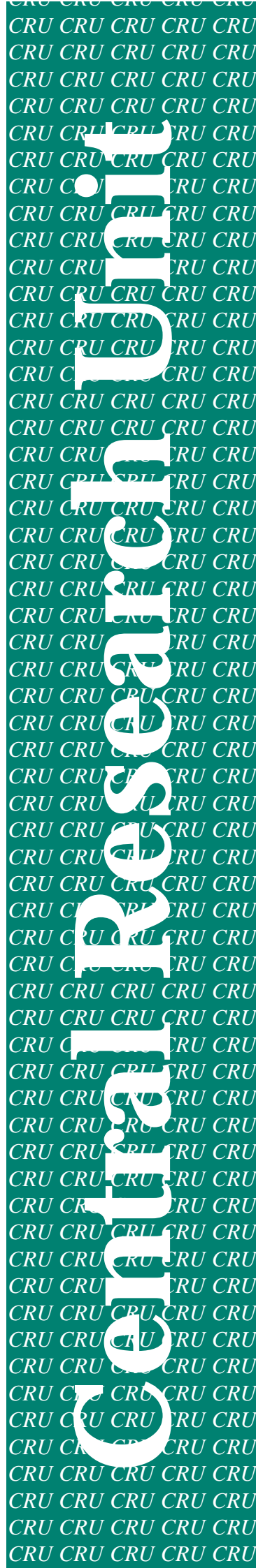


# VIOLENCE IN SCOTLAND: FINDINGS FROM THE 2000 SCOTTISH CRIME SURVEY



SCOTTISH EXECUTIVE

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**VIOLENCE IN SCOTLAND:  
FINDINGS FROM  
THE 2000 SCOTTISH CRIME SURVEY**

**MVA**

**Scottish Executive Central Research Unit  
2002**

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## **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

The Scottish Crime Survey (SCS) measures crimes directly experienced by people living in private households. The 2000 SCS is the fifth survey of its kind to be carried out in Scotland since the early 1980s. This report presents the findings on the extent and characteristics of violent crime in Scotland.

### **MAIN FINDINGS**

- Violent crime (defined as assaults, robbery and snatch thefts) in Scotland is rare. Only 3% of respondents had experienced a violent crime during 1999, covering 127 victims and 246 violent incidents.
- Violence perpetrated by acquaintances accounted for over a third (36%) of all incidents; attacks by strangers for just under a third (29%); domestic violence for almost a quarter (23%); and mugging for around one in eight (12%).
- The SCS shows an increase in violent crime of around a third (29%) between 1996 and 2000. This increase is partly due to a new question on domestic violence in the 2000 survey, which encouraged respondents to report such incidents to the survey as crimes.
- Crime surveys have consistently shown levels of violent crime to be higher in England and Wales than in Scotland. However, the gap has narrowed considerably between 1995 and 1999.
- The level of repeat victimisation has increased since the 1996 SCS. Whilst almost three-quarters (71%) of victims of violent crime had been victimised only once, nearly a quarter had been victimised three or more times.
- Victims of violence are most often young males. Fifteen per cent of men aged 16-25 had been the victim of a violent crime in the past year. Most assailants (85%) were also male and around a quarter (24%) were under the age of 18.
- Nearly three-quarters (72%) of the assailants in violent crimes were reported by the victim to be under the influence of drink at the time of the incident, and just over one third (37%) to be under the influence of drugs.
- A weapon was used in just under a third (30%) of violent incidents and almost two-thirds (62%) of violent incidents resulted in personal injury. Generally, the injuries were of a non-serious nature (e.g. bruises, black eyes and scratches).
- Despite the overall increase in the level of violent crime, levels of anxiety about being: physically attacked in the street; mugged or robbed; and sexually assaulted or raped have fallen since the 1996 SCS. Women are more anxious about violent crime than men.

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This report presents the findings on violent crime from the 2000 Scottish Crime Survey (SCS). The SCS measures crimes directly experienced by people living in private households. The 2000 SCS is the fifth survey of its kind to be carried out in Scotland since the early 1980s. The first two sweeps in 1982 and 1988 were conducted as part of the British Crime Survey and only covered Central and Southern Scotland. A separate SCS was introduced in 1993 which covered the whole of mainland Scotland, including the larger islands. This was repeated in 1996 and 2000.

This report aims to answer the following key questions about violent crime in Scotland:

- How much violent crime is there in Scotland?
- Who is at most risk of violent crime?
- When and where do violent incidents occur?
- Who commits violent crime?
- What types of force and weapons are used?
- How much violence results in injury?
- What impact does violent crime have on victims?
- How much do people worry about violent crime?
- What do people do to protect themselves?

## CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DATA

Violent crimes are more difficult to quantify than crimes such as theft. This is partly because they are less common, and therefore more difficult to estimate precisely in the survey. Also, there may be under-reporting if individuals do not consider themselves to be 'victims' (such as in cases of pub brawls, or incidents where no actual injury resulted). In addition, victims may not disclose incidents of domestic violence and some types of violence may be regarded as too sensitive to report. Incidents of rape and other sexual assaults are not included in the analysis presented here, because household surveys like the SCS are unlikely to provide valid estimates.

In this report 'violent crimes' comprise all incidents of assault, robbery and snatch theft. 'Assault' comprises incidents where serious or other wounding was intentionally inflicted, and actual or attempted common assault resulting in slight injury or no injury. 'Robbery' refers to actual or attempted theft of property from the person, accompanied by force or threat of force. 'Snatch thefts' are thefts from the person which involve some element of force as well as speed (e.g. pulling a handbag off a victim's shoulder). Threats are excluded from 'violent crime' in this report.

In statistical terms there was a small number of cases of violence<sup>1</sup>, most of which were incidents of common assault. Therefore, care must be taken when examining their characteristics and generalising from the results. When the data are disaggregated into sub-groups (for example, by gender), the confidence with which we can generalise is reduced further.

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<sup>1</sup> In the 2000 SCS, there were 141 victim forms relating to violence, covering 246 incidents and 127 victims; in the 1996 SCS there were 175 victim forms, covering 233 incidents and 150 victims.

