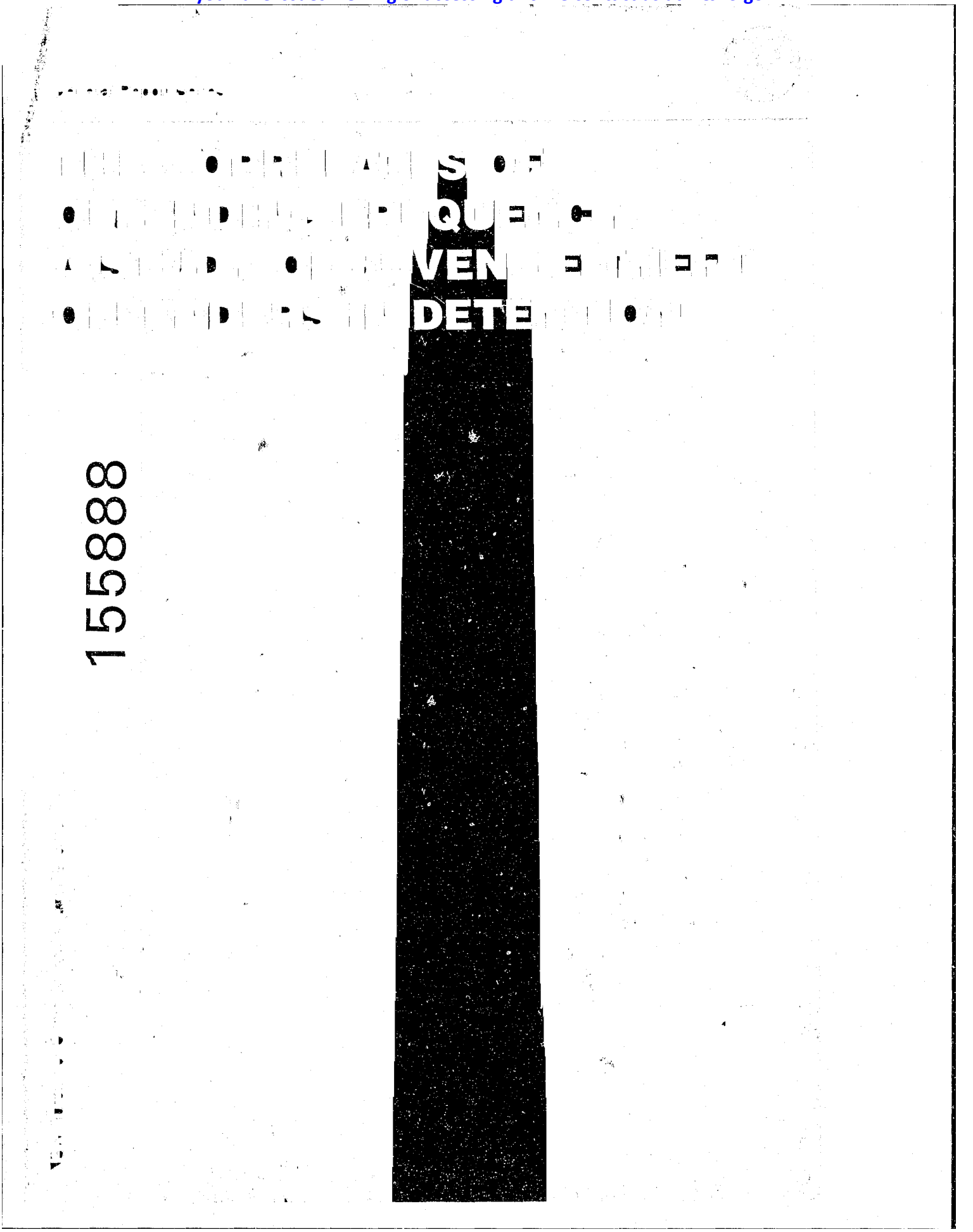


155888

# THE CORRELATES OF OFFENDING FREQUENCY:

# A STUDY OF JUVENILE THEFT OFFENDERS IN DETENTION

Pia Salmelainen



New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research

1995

Published by the NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research
Attorney General's Department
Level 8
St James Centre
111 Elizabeth Street
Sydney

ISBN 0 7310 4933 0

# PREFACE

A great deal of criminological research has been conducted with a view to identifying the factors which distinguish offenders from non-offenders. We now know, for example, that children whose parents reject or neglect them, who perform poorly, or are rated troublesome at school or whose peers or parents are involved in crime are particularly at risk of offending. Strategies designed to tackle the causes of parental neglect or rejection and poor school performance or which help counteract delinquent peer group pressure are therefore likely to be of prime importance in reducing the number of young people who become involved in crime.

Reducing the number of young offenders, however, is only one way of reducing the aggregate crime rate. Young offenders vary considerably in the level of their involvement in crime. Many offend only infrequently. A small minority offend very frequently. Very little is known about the factors which determine the frequency of involvement in crime. Yet strategies which reduce the frequency of offending could in principle reduce the aggregate crime rate just as effectively as strategies which reduce the population of offenders. The purpose of this study was to help remedy the deficit in our knowledge about the factors which determine frequency of offending among juvenile offenders.

The results of the study contain a number of surprises. The developmental factors (e.g. parental behaviour) which are important in determining whether a young person becomes involved in crime do not appear to be potent influences on the frequency with which a young person offends. Instead, factors more immediately related to the lifestyle of the young offender appear to be the most important influence. The precise combination of lifestyle factors relevant to an understanding of offending frequency, however, seems to vary from offence to offence. An expressed need for thrills and excitement, for example, affects the frequency of motor vehicle theft offending but not the frequency of shoplifting or break, enter and steal.

Some factors did emerge which appeared to influence the frequency of more than one offence. The need to obtain money to buy drugs is one such factor. Some of the factors which might have been thought to exert a general influence on offending frequency, however, did not do so. The perceived severity of legal sanctions, for example, did not appear to influence offending frequency in any of the categories of offence examined in the report. These results clearly call for a fresh appraisal of strategies for tackling juvenile offending. In this regard they should be of great assistance to the newly established Juvenile Crime Prevention Division of the NSW Attorney General's Department.

Dr Don Weatherburn
Director

February 1995

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people made significant contributions to the production of this report. Don Weatherburn, Bronwyn Lind, Jeanette Packer and Christine Coumarelos were involved in the design of the survey and interview schedule, and Jonathan Nichol was responsible for the production of the interview schedule. Data collection was undertaken with the enduring assistance of Roseanne Bonney. Bronwyn Lind gave advice on data analysis, and constructive feedback on various drafts was provided by both Don Weatherburn and Bronwyn Lind. Les Kery was responsible for desktop publishing the final report.

Throughout the entire project, valuable assistance was provided by numerous people working in the field of juvenile justice. Thanks are due, in particular, to all the Superintendents, teaching staff and other officers from the juvenile justice centres who were involved in the study. Undoubtedly, the persons who deserve greatest acknowledgement are the young people who participated in the study, for without their significant contribution this study would not have been possible.

# CONTENTS

# CONTENTS continued

# 1. INTRODUCTION

According to the criminal career perspective (Blumstein, Cohen, Roth and Visher 1986) the aggregate rate of any offence (i.e. the number of crimes per capita in the general population) is a product of the participation rate and the frequency of offending. The term 'participation rate' in this context refers to the proportion of individuals in the population engaged in the particular form of offending in question. The term 'frequency of offending' refers to the frequency with which individuals commit that offence. Past research on youth involvement in crime has been predominantly concerned with identifying delinquent-prone juveniles. Such research naturally leads to strategies designed to reduce the number of juveniles involved in crime, that is, the participation rate. Relatively little attention has been paid to the correlates of offending frequency, although strategies which reduce offending frequency could, in principle, have as much impact on the aggregate rate of offending as strategies which reduce the participation rate.

The small amount of evidence available suggests that participation and frequency have some common and some unique correlates (Smith, Visher and Jarjoura 1991; Nagin and Smith 1990; Paternoster and Triplett 1988; Blumstein et al 1986). It has been suggested, for example, that gender, age of onset of involvement in crime, and drug use are related to both participation and frequency, while family and school factors tend to exert a much stronger influence on participation than frequency. The present study was conducted in order to further our understanding of the factors which determine the frequency of offending among young offenders. Given the rudimentary state of current knowledge about the issue, it seemed appropriate to cast as wide a net as possible when considering which factors to include in the study. Before describing the factors chosen for examination, it is helpful to review previous research on the correlates of juvenile offending and other research relevant to frequency of offending.

## 1.1 PREVIOUS RESEARCH

### Family background

The contribution of family factors to youth offending has received considerable attention. The general consensus appears to be that family factors play an important role in the development and maintenance of juvenile offending. Delinquency appears to be related to the amount of supervision parents provide (Weintraub and Gold 1991), the strength of attachment or positive feelings between parents and children (Lauritsen 1993; Krohn, Stern, Thornberry and Jang 1992; Weintraub and Gold 1991; Paternoster and Triplett 1988), relations between parents (Lauritsen 1993), parent and sibling criminality (Lauritsen 1993; Farrington 1987a; Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber 1986), family stability (Henry, Moffit, Robins, Earls and Silva 1993) and number of residential moves by a family (Wolfgang, Figlio and Sellin 1972). Family structure, such as household size, has also been found to be related to frequency of offending in youths (Nagin and Smith 1990). In their comprehensive review of family factors, Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber (1986) concluded that lack of parental supervision, parental rejection of a child, and amount of parental involvement with a child were the most powerful predictors of delinquency.

### Schooling

Several school-related factors are reportedly associated with offending in juveniles. These include truancy, disruptive behaviour in school, poor attainment, pupil integration in school, and dropping out of school because of a dislike for school or being expelled (Jarjoura 1993; Baerveldt 1992; Tremblay, Masse, Perron, Leblanc, Schwartzman and Ledingham 1992; Farrington 1987a; Belson 1975; Wolfgang et al 1972).

### Income and employment

Finding work when they leave school and having enough money are amongst some of the most important things to teenagers (Wilks 1992). It is not surprising, then, that they are factors which influence juvenile offending. Compared with periods of employment, young males evidence high rates of theft during periods of unemployment (Farrington, Gallagher, Morley, St. Ledger and West 1986). It is argued by some (Hartley 1989; Alder 1986) that for many young people experiencing unemployment, the Government allowances available to them do not cover the basic costs of living. In order to survive, therefore, some young people must resort to thieving. This is particularly the case for young homeless people. Overseas and Australian evidence indicates that homeless youths are at a high risk of involvement in theft offences (McCarthy and Hagan 1992; Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission 1989).

### Drug use

Greater involvement in drug use has been found to be associated with greater involvement in crime. This is the case for different types of drug use including marijuana use (Dembo, Williams, Schmeidler, Wish, Getreu and Berry 1991; Johnson, Wish and Huizinga 1983 cited in Wish and Johnson 1986), narcotic use (Jarvis and Parker 1989; Nurco, Hanlon, Kinlock and Duszynski 1988), tobacco and alcohol use (Warner 1982) and multiple or polydrug use (Elliott, Huizinga and Menard 1989).

Some research suggests that drug use is related to the maintenance and frequency of delinquency rather than its onset (Cromwell 1994; Altschuler and Brounstein 1991; Elliott et al 1989; Collins 1986). Heavy drug users or addicts are known to commit stealing offences such as burglary to finance their drug use. In a NSW study of incarcerated adult property offenders (Dobinson and Ward 1985), inmates with a heroin habit reported that the main reason they committed their crime was to obtain money to support their habit. (Non-heroin users reported somewhat different reasons for offending.) Offenders who are addicted or heavy drug users often have to commit a large volume of stealing offences to fund their addiction (Jarvis and Parker 1989; Wish and Johnson 1986).

### Peer relations

Peer relations among youths can exert strong effects on behaviour (Warr 1993). This is consistent with the finding that teenagers consider friendships to be one of the most important things in life (Wilks 1992). Evidence indicates that peers influence each other in both participation and frequency of offending. In a study of car thieves, Nee (1993) found that the influence of peers was an important reason for offenders initially becoming involved in car crime. Others have shown that the rate at which a juvenile offends is influenced by the rate at which his or her peers offend (Baerveldt 1992; Morash 1983; Belson 1975).

### Moral beliefs

Juveniles who have more permissive views on stealing and other crime tend to be more involved in offending (Landsheer, Hart and Kox 1994; Smith et al 1991; Belson 1975), while those who are remorseful or perceive themselves as 'good citizens' are less involved

in crime (Schneider 1990). In a study of adult burglars, Maguire and Bennett (1982) found that offenders do not necessarily perceive their criminal activity as the general community might, that is, as a gross invasion of other people's privacy which is both frightening and upsetting. Through the use of neutralisation techniques (Sykes and Matza 1957), burglars seek to minimise the moral significance of their behaviour. For example, they deny that there is a victim or deny that their crime does any harm to the victim either emotionally or economically. That offenders readily adopt these types of techniques has been demonstrated with NSW prison inmates (Wortley 1986).

### Risks and punishment

Perceptual deterrence research points to two factors which should be considered in the study of rates of offending, namely, perceived certainty and severity of punishment. Adults have predominantly been the focus of research in this area, although a small amount of material can be found on juvenile perceptions. Most evidence available suggests that individuals active in crime are not deterred from offending by the threat of legal sanctions (Nee 1993; Schneider 1990; Tunnell 1990; Paternoster and Iovanni 1986; Belson 1975). Offenders choose not to think about the risks involved or consider the risks to be very small. A recent study of adult burglars by Decker, Wright and Logie (1993) found that an offender's willingness to offend was not influenced by the penalty alone but was influenced by the penalty when the anticipated gains and risks were considered. For example, burglars were less willing to offend when the perceived risks were high and the anticipated penalties were severe. Children, as well as adults, reportedly have unrealistically harsh expectations of the penalties they will receive when they are caught (Nee 1993; O'Connor and Sweetapple 1988). Often these expectations, thought to be largely brought about by personnel working in the justice system, are not realised and so children have been said to view court penalties other than incarceration with relief, if not delight (O'Connor and Sweetapple 1988).

### Criminal history

A number of factors which relate to the criminal history of an individual have been examined for their power to predict juveniles at risk of offending. Different aspects of offending, such as participation in crime and the period of involvement in crime, vary according to the age at which a juvenile commences offending, is first arrested or first appears in court (Coumarelos 1994; Tolan 1987; Farrington 1983; Wolfgang et al 1972); the type of offence a juvenile first commits (Coumarelos 1994; Clarke 1975 cited in Farrington 1987b); and the amount of previous criminal involvement (Coumarelos 1994; Nagin and Smith 1990; Farrington 1983). High rate offenders tend to start earlier and be arrested earlier, start with theft offences, and consistently offend at high rates. Findings from adult studies also indicate that frequent offenders do not tend to specialise but commit all types of offences at a high rate (see review by Farrington 1987b).

### Offenders' reasons for offending

Some researchers have attempted to measure the factors which influence juvenile offending by asking offenders why they commit crimes. The reasons offenders give for offending are many and varied. The most commonly reported reasons offered by juveniles who engage in theft include a need or desire for fun or excitement, and money (Cromwell 1994; Nee 1993; Agnew 1990; McCaghy, Giordano and Knicely Henson 1977; Belson 1975). Money is frequently acquired for other self-gratification activities such as drinking, drug-taking and entertainment (Altschuler and Brounstein 1991; Bennett and Wright 1984). Other reasons juveniles sometimes give for stealing include retaliation or revenge, curiosity, peer pressure, anger, and boredom (Agnew 1990), and in the case of car theft, the need for transportation (Nee 1993).

## 1.2 CURRENT STUDY

The aim of the current study was to determine the factors which influence the frequency with which juvenile offenders commit theft offences and, thereby, provide an empirical basis from which crime prevention or criminal career modification strategies might be developed. Three theft offences - shoplifting, break and enter, and motor vehicle theft - were chosen for examination because they constitute a large proportion of the offences known to be committed by juveniles, and are offences which cause wide sectors of the community great concern.

The factors chosen for examination in this study can be classified into five groups. The first group, *developmental factors*, are factors which are important influences in the development of a child, namely the family and schooling. The second group of factors examined are called *lifestyle factors* and include such things as income, employment, and drug use. The third group of factors examined are *attitude and perceptual factors*. These factors include juvenile offenders' views on the consequences of their crime such as their family learning of their crime, the effects of their crime on their job prospects, and the effects of their crime on the victims. This third group also examines juveniles' perceptions of personal theft victimisation. *Risk and punishment factors* comprise the fourth group. A juvenile's perceived risk of apprehension and actual risk of apprehension are included in this group, as are a juvenile's experiences of penalties for offending and his or her perceptions of these penalties. The fifth group of factors examined in the study concern *criminal history factors* and include a juvenile's age at his or her first theft offence, and his or her age when first apprehended for offending.

On the basis of the findings reviewed earlier, the following questions were explored:-

(1) Is there a relationship between rate of offending and the following *developmental factors*:

- adult composition of the family in which an offender was raised;
- frequency of parental or guardian conditional affection/praise;
- frequency of parental or guardian involvement;
- frequency of parental or guardian supervision;
- frequency of parental or guardian conflict;
- whether a parent or guardian has ever had an alcohol or drug problem;
- whether a family member has ever been arrested;
- highest grade completed at school;
- age at which an offender left school;
- level of school performance;
- frequency of truanting from school;
- frequency of suspensions or expulsions from school?

(2) Is there a relationship between rate of offending and the following *lifestyle factors*:

- level of school attendance;
- residential mobility;
- usual type of residence;
- inability to meet accommodation costs, namely rent or board;
- employment;
- perceived income needs relative to actual legal income;
- level of use of the following drugs: alcohol; tobacco; sleeping tablets or sedatives; marijuana; narcotics; hallucinogens or stimulants; and inhalants;

- polydrug use;
- the reasons an offender gives for offending, namely because of anger or temper; for excitement or thrills; to relieve boredom or for something to do; peer influence; for the acquisition of drugs, food, clothes or goods to use; other reason; or for transport purposes in the case of motor vehicle theft offending?

(3) Is there a relationship between rate of offending and the following *attitude and perceptual factors*:

- offenders' perceptions of the emotional and financial impact of their crime on the victims;
- offenders' experience of, and feelings about, their family finding out about their involvement in crime;
- offenders' experience of, and feelings about, their friends finding out about their involvement in crime;
- offenders' experience of, and feelings about, the effects of their crime on their education prospects;
- offenders' experience of, and feelings about, the effects of their crime on their job prospects;
- offenders' experience of, and feelings about, their own theft victimisation?

(4) Is there a relationship between rate of offending and the following *risk and punishment factors*:

- offenders' perceptions of the likelihood of being apprehended;
- offenders' actual risk of being apprehended;
- offenders' experiences of, and feelings about, formal social control measures, namely, getting caught by police; being hassled by police; going to court; getting a fine; getting a supervised order; getting a Community Service Order; getting sentenced to detention; and getting sentenced to prison?

(5) Is there a relationship between rate of offending and the following *criminal history factors*:

- age at which an offender first committed the relevant theft offence (shoplifting for shoplifting offenders; break and enter for break and enter offenders; and motor vehicle theft for motor vehicle theft offenders);
- age at which an offender was first apprehended for any offence;
- type of offence committed when first apprehended;
- recent involvement in the following offences: theft other than shoplifting, break and enter, or motor vehicle theft; fraud; drug offences; violent offences such as assault or robbery; and vandalism?

# 2. METHOD

## 2.1 POPULATION SURVEYED

Data for this study were derived from interviews with 247 juveniles (238 males and 9 females) who were serving a control order, or appealing against a control order sentence, in a New South Wales (NSW) juvenile detention centre between September 1993 and March 1994. The centres included were Kariong, Keelong, Minda, Mount Penang, Reiby, and Worimi Juvenile Justice Centre.[1] To be eligible for the study, juveniles had to be serving a control order for one of the following offences as their most serious offence: armed robbery, robbery, break and enter, motor vehicle theft, shoplifting, and other theft.[2] Participation in the study was voluntary and respondents were not paid in any way for their participation. A total of 34 juveniles declined to be interviewed at all or declined to complete the interview.[3]

## 2.2 INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Data were collected using a structured interview schedule which contained both closed and open-ended questions. A copy of the schedule is provided in Appendix A. The schedule was designed to obtain a measure of offending frequency for three theft offences - shoplifting, break and enter, and motor vehicle theft - over a six-month period, as well as a measure of each factor in the five groups of factors: developmental, lifestyle, attitude and perceptual, risk and punishment, and criminal history. To minimise the workload on both respondents and interviewers, response alternatives were devised for several questions. For some questions, cards with the response alternatives were produced to show respondents (see Appendix A).

To test the schedule with respect to clarity and length, a pilot study was conducted prior to commencement of the study. The pilot was completed between July and August 1993 in two NSW juvenile detention centres which predominantly cater for juveniles on remand (Yasmar and Cobham Juvenile Justice Centres). Juveniles who participated in the pilot were serving a control order or were on remand for armed robbery, robbery, break and enter, motor vehicle theft, shoplifting, or other theft.

## 2.3 CONDUCT OF INTERVIEWS

It was necessary to conduct two rounds of interviews for the study due to the limited number of juveniles in detention at any one time who were eligible for inclusion. The second round of interviews did not commence until at least three months after the first round so as to ensure that a high turnover of juveniles had occurred in the detention centres. The first round was completed between September 1993 and November 1993, and the second round between February 1994 and March 1994. Visits to each detention centre were scheduled at the convenience of detention centre staff. During each visit (which ranged from one day to five days), interviews were conducted until all of the detainees eligible for inclusion were interviewed. However, during the first round, certain individuals were not available for interviewing.[4] Wherever possible, these interviews were re-scheduled for the second round.

All interviews were conducted on detention centre grounds. Due to limited facilities, it was necessary for interviews to be conducted in a variety of settings, including interview rooms, offices, and outdoor settings. In all settings, noise and distractions were minimal.

Each respondent was interviewed by one of two female interviewers in the absence of any other persons.[5] The interviews were usually about 30 minutes in duration, but ranged from approximately 15 minutes to more than one hour.

