

Alcohol and Violence among Young Male Offenders in Scotland (1979-2009)

For the Scottish Prison Service

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Preface

In 1979 Bill McKinlay, now Governor in charge HMP Barlinnie, conducted a self-report questionnaire survey of the use of alcohol, while at liberty, of 96 Young Offenders on admission to HM Young Offenders Institution (YOI) Glenochil. The survey was repeated by Bill McKinlay in 1996, this time with a sample size of 152 at HMYOI Polmont (in 1979 Polmont was a borstal and Glenochil was a Young Offenders Institution; today Glenochil is an adult prison and Polmont is the one YOI for Scotland). To the original questionnaire a number of questions on the use of illegal drugs were added (the incidence of which was rare in Scotland in 1979). In 2007, a third survey, sample size 172, was conducted at HMYOI Polmont. This final survey was proposed by Bill McKinlay, and carried out in collaboration with David Shewan and Alasdair Forsyth of the Glasgow Centre for the Study of Violence, at Glasgow Caledonian University, who added additional items to the questionnaire, in particular questions on the use of weapons and questions exploring the relationship between the use of intoxicating substances and offending, especially violent, behaviour. The three cohorts surveyed were recruited in the same way, essentially as a convenience (quasi-random) sample of offenders recruited at admission to the YOI. This work was not supported by any designated funding.

Taken together, the three quantitative data sets above raised many questions about the relationships between lifestyle and offending among problematic young men. In order to answer these and to give Young Offenders an opportunity to express in their own words their views on alcohol and violence, in 2008 the Scottish Prison Service (SPS) commissioned an additional piece of research. To this end Furzana Khan was employed to conduct qualitative interviews with Young Offenders in HMYOI Polmont. These interviews aimed to provide explanation for the findings of the previous survey(s). Alasdair Forsyth was the Principal Investigator of this qualitative work and he conducted all the data analyses contained in this document. All the elements contained in these various pieces of research are now brought together in this report.

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Bill McKinlay would like to record the decision taken by the late Dr David Shewan to progress the project to the next stage – a brave decision by a brave academic without which this report may not have been completed for some time and not add to the present debate on alcohol, institutions and society.

Disclaimer

The content and comments in the report are those of the authors and not the views of the Scottish Prison Service.

Executive Summary

Background

The purpose of this research is to inform and support the SPS's alcohol desistance and violence reduction agenda. This research aims to develop our understanding of the use of alcohol, and violence, among male Young Offenders in Scotland. Understanding the reasons why young people now commonly accept that excessive drinking is the cultural norm and understanding young people's perceptions of the disinhibiting effects that can lead to crime and violence, are central to the objectives of reducing offending and making Scotland a safer place to live.

Project overview

This report brings together the findings of four research studies carried out over the past 30 years. These are:

1. A survey of Young Offenders' drinking conducted in 1979
2. A survey of Young Offenders' drinking and drug use conducted in 1996
3. A survey of Young Offenders' drinking, drug and weapon use conducted in 2007
4. Interviews with Young Offenders about the above issues conducted in 2008

Findings

- The proportion of Young Offenders in each survey's sample who stated that they get "drunk daily" rose from 7.3% (1979) to 22.6% (1996) to 40.1% (2007). This pattern of 'extreme' drinking by Young Offenders in the present era was confirmed by the interviews conducted in 2008.
- The proportion who considered that alcohol had contributed to their previous offending rose from 47.9% to 58.4% to 79.6%. Interviewed Young Offenders, including those not currently in custody for an alcohol-related offence, were all able to provide details of offences they had committed under the influence of alcohol.
- The proportion serving a sentence for any violent offence varied between 42.0% (1979), 23.1% (1996) and 73.0% (2007); those serving sentences for Group 1 Crimes (serious violent offences) varied between 22.3%, 10.0% and 53.4% respectively. Interviewed Young Offenders, including those not currently in custody for a violent offence, were able to describe violent incidents which they had been involved in while in the community.
- The proportion that blamed their current offence on drinking rose from 29.5% to 40.0% to 56.8%; those blaming alcohol not in association with other drugs rose

from 22.5% (1996) to 36.3% (2007). All interviewees linked alcohol to their offending, in some cases to every one of their previous offences.