The sample sizes reported are as above, unless otherwise specified. Non-responses and 'Don't know' have been excluded from the analysis unless otherwise specified. All data have been weighted and include responses from the whole of Scotland. Differences which are indicated to be significant are at the 95% level of confidence or greater.

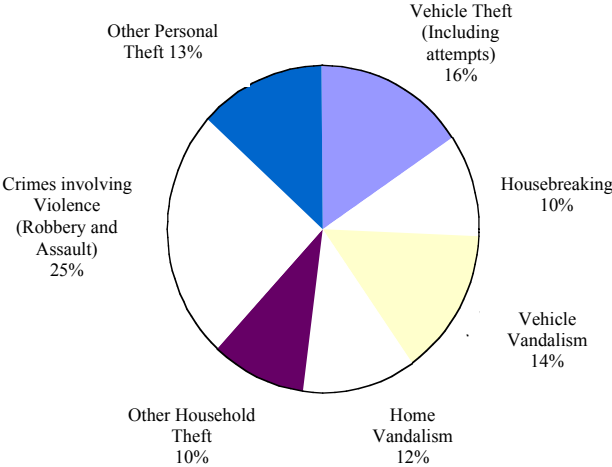
Respondents were asked about their experience of violent crime in the previous year. The information in this report therefore relates to violent crime during 1999.

# CHAPTER TWO: THE EXTENT OF VIOLENT CRIME IN SCOTLAND

## INCIDENCE OF VIOLENT CRIME IN SCOTLAND

The estimated total number of crimes involving violence (robbery, assault and snatch thefts) in Scotland in 1999 was 211,400<sup>2</sup>. These accounted for one quarter (25%) of all crimes recorded in the 2000 survey. However, as Figure 2.1 shows, the vast majority of crimes in 1999 were against property. The proportion of all SCS offences accounted for by violence has increased since 1995, when these types of crimes accounted for 16% of all crimes reported. To a great extent, this reflects a sharp drop in non-violent crime, although there has also been an increase in violent crime reported to the survey since 1995.

**Figure 2.1: Distribution of crimes in Scotland, 1999**



Notes  
1 Source: 2000 SCS, all victim forms, n = 1,474.

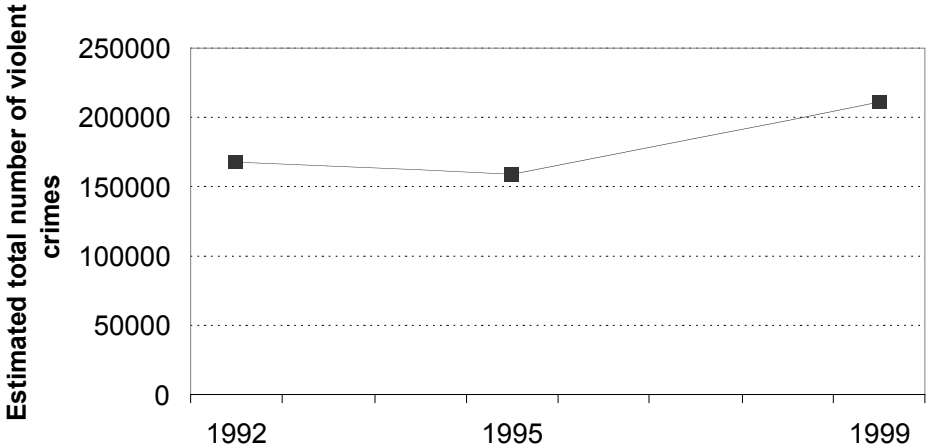
## TRENDS IN VIOLENT CRIME

There was a 29%<sup>3</sup> increase in the estimated total number of violent crimes (robbery, assault and snatch theft) (Figure 2.2).

<sup>2</sup> Because this estimate is derived from a survey sample there will be a margin of error around the figure. We can be 95% confident that the true number of violent crimes in Scotland in 1999 lies between 159,226 and 263,537 incidents.

<sup>3</sup> The SCS 2000 ‘First Results’ Research Findings paper and Overview Report record a rise of 33% in the level of crime. This is because a slightly narrower definition of violent crime was used in these reports, restricted to assault and robbery. The figure presented in this report includes snatch theft and is rounded to the nearest 100.

**Figure 2.2: Trend in Estimated Total Number of Violent Crimes in Scotland**



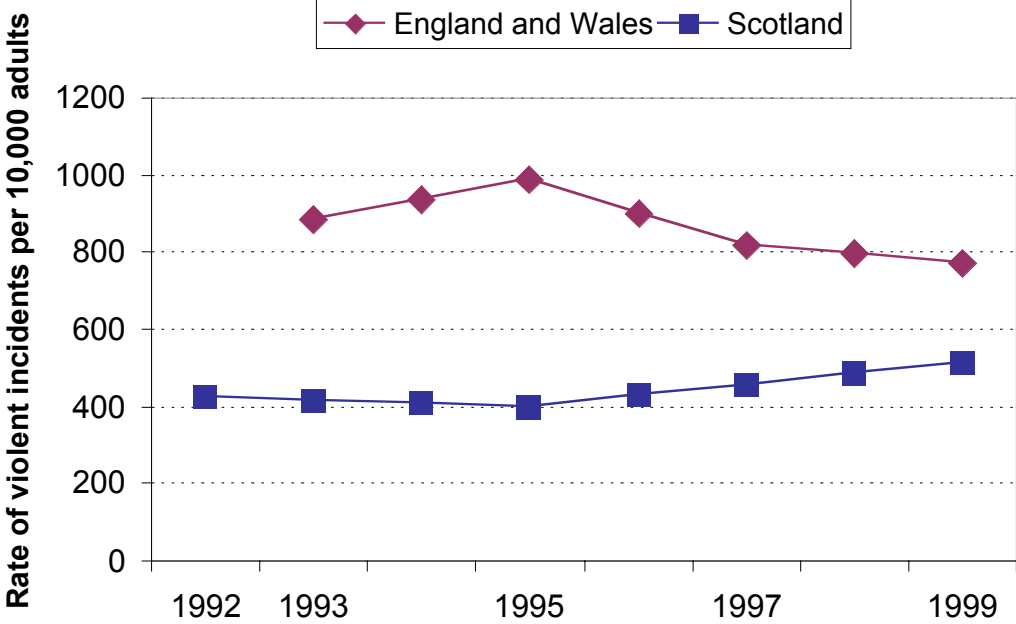
- Notes
- 1 Source 1993 SCS, n=5,030; 1996 SCS, n=5,045; 2000 SCS, n=5059
  - 2 In 1992, there were 172,754 violent crimes (robbery, assault and snatch theft), in 1995 the level dropped to 163,423 and in 1999 it rose to 211,382.
  - 3 In 1999 the confidence intervals round this estimate for violent crimes (robbery, assault and snatch theft) were +/- 52,156. Due to the large confidence intervals, the change is not significant.