During the interview, recall was assisted by interviewer probes where necessary, and a clarification of responses was sought when apparent inconsistencies in information occurred. Due to the fact that participation in the survey was anonymous, reliability checks with officially recorded data were not possible. Respondents overall, however, were very conscientious in the delivery of their responses, being very co-operative and not reluctant to discuss the information requested. Indeed, many respondents volunteered much more information about their offending behaviour than was sought by the interviewers. Also, during the interview, respondents were permitted to view the schedule being completed and those respondents who requested to complete the details on the schedule themselves were permitted to do so under the strict supervision of the interviewer.[6]

Interviews generally proceeded in the following manner. Respondents were given a standardised introduction which briefly explained the general purpose of the study (see Appendix A). They were told that the information being collected was confidential, and that their participation in the study was both anonymous and voluntary.

Each question on the interview schedule was then read out to respondents. Occasionally the wording of the questions was altered because of the respondent's poor level of comprehension or because of a need to maintain rapport.

For questions so designated, respondents were given a card with the response alternatives and the response alternatives were read out to them.

The first set of questions asked respondents to provide demographic information, such as their age, and country of birth. Questions on schooling and family followed. Each respondent was then asked a series of questions about a six-month period - the 'measurement period' - immediately preceding the arrest for the offence for which they were currently serving a control order.[7] To help establish this measurement period a calendar was used.

For the measurement period, periods of incarceration were determined and the length of the period(s) recorded. For that portion of the measurement period for which respondents were not incarcerated, details were obtained about school attendance, place of residence, rent or board payments, income, and drug use. For this same period, respondents were asked about the number of times they had committed shoplifting, break and enter, and motor vehicle theft. Respondents in each offence group were then asked a series of questions concerning risk, the victim, and reasons for offending during the measurement period.

The interview concluded with respondents providing information about the first time they were caught offending, and their experience and perceptions of formal social control measures, their own victimisation, and the effects of their involvement in crime on different aspects of their life, such as their job prospects.

## 2.4 DATA ANALYSIS

The data from the interview schedules were punched to computer tape and analysed using statistical software (SAS). Offence-specific individual rates of offending were calculated for respondents who were active in the offence types during the measurement period in the following way. Periods of incarceration were firstly subtracted from the measurement period to give each offender a period of 'weeks-at-large'. An individual's weekly rate of offending in a specific offence type was then calculated by dividing the number of specific offences committed during the 'weeks-at-large' by the number of 'weeks-at-large'. For convenience of analysis, only two offending frequencies were considered. Offenders were classified as either 'low rate' or 'high rate'. 'Low rate'

offenders were defined as those who committed less than one offence per week-at-large, and 'high rate' offenders were defined as those respondents who committed one or more offences per week-at-large.

To assess the relationship between the rate of offending and each of the factors in the five groups of factors, two-way chi-square analyses were employed. Separate analyses were conducted for each of the three offence types: shoplifting, break and enter, and motor vehicle theft.

# 3. RESULTS

The results are presented in two sections. The first section provides a description of the respondents. Data for the figures in this section (Figures 1 to 6) are presented in Appendix B. The second section presents the association between offence-specific rates of offending and each factor in the five groups of factors examined.

## 3.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

### 3.1.1 Demographics

Table 1 shows the frequency distribution of the age of the respondents at the time of the interview. As can be seen from this table, more than half of the respondents (57.5%) were aged 16 or 17 years. The mean age of respondents was 16.2 years ($s$ = 1.4 years).

**Table 1: Frequency distribution of age of respondents**

| *Age* | *No. of respondents* | *% of respondents* |
|---|---|---|
| 12 years | 2 | 0.8 |
| 13 years | 2 | 0.8 |
| 14 years | 21 | 8.5 |
| 15 years | 44 | 17.8 |
| 16 years | 66 | 26.7 |
| 17 years | 76 | 30.8 |
| 18 years | 27 | 10.9 |
| 19 years | 6 | 2.4 |
| 20 years | 3 | 1.2 |
| **Total** | **247** | **100** |

About one-quarter of the respondents (24.7%) identified themselves as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander, although less than 2 per cent of the NSW population aged 15 to 19 years is of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander descent (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1993).[8]

Table 2 shows the proportion of respondents according to their place of birth, and their fathers' and mothers' place of birth. The majority of respondents (80.6%) were born in Australia. A further 9.7 per cent were born in another Oceanic country. The next most common place of birth of respondents was Asia (7.3%), while the remaining 2.4 per cent were born in other overseas regions. This pattern was similar for the parents of the respondents. However, a higher proportion of the parents were born overseas.

**Table 2: Frequency distribution of birthplace, and parents' birthplace**

| *Birthplace* | | *No. of respondents* | *% of respondents* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Respondent - | Australia | 199 | 80.6 |
| | Other Oceania | 24 | 9.7 |
| | Asia | 18 | 7.3 |
| | Other | 6 | 2.4 |
| | **Total** | **247** | **100** |
| Father - | Australia | 151 | 65.7 |
| | Other Oceania | 22 | 9.6 |
| | Asia | 25 | 10.9 |
| | Other | 32 | 13.9 |
| | **Total** | **230(a)** | **100** |
| Mother - | Australia | 173 | 71.8 |
| | Other Oceania | 24 | 10.0 |
| | Asia | 25 | 10.4 |
| | Other | 19 | 7.9 |
| | **Total** | **241(b)** | **100** |

Note: (a) Excludes 17 respondents for whom the place of birth of the father was unclear or unknown.
(b) Excludes six respondents for whom the place of birth of the mother was unclear or unknown.

Table 3 shows the place in which a respondent had spent most of his or her life growing up. Just over half of the respondents (51.0%) had grown up in the Sydney metropolitan area. A further 35.6 per cent had grown up in NSW outside the Sydney area. In total, almost 12 per cent of the sample had grown up outside NSW, and of these persons about half had grown up overseas. A very small proportion (1.6%) were unable to identify a town, city or region they had grown up in, because they had moved around so often.

**Table 3: Frequency distribution of place where respondents grew up**

| *Place* | *No. of respondents* | *% of respondents* |
|---|---|---|
| Sydney metropolitan area | 126 | 51.0 |
| Rest of NSW | 88 | 35.6 |
| Other Australian State | 14 | 5.7 |
| Overseas | 15 | 6.1 |
| Moved frequently | 4 | 1.6 |
| **Total** | **247** | **100** |

### 3.1.2 Family

Although almost two-thirds of the respondents (62.8%) were raised in a family which was composed of two adults rather than one adult, this proportion is relatively low given that over 80 per cent of children in the general community live in a two-parent family (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1993; Department of Employment, Education and Training 1991).[9] A few of the respondents (5 persons or 2.0%) could not identify what type of family they were raised in. These respondents either did not grow up in a family or the people with whom they lived changed frequently. The remaining 35.2 per cent of respondents grew up with one adult in the family.

According to respondents who were raised in a family, nearly one in five (18.6%) considered that at least one of their parents or guardians had or used to have an alcohol or drug problem.

Table 4 shows the proportion of respondents according to how often they received affection or praise from their parent(s) or guardian(s) when they did something that was approved of, while they were growing up. Almost all of the respondents (94.3%) indicated that they received affection or praise from their parent(s) or guardian(s) at least some of the time when they did something that was approved of. In more than one-third of cases (36.8%), this conditional affection or praise reportedly occurred very often.

**Table 4: Frequency distribution of conditional parental or guardian affection/praise**

| *Frequency of parental or guardian affection/praise* | *No. of respondents* | *% of respondents* |
|---|---|---|
| Never | 13 | 5.7 |
| Some of the time | 68 | 29.8 |
| Quite often | 63 | 27.6 |
| Very often | 84 | 36.8 |
| **Total** | **228** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes five respondents who did not identify a family they grew up in and 14 respondents for whom the frequency of parental or guardian affection/praise was unclear or unknown.

Table 5 shows the proportion of respondents according to how often their parent(s) or guardian(s) knew of their whereabouts when they were away from the home (i.e. the frequency of parental or guardian supervision). Just over one-quarter of the respondents (26.7%) indicated that when they were out of the house their parents or guardians never knew where they were. A further 40 per cent said that their whereabouts was known only some of the time. While many respondents indicated that their parents or guardians often didn't know of their whereabouts, many said that their parents or guardians enquired as to where they were going to be when away from the home, or were interested in knowing their whereabouts, but weren't told or were lied to by the respondents.

**Table 5: Frequency distribution of parental or guardian supervision**

| *Frequency of parental or guardian supervision* | *No. of respondents* | *% of respondents* |
|---|---|---|
| Never | 64 | 26.7 |
| Some of the time | 95 | 39.6 |
| Quite often | 28 | 11.7 |
| Very often | 53 | 22.1 |
| **Total** | **240** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes five respondents who did not identify a family they grew up in and two respondents for whom the frequency of parental or guardian supervision was unclear or unknown.

Table 6 shows the proportion of respondents who were raised in a two-adult family according to how often respondents said their parents or guardians argued or fought with each other. Almost half of the respondents (44.8%) indicated that their parents or guardians never argued or fought with each other. Only 7.8 per cent said that their parents argued or fought very often.

**Table 6: Frequency distribution of parental or guardian conflict**

| *Frequency of parental or guardian conflict* | *No. of respondents* | *% of respondents* |
|---|---|---|
| Never | 69 | 44.8 |
| Some of the time | 58 | 37.7 |
| Quite often | 15 | 9.7 |
| Very often | 12 | 7.8 |
| **Total** | **154** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes 92 respondents who did not grow up in a two-adult family, and one respondent for whom the frequency of parental or guardian conflict was unclear or unknown.

Almost two-thirds (62.6%) of the respondents who grew up in a family were aware that a member of their family had been arrested.[10] Of those who had a family member arrested, 69.5 per cent who had a brother(s) said that their brother(s) had been arrested.[11] The next most common family member known to be arrested was someone other than an immediate family member, such as an uncle or cousin (58.0%), followed by a father or male guardian (57.7%).[12] About one-third (32.2%) of the respondents who had a family member arrested knew that their sister had been arrested, while relatively few respondents who had a family member arrested (17.9%) said that their mother or female guardian had been arrested.[13]

### 3.1.3 Schooling

Before being incarcerated, the majority of respondents (82.2%) had left school. Of those who had left school, and were aged at least 15 years at the time of the arrest for the offence for which they were serving a control order, one-third (33.3%) had left school before they turned 15 years of age. This figure is much higher than the proportion of teenagers in the general community who leave school before the age of 15 years (about 6%) (National Youth Affairs Research Scheme and Australian Bureau of Statistics 1993).

Respondents were asked to indicate how often they truanted from school. Table 7 shows the proportion of respondents according to the average number of school days they said they truanted per school month (a school week being five school days and a school month being 20 school days). Over half of the respondents (55.7%) indicated that they truanted from school on average at least one school week out of every school month. A small proportion (13.9%) said they had never truanted from school.

**Table 7: Frequency distribution of truancy**

| *Average no. school days truanted per school month* | *No. of respondents* | *% of respondents* |
|---|---|---|
| None | 34 | 13.9 |
| 1 day | 29 | 11.9 |
| 2-4 days | 45 | 18.4 |
| 5-9 days | 52 | 21.3 |
| 10-14 days | 51 | 20.9 |
| 15 days or more | 33 | 13.5 |
| **Total** | **244** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes three respondents for whom the average number of days truanted was unclear or unknown.

Table 8 shows the number of times the respondents said they were suspended or expelled from school. The majority of respondents (79.3%) said they had been suspended or expelled from school at least once in their lives, and nearly one-third (30.1%) said they had been suspended or expelled from school at least five times.

**Table 8: Frequency distribution of suspensions and/or expulsions from school**

| *Number of suspensions/expulsions* | *No. of respondents* | *% of respondents* |
|---|---|---|
| None | 51 | 20.7 |
| 1 | 37 | 15.0 |
| 2-4 | 84 | 34.1 |
| 5-10 | 57 | 23.2 |
| 11-25 | 17 | 6.9 |
| **Total** | **246** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes one respondent for whom the number of suspensions or expulsions was unclear or unknown.

Respondents were asked to rate their performance at school and Table 9 shows their responses. Very few respondents (8 persons or 3.3%) said they had done 'very badly'. A somewhat larger proportion (8.6%) considered they had done 'very well'. More than half of the respondents (53.5%), however, regarded their performance at school as 'okay'.

**Table 9: Frequency distribution of school performance**

| *Rating of school performance* | *No. of respondents* | *% of respondents* |
|---|---|---|
| Very badly | 8 | 3.3 |
| Badly | 38 | 15.5 |
| Okay | 131 | 53.5 |
| Well | 47 | 19.2 |
| Very well | 21 | 8.6 |
| **Total** | **245** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes two respondents for whom the rating of school performance was unclear or unknown.

### 3.1.4 Residential characteristics

Table 10 shows the proportion of respondents according to the type of residence they usually lived in during the measurement period. It can be seen that two-thirds of the respondents (66.8%) lived in a family home, which is somewhat lower than the proportion of 15 to 17 year olds in the general community who live with their family (about 89%) (National Youth Affairs Research Scheme and Australian Bureau of Statistics 1993). Relatively few (16 persons or 6.6%) had no fixed address and lived on the street, in a refuge or in a similar type of place. During the measurement period, almost half of the respondents (44.5% or 110 persons) paid rent or board. Of those who paid rent or board, 29.1 per cent indicated that they were short of the rent or board money at some time during the measurement period.

**Table 10: Frequency distribution of usual residence during the measurement period**

| *Type of residence* | *No. of respondents* | *% of respondents* |
|---|---|---|
| Family home | 163 | 66.8 |
| Other home - not family | 64 | 26.2 |
| No fixed address, e.g. street, refuge | 16 | 6.6 |
| Other | 1 | 0.4 |
| **Total** | **244** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes three respondents who did not have a usual residence during the measurement period. In the table, 'family' includes relatives and persons the respondents regarded as family, such as non-relatives they grew up with.

### 3.1.5 Income

Respondents varied considerably in their estimates of the average amount of money they perceived they needed each week during the measurement period 'to get by on'. The money they said they needed 'to get by on' covered such costs as food, clothing, rent and drug habits. The perceived weekly income needed ranged from none to up to several thousands of dollars. The median weekly amount of money perceived to be needed by respondents was $175.

Table 11 shows the proportion of respondents according to the amount of income they perceived they needed each week on average 'to get by on' during the measurement period. Relatively few respondents (14 persons or 5.9%) thought they didn't need any money. In these cases, respondents typically acknowledged that their parents or guardians paid for everything so they didn't need any money. Almost one-quarter of the respondents (23.6%) said that they needed more than $300 a week 'to get by on.'

**Table 11: Frequency distribution of perceived income needed each week 'to get by on' during the measurement period**

| *Average weekly income needed ($)* | *No. of respondents* | *% of respondents* |
|---|---|---|
| 0 | 14 | 5.9 |
| $1-$50 | 40 | 16.9 |
| $51-$100 | 42 | 17.7 |
| $101-$300 | 85 | 35.9 |
| $301 or more | 56 | 23.6 |
| **Total** | **237** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes 10 respondents for whom the perceived needed income was unclear or unknown.

The distribution of perceived needed income seen in Table 11 was much higher than the distribution of income respondents said they *actually* received from legal sources. Table 12 shows the average amount of money that respondents said they received per week from legal sources during the measurement period. Very few respondents (7 persons or 2.8%) received more than $300. The proportions of respondents who received no legal money (14.6%) or $50 or less per week (26.8%) were somewhat larger than the proportions who considered they didn't need any money (5.9%) or needed only $50 or less (16.9%) to get by. This apparent disparity between income need and legal income was evident in the fact that, for 68.8 per cent of respondents, their estimates of needed income exceeded their legal income during the measurement period.[14] For those respondents who did not have their income needs met, the median amount of disparity between the needed and legal amounts was $170.

**Table 12: Frequency distribution of income received from legal sources each week during the measurement period**

| *Average weekly income received legally ($)* | *No. of respondents* | *% of respondents* |
|---|---|---|
| 0 | 36 | 14.6 |
| $1-$50 | 66 | 26.8 |
| $51-$100 | 48 | 19.5 |
| $101-$300 | 89 | 36.2 |
| $301 or more | 7 | 2.8 |
| **Total** | **246** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes one respondent for whom the amount of legal income received was unclear or unknown.

Overall, the median amount of weekly income respondents received from legal sources was $70. Respondents had several legal sources of income, including employment, the Government, and their family. Just over one-quarter of the respondents (28.7%) indicated they had a job during the measurement period. About half (49.4%) received some type of Government allowance, such as the Jobsearch or the Young Homeless Allowance. Less than 40 per cent (37.7%) said they received pocket money from their family.

### 3.1.6 Drug use

Table 13 shows the proportion of respondents according to the number of types of drugs used, both licit and illicit, during the measurement period (see Table 14 for the categories of drugs examined). The vast majority of respondents (97.9%) had used or tried some type of drug during the measurement period. About two-thirds (66.4%) had used three or more different types of drugs at least once during the measurement period.

**Table 13: Frequency distribution of number of types of drugs used during the measurement period**

| *Number of drug types used* | *No. of respondents* | *% of respondents* |
|---|---|---|
| None | 5 | 2.1 |
| 1 drug type | 21 | 8.7 |
| 2 drug types | 55 | 22.8 |
| 3 drug types | 84 | 34.9 |
| 4 or more drug types | 76 | 31.5 |
| **Total** | **241** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes six respondents for whom the number of drugs used was unclear or unknown.

Table 14 shows the average amount of drug use or the frequency of drug use of respondents for the different types of drugs examined in the study. The table shows that the most common drug used was marijuana, with 85.7 per cent of respondents using marijuana to some extent during the measurement period. Marijuana use was measured in terms of the number of cones smoked in a bong because this was by far the preferred method of use among respondents.[15] Over 40 per cent of the respondents estimated they had used an average of at least 40 cones of marijuana per week during the measurement period. Tobacco was the next most common drug used. About 82 per cent of respondents had smoked cigarettes during the measurement period. A large proportion of the respondents (69.5%) had consumed alcohol during the measurement period. About 18 per cent of the respondents estimated they had consumed approximately 40 or more standard drinks each week on average during this time.[16] Relative to marijuana, tobacco, and alcohol use, the use of inhalants and narcotics (mainly heroin) was very uncommon.

**Table 14: Relative frequency distribution of drug use for different types of drugs during the measurement period (percentages)**

| *Frequency of drug use* | *Alcohol* | *Tobacco* | *Sleeping tablets, sedatives* | *Narcotics* | *Marijuana* | *Hallucinogens, stimulants* | *Inhalants* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| None | 30.5 | 17.6 | 86.1 | 89.5 | 14.3 | 65.9 | 94.3 |
| Tried it | 11.4 | 1.2 | 4.5 | 0.8 | 8.6 | 6.5 | 2.0 |
| <1/wk | 8.1 | 0.0 | 2.0 | 1.2 | 2.9 | 3.3 | 0.8 |
| 1-2/wk | 6.9 | 0.0 | 2.4 | 0.8 | 3.3 | 7.3 | 1.2 |
| 3-5/wk | 7.7 | 0.0 | 2.0 | 1.6 | 3.7 | 7.3 | 0.4 |
| 6-9/wk | 4.5 | 0.4 | 0.8 | 2.4 | 6.1 | 4.1 | 0.4 |
| 10-39/wk | 13.0 | 6.1 | 1.6 | 3.2 | 19.6 | 3.7 | 0.8 |
| 40 or more | 17.9 | 74.7 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 41.6 | 2.0 | 0.0 |
| **Total** | **100(a)** | **100(b)** | **100(c)** | **100(d)** | **100(e)** | **100(f)** | **100(g)** |

Note: With the exception of alcohol, tobacco and marijuana, drug use in the table refers to the average number of times the drug was used per week. Alcohol use refers to the average number (approximately) of standard drinks consumed per week, tobacco use refers to the average number of cigarettes smoked per week, and marijuana use refers to the average number of cones smoked per week. The table excludes those respondents for whom the level of drug use was unknown. The analyses are based on the following totals: (a) 246, (b) 245, (c) 245, (d) 247, (e) 245, (f) 246, (g) 247.

### 3.1.7 Perceptions of formal social control measures

Respondents who had committed shoplifting, break and enter or motor vehicle theft during the measurement period were asked to rate their response to various forms of formal social control they had experienced in the past or might experience in the future. The results are shown in Table 15.

It can be seen from Table 15 that some measures were perceived by respondents to be more upsetting than others.[17] Of all the types of formal social control examined, respondents clearly rated 'getting sentenced to prison' as the most upsetting. Over 80 per cent of respondents said they would be upset to some degree if they were sentenced to prison for their crime, and almost 60 per cent said they would be very upset. Getting sentenced to detention was also something which the majority of respondents (68.5%) indicated was an upsetting experience to some degree.

Contact with the police was also viewed negatively by respondents. About two-thirds indicated that being caught or being hassled by the police was, or would be, upsetting to some degree, and about one-third viewed such contact as very upsetting.

According to more than half of the respondents (59.2%), going to court was not an upsetting experience. An even greater proportion did not think that getting a fine, a supervised order or a Community Service Order (CSO) from the court was, or would be, at all upsetting (71.9%, 73.8% and 72.5%, respectively).

**Table 15: Relative frequency distribution of respondents' ratings of how upset they were by formal social control measures (percentages)**

| *Measure of formal social control* | *Rating* | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Not upsetting | A little upsetting | Quite upsetting | Very upsetting | Total |
| Being caught by the police | 31.9 | 22.5 | 18.6 | 27.0 | 100(a) |
| Being hassled by the police | 35.0 | 16.7 | 13.3 | 35.0 | 100(b) |
| Going to court | 59.2 | 17.0 | 10.2 | 13.6 | 100(c) |
| Getting a fine | 71.8 | 12.1 | 6.3 | 9.7 | 100(d) |
| Getting a supervised order (not CSO) | 73.8 | 10.7 | 6.8 | 8.7 | 100(e) |
| Getting a Community Service Order (CSO) | 72.5 | 15.7 | 5.4 | 6.4 | 100(f) |
| Getting sentenced to detention | 31.5 | 21.2 | 17.9 | 29.3 | 100(g) |
| Getting sentenced to prison | 18.0 | 14.4 | 10.8 | 56.7 | 100(h) |

Note: The table excludes respondents who did not commit shoplifting, B&E or MVT during the measurement period or for whom a rate of offending could not be determined. It also excludes respondents for whom the 'upsetting rating' was unknown. The analyses are based on the following totals: (a) 204, (b) 203, (c) 206, (d) 206, (e) 206, (f) 204, (g) 184, (h) 194.