- In contrast, the proportion that blamed illegal drugs fell from 40.1% (1996) to 30.1% (2007); those blaming illegal drugs not in association with alcohol fell from 21.7% (1996) to 9.7% (2007). Interviewed Young Offenders rarely attributed their offending, especially violence, to illegal drugs – the sole exception to this pattern was the drug diazepam (i.e. the benzodiazepine formerly marketed as Valium®).
- Of those who blamed illegal drugs for their current offence, in the 2007 survey the most frequently cited drug was diazepam, which was usually blamed in conjunction with alcohol use. The 2008 interviews confirmed this pattern and indicated that illegal drug use in this population was more of an extension to their drinking behaviours than an alternative lifestyle choice.
- A majority, 63.2%, of the 2007 survey sample stated that they had “ever” carried a weapon and 61.4% stated that they had used a weapon. The 2008 interviews revealed a third category - weapon ‘owners’.
- The set of respondents who admitted to carrying weapons was not co-extensive with the set of those who admitted using them. Many who carry had never used. Many who have used, do not, and were not carrying. Of particular interest in this regard was bottle use, which the 2008 interviews implied may not have been considered as weapon use by many in the 2007 survey.
- Most (80.5%) of Young Offenders who had used a weapon to injure someone in the 2007 survey stated that they were under the influence of alcohol at the time (23.4% were under the influence of diazepam - again the most frequently blamed illegal drug and one usually blamed in conjunction with drinking). Accounts by interviewed Young Offenders implied that alcohol use (either on its own or in conjunction with diazepam) was a factor in turning weapon owners into weapon carriers and weapon carriers into weapon users.
- Of those who admitted to drinking before their current offence, and who could remember what they had been drinking, according to the 2007 survey 43.4% had consumed Buckfast tonic wine, 42.0% any type of spirits, 31.0% any type of beer and 21.0% any cider. Consumption of other types of alcoholic beverages was uncommon. Again interviews implied that alcohol intoxication escalated violent incidents as much as being the cause of them.
- A majority, 65.7%, of the 2007 sample stated that they had been in a gang while in the community. Interviews revealed that gang membership could act as a barrier to the cessation of violent offending. These interviews also revealed that analogous group disorders, based on territorialism, could be a factor in parts of Scotland where overt gang membership was not acknowledged.
- In the 2007 survey sample, the proportion of heroin users and injectors from the conurbations of west-central Scotland was low, relative to the proportion engaging in such behaviours who were from more rural or remote areas. Some of the violent

Young Offenders interviewed expressed very hostile views towards heroin users because such people were considered to be dishonest.

- This research found that in the present era the core of Young Offenders engage in frequent drunkenness, group disorder, weapon carrying and other violence. This is quite different to 1996 when drug-attributed non-violent crime was much more common, as was non-employment, and it should be stressed that the patterns reported here may change again in the future.
- These findings are important for future intervention programmes aimed at reducing alcohol-related violence, in particular it is suggested that, in contrast to drug intervention, in this age group focus should be directed at curbing levels of intoxication rather than on notions of dependency.