The upward trend in recorded violence can be partly attributed to a new domestic violence ‘screener’ question which was incorporated in the survey for the first time in 2000. This had the effect of increasing the number of serious assault cases reported to the 2000 survey by 34% and contributed 10% to the overall increase in violent crime. The increase in violent crimes reported to the survey did not reach statistical significance. However, police recorded crime statistics over the same period also showed an increase in violent crime (16%) suggesting that there has been a real increase. Nevertheless, violent crime in Scotland is still rare, with only 2.8% of the population having experienced such a crime in 1999.

**COMPARISON WITH ENGLAND AND WALES**

SCS and BCS findings have consistently shown the rate of violent crimes per 10,000 adults to be higher in England and Wales than in Scotland. However, the gap has narrowed between 1995 and 1999 as Figure 2.3 shows. In 1995 the two crime surveys estimated the rate of violent crimes (assault, robbery and snatch theft) per 10,000 adults to be 399 in Scotland and 989 in England and Wales. In 1999 the estimated rate had risen to 514 in Scotland, but had fallen to 773 in England and Wales.

Figure 2.3: Trends in Rates of Violent Crime: Scotland and England and Wales 1992-1999



Note: Source 1993 SCS (all Scotland, weighted data), n=5,030; 1996 SCS (all Scotland, weighted data), n=5,045; 2000 SCS (all Scotland, weighted data), n=5,059); 1994, 1996, 1998 and 2000 BCS (weighted data)

# CHAPTER THREE: CHARACTERISTICS OF VIOLENT CRIME IN SCOTLAND

## TYOLOGY OF VIOLENCE

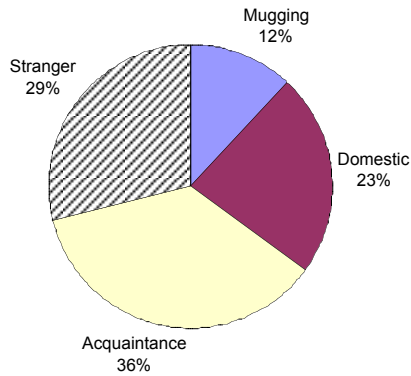
Violent crimes can be regrouped to provide a typology of violence according to the relationship between the assailant(s) and the victim. This was originally developed by the Home Office for the 1996 British Crime Survey in England and Wales.

<b>The BCS Typology of Violence</b>	
<b>Mugging</b>	All robberies, attempted robberies and snatch thefts, irrespective of any acquaintance between victim and offender.
<b>Domestic Violence</b>	Incidents involving partners, ex-partners, household members and other relatives.
<b>Acquaintance Violence</b>	All violence, other than mugging, in which the victim knew one or more of the offenders at least by sight, but excluding domestic violence.
<b>Stranger Violence</b>	All violence, other than mugging, in which the victim knew none of the offenders.

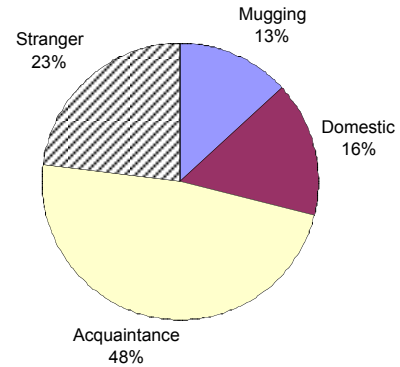
Figure 3.1 shows the proportion of violent crimes which fell into each category in 1995 and 1999. The most common type of violence in 1999 was acquaintance violence, which accounted for over a third (36%) of violent incidents. This is less than in 1995 where acquaintance violence accounted for half (48%) of violent incidents. Violence perpetrated by strangers accounted for 29% of all incidents in 1999. The proportion of domestic violence has increased markedly since 1995, and this can be at least partly attributed to the introduction of the new ‘screener’ question in 1999 which encouraged people to report such incidents to the survey as crimes. Mugging is the most rare of all violent crimes, accounting for only one in eight of such crimes in 1999.

**Figure 3.1: Types of Violence**

**1999**



**1995**



Notes

- 1 Source: 1996 SCS (all Scotland, weighted data), n=5,045; 2000 SCS (all Scotland, weighted data), n=5,059.
- 2 Only relates to all incidents of violence.

## WHO IS MOST AT RISK OF VIOLENCE?

Overall, 2.8% of respondents were the victim of violence during 1999, compared with 2.5% in 1995. This is a comparatively low rise when considered alongside the larger increase in the estimated total number of offences over the same period (+29% for violent crimes including robbery, assault and snatch theft) and indicates that those who experienced violent crime did so on average more often in 1999 than in 1995.

However, the risk of victimisation differs between types of household. The groups most likely to have been victimised in 1999 were:

- those aged 16-24
- males
- those in Scottish \*Acorn group E (better-off council areas, often owners)
- people who live in private-rented property
- those living in high rise flats.

There are, of course, relationships between these groups. For example, young people are more likely to rent their property.

Young males were the most likely to be the victims of violent crime, with 15% of males aged 16-24 reporting such crimes. Only seven incidents of violence against respondents aged 60 or over were recorded by the SCS.