### 3.1.8 Perceptions of the effects of crime on friends, family, and education and job prospects

In addition to formal social control measures, those respondents who offended during the measurement period were asked to rate their response to other consequences of their crime, including their friends and family finding out about their involvement in crime. Table 16 shows the pattern of their responses to these questions.

Most respondents (82.7%) were not upset or said they would not be upset if their friends became aware of their criminal activity. A very small proportion (2.9%) indicated they

were or would be very upset. The pattern of response was somewhat different with respect to the family becoming aware of the respondents' involvement in crime. On this issue, respondents' reactions were polarised, with about one-third saying they were, or would be, very upset if their family found out about their criminal activity, while almost one-third said they would not at all be upset by their family discovering their offending.

Table 16 also shows how upset respondents were, or would be, if their involvement in crime hurt their chances of getting a good education or a good job. It is evident from Table 16 that respondents' reactions to their involvement in crime jeopardising their chances of a good education were also polarised. Around 36 per cent of respondents said they weren't upset at their education chances being hurt, while about 28 per cent said they were very upset. Of all the consequences of offending presented in Table 16, the possibility that involvement in crime may have hurt the chances of getting a good job appeared to have the greatest impact on the respondents. About 78 per cent of the respondents were upset to some degree that offending may have hurt their chances of getting a good job, and almost 39 per cent alone were very upset.

**Table 16: Relative frequency distribution of respondents' ratings of how upset they were by various consequences of their involvement in crime (percentages)**

| *Consequence* | *Rating* | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Not upsetting | A little upsetting | Quite upsetting | Very upsetting | Total |
| Friends finding out about their crime | 82.7 | 11.1 | 3.4 | 2.9 | 100(a) |
| Family finding out about their crime | 33.7 | 18.8 | 16.3 | 31.3 | 100(b) |
| Crime hurting chances of getting a good education | 36.3 | 16.2 | 19.1 | 28.4 | 100(c) |
| Crime hurting chances of getting a good job | 21.9 | 16.9 | 22.4 | 38.8 | 100(d) |

Note: The table excludes respondents who did not commit shoplifting, B&E or MVT during the measurement period or for whom a rate of offending could not be determined. It also excludes respondents for whom the 'upsetting rating' was unknown. The analyses are based on the following totals: (a) 208, (b) 208, (c) 204, (d) 201.

### 3.1.9 Shoplifting offending

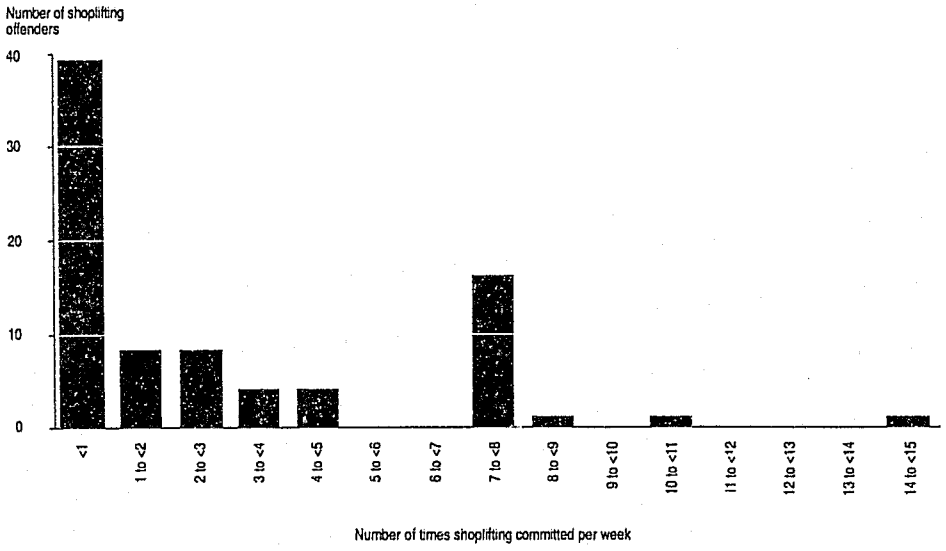
*Participation in shoplifting*

About 86 per cent of respondents (85.8% or 212 respondents) admitted to having committed a shoplifting offence at some time in their lives. The mean age at which these respondents first committed shoplifting was 10.7 years ($s$ = 2.7 years).[18]

*Frequency of shoplifting offending*

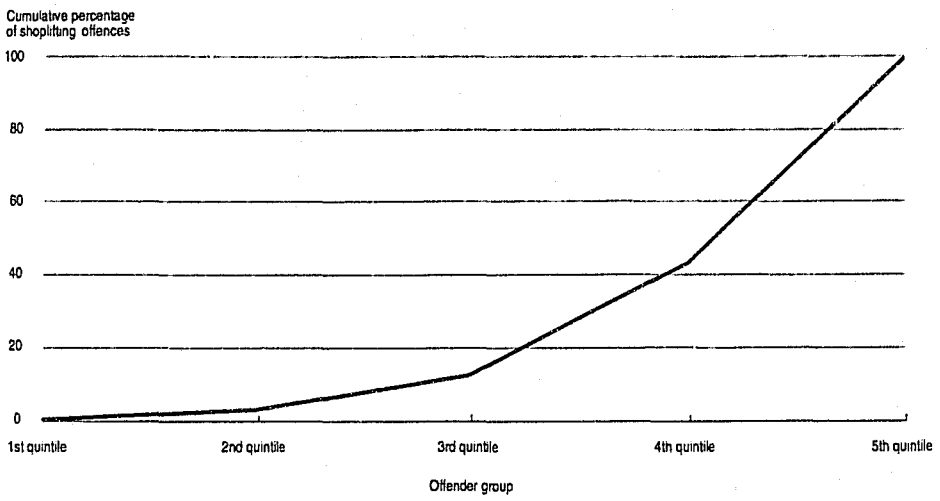
During the measurement period, just over one-third of the respondents (34.2% or 82 respondents) had engaged in shoplifting.[19] Figure 1 shows the frequency distribution of the weekly rate of shoplifting offending by those respondents who committed shoplifting during the measurement period. The rate at which offenders committed shoplifting varied considerably, ranging from as high as 14 times per week to as low as once in six months. The median number of shoplifting offences committed per week by the shoplifting offenders was 1.01 offences.

**Figure 1: Frequency distribution of the weekly rate of shoplifting offending by shoplifting offenders during the measurement period (N=82)**




Of those respondents who engaged in shoplifting during the measurement period, a small proportion were found to be responsible for a large proportion of the offences committed in a typical week. This can best be seen by inspection of Figure 2. It shows the cumulative percentage of shoplifting offences that were committed during an average week of the measurement period by offenders in five different quintiles. The quintiles were formed by ranking offenders according to their rate of offending from lowest to highest, and then dividing the offenders into five approximately equal groups. Thus, the first quintile consists of the bottom (or least active) 20 per cent of offenders, while the fifth quintile is made up of the top (or most active) 20 per cent of offenders. Of all the shoplifting offences admitted to having been committed during an average week of the measurement period, 57.0 per cent were committed by about 20 per cent of the shoplifting offenders.[20]

**Figure 2: Cumulative percentage of shoplifting offences committed by shoplifting offenders during an average week of the measurement period**




*Reasons for shoplifting offending*

Table 17 shows the proportion of shoplifting offenders according to the main reason they gave for committing shoplifting during the measurement period. From the table it can be seen that the reasons given for shoplifting varied considerably. About one-fifth of the offenders (20.6%) indicated they mainly shoplifted for clothes. A similar proportion said they mainly shoplifted for food (17.6%) or to obtain money to buy drugs (16.2%).

**Table 17: Frequency distribution of shoplifting offenders' main reasons for shoplifting offending during the measurement period**

| *Main reason for offending* | *No. of shoplifting offenders* | *% of shoplifting offenders* |
|---|---|---|
| To obtain clothes or money for clothes | 14 | 20.6 |
| To obtain food or money for food | 12 | 17.6 |
| To obtain money for drugs/alcohol | 11 | 16.2 |
| To relieve boredom/for something to do | 9 | 13.2 |
| To obtain goods (other than food or clothes) for personal use | 8 | 11.8 |
| To obtain money per se or for a specific use (not to buy food, clothes or drugs) | 7 | 10.3 |
| For excitement, thrills or fun | 4 | 5.9 |
| Peer influence | 2 | 2.9 |
| Stress | 1 | 1.5 |
| **Total** | **68** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes 14 offenders for whom the main reason for offending was unclear or unknown.

*Effects of offending on the victim*

At the time of offending, more than half of the shoplifting offenders (58.5%) thought that the people from whom they shoplifted during the measurement period could afford the theft to some degree. Only a small proportion (8.5%) thought that their victims couldn't afford it. About one-third of the offenders (32.9%) indicated that they neither

thought, knew or cared whether or not the shopowners could afford their goods being stolen.

Table 18 shows the proportion of shoplifting offenders according to how upsetting they perceived, at the time of their offending, their crime would have been for the victims they stole from. It can be seen that more than half of the shoplifting offenders said they didn't think about the emotional effects their crime would have on the victim, or they said they didn't know or care what those effects would be. In total, 29.6 per cent thought the victim would be upset to some degree.

**Table 18: Frequency distribution of perceived emotional effect of shoplifting offences (at the time of offending) on victims**

| *Perceived effect on the victim at the time of offending* | *No. of shoplifting offenders* | *% of shoplifting offenders* |
|---|---|---|
| Not at all upsetting | 14 | 17.3 |
| A little upsetting | 6 | 7.4 |
| Quite upsetting | 5 | 6.2 |
| Very upsetting | 13 | 16.0 |
| Didn't think, know or care | 43 | 53.1 |
| **Total** | **81** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes one offender for whom the upsetting rating was unclear or unknown.

*Risk of apprehension*

Most shoplifting offenders perceived the risks of getting caught for shoplifting to be small. Table 19 shows the proportion of shoplifting offenders according to how likely they perceived at the time of offending, they were to be apprehended for shoplifting. About 44 per cent thought they were not at all likely to get caught for shoplifting, while a further 40.7 per cent thought that the likelihood of them getting caught was only 'a little'.

**Table 19: Frequency distribution of perceived likelihood of being apprehended for shoplifting offences at the time of offending**

| *Perceived likelihood of apprehension at the time of offending* | *No. of shoplifting offenders* | *% of shoplifting offenders* |
|---|---|---|
| Not at all likely | 36 | 44.4 |
| A little likely | 33 | 40.7 |
| Quite likely | 5 | 6.2 |
| Very likely | 7 | 8.6 |
| **Total** | **81** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes one offender for whom the perceived likelihood of apprehension for shoplifting was unclear or unknown.

The *actual* chances of shoplifting offenders getting caught during the measurement period were slim. Table 20 shows the variation among shoplifting offenders in the percentage risk of apprehension during the measurement period, that is, the number of shoplifting offences they said they were caught for doing during the measurement period as a percentage of the total number of shoplifting offences they said they committed during the measurement period. Being caught included not only apprehension by the police, but apprehension by other individuals, such as security personnel and victims. More than two-thirds of the shoplifting offenders evidently did not get caught for any of the shoplifting offences they committed during the measurement period. A small proportion were caught for all the offences they committed.

**Table 20: Frequency distribution of percentage risk of apprehension for shoplifting offences during the measurement period**

| *Percentage risk of apprehension* | *No. of shoplifting offenders* | *% of shoplifting offenders* |
|---|---|---|
| 0% | 56 | 68.3 |
| >0 to 25% | 17 | 20.7 |
| >25 to <100% | 3 | 3.7 |
| 100% | 6 | 7.3 |
| **Total** | **82** | **100** |

### 3.1.10 Break and enter offending

*Participation in B&E*

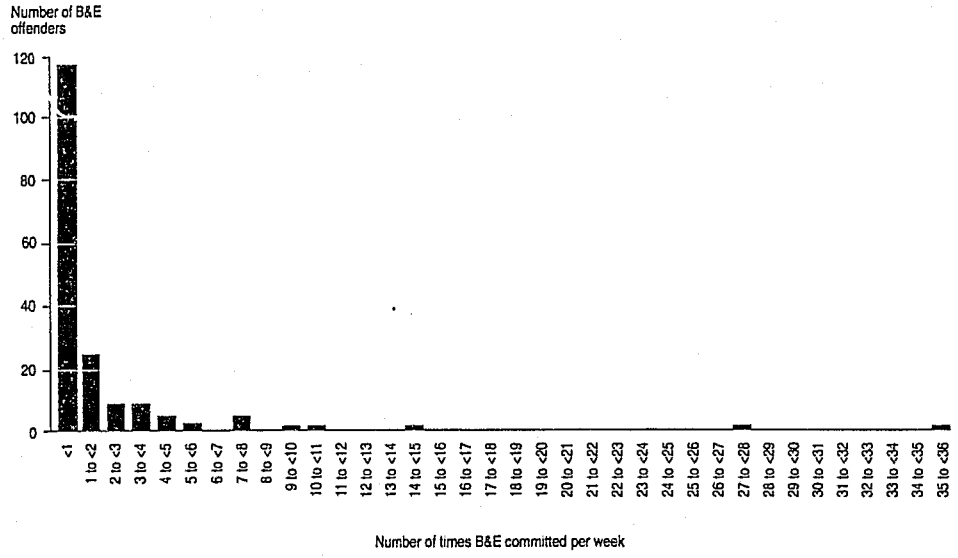
Most of the respondents (90.3% or 223 respondents) admitted they had committed a break and enter (B&E) offence at some time in their life. On average, respondents were aged 13.1 years ($s$ = 2.0 years) at the time of committing their first B&E.[21]

*Frequency of B&E offending*

During the measurement period, the majority of respondents (71.5% or 171 respondents) had committed B&E.[22] Figure 3 shows the frequency distribution of the weekly rate of B&E offending by respondents who committed B&E during the measurement period.

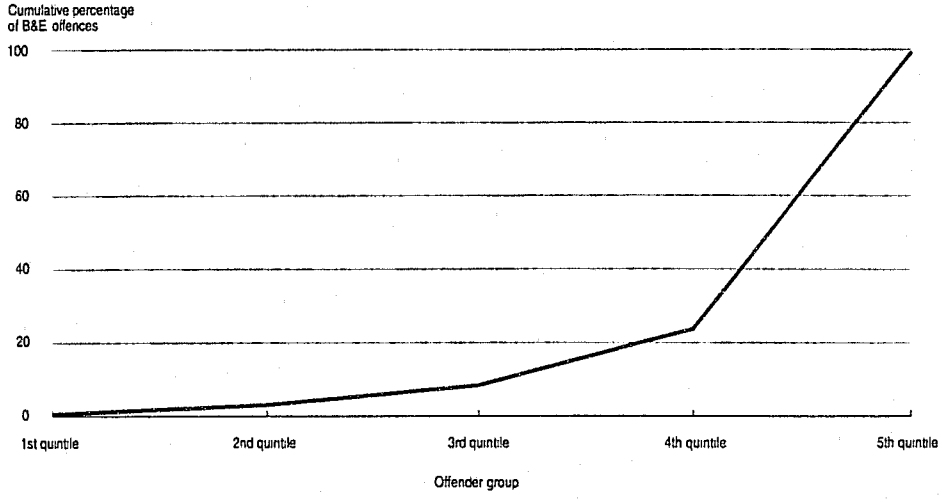
The range of offending for B&E offenders was greater than that for shoplifting offenders, with B&E offenders reporting up to 35 offences per week. The median number of B&E offences committed per week by B&E offenders was 0.39 offences, or a little over one offence every three weeks.

**Figure 3: Frequency distribution of the weekly rate of B&E offending by B&E offenders during the measurement period (N=171)**




As for shoplifting, a small proportion of B&E offenders accounted for a large proportion of B&E offences allegedly committed during the measurement period. Figure 4 shows the cumulative percentage of B&E offences that were committed during an average week of the measurement period by the five quintile groups of offenders. The fifth quintile group, or most active 20 per cent of B&E offenders, were responsible for three-quarters (76.1%) of the B&E offences committed during an average week of the measurement period.[23]

**Figure 4: Cumulative percentage of B&E offences committed by B&E offenders during an average week of the measurement period**



*Reasons for B&E offending*

The main reasons B&E offenders gave for committing B&E during the measurement period are shown in Table 21. Responses tended to cluster around two reasons: obtaining money per se or for some use other than to buy food or clothes, and obtaining money for drugs. Almost two-thirds of the respondents cited these as the main reasons for committing B&E. Unlike shoplifting, B&E was not typically committed to get food or clothes.

**Table 21: Frequency distribution of B&E offenders' main reasons for B&E offending during the measurement period**

| *Main reason for offending* | *No. of B&E offenders* | *% of B&E offenders* |
|---|---|---|
| To obtain money per se or for a specific use (not to buy food, clothes or drugs) | 48 | 31.4 |
| To obtain money for drugs/alcohol | 46 | 30.1 |
| For excitement, thrills or fun | 12 | 7.8 |
| To relieve boredom/for something to do | 9 | 5.9 |
| To obtain goods (other than food or clothes) for personal use | 7 | 4.6 |
| Peer influence | 6 | 3.9 |
| Under the influence of alcohol or drugs | 6 | 3.9 |
| To obtain clothes or money for clothes | 5 | 3.3 |
| Angry/lost temper | 4 | 2.6 |
| To obtain food or money for food | 2 | 1.3 |
| Other | 8 | 5.2 |
| **Total** | **153** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes 18 offenders for whom the main reason for offending was unclear or unknown.

*Effects of offending on the victim*

More than half of the B&E offenders (53.8%) at the time of offending thought that the people whom they burgled could afford the theft to some degree.[24] About 29 per cent (28.4%) indicated that they neither thought, knew or cared whether or not the people they stole from could afford the theft. The remaining 17.8 per cent thought the victims could not afford the theft.

Table 22 shows the proportion of B&E offenders according to how upset they perceived, at the time of their offending, their victims would have been. It can be seen that almost half said that at the time of offending they didn't think, know or care about the emotional impact on the victim. Compared with the percentage of shoplifting offenders who thought the victim would have been very upset (16.0%), a somewhat higher proportion of B&E offenders (28.8%) thought the victim would be very upset.

**Table 22: Frequency distribution of perceived emotional effect of B&E offences (at the time of offending) on victims**

| *Perceived effect on the victim at the time of offending* | *No. of B&E offenders* | *% of B&E offenders* |
|---|---|---|
| Not at all upsetting | 17 | 10.0 |
| A little upsetting | 12 | 7.1 |
| Quite upsetting | 13 | 7.6 |
| Very upsetting | 49 | 28.8 |
| Didn't think, know or care | 79 | 46.5 |
| **Total** | **170** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes one offender for whom the upsetting rating was unclear or unknown.

*Risk of apprehension*

Like shoplifting offenders, most B&E offenders at the time of their offending perceived the risks of getting caught for B&E to be very small. Table 23 shows the proportion of B&E offenders according to their perceived likelihood of being apprehended. About 56 per cent thought they weren't at all likely to get caught, while a further 20.0 per cent thought they were only 'a little' likely to be caught for committing B&E during the measurement period.

**Table 23: Frequency distribution of perceived likelihood of being apprehended for B&E offences at the time of offending**

| *Perceived likelihood of apprehension at the time of offending* | *No. of B&E offenders* | *% of B&E offenders* |
|---|---|---|
| Not at all likely | 89 | 55.6 |
| A little likely | 32 | 20.0 |
| Quite likely | 17 | 10.6 |
| Very likely | 22 | 13.8 |
| **Total** | **160** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes 11 offenders for whom the perceived likelihood of apprehension for B&E was unclear or unknown.

The *actual* chances of an offender getting caught during the measurement period were, overall, higher for B&E offenders than shoplifting offenders. Table 24 shows the proportion of B&E offenders according to their percentage risk of apprehension during the measurement period. About 45 per cent of B&E offenders evidently did not get caught by anyone for any of the B&E offences they committed during the measurement period. A relatively small proportion (13.5%) were caught for all the offences they committed.

**Table 24: Frequency distribution of percentage risk of apprehension for B&E offences during the measurement period**

| *Percentage risk of apprehension* | *No. of B&E offenders* | *% of B&E offenders* |
|---|---|---|
| 0% | 76 | 44.7 |
| >0 to 25% | 46 | 27.1 |
| >25 to <100% | 25 | 14.7 |
| 100% | 23 | 13.5 |
| **Total** | **170** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes one offender for whom the percentage risk of apprehension for committing B&E was unclear or unknown.