What this report adds to our knowledge

This is the first research to specifically examine alcohol-related crime, especially serious violence, by Young Offenders in Scotland in recent decades. This is unfortunate as the findings of this report indicate that these issues did not go away during the 'drugs era'. In particular the following considerations are suggested by these findings:

- There is a need to recognise and identify the issues uncovered by this report among both policy makers or agencies and offenders (many of whom did not believe they had a problem requiring intervention, as they were not suffering from a dependency problem such as 'alcoholism' or 'heroin addiction' and often held down jobs or other conventional lifestyles).
- Interventions should be tailored to suit this population. These should have a youthful focus (Young Offenders problems with alcohol pre-dated their arrival at the Young Offender's Institution by some years) and be tailored towards 'hazardous' or 'harmful' drinkers (i.e. intoxication) rather than towards dependency (i.e. addiction).
- This research also highlighted the wider problems associated with Scotland's drinking culture, including an acceptance of extreme intoxication, drinking in risky settings, harmful patterns of potent beverage consumption, glassing injury, concurrent use of drugs and (in contrast to illegal drugs) a tendency in our society to equate problematic drinking with dependence, one which may help to meet some health goals but which will do little to reduce violent offending by young people.

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1. Introduction

In 1979 while an Assistant Governor at HMYOI Glenochil Bill McKinlay undertook a period of full time study at the Paisley Alcohol Studies Centre at what is now The University of the West of Scotland. At that time there were indications of alcohol consumption being a factor in the reasons behind young adult male offending behaviour. Indeed alcohol use by male Young Offenders and possible interventions to tackle these issues was a topic which received little research attention in Scotland until the start of the 1980s (e.g. see Baldwin & Heather, 1987; Heather, 1981; Heather 1982; Hollin, 1983)

Over the intervening years alcohol has always featured as an influential factor in both young and adult male criminal behaviour, including violent behaviour, and the need for the continued provision of interventions to address the needs of such offenders has been highlighted (by research outside Scotland, e.g. Collins, 2003; Farrant, 2004; Fergusson et al, 2006; Lennings et al, 2004; McMurrin & Baldwin, 2006). But as the issues associated with illegal drug supply and use emerged as a societal problem (that needed to be addressed) the focus on alcohol and the subsequent problems created by its consumption in this group were (unintentionally) pushed to the margin of the debate (and discussion) with regard to substance misuse. Was this correct given the increased alcohol consumption levels and the associated negative health indicators? That is not for us to judge (e.g. see Scottish Government, 2008a; SHAAP, 2007). But the shift in emphasis and the degree to which both external and internal interest in the subject waned within society and in prisons / institutions particularly was and still is difficult to defend.

So what has changed? The recognition of the economic cost to Scotland of the misuse of alcohol through reduced productivity, poor health and anti-social behaviour as well as the recognition of the enormity of the problem of which this report covers a small part. Government statistics indicate a £2.25 billion cost to the country in 2006-2007 and to Criminal Justice & Emergency Services £385 million alone (Scottish Government, 2008a).

This study is timely in that it will help to inform internal planning interventions to reduce or minimise the harm caused by alcohol consumption.

A return to focus on this will be significant and along with tackling the reasons behind weapon carrying and violence the report may influence how we engage with and meet the needs of some of these young men, especially while they are incarcerated. This in turn may help reduce offending and ultimately impact on the economic and social cost to us all.

The West of Scotland has the ignominious distinction whether rightly or wrongly of being a heavy drinking culture with a male propensity to carry weapons, engage in violent acts and associated “bad” behaviour and this includes the young offender group. We will through this study attempt to put some understanding on the accuracy or otherwise of this widely held perception.

Without addressing the underlying cause of symptomatic displayed poor behaviour resulting in criminal offences it is unlikely that other attempts to change lifestyle will be achieved and the ideal of reducing offending will remain elusive.

2. Methods

2.1 Repeated self-completion surveys

The initial phase of this project was a self-complete survey conducted in 1979. This comprised a short questionnaire on various aspects of Young Offenders' drinking behaviours plus the Severity of Alcohol Dependency Questionnaire (SADQ). One aim of this initial survey was to undertake a comparison between short and long term Young Offenders and their drinking patterns at that time (McKinlay, 1979). However this survey was to provide the basis for further comparative surveys and the subsequent face-to-face interviews which comprise this report.

