delinquency and implications for prevention

In line with other criminological research, reaching back as far as the Philadelphia cohort study (Wolfgang, Figlio & Sellin, 1972), YouPrev findings show the differential involvement of young people in delinquent behaviour. While the majority of adolescents remain free from frequent and severe delinquent behaviour, a small group of offenders is repeatedly involved in offending and especially in more severe and violent offences. This predominantly male group is disproportionately characterized by multiple stressors and risk factors such as a relatively low educational level, broken home situations, and low parental supervision. They often show a high level of substance use, have delinquent friends and grow up in neighbourhood characterized by social disorganization. Their level of self-control is relatively low, and so is their identification with conventional norms. Their families often have a history of migration, and the main language of the country of residence is in a number of cases not the language spoken at home.

While for the majority of young people, their infrequent and petty acts of delinquency can be regarded with a good deal of serenity, repeat and persistent offenders represent a different level of risk for the community as well as for their own developmental perspectives. Research (see for example Lobley & Smith, 2007; Sampson & Laub, 1993; 2003) as well as police and criminal justice institutions and the field of social work have taken up this differentiation and started to develop concepts for what may be called “repeat offenders”, “multiple offenders” or “persistent offenders” in the police discourse and “multi-problem youths” in social work terms (see for example Braga, 2008; Burton-Page, Calfa, Napolano, Osmani & Pagels, 2009; Schumacher & Kurz, 2000; Sonka & Riesner, 2012; Steffen & Hepp, 2009).

YouPrev findings support the need for tailoring preventive measures to this minority of young people. Given the multitude of strains and risk factors which characterize the group of persistent offenders, the need for cooperation between social work services and the police / criminal justice system becomes evident. Persistent severe offending can in many cases be regarded as an – especially troublesome – component of an overall deviant lifestyle and problematic living conditions and socialization experiences. While the police and the criminal justice system clearly have a role in dealing with this problem (and experts especially pointed at the importance of a short time span between offence and sanction), it also requires interventions with an impact on burdens and risk factors associated with repeat juvenile offending. However, the risk factors accumulated in the small group of repeat offenders should not only be targeted by specific crime prevention measures, but are in fact not less than tasks to be addressed on a governmental level: Enhancing societal inclusion of marginalized groups is still a key challenge of social policies.

10.5 Young people’s views on crime prevention: lay conceptions mirroring research

YouPrev findings clearly show that young people have concepts of factors influencing their behaviour and hence of delinquency prevention. In accordance with criminological research, adolescents attribute the strongest behavioural influence to parents and peers. Compared to these “everyday social agents”, professional and institutional influence on young people’s behaviour is considered to be less strong. While the police as the “specialist institution for control of delinquent behaviour” are rated quite positively, the

perceived influence of the school, social workers, or sports coaches is much lower. This holds true for delinquent and non-delinquent youth, although generally a higher level of involvement in delinquency is linked to more pessimistic ratings of the possible influence of preventive actors.

YouPrev survey results also show that young persons hold relatively elaborated concepts of preventive approaches to be initiated by school – especially with regard to violence prevention and to a somewhat lesser extent to prevention of substance abuse. These concepts partially mirror approaches endorsed and taken in prevention practice. Generally, punitive approaches are not rejected in toto. But compared to other approaches aiming at prevention via person-centred communication and improving educational and labour market perspectives, they find less support. Again, findings are similar for delinquent and non-delinquent youths with delinquent youngsters generally being somewhat more reluctant.

These analyses of young persons' concepts of successful crime prevention provide hints as to the accessibility of youngsters through preventive measures and agents. They stress the importance of considering interpersonal networks and informal social control as key factors for success or failure of preventive measures. In recent years, there has been a discovery and re-discovery of the importance of peer networks for juvenile crime and crime prevention (Dijkstra et al., 2010; Dishion & Tipsord, 2011; Dishion, Véronneau, & Myers, 2010; O'Donnell & Williams, 2012). Research reported in this volume emphasizes the importance of peers and peer behaviour and points to the fact that youngsters are well aware of the relevance of informal networks.

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