### 3.1.11 Motor vehicle theft offending

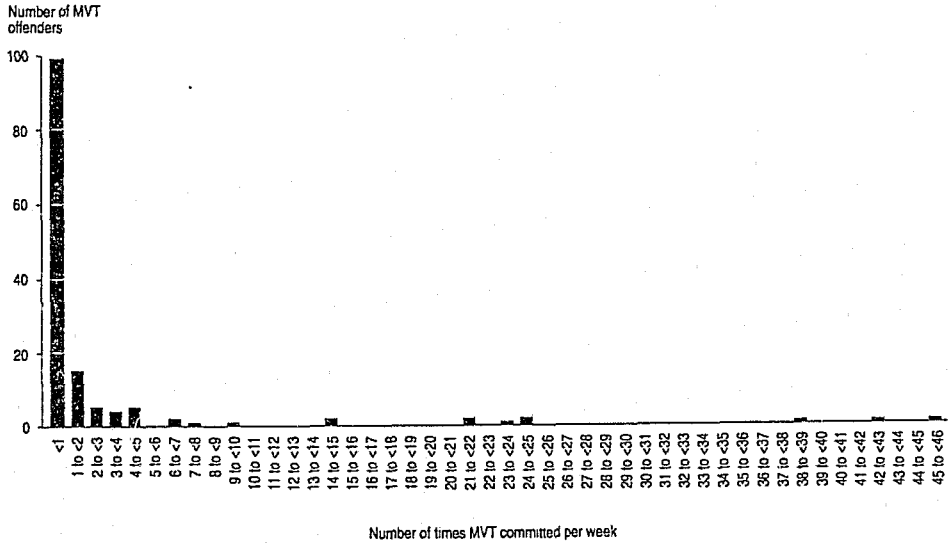
*Participation in MVT*

Over three-quarters of the respondents (78.5% or 194 respondents) said they had committed motor vehicle theft (MVT) at some time in their life. The mean age of these respondents at the time of their first MVT was 13.9 years ($s$ = 1.9 years).[25]

*Frequency of MVT offending*

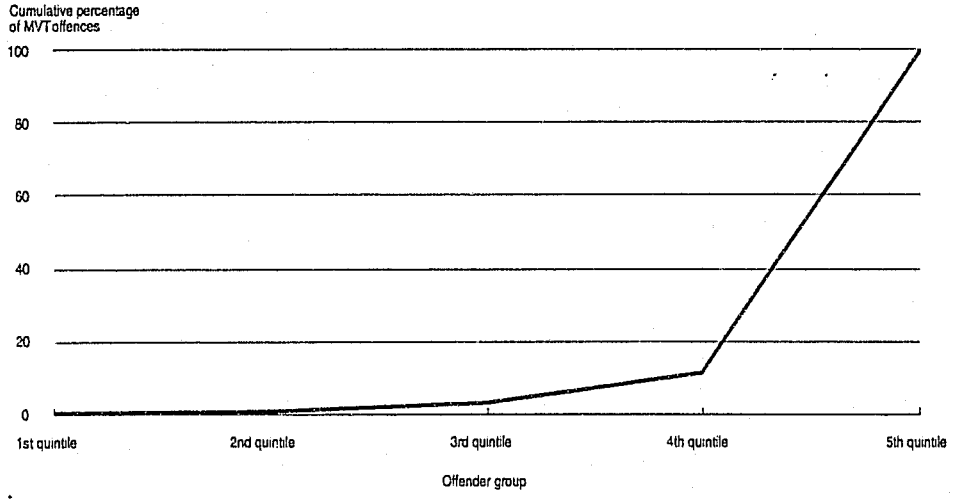
More than half of the respondents (58.7% or 142 respondents) said they had committed MVT during the measurement period.[26] The frequency distribution of the weekly rate of MVT offending by these respondents during the measurement period is shown in Figure 5. As with B&E offenders, MVT offenders varied greatly in the number of MVT offences committed. The highest reported frequency of offending during the measurement period was about 45 MVT offences a week. The median rate of offending during the measurement period for MVT offenders was 0.27 offences per week, or about one theft every four weeks.

**Figure 5: Frequency distribution of the weekly rate of MVT offending by MVT offenders during the measurement period (N=142)**



The cumulative percentage of MVT offences that were committed during an average week of the measurement period by the five quintile groups of offenders is shown in Figure 6. Almost 90 per cent (88.6%) of the MVT offences which occurred in a typical week during the measurement period were committed by just 20 per cent of MVT offenders, that is, the fifth quintile group.[27]

**Figure 6: Cumulative percentage of MVT offences committed by MVT offenders during an average week of the measurement period**




*Reasons for MVT offending*

Table 25 shows the proportion of respondents active in MVT during the measurement period according to the main reason they gave for committing MVT. From the table it can be seen that half of the MVT offenders (49.6%) committed MVT for transport purposes. The second most common reason offenders gave for stealing vehicles was for excitement, thrills or fun (24.1%).

**Table 25: Frequency distribution of MVT offenders' main reasons for MVT offending during the measurement period**

| *Main reason for offending* | *No. of MVT offenders* | *% of MVT offenders* |
|---|---|---|
| Need or want of transport | 66 | 49.6 |
| For excitement, thrills or fun | 32 | 24.1 |
| To obtain money per se or for a specific use (not to buy food, clothes or drugs) | 9 | 6.8 |
| To relieve boredom/for something to do | 7 | 5.3 |
| To obtain money for drugs/alcohol | 6 | 4.5 |
| Desire to drive | 5 | 3.8 |
| To obtain goods (other than food or clothes) for personal use | 2 | 1.5 |
| Other | 6 | 4.5 |
| **Total** | **133** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes nine offenders for whom the main reason for offending was unclear or unknown.

*Effects of offending on the victim*

Compared with shoplifting offenders (58.5%) and B&E offenders (53.8%), a smaller proportion of MVT offenders (34.3%) at the time of committing their offence thought that the people from whom they stole a vehicle during the measurement period could afford the theft to some degree.[28] A relatively large proportion of victims (32.1%) were thought not to be able to afford the loss of their vehicle. About one-third of the offenders (33.6%) indicated that they neither thought, knew or cared whether the owners could afford the theft of their vehicle.

Table 26 shows the proportion of MVT offenders according to how upsetting they thought, at the time of offending, their crime would have been to their victims. MVT offenders most commonly (40.8%) thought the victim would be very upset. This proportion was higher than that for shoplifting offenders (16.0%) and B&E offenders (28.8%). Almost 40 per cent said that at the time of offending they didn't think what emotional impact their theft would have on the victim, nor did they care or know what it would be.

**Table 26: Frequency distribution of perceived emotional effect of MVT offences (at the time of offending) on victims**

| *Perceived effect on the victim at the time of offending* | *No. of MVT offenders* | *% of MVT offenders* |
|---|---|---|
| Not at all upsetting | 7 | 4.9 |
| A little upsetting | 5 | 3.5 |
| Quite upsetting | 17 | 12.0 |
| Very upsetting | 58 | 40.8 |
| Didn't think, know or care | 55 | 38.7 |
| **Total** | **142** | **100** |

*Risk of apprehension*

MVT offenders perceived the risk of apprehension in much the same way as B&E offenders. From Table 27 it can be seen that at the time of their offending, almost 60 per cent of MVT offenders thought they were not at all likely to get caught for committing MVT during the measurement period. A further 19.6 per cent thought it was only 'a little' likely.

**Table 27: Frequency distribution of perceived likelihood of being apprehended for MVT offences at the time of offending**

| *Perceived likelihood of apprehension at the time of offending* | *No. of MVT offenders* | *% of MVT offenders* |
|---|---|---|
| Not at all likely | 79 | 57.2 |
| A little likely | 27 | 19.6 |
| Quite likely | 9 | 6.5 |
| Very likely | 23 | 16.7 |
| **Total** | **138** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes four offenders for whom the perceived likelihood of apprehension for MVT was unclear or unknown.

Of the three types of offenders examined in the study, MVT offenders had the greatest *actual* chance of getting caught during the measurement period, although their risk of apprehension remained fairly moderate. Table 28 shows the variation among MVT offenders in the percentage risk of apprehension during the measurement period. About 41 per cent of the offenders evidently did not get caught by anyone for any of the MVT offences they committed during the measurement period. Almost 17 per cent were apparently caught for all the offences they committed.

**Table 28: Frequency distribution of percentage risk of apprehension for MVT offences during the measurement period**

| *Percentage risk of apprehension* | *No. of MVT offenders* | *% of MVT offenders* |
|---|---|---|
| 0% | 58 | 40.8 |
| >0 to 25% | 43 | 30.3 |
| >25 to <100% | 17 | 12.0 |
| 100% | 24 | 16.9 |
| **Total** | **142** | **100** |

## 3.2 CORRELATES OF OFFENDING FREQUENCY

This section describes the association between rate of offending for the three offences examined (shoplifting, B&E, and MVT) and each of the developmental factors, lifestyle factors, attitude and perceptual factors, risk and punishment factors, and criminal history factors. Data for those factors which were found to be significantly related to offending frequency are presented in Appendix C in the order in which they appear in this section.

As mentioned earlier (p. 8), *low rate* offenders in the present study refer to those who commit less than one offence per week, while *high rate* offenders refer to those who commit one or more offences per week. Table 29 shows the relative frequency of

respondents in low and high rate categories for shoplifting, B&E, and MVT. It can be seen, under the present classification, that almost half of the respondents (47.6%) who were active in shoplifting during the measurement period were classed as low rate offenders. More than two-thirds of the B&E offenders (67.8%) were classed as low rate offenders, and a similar proportion of MVT offenders (69.7%) were classed as low rate offenders.

**Table 29: Number and percentage of low and high rate offenders for each offence type**

| *Offence type* | *Low rate <1 offence/week* | | *High rate ≥1 offence/week* | | *TOTAL* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Shoplifting | 39 | 47.6 | 43 | 52.4 | 82 | 100 |
| Break and enter | 116 | 67.8 | 55 | 32.2 | 171 | 100 |
| Motor vehicle theft | 99 | 69.7 | 43 | 30.3 | 142 | 100 |

### 3.2.1 Developmental factors

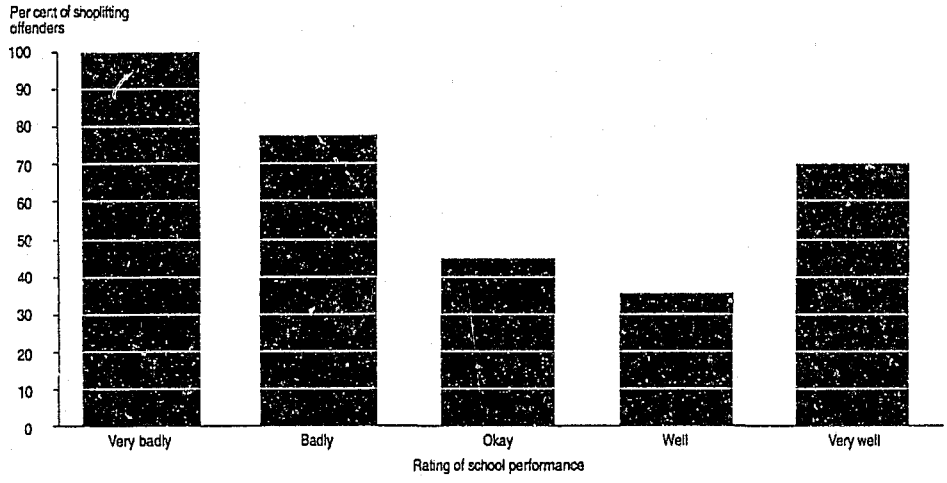
No statistically significant association was found between rate of offending for any offence and any of the following developmental factors:

- adult composition of the family in which an offender was raised;
- frequency of parental or guardian conditional affection/praise;
- frequency of parental or guardian involvement;
- frequency of parental or guardian supervision;
- frequency of parental or guardian conflict;
- whether a parent or guardian has ever had an alcohol or drug problem;
- highest grade completed at school;
- age at which an offender left school;
- frequency of truanting from school;
- frequency of suspensions or expulsions from school.

In relation to familial criminality, statistically significant associations were found, but only for MVT offenders, and only for selected family members. MVT offenders who knew that their mother or female guardian had been arrested were more likely to be high rate offenders ($X^2 = 4.6$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.05$). About 53 per cent of MVT offenders (52.9%) who knew their mother or female guardian had been arrested were high rate offenders, while about 28 per cent of MVT offenders (27.3%) who knew their mother or female guardian had not been arrested were high rate offenders. MVT offenders who reported that they knew that a relative, who was not part of their immediate family (such as an uncle, aunt, grandparent or cousin) had been arrested , were also more likely to be high rate offenders ($X^2 = 6.4$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.05$). Almost 42 per cent of the MVT offenders (41.8%) who said that a non-immediate family member had been arrested were high rate offenders, while the proportion of high rate offenders amongst MVT offenders who said that a non-immediate family member had not been arrested was about 22 per cent (21.5%).

With respect to the schooling factors examined, a statistically significant association was found for shoplifting between rate of offending and school performance ($X^2 = 10.1$, $df = 4$, $p < 0.05$). Figure 7 shows the proportion of shoplifting offenders who were high rate offenders according to the rating offenders gave for their performance at school. Generally, shoplifting offenders who rated their performance at school as poor were more likely to be high rate offenders.

**Figure 7: Percentage who were high rate offenders by rating of school performance (shoplifting offenders)**




Note: The analysis is based on 80 offenders for whom the rating of school performance was known.

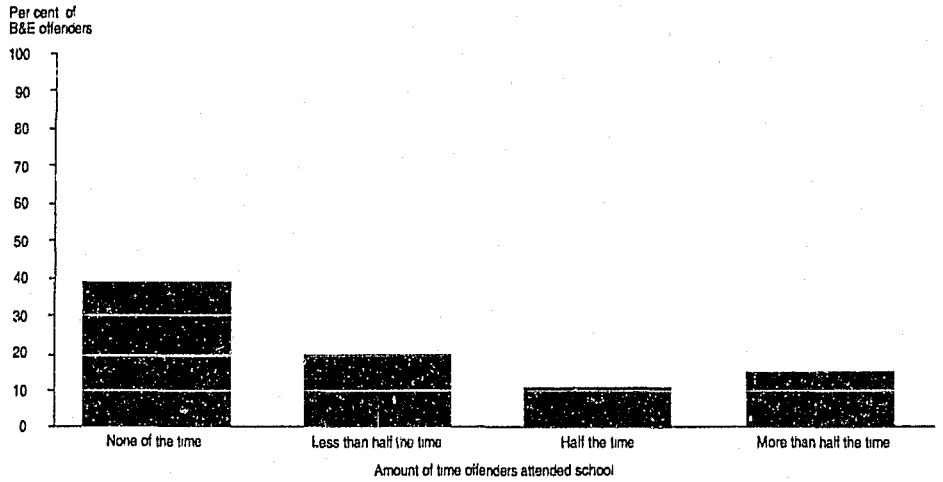
### 3.2.2 Lifestyle factors

No statistically significant association was found between rate of offending for any offence and any of the following lifestyle factors:

- residential mobility;
- inability to meet accommodation costs, namely rent or board;
- employment;
- use of alcohol;
- use of sleeping tablets or sedatives;
- use of narcotics;
- use of inhalants.

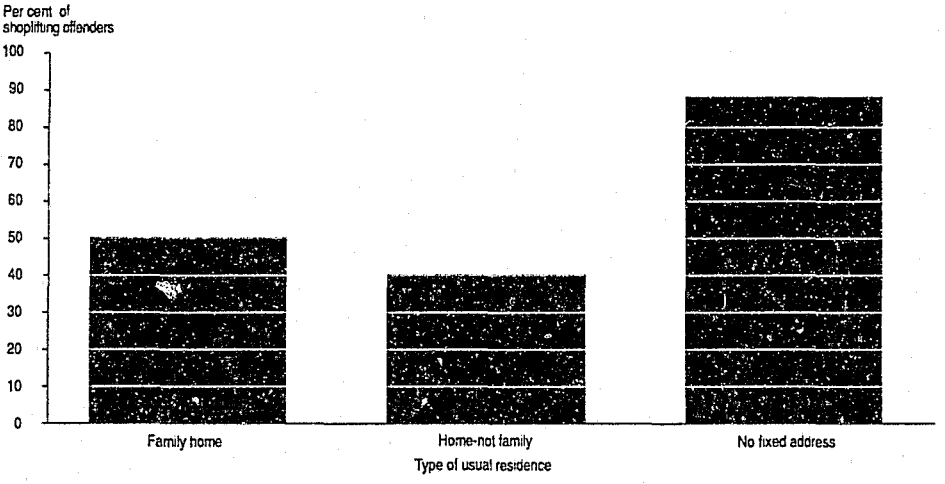
A statistically significant association was found between rate of offending and the amount of time offenders spent at school during the measurement period, but only for B&E offenders ($X^2 = 9.5$, $df = 3$, $p < 0.05$). Figure 8 shows the proportion of B&E offenders who were high rate offenders according to the amount of time offenders attended school. Generally, B&E offenders who said they spent proportionately less time at school during the measurement period were more likely to be high rate offenders than those who spent more time at school.

**Figure 8: Percentage who were high rate offenders by amount of time offenders attended school during the measurement period (B&E offenders)**




A statistically significant relationship was found between rate of offending and the type of residence offenders usually lived in during the measurement period for shoplifting offenders ($X^2 = 6.0$, df = 2, $p < 0.05$) and B&E offenders ($X^2 = 9.5$, df = 2, $p < 0.01$). Figure 9 shows the proportion of shoplifting offenders who were high rate offenders according to the usual residence of offenders. It can be seen that shoplifting offenders who did not have a fixed address during the measurement period were more likely to be high rate offenders than those who did have a home.

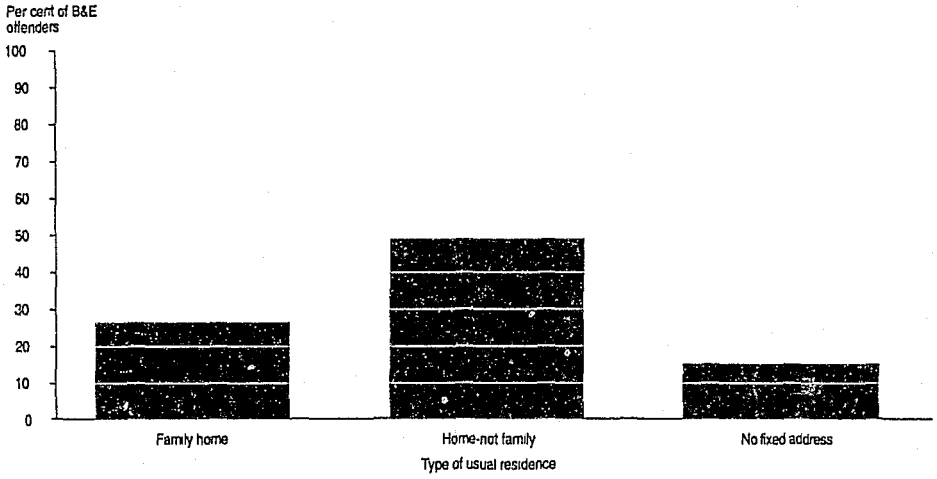
**Figure 9: Percentage who were high rate offenders by type of usual residence during the measurement period (shoplifting offenders)**




Note: The analysis is based on 80 offenders for whom the type of usual residence was known.

Figure 10 shows the proportion of B&E offenders who were high rate offenders according to the usual residence of these offenders during the measurement period. The pattern presented in Figure 10 for B&E offenders is somewhat different from that shown in Figure 9 for shoplifting offenders. B&E offenders who lived in a home away from their family were more likely to be high rate offenders than those who lived in a family home or had no fixed address.

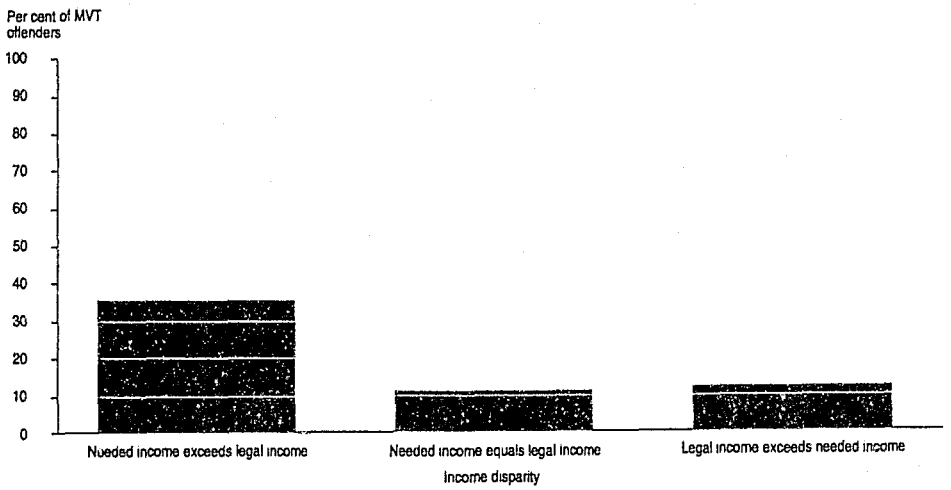
**Figure 10: Percentage who were high rate offenders by type of usual residence during the measurement period (B&E offenders)**




Note: The analysis is based on 167 offenders for whom the type of usual residence was known.

A statistically significant association was found between income disparity (i.e. the difference between the income perceived to be needed and the income received legally) and rate of offending, but only for MVT offenders ($X^2 = 7.0$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$). Figure 11 shows the proportion of MVT offenders who were high rate offenders, according to the disparity between the average amount of money MVT offenders received legally and the average amount they perceived they needed 'to get by on' each week during the measurement period. The largest proportion of high rate offenders was for MVT offenders who did not have their perceived weekly income needs met by their legal income.

**Figure 11: Percentage who were high rate offenders by income disparity during the measurement period (MVT offenders)**

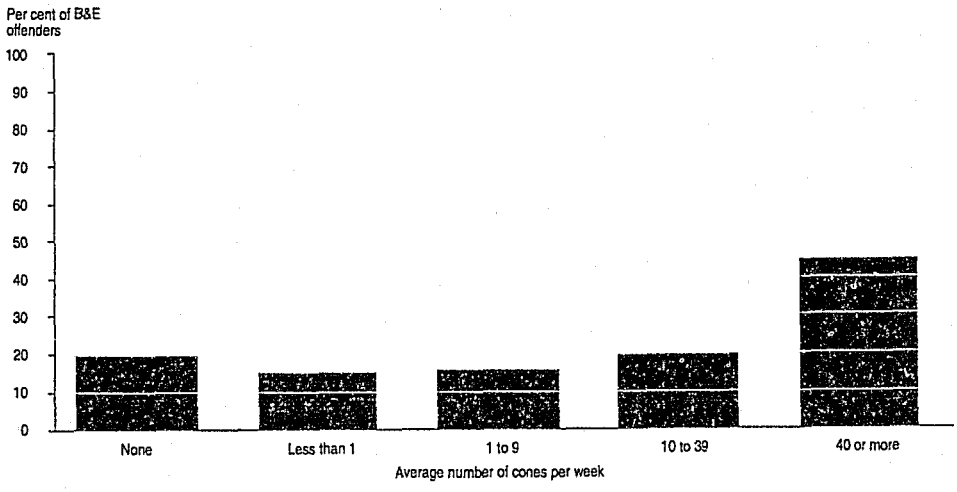



Note: The analysis is based on 138 offenders for whom the legal-needed income disparity was known.