A total of three quantitative surveys are included in this research report. These were conducted using the same method in 1979, 1996 and 2007, except that additional items were added to the questionnaire in successive data sweeps lengthening it over time. For example, the second sweep was conducted in 1996 and although the same basic questionnaire was used, extra questions about illegal drug use were added (drugs such as heroin had never been a widespread problem in Scotland until shortly after 1979, e.g. see Bennie & Sclare, 1966; Ditton & Sperits, 1981). The third survey was conducted in 2007 when the same questionnaire was used, this time with some extra questions relating to illegal drug use, plus some more detailed questions about respondents' drinking preferences (e.g. brand / beverage choice) and new questions exploring the relationships between substance use (both alcohol and illegal drugs) and offending, especially violent offending (e.g. weapon use and gang membership). The full content of this final refinement to the questionnaire, as administered to the 2007 sample, is provided in the appendices to this report (see Appendix 1).

The Severity of Alcohol Dependence Questionnaire (SADQ) was used to measure alcohol dependency in the 1979 study and this measure was repeated in both the 1996 and 2007 surveys. This instrument was initially developed in a clinical setting (Edwards & Gross, 1976) but has since been validated for community settings (Stockwell et al 1994). The SADQ consists of 20 questions (included in Appendix 1), each scored from zero to three, with the zero option indicating an absence of a dependency marker for each question. The scores for these 20 questions are summed to produce a Total SADQ score for each respondent, in this case each Young Offender (where some responses were missing from

individual respondents' questionnaires, who had otherwise completed this instrument, these were mean substituted). As well as this making it possible to compare the mean Total SADQ scores from each of the three surveys, this instrument also allowed a measurement of the number of individuals exhibiting alcohol dependence in each sample to be made. Total SADQ scores greater than 30 are defined as indicating 'severe alcohol dependency', scores between 16 and 30 as 'moderate alcohol dependency' and scores below 16 as only 'mild physical dependency'.

All three surveys recruited Young Offenders at induction to the Young Offenders Institution (YOI). This involved a prison officer giving out these questionnaires to potential respondents at this time and then collecting them again when they had been completed. Thus each cohort was recruited by convenience sampling (in a quasi-random fashion) depending on who (i.e. which offender) was being inducted into the institution at the times when the officer concerned was on duty and able to give out the questionnaires without this impacting upon the smooth running of the YOI. Recruitment of the 1996 and 2007 samples continued up until the numbers involved in the previous sample had been reached (i.e. exceeded). Owing to the time lag involved, precise measures of refusal / non-completion rates for the 1979 and 1996 surveys are not known, though the number of rejected / non-filled-in questionnaires given out in the 2007 survey was seven. This gave a final sample size for the 2007 survey of 172 compared with sample sizes of 96 and 152 for the 1979 and 1996 surveys respectively.

Thus the main method used for all three surveys in this report was the self-completion questionnaire. This has traditionally been one of the main methods used by researchers for gathering data on social surveys, alongside the interview method. These methods are inherently similar with the only real difference between the two being the presence of the researcher / interviewer to help guide the participant through each question. The self-completion questionnaire offers the researcher a number of advantages over the structured interview, including access to a large (i.e. representative) sample, being capable of gathering a large amount of data rapidly, in a cost-effective way (Bryman, 2004). To achieve these goals by means of structured interviews, taking into account individual recruitment, interviewing and transcribing time for a representative sample, would place a much greater demand on the researcher and the projects' time.

There are however also a number of disadvantages to using the self-completion questionnaire method, including the inability of the researcher to prompt and probe for more detailed answers and the potential for incomplete data or poor quality responses. As might be expected, each of the three surveys, particularly the longer 2007 questionnaire, suffered from some missed answers and vague responses to open-ended questions. In the surveys which comprise this report few questions were answered by every respondent, though it should be stressed that most of this 'missing data' was usually generated because either the question concerned was not relevant (e.g. some Young Offenders did not drink alcohol) or because they did not know the answer (e.g. if they could not remember what they had been drinking). Thus the base for the percentages reported from the 2007 cohort, for example, was seldom the full total sample size of the 172 Young Offenders who responded to that survey.