**Table 3.1: Level of Violent Crime by Age and Sex**

	<b>% of respondents victimised</b>
<b>Men</b>	
16-24	15
25-59	4
60+	1
All men	5
<b>Women</b>	
16-24	2
25-59	2
60+	1
All women	2
Total	3

In 1995 the frequency of evenings spent away from home was a significant predictor of the risk of violent crime. However, the relationship is not as clear cut in 1999. It is still true that people of all ages who spent almost every evening away from home were much more likely to be a victim of violence than people who went out less frequently<sup>4</sup>. However, those who never spent evenings away from home were equally at risk of violent crime as those away from home at least once a week or at least once a month.

Young people were, however, the most likely to regularly spend evenings away from home and this may partly explain the relatively high incidence of violent crime victimisation for this age group. The three variables, frequency of evenings away from home, age and occurrence of violent crime are inter-related. It is more difficult to determine the causal relationship. It may be that young people are more likely to be victims of violent crime because they go out more, but this likelihood could be less to do with age per se and more to do with other behavioural factors.

**Table 3.2: Frequency of Evenings Spent Away from Home by Age Group**

<b>Frequency of Evenings Away from Home</b>	<b>% of Respondents</b>		
	<b>16-24</b>	<b>25-59</b>	<b>60+</b>
Almost every day	20	8	2
At least once a week	50	40	27
At least once a month	13	17	17
Less often	10	23	26
Never	6	12	27

Note:

1. In 1996 SCS the variable 'Frequency of Evenings Away from Home' was only available in the Main B questionnaire, n=2,511, whereas in 2000 SCS this question was asked of the whole sample (n= 5,059).

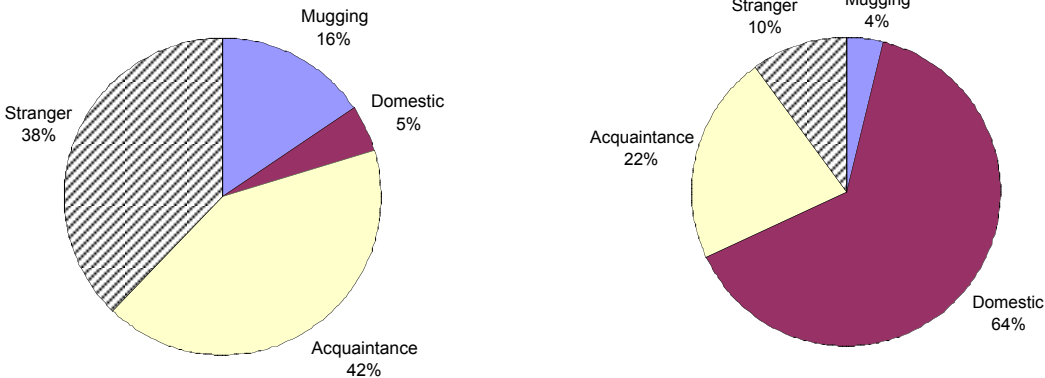
<sup>4</sup> Frequency of evenings spent away from home was determined for all respondents (n=5,010)

As we have seen, men were more likely to be victims of violent crimes than women (Table 3.1). Men and women also tended to experience very different types of violence (Figure 3.2). Sixty-four per cent of incidents of violence against women, but only 5% of incidents against men, were classed as domestic violence. Acquaintance violence accounted for 42% of incidents against men (a fall from 58% in 1996 but higher than the 1992 figure of 28%) and 22% of incidents against women (a fall from the 1996 figure of 39% and closer to the 1992 figure of 28%).

**Figure 3.2: Types of Violence, by Sex (2000 SCS)**

**Male Victims**

**Female Victims**



Note:  
1 Only relates to all incidents of violence.

**MULTIPLE VICTIMISATION**

Of the 3% of adults who had been the victim of violent crime during 1999, 71% had been the victim of a single incident, 6% had experienced two violent crimes and 23% had experienced three or more. There has been an increase of 10% in people experiencing multiple victimisation since 1996, although the figure for people experiencing only one incident of violent crime remains the same. The 23% of victims who had experienced three or more violent crimes accounted for 51% of the violent incidents recorded by the SCS<sup>5</sup>.

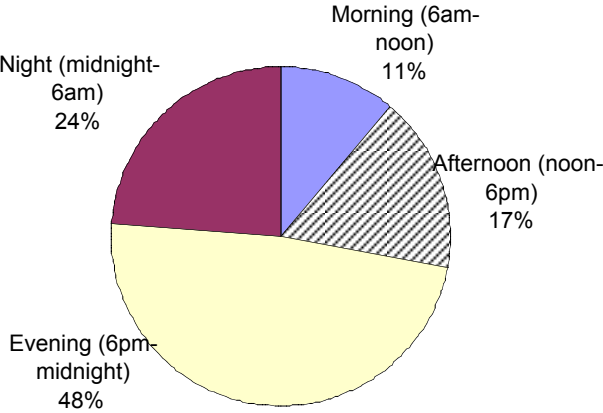
**WHEN AND WHERE DO VIOLENT CRIMES HAPPEN?**

Of those incidents where the victim was able to allocate the time of the assault to a six hour period (in 97% of cases the victim was able to do this), almost half (48%) occurred between 6pm and midnight.

Just over half of violent incidents (52%) occurred at weekends. The most common time of day for violence was during the evening, and the least common was during the morning (Figure 3.3).

<sup>5</sup> This last figure is not weighted and relates to actual incidents of crime.

**Figure 3.3: Timing of violent crimes**



Evening is the most common timing of a violent incident for all types of violent crime, domestic, stranger, acquaintance but was highest for mugging (83%).

The most common location of the violent incident was inside the victim’s own home (17%), followed by at place of work - inside building (16%) and thirdly, inside pub/club (16%).