A number of statistically significant relationships were found between drug factors and rate of offending. Generally, offenders who consumed drugs and consumed them more frequently or in larger amounts during the measurement period were more likely to be high rate offenders than those who consumed no drugs or consumed drugs infrequently.

Specifically, this result was obtained for B&E offenders for the following drugs: tobacco ($X^2 = 6.5$, df = 2, $p < 0.05$), hallucinogens and/or stimulants (mainly amphetamines) ($X^2 = 10.9$, df = 4, $p < 0.05$), and marijuana ($X^2 = 13.8$, df = 4, $p < 0.01$). Figure 12 shows

**Figure 12: Percentage who were high rate offenders by weekly marijuana use during the measurement period (B&E offenders)**




Note: The analysis is based on 169 offenders for whom the average number of cones smoked was known.

the proportion of B&E offenders who were high rate offenders for different levels of marijuana use. Among B&E offenders who used drugs, polydrug users were also more likely to be high rate offenders than those who used only one or two types of drugs ($X^2 = 10.0$, df = 3, $p < 0.05$).[29]

When B&E offenders were asked to rate the importance of different reasons for committing B&E during the measurement period, those who described the acquisition of money for drugs as a 'very important' reason for B&E offending were more likely to be high rate offenders ($X^2 = 14.4$, df = 3, $p < 0.01$). Just over half of the B&E offenders (50.9%) who said that money for drugs was a very important reason were high rate offenders.

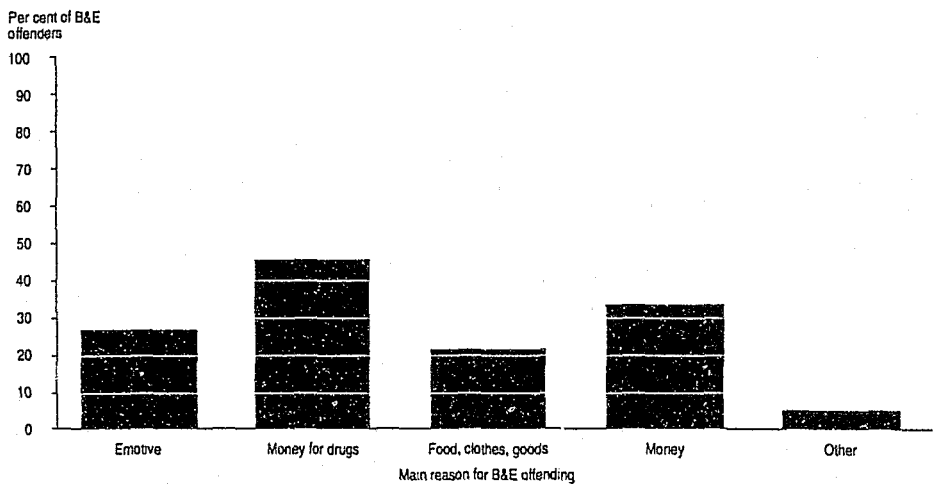
Similar results in relation to drug factors and rate of offending were obtained for MVT offenders. MVT offenders who used marijuana in larger quantities during the measurement period were more likely to be high rate offenders ($X^2 = 9.5$, df = 4, $p < 0.05$). No statistically significant association was found between rate of MVT offending and use of the following drugs: tobacco, and hallucinogens and/or stimulants (mainly amphetamines).

Like B&E offenders, MVT offenders who said that stealing vehicles to get money to buy drugs was a 'very important' reason for committing their offences during the measurement period were more likely to be high rate offenders ($X^2 = 27.5$, df = 3, $p < 0.01$). Over half of the MVT offenders (52.6%) who said that stealing to get money for drugs was a very important reason were high rate offenders.

For shoplifting, the only statistically significant relationship found between drug use and rate of offending concerned tobacco usage ($X^2 = 6.8$, df = 2, $p < 0.05$). Interestingly, in contrast to B&E offenders, shoplifting offenders who smoked cigarettes and smoked more of them during the measurement period were more likely to be low rate offenders.

In relation to each offence, offenders were asked to indicate their main reason for offending. Based on the main reason offenders gave, statistically significant differences

**Figure 13: Percentage who were high rate offenders by main reason for offending during the measurement period (B&E offenders)**




Note: The analysis is based on 153 offenders for whom the main reason for offending was known.

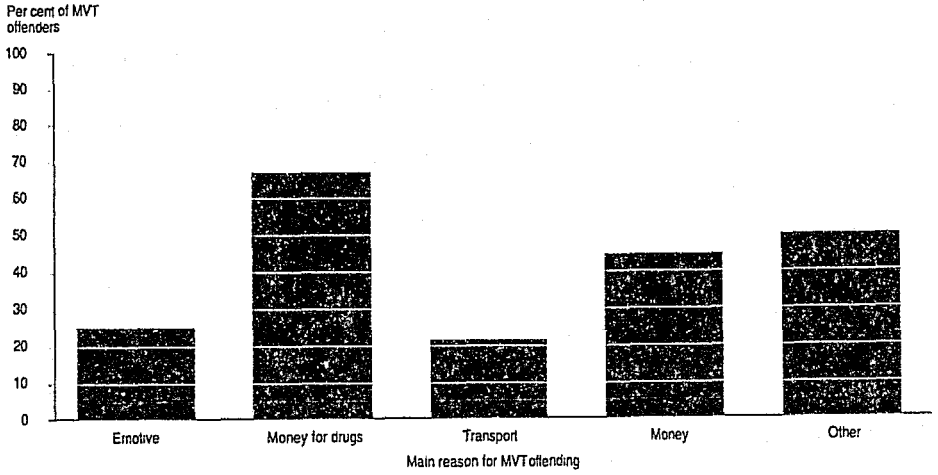
were found between high and low rate offenders for B&E ($X^2 = 11.3$, df = 4, $p < 0.05$) and MVT ($X^2 = 10.1$, df = 4, $p < 0.05$). Figures 13 and 14 show the proportion of B&E and MVT offenders, respectively, who were high rate offenders, according to the main reason they gave for offending.

From Figure 13 it can be seen that B&E offenders who cited the acquisition of money for drugs as the main reason for offending were the most likely to be high rate offenders.

Figure 14 indicates that two-thirds (66.7%) of those MVT offenders who cited money for drugs as the main reason for stealing vehicles, were high rate offenders. Further, more than 40 per cent of those MVT offenders who said that they mainly stole vehicles to get money per se, or for things other than drugs, food or clothes, were high rate offenders. In addition, about half of the MVT offenders who cited 'other' reasons as their main reasons for offending during the measurement period were high rate offenders. This 'other' category included various reasons such as peer pressure, and stealing to get goods for personal use. In relation to this latter reason, the importance offenders placed in it as a reason for offending was found to be related to the rate of MVT offending ($X^2 = 8.3$, df = 3, $p < 0.05$). Specifically, MVT offenders who said that stealing vehicles to get goods to use was a 'very important' reason (for committing MVT during the measurement period) were more likely to be high rate offenders. About 56 per cent of the MVT offenders (56.3%) who said stealing for personal use was very important, were high rate offenders.

Figure 14 shows that MVT offenders who cited emotive reasons, for example excitement, thrills, fun and anger, as the main reason for offending were more likely to be low rate offenders than to be high rate offenders. However, when MVT offenders were asked to rate the importance of getting excitement, thrills or fun as a reason for stealing vehicles during the measurement period, those who said that this reason was 'very important' were more likely to be high rate offenders than those who did not consider this reason very important ($X^2 = 10.1$, df = 3, $p < 0.05$). About 48 per cent of MVT offenders (47.7%) who said excitement, thrills or fun was a very important reason were high rate offenders.

**Figure 14: Percentage who were high rate offenders by main reason for offending during the measurement period (MVT offenders)**




Note: The analysis is based on 133 offenders for whom the main reason for offending was known.

### 3.2.3 Attitude and perceptual factors

No association was found between rate of offending for any offence and any of the following attitude and perceptual factors:

- whether offenders perceived victims could afford the theft;
- the degree to which offenders perceived victims would be upset by the theft;
- how upsetting offenders perceived they were, or would be, as a result of their family finding out about their crime;[30]
- how upsetting offenders perceived they were, or would be, as a result of their friends finding out about their crime;[31]
- how upsetting offenders perceived they were that, or would be if, their crime had hurt their chances of getting a good education;[32]
- how upsetting offenders perceived they were that, or would be if, their crime had hurt their chances of getting a good job.[33]

A statistically significant relationship was found between rate of offending and offenders' perceptions of personal theft victimisation, but only for MVT offenders who had experienced being a victim of car theft ($X^2 = 7.5$, df = 1, $p < 0.01$).[34] MVT offenders who said that they were either quite or very upset about having a car stolen were more likely to be low rate offenders than high rate offenders. The majority of MVT offenders who said they were quite or very upset (84.6%) were low rate offenders. Three-quarters of the MVT offenders (75.0%) who had a car stolen, who weren't upset or who were only a little upset by the experience, were high rate offenders.

### 3.2.4 Risk and punishment factors

No association was found between rate of offending in any type of offence and any of the following risk and punishment factors:

- the perceived likelihood of being apprehended;
- how upsetting offenders perceived different forms of formal social control, namely being caught by police; being hassled by police; going to court; getting a fine; getting a supervised order; getting a Community Service Order; being sentenced to detention; and being sentenced to prison. This finding was obtained regardless of whether or not an offender had been the subject of the form of social control under consideration.[35]

A statistically significant association was found between offenders' percentage risk of apprehension (i.e. the percentage of offences for which an offender was caught during the measurement period) and rate of offending for shoplifting ($X^2 = 12.4$, df = 3, $p < 0.01$), B&E ($X^2 = 40.2$, df = 3, $p < 0.01$), and MVT ($X^2 = 53.9$, df = 3, $p < 0.01$). The stacked bar graphs in Figures 15, 16 and 17 show the proportion of offenders who were high rate offenders according to their percentage risk of apprehension for shoplifting, B&E, and MVT offenders, respectively. For each of the four levels of risk shown in Figures 15 to 17, the proportion of offenders who were low rate offenders is also shown to make it clear that there were offenders in every level of risk of apprehension.

From Figures 15 to 17 it can be seen that the offenders who evidenced relatively low levels of risk were more likely to be high rate offenders. Conversely, offenders with

relatively high levels of risk tended to be low rate offenders. Indeed, irrespective of the type of offence, the offenders who evidenced 100 per cent risk (i.e. were caught for all the offences they committed during the measurement period) were all low rate offenders.

**Figure 15: Percentage who were high rate and low rate offenders by percentage risk of apprehension during the measurement period (shoplifting offenders)**

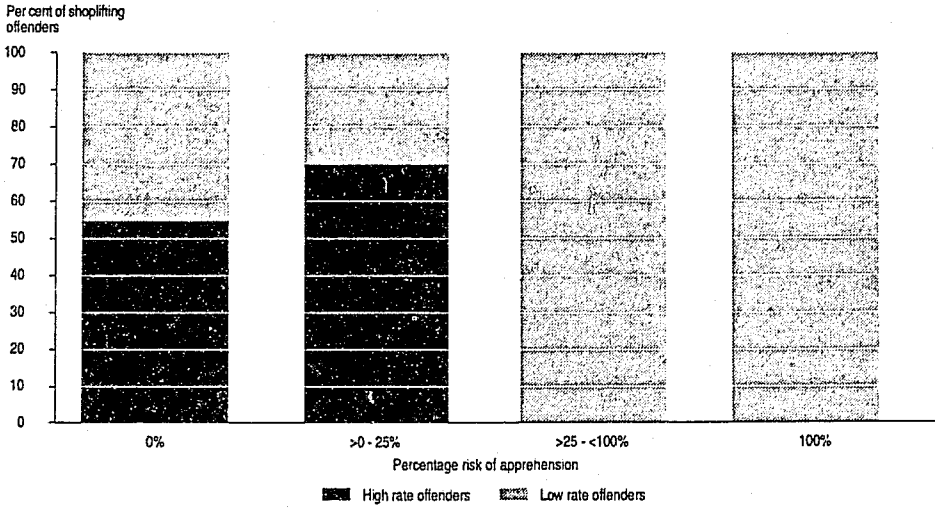
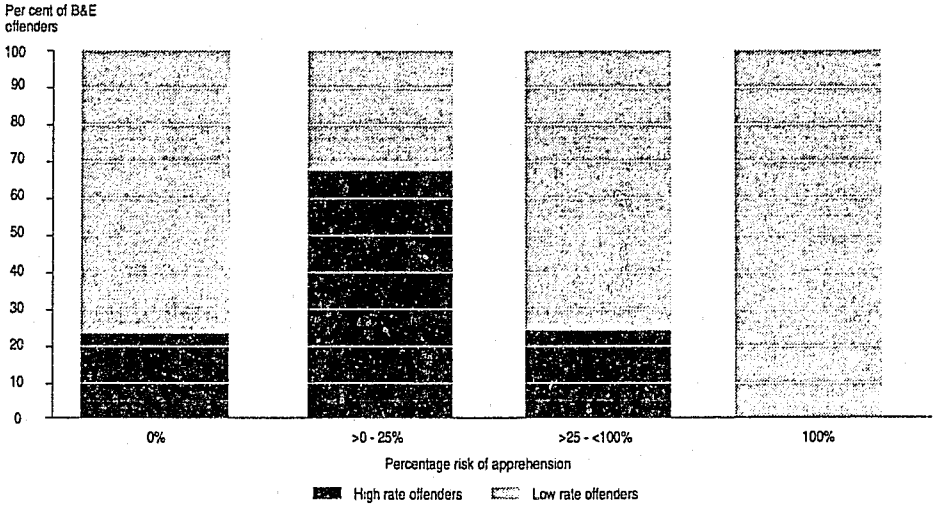
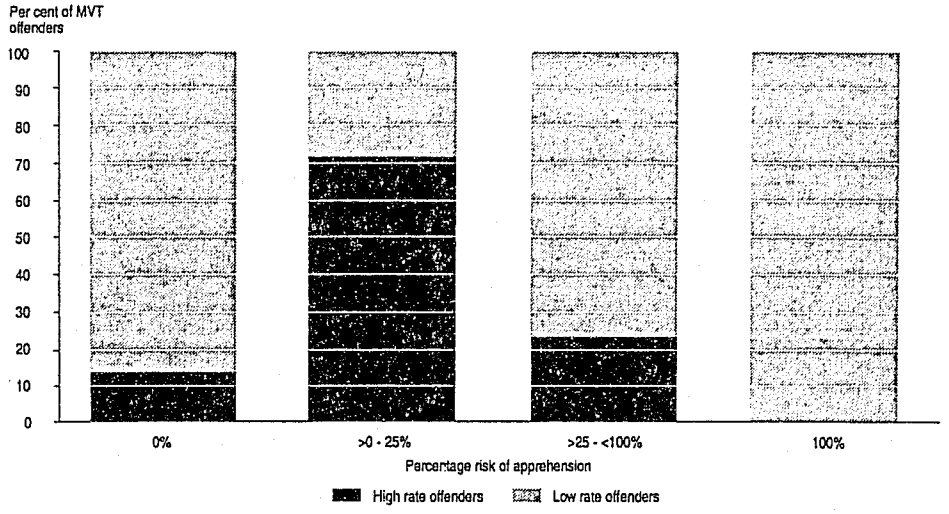



**Figure 16: Percentage who were high rate and low rate offenders by percentage risk of apprehension during the measurement period (B&E offenders)**




Note: The analysis is based on 170 offenders for whom the percentage risk of apprehension was known.

**Figure 17: Percentage who were high rate and low rate offenders by percentage risk of apprehension during the measurement period (MVT offenders)**




### 3.2.5 Criminal history factors

No association was found between rate of offending and any of the following criminal history factors:

- the age at which an offender first committed the relevant theft offence (shoplifting for shoplifting offenders, B&E for B&E offenders, and MVT for MVT offenders);[36]
- the age at which an offender was first apprehended for any offence;[37]
- the type of offence committed when an offender was first apprehended;
- involvement in the following types of offences during the measurement period: theft other than shoplifting, B&E, or MVT; fraud; violent offences such as assault or robbery; and vandalism.

In relation to offenders' involvement in criminal activity other than shoplifting, B&E or MVT during the measurement period, a statistically significant association was found between rate of offending and involvement in drug offences, but only for B&E offenders ($X^2 = 5.1$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.05$). During the measurement period, B&E offenders who dealt, grew or made drugs were more likely to be high rate offenders. About 40 per cent of the B&E offenders (40.2%) who were dealing, growing or making drugs were high rate offenders. The proportion of B&E offenders who did not commit drug offences that were high rate offenders was about 24 per cent (24.1%).

### 3.2.6 Summary

For shoplifting, the following offenders were more likely than others to be high rate offenders:

- those who rated their school performance as poor;

- those who usually lived at no fixed address during the measurement period;
- those who did not smoke tobacco during the measurement period;
- those whose percentage risk of apprehension was low during the measurement period.

For B&E, the following offenders were more likely than others to be high rate offenders:

- those whose school attendance was low during the measurement period;
- those who usually lived in a home away from their family during the measurement period;
- those who smoked tobacco during the measurement period;
- those who used marijuana and used large quantities of marijuana during the measurement period;
- those who used hallucinogens and/or stimulants (mainly amphetamines), and used them frequently, during the measurement period;
- those who were polydrug users during the measurement period;
- those who indicated that obtaining money for drugs was a very important reason for offending during the measurement period;
- those who indicated that obtaining money for drugs was the main reason for offending during the measurement period;
- those whose percentage risk of apprehension was low during the measurement period;
- those who dealt, grew or made drugs during the measurement period.

For MVT, the following offenders were more likely than others to be high rate offenders:

- those who said that their mother or female guardian had been arrested;
- those who said that a non-immediate family member had been arrested;
- those whose weekly legal income didn't meet their perceived weekly income needs during the measurement period;
- those who used marijuana and used large quantities of marijuana during the measurement period;
- those who said that stealing for excitement, thrills or fun was a very important reason for offending during the measurement period;
- those who said that stealing to get goods to use was a very important reason for offending during the measurement period;
- those who said that obtaining money for drugs was the main reason for offending during the measurement period;
- those who said that obtaining money per se or for some use other than to buy food, clothes or drugs was the main reason for offending during the measurement period;

- those who weren't upset or only a little upset at having been a victim of MVT;
- those whose percentage risk of apprehension was low during the measurement period.

# 4. DISCUSSION

The major aim of this study has been to identify the factors which distinguish offenders who commit theft offences at a high rate from those who commit these offences at a low rate. A number of factors appear to be significantly related to the rate at which juvenile offenders commit theft offences. While statistically significant associations between these factors and rates of offending do not guarantee the existence of causal links, the results nevertheless provide an indication of the types of strategies which *might* be useful in reducing theft offending among juvenile offenders. The significant associations and their implications for crime prevention are discussed below. Before proceeding to this discussion, however, some of the salient characteristics of the sample of respondents are reviewed.

## 4.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

The respondents' family characteristics are typical of those reported in studies of delinquent adolescents ( e.g. Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber 1986). Familial criminality was one such characteristic. A high proportion of respondents reported that a member of their family had been arrested. Compared with Australian teenagers in general (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1994), a large proportion of respondents grew up in families which comprised only one adult rather than two adults. This, too, accords with past research on the correlates of delinquency.

Consistent with previous findings (e.g. Tremblay et al 1992), respondents typically did poorly at school. A large proportion of respondents failed to complete the level of schooling generally required by the NSW education system. In the present study, one-third of the respondents age 15 years or over left school before they reached the age of 15 years. The corresponding population figure is 6.0 per cent (National Youth Affairs Research Scheme and Australian Bureau of Statistics 1993). Many respondents said they frequently truanted from school, and most had experienced being suspended or expelled from school. Very few described their performance at school as better than 'okay'. In their comments about school, respondents mentioned a dislike for school, particularly with respect to the rules and the teachers they had.

About two-thirds of the respondents (66.8%) were living in a family home during the measurement period. Given that almost 90 per cent of Australian teenagers live with their parents, this proportion is low (National Youth Affairs Research Scheme and Australian Bureau of Statistics 1993). A small proportion, about 7 per cent, could be described as homeless during the measurement period in that they had no fixed address (e.g. lived on the street, in a refuge). Overall, almost half were making rent or board payments.

As has been found in other Australian studies involving incarcerated juvenile offenders (see summary in Sidoti 1993), a high proportion of respondents were Aboriginal. One-quarter of the sample identified themselves as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander, while Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander juveniles make up less than 2 per cent of the NSW population aged 15 to 19 years (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1993). In relation to gender and age, the sample displayed characteristics consistent with those of children convicted in the Children's Court (Coumarelos 1994; New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research 1994). The vast majority of respondents (96.4%) were male, and more than half of the respondents (57.5%) were aged 16 or 17 years.

The lifestyle of respondents during the measurement period was characterised by frequent drug use. Many respondents used a variety of licit and illicit drugs. In accordance with previous findings (Zibert, Hando and Howard 1994; Zibert and Howard 1989), the most commonly and frequently used drugs were marijuana, tobacco and alcohol. Compared with teenagers in general, the level of drug usage among respondents was high (Cooney, Dobbinson and Flaherty 1993). For example, the 1992 survey of drug use among NSW secondary school students reported that about 40 per cent of teenagers aged 15 to 17 years had ever used cannabis, while at least 85 per cent of respondents in the present study said they had ever used marijuana. Weekly cannabis use was also more prevalent among respondents in the present study. More than three-quarters of the respondents (77.1%) said they used marijuana on a weekly basis, while the comparable proportion of 15 to 17 year old secondary students was about 10 per cent.

The legal income respondents received during the measurement period came from various sources, including Government allowances, pocket money, and employment. When income from all legal sources was considered, most respondents did not have their perceived income needs met by the money they received legally. The median amount of money respondents received legally per week on average during the measurement period ($70) was well below the March 1994 poverty line for a single unemployed person ($170) (Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research 1994).

As others have found with adult offenders (e.g. Maguire and Bennett 1982), many respondents in the present study said they did not care, know or think about the financial or emotional effects of their crime on the victim at the time of offending, regardless of whether the offence in question was shoplifting, B&E, or MVT. The degree to which a respondent perceived the victim would be upset appeared to be related to whether he or she thought the victim could afford the theft. For example, among shoplifting offenders, very few (8.5%) thought the people whose shops they stole from could not afford it and similarly a small proportion (16.0%) thought that the shoplifting victims would have been very upset. For MVT offenders, a relatively larger proportion (32.1%) thought the victims could not afford the theft of their vehicle and similarly a larger proportion (40.8%) thought the victims would be very upset at their loss. B&E offenders fell in between shoplifting offenders and MVT offenders in their assessments of the financial and emotional impact of their crime on victims.

The reactions respondents had to the different consequences of their crime, including their family and friends learning of their crime, were varied. The great majority of respondents said they weren't upset about their friends finding out about their criminal activity. Respondents' reactions to their family finding out about their crime were polarised, with one-third of the respondents rating this not at all upsetting, and an almost equal proportion rating it very upsetting. Substantially smaller proportions regarded the discovery of offending by the family as only a little or quite upsetting. While many did not elaborate as to why they were upset, some respondents mentioned being ashamed or embarrassed, some were upset that they'd let their parents down, while others said they were upset because their parents or other family members were upset. Respondents who weren't upset, at their family finding out about their crime, included those who had criminal family members or those who said they didn't care about what their family thought.

The response pattern to the question of whether involvement in crime had hurt their chances of getting a good education was similar to the pattern for family members finding out about their crime. A different finding, however, emerged in relation to the question of whether crime had hurt respondents' chances of getting a good job. A greater

proportion of respondents appeared upset about the possibility that their involvement in crime had hurt their chances of getting a good job, than appeared upset about the discovery of their offending by their family and friends. For example, whereas 61.2 per cent of respondents said they were either quite or very upset about crime hurting their chances of getting a good job, only 47.6 per cent were quite or very upset about the family finding out about their crime.

Respondents were also asked how upsetting they found various social control measures. The majority (76.2%) said they were not upset by, or only a little upset by, the experience of going to court. For the majority of respondents, moreover, none of the court options except detention and imprisonment appeared to be regarded as very upsetting. For example, only 6.4 per cent of respondents said that getting a Community Service Order was very upsetting.

Attitudes toward juvenile detention were fairly evenly divided amongst respondents. Around 30 per cent said that such detention was not at all upsetting. A similar proportion, however, maintained that it was very upsetting. The remainder were distributed in roughly equal proportions between 'a little upsetting' and 'quite upsetting'.

The single most distressing form of social control, according to respondents, was the prospect of imprisonment. Nearly 70 per cent indicated that they found this very or quite upsetting. Being hassled by the police appeared to be the next most upsetting form of social control, although opinions on this issue were polarised, with equal proportions (35.0%) maintaining that such treatment was not upsetting and very upsetting.

## 4.2 CORRELATES OF OFFENDING FREQUENCY

Close examination of the summary of findings (pp. 40-42) reveals that lifestyle factors are more important as correlates of offending frequency than developmental, attitude and perceptual, risk and punishment, and criminal history factors. However, different combinations of lifestyle factors emerged as significant correlates of offending frequency in each of the three categories of theft examined.

Actual risk of apprehension was the only risk and punishment factor found to be related to rate of offending for shoplifting, B&E, or MVT. It was significantly related to rates of offending in each of these categories of theft. Offenders with a low *actual* risk of apprehension during the measurement period were more likely to be high rate offenders. It is somewhat surprising, given this finding, that no corresponding relationship was found between *perceived* risk of apprehension and rate of offending. The absence of such a relationship may be interpreted in at least two different ways. It may be that the sample size (and therefore the power of the chi-square test) was insufficient to detect the relationship between perceived risk of apprehension and offending frequency. It may also be, however, that high rate offenders were more practiced at offending and for this reason alone enjoyed a lower actual risk of apprehension. If this latter possibility is accepted, increasing the risk of apprehension will not necessarily reduce the frequency of offending.

Amongst lifestyle variables, illicit drug use and the income need it generates appear to be crucial determinants of offending frequency for both B&E and MVT. Results from the present study showed that B&E and MVT offenders who said that they mainly offended in order to obtain money for drugs were more likely to be high rate offenders. For B&E, those offenders who used large quantities of marijuana, or hallucinogens and/or stimulants (mainly amphetamines) were more likely to be high rate offenders than those who used relatively small amounts. For MVT, offenders who used large quantities

of marijuana were also more likely to be high rate offenders. These findings strongly suggest that a reduction in illicit drug usage, and/or the income need it generates, may significantly reduce aggregate rates of B&E and MVT.

Zibert and Howard (1989) criticised the shortage of drug programs available for adolescents in NSW. The 1993 Green Paper on juvenile justice also emphasised the need for more comprehensive drug treatment programmes (Juvenile Justice Advisory Council of NSW 1993). Previous research suggests that many offenders are prepared to acknowledge that they have had drug problems but are reluctant to use the services available (Zibert, Hando and Howard 1994; Zibert and Howard 1989). If this is true, it is vital that the reason for this be explored with young offenders and appropriate strategies adopted to make drug treatment services more attractive.

Another strategy sometimes put forward as having the potential to reduce offending frequency is a change in the law which makes the cultivation of cannabis for personal use legal. This strategy would only work to the extent that the legal change in question lowered the cost of cannabis. The crime reduction benefits of such a strategy would also have to be weighed against a number of important public health considerations. In their review of studies examining the health and psychological effects of cannabis, Hall, Solowij and Lemon (1994) identify adverse psychological experiences, as well as psychomotor impairment (and consequently an increased risk of motor vehicle accidents), among the major probable effects of acute cannabis use. The effects of chronic cannabis use are less certain but are likely to include an increased risk of respiratory disease. It has been argued that these public health effects will be magnified if decriminalisation increases the prevalence or frequency of cannabis use (Hall 1994).

Some (Christie 1991; Sarre, Sutton and Pulsford 1989) have argued that decriminalisation of cannabis use in South Australia did not alter the prevalence of cannabis use in that State. However, Queensland's Criminal Justice Commission (1994) drew quite a different conclusion from the available empirical evidence. It should also be noted that evaluations of the effect of decriminalisation on cannabis usage in South Australia did not address the question of whether it altered the frequency or pattern of use among existing users. This question is no less important to a consideration of the health effects of decriminalisation than the question of whether the population of cannabis users has expanded.

It is not unreasonable to assume that decriminalisation of cannabis cultivation for personal use would reduce its price. However, even if decriminalisation did result in a reduction in drug-related theft offending, the benefits would have to be weighed against any increase in cannabis-related health costs, such as those stemming from an increased incidence of psychological problems, psychomotor impairment and respiratory diseases.

Decreasing the extent of juvenile drug use or the income needs associated with it, are not the only options for bringing about a reduction in rates of theft. An additional strategy is to increase the legitimate income-earning capacity of young offenders, thereby reducing the incentive for involvement in income-generating property crime.

Employment has been said to be the most effective means of reducing poverty among young people (Bell, Rimmer and Rimmer 1992). It is known that, among those involved in property crime, rates of offending are up to two-and-a-half times lower during periods of employment than during periods of unemployment (Farrington et al 1986). Just over one-quarter of the respondents in the present study were actually employed for some period of time during the measurement period. This proportion is substantially lower

than the proportion of Australian 15 to 19 year olds in general who are employed (about 42%) (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1994). For the most part, respondents who had jobs worked as labourers or in fairly menial positions. Many commented that they would like to gain some form of skilled employment. Given their severe lack of schooling, young offenders are not strong competitors in the skilled labour market. Measures which provide juvenile offenders with access to appropriate training, and/or which reduce juvenile unemployment, might also, therefore, reduce juvenile theft offending.

A combination of developmental and lifestyle factors were found to be associated with offending frequency among shoplifting offenders. Shoplifters who rated their performance at school as poor or who said they were homeless were more likely to be high rate offenders. The first of these observations is difficult to explain, although it is entirely consistent with earlier findings on the correlates of participation in crime. The observation concerning the impact of homelessness on offending frequency may be explained, but not in terms which are consistent with other findings in this study.

McCarthy and Hagan (1992, 1991) have argued that certain conditions which characterise homelessness may cause crime rather than homelessness per se. Such conditions, they suggest, include hunger and poverty. It can be argued that hunger and poverty both generate a motive for involvement in property crime. In the present study, however, although the need for food and clothes ranked highly as a motive for shoplifting, these needs did not discriminate high rate from low rate shoplifting offenders. Clearly, the relationship between homelessness and frequency of offending needs to be better understood before the impact on property crime of policies designed to reduce homelessness can be properly determined.

Consistent with previous findings, excitement and thrills emerged as an important motive for MVT offenders in the present study. Indeed, the level of importance MVT offenders ascribed to this reason for offending differentiated low rate from high rate MVT offenders. MVT offenders who said that getting excitement, thrills or fun was a very important reason for stealing vehicles were more likely to be high rate offenders than those who didn't. In terms of devising a strategy for reducing MVT offending, this finding suggests that a strategy is more likely to have positive results if it takes into account the high psychological pay-offs MVT provides for offenders. Unfortunately, the present study cannot identify which aspects of motor vehicle theft provide this pay-off. If offenders are motivated by a need for psychological stimulation, it is possible that changes in offending might be brought about through changes in lifestyle, such as through challenging and satisfying employment. Some research has found that car thieves who offend at a high rate show a passion for cars and a desire to have a car-related job early in life, implying that programs which combine teaching of driving and car maintenance skills with information about the risks and consequences of car theft may be useful (Nee 1993). Interestingly, in the present study, MVT offenders who indicated that stealing to get goods for personal use, such as car parts, was a very important reason for stealing vehicles were more likely to be high rate offenders.

For MVT offenders, familial criminality was found to be significantly associated with offending frequency, although the relationship was restricted to specific types of family members, namely the mother or female guardian, and non-immediate family members, such as uncles and cousins. The relationship between parental involvement with the law and offspring delinquency, it has been suggested, evolves from children witnessing and imitating the behaviour and attitudes of their parents (e.g. Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber 1986). This suggests that strategies aimed at fostering positive views toward law-abiding behaviour (or negative views toward law-breaking) may not be fully effective unless they target the families of offenders as well as the offenders themselves.

Whilst the present study identified a number of factors as significant for offending frequency, it is important not to overlook some of the factors which did not emerge as significant. The present results showed that low and high rate offenders do not differ in opinion of the risks of apprehension or the onerousness of various forms of social control. This does not mean that formal sanctions do not reduce participation in crime. Indeed, a recent Bureau study has shown that some 70 per cent of juveniles in NSW do not re-appear before the Children's Court after their first appearance (Coumarelos 1994). The present study does suggest, however, that offender attitudes toward the risk of apprehension and the severity of sanctions for offending do not play a significant role in determining the frequency with which they offend.

Another important finding in the present study concerns offenders' feelings toward the consequences of their crime. According to the results, how upset offenders say they are about their family members or friends learning of their crime does not appear to influence their rate of offending. Similarly, the way in which offenders perceive the financial and emotional effects on their victims at the time of offending is not related to offending frequency. At face value, these results suggest that crime prevention strategies which use shaming, such as the Family Group Conference (Braithwaite and Mugford 1994), may not necessarily exert strong effects on rates of shoplifting, B&E and MVT offending.[38] The results should, however, be interpreted in light of the way the present juvenile justice system operates; young offenders have very few opportunities to learn about the impact of crimes on their victims, and the involvement of the offender's family in the process is minimal. It is possible that a system which enables offenders to confront their victims and see the impact of their crime may reduce offending. Interestingly, the present study did find some evidence to suggest that offending frequency is influenced by victimisation. Amongst a small group of MVT offenders who had been victims of car theft, those who said they were quite or very upset at having a vehicle stolen were more likely to be low rate offenders. In this case, the low rate offenders may have offended less frequently because they sympathised with victims through their own victimisation.

In conclusion, the aim of the present study has been to identify the factors that discriminate low rate theft offenders from high rate theft offenders. Equipped with such information, it is possible to devise crime prevention strategies which might reduce the rate at which individuals offend, and, consequently, lower the aggregate rate of offending. It is clear from the findings of the present study, that strategies which reduce the number of high rate offenders could have a substantial impact on the aggregate crime rate.

Based on present findings, there are a number of strategies which might be effective at reducing rates of offending among juvenile theft offenders. It is noteworthy that few, if any of them, involve reliance on traditional methods of crime control. Furthermore, it seems that different theft offences may require different solutions. In the present study, only one factor was found to be related to offending frequency for all the three types of theft examined: actual risk of apprehension. The absence of any apparent relationship between perceived risk of apprehension and offending frequency, however, raises doubts about whether changes to the actual risk of apprehension would bring about changes to the frequency of offending. As noted earlier, it may just be that practiced high rate offenders have learned to minimise their risks of apprehension.

Whilst a number of potentially useful strategies have been identified, it is unlikely that a single response will bring about large reductions in offending. Juvenile offenders often experience multiple difficulties or problems requiring multi-faceted responses (Dembo et al 1991; Elliott et al 1989). Nevertheless, it is apparent from the present research that drug use and the income need it generates, are amongst the most important determinants of offending frequency. Measures designed to address these problems, therefore, are

perhaps the most likely to provide significant theft reduction dividends. Here again, though, the need for a multi-faceted response is evident. It is just as important to tackle the social and economic conditions which foster drug abuse, as it is to offer help to those who seek treatment for drug problems or whose drug-related offending brings them into contact with the law.

# NOTES

1 The Riverina Juvenile Justice Centre was excluded from the study due to financial constraints.

2 The seriousness of the offence was determined according to a hierarchy developed by the NSW Department of Juvenile Justice.

3 In addition to the 247 interviews and 34 refusals, another eight juveniles were interviewed, but the quality of the data from these interviews was too poor to be included in the study. The poor quality was largely due to severe memory problems.

4 Juveniles may not have been available due to such factors as illness or court appearance.

5 Both of the interviewers were involved in the construction of the interview schedule and were well-informed of the design and purpose of the study.

6 Respondents rarely wanted to write details themselves.

7 If a respondent was incarcerated for more than five months out of the six-month period, information was requested for the preceding six-month period. This occurred in a very small number of cases.

8 In the present study, a respondent was recorded as being an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander only if he or she identified himself or herself as an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander, regardless of his or her appearance.

9 In the present study, the family in which a respondent was raised was defined as that family in which the respondent had spent the greatest proportion of his or her life. In cases where the respondent had spent equal amounts of time in two types of families, the second family was recorded as the family the respondent grew up in.

10 The analysis is based on 238 respondents who grew up in a family and knew whether or not a family member had been arrested.

11 The analysis is based on 131 respondents who had a family member arrested and who had a brother and knew whether or not he had been arrested.

12 The analysis regarding non-immediate family members is based on 143 respondents who had a family member arrested, and who had non-immediate family members and knew whether or not they had been arrested. The analysis regarding fathers or male guardians is based on 142 respondents who had a family member arrested and who had a father or male guardian and knew whether or not he had been arrested.

13 The analysis regarding sisters is based on 115 respondents who had a family member arrested and who had a sister and knew whether or not she had been arrested. The analysis regarding mothers or female guardians is based on 145 respondents who had a family member arrested and who had a mother or female guardian and knew whether or not she had been arrested.

14 The analysis is based on 237 respondents for whom the disparity between legal and needed income could be determined.

15 In the majority of cases, respondents were able to indicate the number of cones they consumed. In some cases, however, they could only indicate their use in terms of weight or satchels. In these cases a cone was estimated to comprise approximately 0.35 grams of cannabis.

16 A standard drink refers to 10 grams of alcohol, that is, 285 ml of full strength beer, 120ml of wine, or 30 ml of spirits.

17 Some respondents preferred to use terms other than 'upset' such as 'angry', 'spewing', and 'pissed off', and these were included in the analyses as 'upset'.

18 The mean age is based on 211 respondents for whom the age at which shoplifting was first committed was known.

19 The percentage is based on 240 respondents for whom the weekly rate of shoplifting offending was known.

[20] In the analysis it should be noted that the number of offences committed by all offenders during a typical week of the measurement period does not necessarily represent the actual number of offences that occurred during that week. It may overrepresent the actual number of offences because an offence committed by one respondent may have involved one or more other respondents. Indeed, several respondents indicated that their co-offenders were in detention with them for the offences they had committed together during the measurement period.

[21] The mean age is based on 222 respondents for whom the age at which B&E was first committed was known.

[22] The percentage is based on 239 respondents for whom the weekly rate of B&E offending was known.

[23] See Note 20.

[24] The analysis is based on 169 offenders for whom the perceived financial effect on the victims was known.

[25] The mean age is based on 193 respondents for whom the age at which MVT was first committed was known.

[26] The percentage is based on 242 respondents for whom the weekly rate of MVT offending was known.

[27] See Note 20.

[28] The analysis for MVT offenders is based on 140 offenders for whom the perceived financial effect on the victims was known.

[29] The analysis is based on offenders who were drug users and for whom the number of drug types used was known. The drug types considered in the analysis are shown in Table 14. For alcohol, a drug user was defined as someone who consumed at least 3 standard drinks per week. For tobacco, a drug user was defined as someone who smoked at least 10 cigarettes per week. For each of the other types of drugs considered, a drug user was defined as someone who used the drug in question at least once per week.

[30] Separate analyses were not performed for offenders whose family knew about their involvement in crime and those whose family did not, because in most cases the family knew about their crime.

[31] Separate analyses were not performed for offenders whose friends knew about their involvement in crime and those whose friends did not, because in most cases the friends knew about their crime.

[32] For offenders' perceptions of their education prospects, separate analyses were conducted for those offenders who thought their chances had been hurt, and those who thought their chances had not been hurt.

[33] For offenders' perceptions of their job prospects, separate analyses were conducted for those offenders who thought their job chances had been hurt, and those who thought their chances had not been hurt.

[34] For offenders' perceptions of their own victimisation, separate analyses were conducted for those offenders who had been a victim of theft and those who had not.

[35] For offenders' perceptions of getting a CSO, separate analyses were conducted for those offenders who had been given a CSO and those who had not. All other analyses examining offenders' perceptions of formal social control measures included all offenders. Separate analyses were not conducted for offenders who had and those who hadn't experienced the other measures, because for each measure the number of respondents who hadn't experienced the measure was small. The only exception was for prison. Separate analyses were not performed for offenders' perceptions of prison because virtually all offenders had not been sentenced to prison.

[36] These data were analysed using the t-test. The analyses were restricted to offenders who were aged at least 15 years at the time of the arrest for the offence for which they were serving a control order, and who first committed the relevant offence before the age of 16 years (for shoplifting N = 61, for B&E N = 132, and for MVT N = 100).

[37] These data were analysed using the t-test. The analyses were restricted to offenders who were aged at least 15 years at the time of the arrest for the offence for which they were serving a control order, and who were first apprehended before the age of 16 years (for shoplifting N = 55, for B&E N = 128, and for MVT N = 106).

[38] The Family Group Conference system which operates in New Zealand, and is soon to be introduced across NSW, it is said, aims to shame (through denunciation by the offender's family, the victim and the law) and reintegrate the offender into the community after the offender's acknowledgment of wrongdoing, apology and reparation (Braithwaite and Mugford 1994).

# REFERENCES


Agnew, R. 1990, 'The origins of delinquent events: An examination of offender accounts', *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, vol. 27, no.3, pp. 267-294.

Alder, C. 1986, '"Unemployed women have got it heaps worse": Exploring the implications of female youth unemployment', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, vol. 19, pp. 210-224.

Altschuler, D.M. & Brounstein, P.J. 1991, 'Patterns of drug use, drug trafficking, and other delinquency among inner-city adolescent males in Washington, D.C.', *Criminology*, vol. 29, no. 4, pp. 589-622.

Australian Bureau of Statistics 1994, *The Labour Force, New South Wales and Australian Capital Territory, February 1994*, Cat. no. 6201.1, ABS, Sydney.

Australian Bureau of Statistics 1994, *Focus on Families: Demographics and Family Formation*, Cat. no. 4420.0, ABS, Canberra.

Australian Bureau of Statistics 1993, *Census Characteristics of New South Wales*, Cat. no. 2710.1, ABS, Sydney.

Baerveldt, C. 1992, 'Schools and the prevention of petty crime: Search for a missing link', *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 79-94.

Bell, D.N.F., Rimmer, R.J. & Rimmer, S.M. 1992, 'Poverty in Australia: A study of the implications of education, household formation and the labour market experience of the young', in *Youth in the Eighties*, eds R.G.Gregory & T.Karmel, Centre for Economic Policy Research, Australian National University, Canberra.

Belson, W.A. 1975, *Juvenile Theft: The Causal Factors*, Harper & Row, London.

Bennett, T. & Wright, R. 1984, *Burglars on Burglary: Prevention and the Offender*, Gower, Aldershot.

Braithwaite, J. & Mugford, S. 1994, 'Conditions of successful reintegration ceremonies: Dealing with juvenile offenders', *British Journal of Criminology*, vol. 34, no. 2, pp. 139-171.

Blumstein, A., Cohen, J., Roth, J.A., & Visher, C.A. 1986, *Criminal Careers and "Career Criminals", Volume 1*, National Academy Press, Washington, D.C.

Christie, P. 1991, *The Effects of Cannabis Legislation in South Australia on Levels of Cannabis Use*, Monitoring Evaluation and Research Unit, Drug and Alcohol Service Council, Adelaide.