**Table 3.3: What respondent was doing at the time of the violent incident**

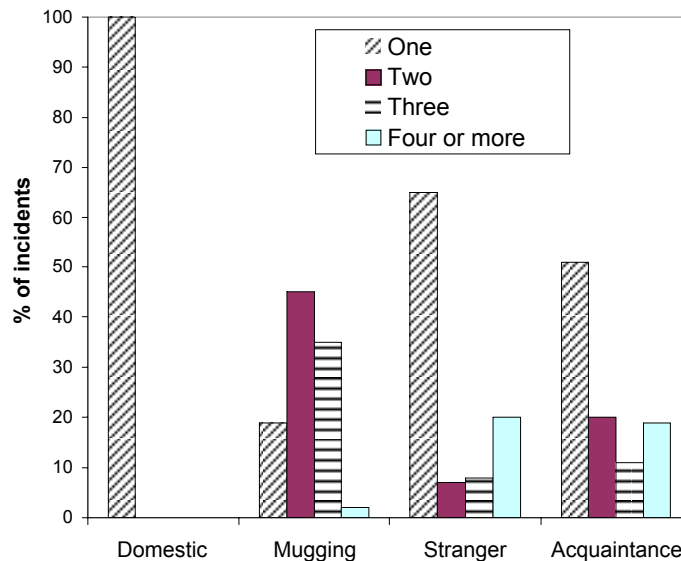
	% of incidents
At work or working (not at home)	31
Leisure activities away from home	27
At home (not sleeping, not working)	23
Travelling to/from elsewhere	8
Travelling to/from work	5
Shopping	3
Sleeping at home	2
At school/college	1
Visiting friends/relatives	1
On holiday/away for weekend	0.2

In just under a third of violent incidents the respondent was at work, and in just over a quarter the respondents was participating in a leisure activity away from home. In just under a quarter of cases the respondent was at home.

## WHO COMMITS VIOLENT CRIME?

In well over half the incidents involving violence (61%)<sup>6</sup>, there was only one assailant. There was more likely to be more than one assailant in incidents of violence against men (47%) than women (22%)<sup>7</sup>. In only just over one in ten cases of violence were there were four or more assailants. Incidents perpetrated by strangers were the most likely to have multiple assailants (Figure 3.4).

**Figure 3.4: Number of Assailants in Incidents of Violent Crime**



Notes:

- 1 This table shows data relating to violent incidents
- 2 The actual number of cases is very small and no statistical significance can be attributed to these figures.

In most incidents (85%)<sup>8</sup> the assailant or assailants were male. This was so for both male and female victims. However, male victims were more likely than females to be the victim of a mixed sex group, and women were more likely than men to be the victim of only female assailants. Of the rare incidents where assailants were females, domestic violence was the most likely to involve female assailants. Twenty per cent of domestic violence incidents involved female assailants, compared to 3% of stranger violence and 17% of acquaintance violence<sup>9</sup>. As in 1996, none of the incidents of mugging involved female perpetrators.

In 24% of all incidents involving violence, at least one of the assailants was thought to be under the age of 18, substantially less than in 1996 (39%). Male victims (27%) were more likely than female victims (17%) to be the victim of an assailant under 18. Types of violence most likely to involve assailants under 18 were mugging and stranger violence.

<sup>6</sup> The figure reflects the percentage of cases where information is available (N=271).

<sup>7</sup> This difference is statistically significant at the 99% level.

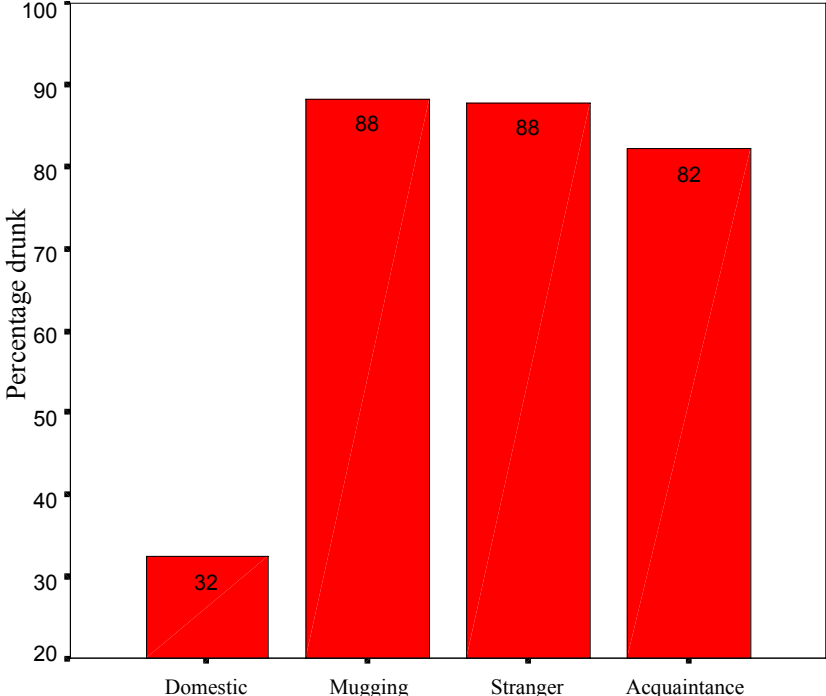
<sup>8</sup> This figure reflects the percentages where the respondent was able to say the sex of the assailant or assailants (N=157).

<sup>9</sup> There are very small sample numbers (weighted sample) involved here, there are only 12 cases of domestic violence where there was a female assailant, 1 case in acquaintance violence, and 3 cases in stranger violence.

# INFLUENCE OF ALCOHOL AND DRUGS ON VIOLENCE

The tendency for violence to occur between 6pm and midnight may reflect an association between alcohol consumption and violence. Thirteen per cent (34 incidents) of all incidents of violence occurred in or around pubs and discos. A new question in the 2000 survey allows further investigation of this. Analysis of the question ‘As far as you know, at the time it happened were any of the people who did it under the influence of drink?’ revealed that, of those who could tell, 72% of the assailants were under the influence of drink. Male offenders were more likely to be under the influence of alcohol (69%) than female (30%). Alcohol was more likely to be a factor in muggings and crimes committed by strangers or acquaintances and less likely in domestic violence incidents (Figure 3.5).