Collins, J.J. 1986, 'The relationship of problem drinking to individual offending sequences', in *Criminal Careers and "Career Criminals", Volume 2*, eds A.Blumstein, J.Cohen, J.A.Roth & C.A.Visher, National Academy Press, Washington, D.C.

Cooney, A., Dobbinson, S. & Flaherty, B. 1993, *Drug Use by NSW Secondary School Students: 1992 Survey*, NSW State Health Publication No: (DAD) 93-98.

Coumarelos, C. 1994, *Juvenile Offending: Predicting Persistence and Determining the Cost-Effectiveness of Interventions*, NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, Sydney.

Criminal Justice Commission 1994, *Report on Cannabis and the Law in Queensland*, Criminal Justice Commission, Toowong.

Cromwell, P. 1994, 'Juvenile burglars', *Juvenile and Family Court Journal*, vol. 45, no. 2, pp. 85-91.

Decker, S., Wright, R. & Logie, R. 1993, 'Perceptual difference among active residential burglars: A research note,' *Criminology*, vol. 31, no. 1, pp. 135-147.

Department of Employment, Education and Training 1991, *1989 Australian Youth Survey - First Results*, Monograph Series No. 9, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

Dembo, R., Williams, L., Schmeidler, J., Wish, E.D., Getreu, A. & Berry, E. 1991, 'Juvenile crime and drug abuse: A prospective study of high risk youth', *Journal of Addictive Diseases*, vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 5-31.

Dobinson, I. & Ward, P. 1985, *Drugs and Crime: A Survey of NSW Prison Property Offenders 1984*, NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, Sydney.

Elliott, D.S., Huizinga, D. & Menard, S. 1989, *Multiple Problem Youth: Delinquency, Substance Use, and Mental Health Problems*, Springer-Verlag, New York.

Farrington, D.P. 1983, 'Offending from 10 to 25 years of age', in *Prospective Studies of Crime and Delinquency*, eds K.Teilmann Van Dusen & S.A.Mednick, Kluwer-Nijhoff, Boston.

Farrington, D.P. 1987a, 'Early precursors of frequent offending', in *From Children to Citizens, Volume 3: Families, Schools, and Delinquency Prevention*, eds J.Q.Wilson & G.C.Loury, Springer-Verlag, New York.

Farrington, D.P. 1987b, 'Predicting individual crime rates', in *Prediction and Classification: Criminal Justice Making, Crime and Justice: A Review of Research, Volume 9*, eds D.M.Gottfredson & M.Tonry, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Farrington, D.P., Gallagher, B., Morley, L., St. Ledger, R.J. & West, D.J. 1986, 'Unemployment, school leaving, and crime', *British Journal of Criminology*, vol. 26, no. 4, pp. 335-356.

Hall, W. 1994, 'The health and psychological effects of cannabis use', Paper presented to Cannabis: What Role For the Criminal Justice System? Seminar, Sydney, 28 July.

Hall, W., Solowij, N. & Lemon, J. 1994, *The Health and Psychological Consequences of Cannabis Use*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

Hartley, R. 1989, '"You don't cope, you struggle"', *Family Matters: AIFS Newsletter*, no. 23, pp. 6-9.

Henry, B., Moffitt, T., Robins, L., Earls, F. & Silva, P. 1993, 'Early family predictors of child and adolescent antisocial behaviour: Who are the mothers of delinquents?', *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health*, vol. 3, pp. 97-118.

Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission 1989, *Our Homeless Children: Report of the National Inquiry into Homeless Children*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research 1994, *Poverty Lines: Australia, March Quarter 1994*, IAESR, Melbourne.

Jarjoura, G.R. 1993, 'Does dropping out of school enhance delinquent involvement? Results from a large-scale national probability sample', *Criminology*, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 149-172.

Jarvis, G. & Parker, H. 1989, 'Young heroin users and crime: How do the "new users" finance their habits?', *British Journal of Criminology*, vol. 29, no. 2, pp. 175-185.

Juvenile Justice Advisory Council of NSW 1993, *Future Directions for Juvenile Justice in New South Wales*, Green Paper, Juvenile Justice Advisory Council of NSW, Sydney.

Krohn, M.D., Stern, S.B., Thornberry, T.P. & Jang, S.J. 1992, 'The measurement of family process variables: The effect of adolescent and parent perceptions of family life on delinquent behavior', *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, vol. 8, no. 5, pp. 287-315.

Landsheer, J.A., Hart, H. & Kox, W. 1994, 'Delinquent values and victim damage: Exploring the limits of neutralization theory', *British Journal of Criminology*, vol. 34, no. 1, pp. 44-53.

Lauritsen, J.L. 1993, 'Sibling resemblance in juvenile delinquency: Findings from the National Youth Survey', *Criminology*, vol. 31, no. 3, pp. 387-409.

Loeber, R. & Stouthamer-Loeber, M. 1986, 'Family factors as correlates and predictors of juvenile conduct problems and delinquency', in *Crime and Justice: An Annual Review of Research, Volume 7*, eds M.Tonry & N.Morris, The University of Chicago, Chicago.

Maguire, M. & Bennett, T. 1982, *Burglary in a Dwelling: The Offence, the Offender and the Victim*, Heinemann, London.

McCaghy, C.H., Giordano, P.C., & Knicely Henson, T. 1977, 'Auto theft: Offender and offense characteristics, *Criminology*, vol. 15, no. 3, pp. 367-385.

McCarthy, B. & Hagan, J. 1991, 'Homelessness: A criminogenic situation?', *British Journal of Criminology*, vol. 31, no. 4, pp. 393-410.

McCarthy, B. & Hagan, J. 1992, 'Mean streets: The theoretical significance of situational delinquency among homeless youths', *AJS*, vol. 98, no. 3, pp. 597-627.

Morash, M. 1983, 'Gangs, groups, and delinquency', *The British Journal of Criminology*, vol. 23, no. 4, pp. 309-335.

Nagin, D.S. & Smith, D.A. 1990, 'Participation in and frequency of delinquent behavior: A test for structural differences', *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, vol. 6, no. 4, pp. 335-356.

National Youth Affairs Research Scheme and Australian Bureau of Statistics 1993, *New South Wales' Young People: A Statistical Profile*, Cat. no. 4123.1, ABS, Sydney.

Nee, C. 1993, *Car theft: The offender's perspective*, Research Findings No.3, Home Office Research and Statistics Department, London.

New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research 1994, *New South Wales Criminal Courts Statistics 1993*, NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, Sydney.

Nurco, D.N., Hanlon, T.E., Kinlock, T.W. & Duszynski, K.R. 1988, 'Differential criminal patterns of narcotic addicts over an addiction career', *Criminology*, vol. 26, no. 3, pp. 407-423.

O'Connor, I. & Sweetapple, P. 1988, *Children in Justice*, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne.

Paternoster, R. & Iovanni, L. 1986, 'The deterrent effect of perceived severity: A reexamination', *Social Forces*, vol. 64, pp. 751-777.

Paternoster, R. & Triplett, R. 1988, 'Disaggregating self-reported delinquency and its implications for theory', *Criminology*, vol. 26, no. 4, pp. 591-625.

Sarre, R., Sutton, A. & Pulsford, T. 1989, *Cannabis: The Expiation Notice Approach*, Office of Crime Statistics, Adelaide.

Schneider, A.L. 1990, *Deterrence and Juvenile Crime: Results from a National Policy Experiment*, Springer-Verlag, New York.

Sidoti, C. 1993, 'The Commonwealth's responsibility for Aboriginal young offenders', in *Aboriginal Justice Issues*, ed. S.McKillop, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.

Smith, D.A., Visher, C.A. & Jarjoura, G.R. 1991, 'Dimensions of delinquency: Exploring the correlates of participation, frequency, and persistence of delinquent behavior', *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, vol. 28, no. 1, pp. 6-32.

Sykes, G.M. & Matza, D. 1957, 'Techniques of neutralization: A theory of delinquency', *American Sociological Review*, vol. 22, pp. 664-670.

Tolan, P.H. 1987, 'Implications of age of onset for delinquency risk', *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, vol. 15, no. 1, pp. 47-65.

Tremblay, R.E., Masse, B., Perron, D., Leblanc, M., Schwartzman, A.E. & Ledingham, J.E. 1992, 'Early disruptive behavior, poor school achievement, delinquent behavior, and delinquent personality: Longitudinal analyses', *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, vol. 60, no. 1, pp. 64-72.

Tunnell, K.D. 1990, 'Choosing crime: Close your eyes and take your chances', *Justice Quarterly*, vol. 7, no. 4, pp. 673-690.

Warner, C. 1982, 'A study of the self-reported crime of a group of male and female high school students', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, vol. 15, pp. 255-272.

Warr, M. 1993, 'Age, peers, and delinquency,' *Criminology*, vol. 31, no. 1, pp. 17-40.

Weintraub, K.J. & Gold, M. 1991, 'Monitoring and delinquency', *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health*, vol. 1, pp. 268-281.

Wilks, J. 1992, 'What really matters? Important issues in adolescence', *Youth Studies Australia*, vol. 11, no. 4, pp. 49-55.

Wish, E.D. & Johnson, B.D. 1986, 'The impact of substance abuse on criminal careers', in *Criminal Careers and "Career Criminals", Volume 2*, eds A.Blumstein, J.Cohen, J.A.Roth & C.A.Visher, National Academy Press, Washington, D.C.

Wolfgang, M.E., Figlio, R.M. & Sellin, T. 1972, *Delinquency in a Birth Cohort*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Wortley, R. 1986, 'Neutralizing moral contraint', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, vol. 19, no. 4, pp. 251-258.

Zibert, E., Hando, J. & Howard, J. 1994, *Patterns of Drug Use and Indicators of Harm Among Persons Detained in New South Wales Juvenile Justice Centres 1993*, Department of Juvenile Justice, Sydney.

Zibert, E. & Howard, J. 1989, *Curious, Bored, and Wanting to Feel Good: A Survey of Drug Use and Related Perceptions in a Detained Young Offender Population in New South Wales*, Research Publication No. 67, Department of Family and Community Services, Sydney.

# APPENDIX A

Note: Response alternatives enclosed in a box such as this one were shown on cards to respondents.

## NSW YOUNG OFFENDER SURVEY

Form Number:

Date of interview: ☐☐/☐☐/☐☐

Interviewer: P.S. 1 R.B. 2 ☐

*(Personal introduction)*

We're doing this study to find out about different things which affect young people today. We're interviewing lots of young people around the State to get a better picture of what is happening with young people at the moment.

We ask a range of questions about different things, such as your experiences at school, your family, your income and any trouble you've had with the law. It is not a test of any kind and will take about 30 minutes to finish.

All the information for the study remains strictly **confidential.** This means I'm not allowed to talk to anyone about any of the things you tell me today, and that includes anyone from Juvenile Justice or the Police. I will not put your name or anything else which may identify you on my form so you are completely **anonymous** in this study.

Your participation in this study is **voluntary**. This means that you don't have to answer any questions you don't want to and you can ask me to stop at any time.

Would you like to take part in this study?

Have you got any questions about what I've said so far?

When we get started, if you're unsure about anything feel free to ask me a question at any time.

1 Sex

male 1
female 2

2 Current legal status

Control order 1
CSO 2
Supervised order 3
Fine 4
Unsupervised order 5
Dismissed 6
other 7

3 How old are you?

4 In what country were you born?

In what country was your mother born?

In what country was your father born?

Australia 1
other Oceania 2
Europe 3
Asia 4
don't know 5
other 6

specify: .....

specify: .....

specify: .....

5 Are you an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander?

yes 1
no 2

6 Whereabouts did you grow up?

... postcode?

specify: .....

7 Before you were locked up had you left school?

*Have you left school?*

| | |
|---|---|
| yes | 1 |
| no | 2 |

---

8 What grade or year had you completed when you left school?

*What grade or year have you completed?*

e.g. grade 4 04
year 7 07

**If respondent still at school, go to Q.10**

---

9 How old were you when you left school?

---

10 Before you were locked up how well did you do at school?

*How well (did you do/are you doing) at school?*

| | |
|---|---|
| very badly | 1 |
| badly | 2 |
| okay | 3 |
| well | 4 |
| very well | 5 |

---

11 How many days a month on average (did/do) you 'wag' school?

---

12 How many times (were you/ have you been) suspended or expelled from school?

---

13 What sort of family did you grow up in?

Did you live with ...

| | |
|---|---|
| 2 parents or adults | 1 |
| 1 parent or adult | 2 |
| no adults | 3 ▶ GO TO Q. 20 |
| institution, e.g. Ward | 4 ▶ GO TO Q. 22 |
| other | 5 |

specify: .....

14 Were you living with this family just before you were locked up?

*Do you live with this family now?*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| yes | 1 | |
| no | 2 | |

## The next questions are about the family you grew up in

15 When you did something that your (parent(s)/adult(s)) approved of, how often did they show that they were pleased with you, for example, say something nice about you, give you a hug or a pat on the back?

| | |
|---|---|
| never | 1 |
| some of the time | 2 |
| quite often | 3 |
| very often | 4 |

16 How often did your (parent(s)/adult(s)) do things with you?

(e.g. watch you play sport, watch TV with you)

| | |
|---|---|
| never | 1 |
| some of the time | 2 |
| quite often | 3 |
| very often | 4 |

17 When you were out, how often did your (parent(s)/adult(s)) know where you were?

| | |
|---|---|
| never | 1 |
| some of the time | 2 |
| quite often | 3 |
| very often | 4 |

**If family type '1 parent/adult', go to Q. 19**

18 How often did your (parents/adults) argue or fight with each other?

| | |
|---|---|
| never | 1 |
| some of the time | 2 |
| quite often | 3 |
| very often | 4 |

19 Has your (parent/adult) ever had an alcohol or drug problem?

*Has either of your (parents/adults) ever had an alcohol or drug problem?*

| | |
|---|---|
| yes | 1 |
| no | 2 |
| don't know | 3 |

20 Has anyone in your family ever been arrested?

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| yes | 1 | |
| no | 2 | GO TO Q. 22 |
| don't know | 3 | |

21 Who?

Anyone else?

| | |
|---|---|
| yes | 1 |
| no | 2 |
| n/a | 3 |
| don't know | 4 |

- father/male guardian
- mother/female guardian
- brother
- sister
- other relative

specify: .....

**Now I'd like to ask you about the six months before your last arrest.**

*(Define 'measurement period')*

22 How old were you when you were last arrested?

23 Between ... and ... did you spend any time locked up in a detention centre?

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| yes | 1 | |
| no | 2 | GO TO Q. 24 |

How long?

1 week = 7 days
1 month = 30 days

(days)

**The next questions are about the six month period between ... and ... (not including the time you spent in detention).**

24 (Between ... /During ...) did you attend school at all?

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| yes | 1 | |
| no | 2 | GO TO Q. 25 |

How often?

| | |
|---|---|
| more than half the time | 1 |
| half the time | 2 |
| less than half the time | 3 |

25 (Not including the time(s) spent in detention centres), how many different places did you live in? ☐☐

---

26 Where did you usually live?

| | |
|---|---|
| 'family' house | 1 |
| other house | 2 |
| refuge/shelter | 3 |
| on the street/squat/no fixed address | 4 |
| institution (not detention) | 5 |
| other | 6 |

specify: .....

☐

---

27 Did you pay rent?

yes 1
no 2 ▶ GO TO Q. 29

☐

---

28 Were you ever without money to pay the rent?

yes 1
no 2 ▶ GO TO Q. 29

☐

How often?

| | |
|---|---|
| never | 1 |
| some of the time | 2 |
| quite often | 3 |
| very often | 4 |

☐

---

29 (Between .../During ...), on average, how much money do you think you needed to get by on each week? $☐☐☐☐

---

30 What legal sources of income did you have?

Did you ...

| | |
|---|---|
| yes | 1 |
| no | 2 |

- job ☐
- government (e.g. dole, austudy, pension) ☐
- pocket money ☐
- other (specify:.....) ☐
- none ☐

**If 'none', go to Q. 33**

**If 'job', go to Q. 31, otherwise go to Q.32**

---

31 How much of the time were you working?

| | |
|---|---|
| more than half | 1 |
| half | 2 |
| less than half | 3 |

☐

---

32 On average, how much money did you get from (legal sources from Q. 30) each week?

$ ☐☐☐☐

---

33 On average, how much money did you get from crime each week?

$ ☐☐☐☐

---

34 On average, how many times did you use these drugs each week?

| | |
|---|---|
| none | 1 |
| just tried it | 2 |
| less than 1 | 3 |
| 1 - 2 | 4 |
| 3 - 5 | 5 |
| 6 - 9 | 6 |
| 10 - 39 | 7 |
| 40 or more | 8 |
| don't know | 9 |

- alcohol (standard drinks) ☐
- tobacco (e.g. cigarettes) ☐
- sleeping tablets/sedatives (e.g. rohypnol, serapax) ☐
- narcotics (e.g. heroin) ☐
- marijuana ☐
- speed, amphetamines, ecstasy, cocaine, acid, LSD ☐
- other (e.g. amyl nitrate, glue) ☐

---

## The next questions are about SHOPLIFTING

35 Have you ever shoplifted?

yes 1
no 2 ▶ GO TO Q. 43

36 How old were you the first time you shoplifted?

37 (Between .../During ...), how many times did you steal from shops?

If '000', go to Q. 43

38 How many times were you caught for shoplifting?

39 (Between .../During ...), how likely did you think you were to be caught for shoplifting?

not at all 1
a little 2
quite 3
very 4

40 About the people whose shops you stole from between ... and ..., did you think they could afford you shoplifting?

yes, all of the time 1
yes, some of the time 2
no 3
don't know / never considered it 4

41 How upsetting did you think it was for them?

not at all 1
a little 2
quite 3
very 4

don't know / never considered it 5

42 Between ... and ..., how important to you were these reasons for stealing from shops?

| | |
|---|---|
| not at all | 1 |
| a little | 2 |
| quite | 3 |
| very | 4 |

You stole from shops...

| | |
|---|---|
| because you lost your temper/ you were angry | 01 |
| for excitement or thrills | 02 |
| because friends wanted or told you to/to be one of the group | 03 |
| to get money for drugs/alcohol | 04 |
| to get food or money for food | 05 |
| to get clothes or money for clothes | 06 |
| to get other goods to use | 07 |
| to relieve boredom/for something to do | 08 |
| other reason | 09 |

specify: .....

What was the main reason? don't know 10 ☐☐

## The next questions are about BREAK AND ENTERS

43 Have you ever broken into a place to steal?

yes 1
no 2 ➧ GO TO Q. 52 ☐

44 How old were you the first time you broke into a place? ☐☐

45 (Between .../During ...), how many break and enters did you do? ☐☐☐

If '000', go to Q. 52

46 How many times were you caught for breaking into a place? ☐☐

47 (Between .../During ...), how likely did you think you were to be caught for breaking into a place?

| | |
|---|---|
| not at all | 1 |
| a little | 2 |
| quite | 3 |
| very | 4 |

☐

48 What sort of places did you mainly break into?

houses 1
shops 2
both 3
other 4 specify: .....

49 About the people whose places you broke into between ... and ..., did you think they could afford you stealing from them?

yes, all of the time 1
yes, some of the time 2
no 3
don't know / never considered it 4

50 How upsetting did you think it was for them?

not at all 1
a little 2
quite 3
very 4
don't know / never considered it 5

51 Between ... and ..., how important to you were these reasons for breaking into places to steal?

not at all 1
a little 2
quite 3
very 4

You broke into places...

because you lost your temper/ you were angry 01
for excitement or thrills 02
because friends wanted or told you to/to be one of the group 03
to get money for drugs/alcohol 04
to get food or money for food 05
to get clothes or money for clothes 06
to get other goods to use 07
to relieve boredom/for something to do 08
other reason 09

specify: .....

What was the main reason?

don't know 10

## The next questions are about MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT

52 Have you ever stolen a car, motorbike, or any other type of vehicle?

yes 1
no 2 ▶ **Go to Q. 60 or end of questions if 'no' to 3 offence types**

53 How old were you the first time you stole a vehicle?

54 (Between .../During ...), how many vehicles did you steal?

**If '000', go to Q. 60 or end of questions if 'no' to 3 offence types**

55 How many times were you caught for stealing a vehicle?

56 (Between .../During ...), how likely did you think you were to be caught for stealing a vehicle?

not at all 1
a little 2
quite 3
very 4

57 About the people whose vehicles you stole between ... and ..., did you think they could afford you stealing from them?

yes, all of the time 1
yes, some of the time 2
no 3
don't know / never considered it 4

58 How upsetting did you think it was for them?

not at all 1
a little 2
quite 3
very 4
don't know / never considered it 5

59 Between ... and ..., how important to you were these reasons for stealing vehicles?

| | |
|---|---|
| not at all | 1 |
| a little | 2 |
| quite | 3 |
| very | 4 |

You stole vehicles...

| | |
|---|---|
| because you lost your temper/ you were angry | 01 |
| for excitement or thrills | 02 |
| because friends wanted or told you to/to be one of the group | 03 |
| to get money for drugs/alcohol | 04 |
| to get money for food | 05 |
| to get money for clothes | 06 |
| to get goods to use | 07 |
| to relieve boredom/for something to do | 08 |
| you needed or wanted transport to go somewhere | 09 |
| other reason | 10 |

specify: .....

What was the main reason?

don't know 11

## The next questions are about other offences you may have done

60 Between ... and ... did you do these offences?

Did you ...

yes 1
no 2

other theft (e.g. handbag snatch, pick-pocket)

fraud (e.g. forge cheques,Social Security rip-offs, use someone else's credit card)

violent crimes (e.g. assault, robbery)

deal, grow or make drugs

vandalism (e.g. graffiti)

other

specify: .....

61 What was the first offence you were ever caught for?

yes 1
no 2

shoplifting
break, enter & steal
motor vehicle theft
other theft
fraud
robbery
assault
drug
vandalism
other
specify: .....