**Figure 3.5: Type of violent incident by whether the assailant was under the influence of alcohol**



Note:  
1. This figure shows data relating to violent incidents.

A second new question was introduced in 2000 concerning the influence of drugs on assailants. Thirty-seven percent of those who could tell (N=95) said their assailant was under the influence of drugs. There was little difference between male (39%) and female (35%) assailants<sup>10</sup>. The influence of drugs was most likely to occur in incidents of acquaintance violence, mugging and again least likely in domestic violence.

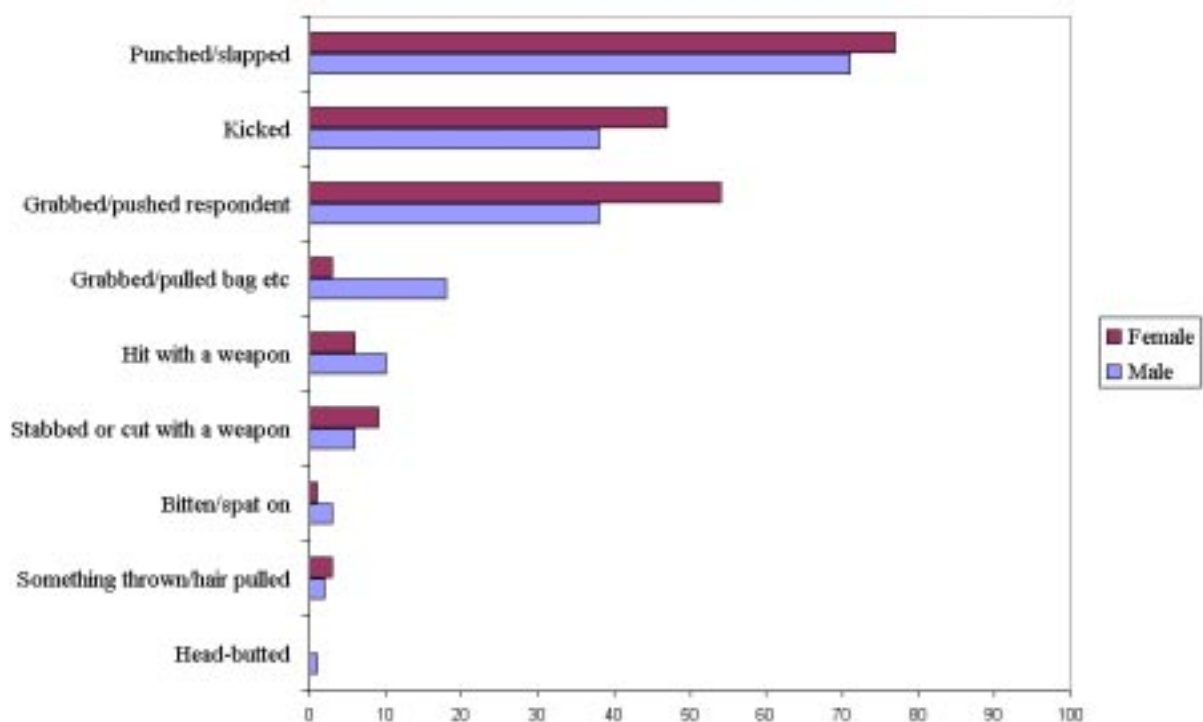
<sup>10</sup> This difference is not statistically significant. There is only a small number (7) of female offenders under the influence of drugs.

## WHAT TYPES OF WEAPON WERE USED?

In almost a third (30%) (n=69) of violent incidents reported to the 2000 SCS, the assailant used, or threatened to use, a weapon. This is very similar to the proportion in 1996 (29%). The most common type of weapon used was a knife (most common where the victim had been involved in multiple incidents of violence), followed by a bottle and then a stick/club/hitting implement. (Since there are only 69 violent incidents where a weapon was used, splitting this further into types of violence becomes statistically non-reliable).

As shown in Figure 3.6, the most commonly reported types of violence experienced were being punched or slapped (74%), grabbed or pushed (41%), and kicked (40%). Both men and women were most likely to have been punched or slapped.

**Figure 3.6: Types of Force Used on Male and Female Victims**



Notes:

1 More than one response was permitted.

## WHAT INJURIES WERE SUSTAINED?

In 62% of all incidents involving violence, the victim reported being injured in some way. Injury occurred in all incidents of mugging (23 cases) and was also common for incidents of domestic violence (76%) (n=39). Bruises and black eyes were the most common injuries and were reported for 88% of all incidents resulting in injury<sup>11</sup>. Other injuries reported were scratches (37%) (n=48), severe cuts (15%) (n=19) and broken bones or broken nose (7%)

<sup>11</sup> The total number of violent incidents resulting in personal injury was 130. Respondents were allowed to report more than one type of injury. In 114 cases out of 130 bruises and black eyes resulted from the violent incident. The next most common injury was scratches which resulted in 48 out of 130 cases, bearing in mind the injuries reported are not mutually exclusive.

(n=9). In a quarter of incidents (24%) (n=32) where injury occurred, the victim sought attention from a doctor.

# CHAPTER FOUR: PUBLIC REACTIONS TO VIOLENT CRIME

## THE EMOTIONAL REACTIONS OF VICTIMS OF VIOLENT CRIME

Victims of violent crime since the beginning of 1999 were asked if they, or anyone else in their household, had an emotional reaction to the incident. In nearly two-thirds of cases (60%) someone in the household did have such a reaction, most commonly the respondent.

The most common reaction that the respondents experienced was anger (77% of incidents), followed by shock and fear.

**Table 4.1: Emotional Reactions Experienced by the Respondent at the Time of the Incident**

	<b>All reactions % of incidents</b>
Angry	77
Afraid	49
Shocked	48
Intimidated	34
Vulnerable	34
Irritated	28
Numb	11
Other	3
None of these	1

*Notes*  
 Base = victim forms relating to violence where respondent had a reaction to incident, n =162.  
 People were allowed to give more than one reaction. All reactions have been included in this table not just the one which was felt the most.