62 How old were you when you were first caught?

63 Have these things happened to you?

**If 'yes'** ▸ How much did it upset you?

**'If no'** ▸ *How much would it upset you if it happened to you?*

| | |
|---|---|
| yes | 1 |
| no | 2 |

| | |
|---|---|
| not at all | 1 |
| a little | 2 |
| quite a lot | 3 |
| very much | 4 |
| don't know | 5 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Have you been given a fine? | | |
| Have your money or goods been stolen? | | |
| Have you been given a supervised order, such as probation? | | |
| Have you been caught by the police? | | |
| Has your crime hurt your chances of getting a good education? | | |
| Has your home been broken into? | | |
| Have you been sentenced to a detention centre? | | |
| Have you been sentenced to prison? | | |
| Have you been to court? | | |
| Have you been hassled by the police? | | |
| Have your friends found out about your crime? | | |
| Have you been given a community service order? | | |
| Has your car been stolen? | | |
| Has your family found out about your crime? | | |
| Has your crime hurt your chances of getting a good job? | | |

# APPENDIX B

**Table B1: Data for Figure 1 - Frequency distribution of the weekly rate of shoplifting offending by shoplifting offenders during the measurement period**

| *Number of times shoplifting committed per week* | *Number of shoplifting offenders* |
|---|---|
| <1 | 39 |
| 1 to <2 | 8 |
| 2 to <3 | 8 |
| 3 to <4 | 4 |
| 4 to <5 | 4 |
| 5 to <6 | 0 |
| 6 to <7 | 0 |
| 7 to <8 | 16 |
| 8 to <9 | 1 |
| 9 to <10 | 0 |
| 10 to <11 | 1 |
| 11 to <12 | 0 |
| 12 to <13 | 0 |
| 13 to <14 | 0 |
| 14 to <15 | 1 |
| **Total** | **82** |

**Table B2: Data for Figures 2, 4 and 6 - Cumulative percentage of offences committed by offenders during an average week of the measurement period by offence type**

| *Offender group* | *Shoplifting* | *B&E* | *MVT* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1st quintile | 0.6 | 0.7 | 0.3 |
| 2nd quintile | 3.1 | 2.9 | 1.0 |
| 3rd quintile | 12.6 | 8.2 | 3.0 |
| 4th quintile | 43.0 | 23.9 | 11.4 |
| 5th quintile | 100 | 100 | 100 |

**Table B3: Data for Figure 3 - Frequency distribution of the weekly rate of B&E offending by B&E offenders during the measurement period**

| *Number of times B&E committed per week* | *Number of B&E offenders* |
|---|---|
| <1 | 116 |
| 1 to <2 | 24 |
| 2 to <3 | 8 |
| 3 to <4 | 8 |
| 4 to <5 | 4 |
| 5 to <6 | 2 |
| 6 to <7 | 0 |
| 7 to <8 | 4 |
| 8 to <9 | 0 |
| 9 to <10 | 1 |
| 10 to <11 | 1 |
| 11 to <12 | 0 |
| 12 to <13 | 0 |
| 13 to <14 | 0 |
| 14 to <15 | 1 |
| 15 to <16 | 0 |
| 16 to <17 | 0 |
| 17 to <18 | 0 |
| 18 to <19 | 0 |
| 19 to <20 | 0 |
| 20 to <21 | 0 |
| 21 to <22 | 0 |
| 22 to <23 | 0 |
| 23 to <24 | 0 |
| 24 to <25 | 0 |
| 25 to <26 | 0 |
| 26 to <27 | 0 |
| 27 to <28 | 1 |
| 28 to <29 | 0 |
| 29 to <30 | 0 |
| 30 to <31 | 0 |
| 31 to <32 | 0 |
| 32 to <33 | 0 |
| 33 to <34 | 0 |
| 34 to <35 | 0 |
| 35 to <36 | 1 |
| **Total** | **171** |

**Table B4: Data for Figure 5 - Frequency distribution of the weekly rate of MVT offending by MVT offenders during the measurement period**

| *Number of times MVT committed per week* | *Number of MVT offenders* |
|---|---|
| <1 | 99 |
| 1 to <2 | 15 |
| 2 to <3 | 5 |
| 3 to <4 | 4 |
| 4 to <5 | 5 |
| 5 to <6 | 0 |
| 6 to <7 | 2 |
| 7 to <8 | 1 |
| 8 to <9 | 0 |
| 9 to <10 | 1 |
| 10 to <11 | 0 |
| 11 to <12 | 0 |
| 12 to <13 | 0 |
| 13 to <14 | 0 |
| 14 to <15 | 2 |
| 15 to <16 | 0 |
| 16 to <17 | 0 |
| 17 to <18 | 0 |
| 18 to <19 | 0 |
| 19 to <20 | 0 |
| 20 to <21 | 0 |
| 21 to <22 | 2 |
| 22 to <23 | 0 |
| 23 to <24 | 1 |
| 24 to <25 | 2 |
| 25 to <26 | 0 |
| 26 to <27 | 0 |
| 27 to <28 | 0 |
| 28 to <29 | 0 |
| 29 to <30 | 0 |
| 30 to <31 | 0 |
| 31 to <32 | 0 |
| 32 to <33 | 0 |
| 33 to <34 | 0 |
| 34 to <35 | 0 |
| 35 to <36 | 0 |
| 36 to <37 | 0 |
| 37 to <38 | 0 |
| 38 to <39 | 1 |
| 39 to <40 | 0 |
| 40 to <41 | 0 |
| 41 to <42 | 0 |
| 42 to <43 | 1 |
| 43 to <44 | 0 |
| 44 to <45 | 0 |
| 45 to <46 | 1 |
| **Total** | **142** |

# APPENDIX C

**Table C1: Number and per cent who were high and low rate offenders by whether mother or female guardian arrested (MVT offenders)**

| *Whether arrested* | *Number* | | | *Per cent* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | High Rate | Low Rate | Total | High Rate | Low Rate | Total |
| Arrested | 9 | 8 | 17 | 52.9 | 47.1 | 100 |
| Not arrested | 33 | 88 | 121 | 27.3 | 72.7 | 100 |
| **Total** | **42** | **96** | **138** | **30.4** | **69.6** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes four offenders who did not know whether their mother or female guardian had been arrested or did not have a mother or female guardian.

**Table C2: Number and per cent who were high and low rate offenders by whether non-immediate family member arrested (MVT offenders)**

| *Whether arrested* | *Number* | | | *Per cent* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | High Rate | Low Rate | Total | High Rate | Low Rate | Total |
| Arrested | 23 | 32 | 55 | 41.8 | 58.2 | 100 |
| Not arrested | 17 | 62 | 79 | 21.5 | 78.5 | 100 |
| **Total** | **40** | **94** | **134** | **29.9** | **70.1** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes eight offenders who did not know whether any of their non-immediate family members had been arrested or did not have any non-immediate family members.

**Table C3: Data for Figure 7 - number and per cent who were high and low rate offenders by school performance (shoplifting offenders)**

| *Rating of school performance* | *Number* | | | *Per cent* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | High Rate | Low Rate | Total | High Rate | Low Rate | Total |
| Very badly | 4 | 0 | 4 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 100 |
| Badly | 7 | 2 | 9 | 77.8 | 22.2 | 100 |
| Okay | 18 | 22 | 40 | 45.0 | 55.0 | 100 |
| Well | 6 | 11 | 17 | 35.3 | 64.7 | 100 |
| Very well | 7 | 3 | 10 | 70.0 | 30.0 | 100 |
| **Total** | **42** | **38** | **80** | **52.5** | **47.5** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes two offenders for whom the rating of school performance was unclear or unknown.

**Table C4: Data for Figure 8 - number and per cent who were high and low rate offenders by amount of time offenders attended school during the measurement period (B&E offenders)**

| *Amount of time offenders attended school* | *Number* | | | *Per cent* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | High Rate | Low Rate | Total | High Rate | Low Rate | Total |
| None of the time | 46 | 70 | 116 | 39.7 | 60.3 | 100 |
| Less than half the time | 4 | 16 | 20 | 20.0 | 80.0 | 100 |
| Half the time | 1 | 8 | 9 | 11.1 | 88.9 | 100 |
| More than half the time | 4 | 22 | 26 | 15.4 | 84.6 | 100 |
| **Total** | **55** | **116** | **171** | **32.2** | **67.8** | **100** |

**Table C5: Data for Figure 9 - number and per cent who were high and low rate offenders by type of usual residence during the measurement period (shoplifting offenders)**

| *Type of usual residence* | *Number* | | | *Per cent* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | High Rate | Low Rate | Total | High Rate | Low Rate | Total |
| Family home | 25 | 24 | 49 | 51.0 | 49.0 | 100 |
| Home - not family | 9 | 13 | 22 | 40.9 | 59.1 | 100 |
| No fixed address | 8 | 1 | 9 | 88.9 | 11.1 | 100 |
| **Total** | **42** | **38** | **80** | **52.5** | **47.5** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes two offenders for whom the usual residence was unclear or unknown.

**Table C6: Data for Figure 10 - number and per cent who were high and low rate offenders by type of usual residence during the measurement period (B&E offenders)**

| *Type of usual residence* | *Number* | | | *Per cent* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | High Rate | Low Rate | Total | High Rate | Low Rate | Total |
| Family home | 28 | 77 | 105 | 26.7 | 73.3 | 100 |
| Home - not family | 24 | 25 | 49 | 49.0 | 51.0 | 100 |
| No fixed address | 2 | 11 | 13 | 15.4 | 84.6 | 100 |
| **Total** | **54** | **113** | **167** | **32.3** | **67.7** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes four offenders for whom the usual residence was unclear or unknown.

**Table C7: Data for Figure 11 - number and per cent who were high and low rate offenders by income disparity during the measurement period (MVT offenders)**

| *Income disparity* | *Number* | | | *Per cent* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | High Rate | Low Rate | Total | High Rate | Low Rate | Total |
| Needed income exceeds legal income | 37 | 67 | 104 | 35.6 | 64.4 | 100 |
| Needed income equals legal income | 1 | 8 | 9 | 11.1 | 88.9 | 100 |
| Legal income exceeds needed income | 3 | 22 | 25 | 12.0 | 88.0 | 100 |
| **Total** | **41** | **97** | **138** | **29.7** | **70.3** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes four offenders for whom the legal-needed income disparity was unclear or unknown.

**Table C8: Number and per cent who were high and low rate offenders by weekly tobacco use during the measurement period (B&E offenders)**

| *Average number of cigarettes per week* | *Number* | | | *Per cent* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | High Rate | Low Rate | Total | High Rate | Low Rate | Total |
| None | 5 | 23 | 28 | 17.9 | 82.1 | 100 |
| Less than 40 | 1 | 10 | 11 | 9.1 | 90.9 | 100 |
| 40 or more | 48 | 83 | 131 | 36.6 | 63.4 | 100 |
| **Total** | **54** | **116** | **170** | **31.8** | **68.2** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes one offender for whom tobacco use was unclear or unknown.

**Table C9: Number and per cent who were high and low rate offenders by weekly use of hallucinogens and/or stimulants (mainly amphetamines) during the measurement period (B&E offenders)**

| *Average number of times per week* | *Number* | | | *Per cent* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | High Rate | Low Rate | Total | High Rate | Low Rate | Total |
| None | 26 | 75 | 101 | 25.7 | 74.3 | 100 |
| Less than 1 | 5 | 14 | 19 | 26.3 | 73.7 | 100 |
| 1 to 9 | 16 | 23 | 39 | 41.0 | 59.0 | 100 |
| 10 to 39 | 4 | 3 | 7 | 57.1 | 42.9 | 100 |
| 40 or more | 4 | 1 | 5 | 80.0 | 20.0 | 100 |
| **Total** | **55** | **116** | **171** | **32.2** | **67.8** | **100** |

**Table C10: Data for Figure 12 - number and per cent who were high and low rate offenders by weekly marijuana use during the measurement period (B&E offenders)**

| *Average number of cones per week* | *Number* | | | *Per cent* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | High Rate | Low Rate | Total | High Rate | Low Rate | Total |
| None | 4 | 16 | 20 | 20.0 | 80.0 | 100 |
| Less than 1 | 2 | 11 | 13 | 15.4 | 84.6 | 100 |
| 1 to 9 | 3 | 16 | 19 | 15.8 | 84.2 | 100 |
| 10 to 39 | 6 | 24 | 30 | 20.0 | 80.0 | 100 |
| 40 or more | 39 | 48 | 87 | 44.8 | 55.2 | 100 |
| **Total** | **54** | **115** | **169** | **32.0** | **68.0** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes two offenders for whom marijuana use was unclear or unknown.

**Table C11: Number and per cent who were high and low rate offenders by polydrug use during the measurement period (B&E offenders)**

| *Average number of drug types per week* | *Number* | | | *Per cent* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | High Rate | Low Rate | Total | High Rate | Low Rate | Total |
| 1 drug type | 5 | 20 | 25 | 20.0 | 80.0 | 100 |
| 2 drug types | 10 | 38 | 48 | 20.8 | 79.2 | 100 |
| 3 drug types | 16 | 29 | 45 | 35.6 | 64.4 | 100 |
| More than 3 drug types | 20 | 21 | 41 | 48.8 | 51.2 | 100 |
| **Total** | **51** | **108** | **159** | **32.1** | **67.9** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes 12 offenders who did not use drugs or for whom the number of drug types used per week was unclear or unknown.

**Table C12: Number and per cent who were high and low rate offenders by importance of obtaining money for drugs/alcohol as a reason for offending (B&E offenders)**

| *Rating of importance* | *Number* | | | *Per cent* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | High Rate | Low Rate | Total | High Rate | Low Rate | Total |
| Not important | 15 | 60 | 75 | 20.0 | 80.0 | 100 |
| A little important | 7 | 14 | 21 | 33.3 | 66.7 | 100 |
| Quite important | 5 | 15 | 20 | 25.0 | 75.0 | 100 |
| Very important | 28 | 27 | 55 | 50.9 | 49.1 | 100 |
| **Total** | **55** | **116** | **171** | **32.2** | **67.8** | **100** |

**Table C13: Number and per cent who were high and low rate offenders by weekly marijuana use during the measurement period (MVT offenders)**

| *Average number of cones per week* | *Number* | | | *Per cent* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | High Rate | Low Rate | Total | High Rate | Low Rate | Total |
| None | 3 | 11 | 14 | 21.4 | 78.6 | 100 |
| Less than 1 | 4 | 5 | 9 | 44.4 | 55.6 | 100 |
| 1 to 9 | 2 | 14 | 16 | 12.5 | 87.5 | 100 |
| 10 to 39 | 5 | 25 | 30 | 16.7 | 83.3 | 100 |
| 40 or more | 29 | 44 | 73 | 39.7 | 60.3 | 100 |
| **Total** | **43** | **99** | **142** | **30.3** | **69.7** | **100** |

**Table C14: Number and per cent who were high and low rate offenders by importance of obtaining money for drugs/alcohol as a reason for offending (MVT offenders)**

| *Rating of importance* | *Number* | | | *Per cent* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | High Rate | Low Rate | Total | High Rate | Low Rate | Total |
| Not important | 22 | 87 | 109 | 20.2 | 79.8 | 100 |
| A little important | 5 | 3 | 8 | 62.5 | 37.5 | 100 |
| Quite important | 6 | 0 | 6 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 100 |
| Very important | 10 | 9 | 19 | 52.6 | 47.4 | 100 |
| **Total** | **43** | **99** | **142** | **30.3** | **69.7** | **100** |

**Table C15: Number and per cent who were high and low rate offenders by weekly tobacco use during the measurement period (shoplifting offenders)**

| *Average number of cigarettes per week* | *Number* | | | *Per cent* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | High Rate | Low Rate | Total | High Rate | Low Rate | Total |
| None | 9 | 1 | 10 | 90.0 | 10.0 | 100 |
| Less than 40 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 33.3 | 66.7 | 100 |
| 40 or more | 32 | 33 | 65 | 49.2 | 50.8 | 100 |
| **Total** | **43** | **38** | **81** | **53.1** | **46.9** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes one offender for whom tobacco use was unclear or unknown.

**Table C16: Data for Figure 13 - number and per cent who were high and low rate offenders by main reason for offending during the measurement period (B&E offenders)**

| *Main reason for offending* | *Number* | | | *Per cent* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | High Rate | Low Rate | Total | High Rate | Low Rate | Total |
| Emotive | 7 | 19 | 26 | 26.9 | 73.1 | 100 |
| Money for drugs | 21 | 25 | 46 | 45.7 | 54.3 | 100 |
| Food, clothes, goods | 3 | 11 | 14 | 21.4 | 78.6 | 100 |
| Money | 16 | 32 | 48 | 33.3 | 66.7 | 100 |
| Other | 1 | 18 | 19 | 5.3 | 94.7 | 100 |
| **Total** | **48** | **105** | **153** | **31.4** | **68.6** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes 18 offenders for whom the main reason for offending was unclear or unknown.

**Table C17: Data for Figure 14 - number and per cent who were high and low rate offenders by main reason for offending during the measurement period (MVT offenders)**

| *Main reason for offending* | *Number* | | | *Per cent* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | High Rate | Low Rate | Total | High Rate | Low Rate | Total |
| Emotive | 10 | 30 | 40 | 25.0 | 75.0 | 100 |
| Money for drugs | 4 | 2 | 6 | 66.7 | 33.3 | 100 |
| Transport | 14 | 52 | 66 | 21.2 | 78.8 | 100 |
| Money | 4 | 5 | 9 | 44.4 | 55.6 | 100 |
| Other | 6 | 6 | 12 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 100 |
| **Total** | **38** | **95** | **133** | **28.6** | **71.4** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes nine offenders for whom the main reason for offending was unclear or unknown.

**Table C18: Number and per cent who were high and low rate offenders by importance of obtaining goods for personal use as a reason for offending (MVT offenders)**

| *Rating of importance* | *Number* | | | *Per cent* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | High Rate | Low Rate | Total | High Rate | Low Rate | Total |
| Not important | 26 | 80 | 106 | 24.5 | 75.5 | 100 |
| A little important | 4 | 8 | 12 | 33.3 | 66.7 | 100 |
| Quite important | 4 | 4 | 8 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 100 |
| Very important | 9 | 7 | 16 | 56.3 | 43.8 | 100 |
| **Total** | **43** | **99** | **142** | **30.3** | **69.7** | **100** |

**Table C19: Number and per cent who were high and low rate offenders by importance of getting excitement, thrills or fun as a reason for offending (MVT offenders)**

| *Rating of importance* | *Number* | | | *Per cent* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | High Rate | Low Rate | Total | High Rate | Low Rate | Total |
| Not important | 10 | 34 | 44 | 22.7 | 77.3 | 100 |
| A little important | 6 | 28 | 34 | 17.6 | 82.4 | 100 |
| Quite important | 6 | 14 | 20 | 30.0 | 70.0 | 100 |
| Very important | 21 | 23 | 44 | 47.7 | 52.3 | 100 |
| **Total** | **43** | **99** | **142** | **30.3** | **69.7** | **100** |

**Table C20: Number and per cent who were high and low rate offenders by response to personal car theft victimisation (MVT offenders who were victims of car theft)**

| *Rating of how upset* | *Number* | | | *Per cent* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | High Rate | Low Rate | Total | High Rate | Low Rate | Total |
| Not/a little upset | 6 | 2 | 8 | 75.0 | 25.0 | 100 |
| Quite/very upset | 2 | 11 | 13 | 15.4 | 84.6 | 100 |
| **Total** | **8** | **13** | **21** | **38.1** | **61.9** | **100** |

Note: The table only includes offenders who had been victims of car theft and who could rate how upset they were by the experience.

**Table C21: Data for Figure 15 - number and per cent who were high and low rate offenders by percentage risk of apprehension during the measurement period (shoplifting offenders)**

| *Percentage risk of apprehension* | *Number* | | | *Per cent* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | High Rate | Low Rate | Total | High Rate | Low Rate | Total |
| 0% | 31 | 25 | 56 | 55.4 | 44.6 | 100 |
| >0 - <25% | 12 | 5 | 17 | 70.6 | 29.4 | 100 |
| >25 - <100% | 0 | 3 | 3 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 100 |
| 100% | 0 | 6 | 6 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 100 |
| **Total** | **43** | **39** | **82** | **52.4** | **47.6** | **100** |

**Table C22: Data for Figure 16 - number and per cent who were high and low rate offenders by percentage risk of apprehension during the measurement period (B&E offenders)**

| *Percentage risk of apprehension* | *Number* | | | *Per cent* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | High Rate | Low Rate | Total | High Rate | Low Rate | Total |
| 0% | 18 | 58 | 76 | 23.7 | 76.3 | 100 |
| >0 - <25% | 31 | 15 | 46 | 67.4 | 32.6 | 100 |
| >25 - <100% | 6 | 19 | 25 | 24.0 | 76.0 | 100 |
| 100% | 0 | 23 | 23 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 100 |
| **Total** | **55** | **115** | **170** | **32.4** | **67.6** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes one offender for whom the percentage risk of apprehension could not be determined.

**Table C23: Data for Figure 17 - number and per cent who were high and low rate offenders by percentage risk of apprehension during the measurement period (MVT offenders)**

| *Percentage risk of apprehension* | *Number* | | | *Per cent* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | High Rate | Low Rate | Total | High Rate | Low Rate | Total |
| 0% | 8 | 50 | 58 | 13.8 | 86.2 | 100 |
| >0 - <25% | 31 | 12 | 43 | 72.1 | 27.9 | 100 |
| >25 - <100% | 4 | 13 | 17 | 23.5 | 76.5 | 100 |
| 100% | 0 | 24 | 24 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 100 |
| **Total** | **43** | **99** | **142** | **30.3** | **69.7** | **100** |

**Table C24: Number and per cent who were high and low rate offenders by involvement in drug offences during the measurement period (B&E offenders)**

| *Whether involved in drug offences* | *Number* | | | *Per cent* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | High Rate | Low Rate | Total | High Rate | Low Rate | Total |
| Involved | 35 | 52 | 87 | 40.2 | 59.8 | 100 |
| Not involved | 20 | 63 | 83 | 24.1 | 75.9 | 100 |
| **Total** | **55** | **115** | **170** | **32.4** | **67.6** | **100** |

Note: The table excludes one offender for whom involvement in drug offences was unclear or unknown.