Later on (at the time of the interview), the majority of those who experienced a reaction at the time still felt some emotion about the incident. The most common lasting emotion was also anger, followed by fear and vulnerability. As might be expected, shock is less lasting.

Those who had been a victim of violence *at any time* in the past were asked how well they remembered the incident. Half (50%) said that they remembered it very well, another 30% remembered it fairly well and only 14% of victims did not remember it well or not at all well. Forty four percent said they still thought about the incident and 30% felt that it had had a lasting effect on their behaviour and household routines.

For just under half (48%) of those who said they had ever been the victim of violent crime the incident had occurred over 10 years ago. It is clear, however, that being the victim of such a crime has a long lasting impact. Well over three quarters (85%) of those who had been a victim of violent crime over 10 years ago remembered the incident 'very' or 'fairly' well, 18% still felt that it had a long lasting impact on their behaviour and household routines and 35% still thought about the incident.

Only slightly over half (54%) of the violent crimes since the beginning of 1999 were reported to the police. In 52% of cases where the police had been told, the victim had told the police themselves. In another 29% of cases the police had been told by another person.

In 43% of incidents the crime was not reported to the police. The main reasons for not reporting the incidents were ‘dealt with matter myself/ourselves’ (29%), ‘police would not have bothered/been interested’ (26%) and ‘too trivial’ (20%).

The main reasons given for reporting violent crimes to the police were ‘in the hope of avoiding repetition of crime’ (49%), followed by ‘serious/major/upsetting crime’ (35%). Interestingly, reporting ‘in the hope that the offenders would be caught and punished’ (28%) was only the fourth most common reason for reporting the crime.

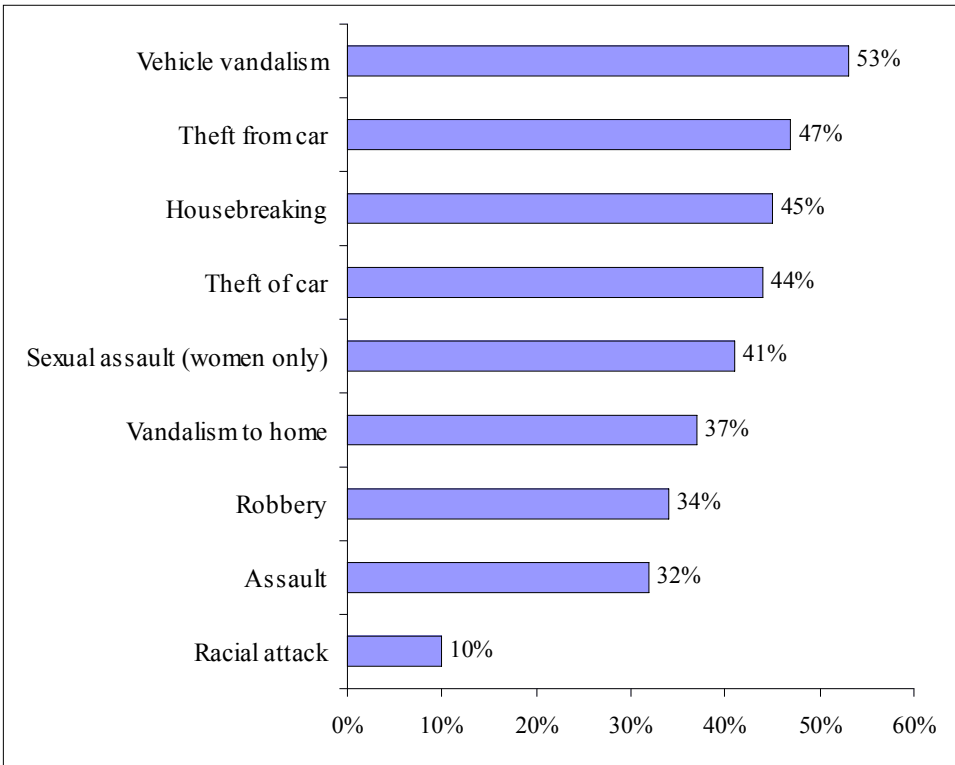
**HOW CONCERNED ARE PEOPLE ABOUT VIOLENCE?**

Respondents’ general level of worry about crime (whether or not they had been a victim) was gauged by asking whether they worried about becoming a victim of specific crimes.

Concern about crime is likely to be influenced by perceived risk of becoming a victim of crime. This can be a response to a combination of perceived prevalence of a crime and the personal circumstances of the respondent. A further issue is that of impact. For example, while sexual assault may be seen as a rare occurrence, a respondent who sees herself at low risk may conceivably be very worried about becoming a victim of sexual assault due to the nature of the crime.

Although a third of respondents said they were worried about assault or robbery, more people were worried about property theft and vandalism. This possibly reflects the small proportion of people who have experienced violent crime.

**Figure 4.1: Percentage of Respondents ‘Very’ or ‘Fairly’ Worried about a Range of Crimes**

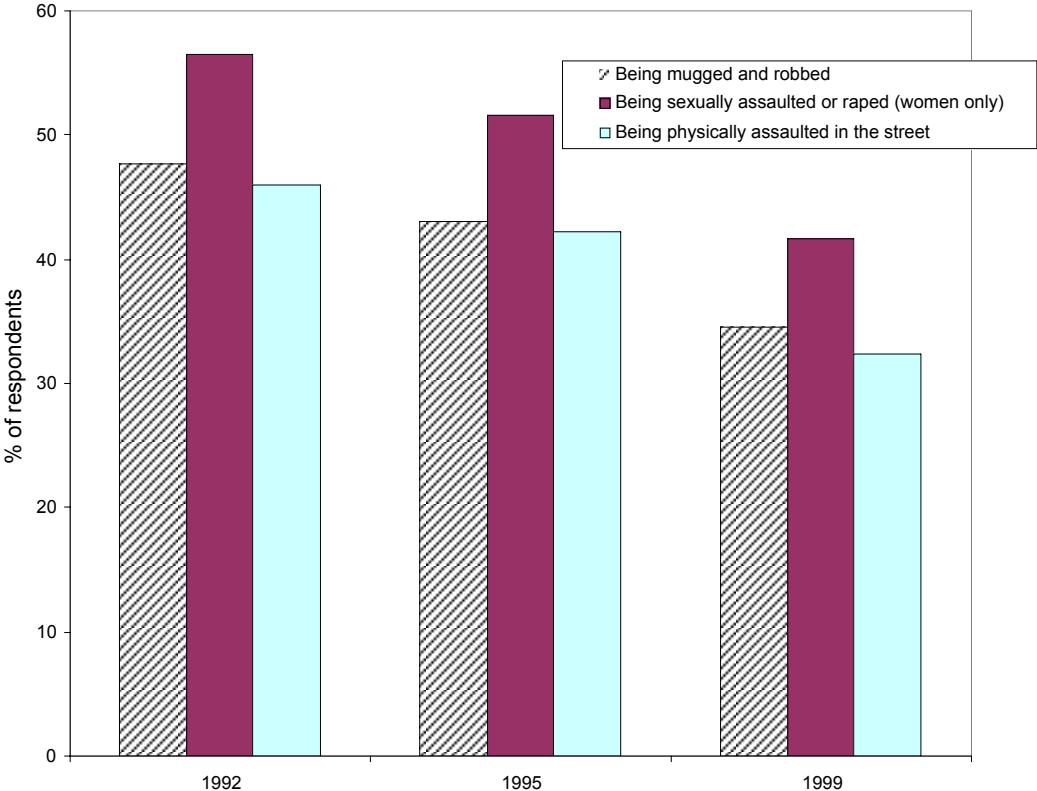


Notes:  
 1 N = 5,059.  
 2 When men and women are included in the analysis anxiety about being sexually assaulted or raped drops to 29%.

In 1999, of the three types of violence that were asked about, people were most worried about being sexually assaulted or raped (for women only) and robbed and least worried about being physically assaulted in the street.

The anxiety about all types of violent crime has been dropping over time<sup>12</sup> (Figure 11).

**Figure 4.2: Level of worry about becoming the victim of different types of violent crime over time**



Notes

1. Differences significant at the 99% level.

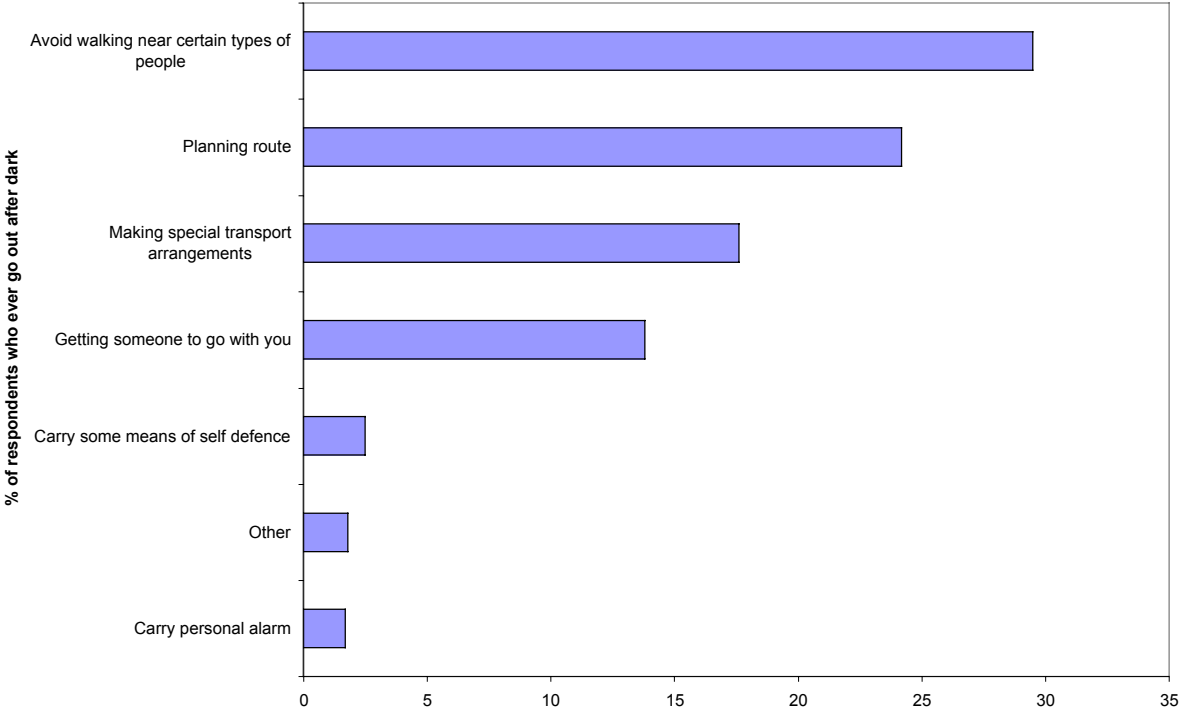
The level of worry about different crimes is gender specific, with women worrying far more about violent crimes than men. In particular, women tend to be far more worried about being sexually assaulted or raped (42%) than men (10%).

**WHAT DO PEOPLE DO TO PROTECT THEMSELVES?**

Some people take precautions against crime when they are out after dark. The most common precaution taken by those who ever go out after dark was to avoid walking near certain types of people (30%), followed by planning a route to avoid certain streets or areas (24%).

<sup>12</sup> Only women have been included in the calculations concerning anxiety about being sexually assaulted or raped as in 2000 men were asked about sexual assault for the first time, and the sample needs to be consistent over time.

**Figure 4.3: Precautions against crime**



Respondents were asked if they ever carried a weapon or means of self-defence<sup>13</sup>. For those that did, a further question asked them what kind of things they carried. The most commonly carried item was keys (32%), followed by a stick/club or hitting item (24%) and then a knife or a sharp object (18%).

<sup>13</sup> This question was asked of half of the respondents to the main questionnaire in 'Questionnaire B'.