Despite the above limitations, the findings of the 2007 survey appeared to be particularly interesting and in need of more detailed investigation, in order to confirm (triangulate) the patterns indicated by these self-complete questionnaires and to provide some explanation for the figures which they had reported. Thus it was deemed necessary to complement the 2007 survey with qualitative interviews, which were carried out in 2008.

2.2 Face-to-face interviews

To be compatible with the three quantitative surveys, interview participants were also recruited by convenience sampling within the Young Offenders Institution during induction. This time the prison staff who were on duty in the induction hall invited Young Offenders present to participate in the research and introduced them to the interviewer (who was not a member of the Scottish Prison Service).

All interviews were conducted in private, within an interview room which, while out of hearing range of prison staff, had a glass frontage and the interviewer was provided with a security alarm. Participants were each provided with a consent form and an information sheet which explained the purpose of the research. They were also verbally assured of the study's voluntary nature plus the rules of confidentiality by the interviewer, and were informed that they were free to terminate the interview at any time. No Young Offender

refused to take part, though one appeared agitated and keen to return to his friends and so he was not interviewed.

The interviews asked the 30 Young Offenders who consented to participation in this phase of the research about their patterns of substance use (primarily alcohol drinking) and offending behaviours while they were in the community, and not about these behaviours while they were in custody. All interviews were taped and later transcribed by the interviewer. The topic guide used in these interviews is provided in appendices (see Appendix 2). These topics were devised, via input from the project advisory group, to investigate the patterns of substance use and offending uncovered by the previous three phases of the research, particularly the 2007 survey, and to explore possible interventions to reduce these harmful behaviours, both within the YOI and in the community.

This mixed methods approach, combining both quantitative and qualitative data has several advantages. Too simply rely on qualitative samples leaves any findings open to doubts about their representativeness and applicability for policy. Relying only on self-complete questionnaires risks the research missing out the underlying reasons behind quantitative findings, as well as potential misunderstood questions (e.g. via literacy problems). The advantages of combining these methods are outlined in the next section which describes how the different methods employed (between 1979 and 2008) are structured within this report.

2.3 Mixed methods structure of report

This report brings together all four phases of the research, the three self-complete surveys conducted in 1979, 1996 and 2007, plus the taped face-to-face interviews conducted in 2008. This was achieved by firstly combining all of the quantitative data gathered during the three surveys to produce Chapter 3 of this report. By comparing these three data sets over time, in this chapter it was possible to identify trends in alcohol use, in patterns of offending and other substance use. In this way, it was possible for three different trend patterns to emerge. Specifically any variable measured in exactly the same way by all three surveys could potentially display each of the following time-trends:

1. Remain constant over time - i.e. no change in reporting between samples

2. A consistent increase (or a consistent decrease) over time - i.e. a linear trend
3. An initial rise then a fall (or fall then rise) over time - i.e. a non-linear trend

All three of these patterns were apparent and are reported on in Chapter 3, though it should be stressed from the outset that wider cultural and societal changes are inextricably linked to such trends, including the acceptance of alcohol consumption levels and tolerance of the outcomes of such, rather than it being the case that all of these findings are likely to be peculiar to Young Offenders.

Chapter 4 describes in more detail the findings from the largest and most recent of the quantitative surveys conducted during the spring of 2007. This chapter is central to the report in that it provides a snapshot of Young Offenders' substance use and offending in the present era, and it identifies the key issues which were explored further by the subsequent qualitative interviews.

Chapter 5 reports on the findings of the qualitative phase of this research project, face-to-face interviews conducted during the summer of 2008. These allowed Young Offenders the opportunity to describe in their own words their experiences of the issues uncovered by the 2007 survey. To this end many anonymised quotes make up the bulk of this chapter. It should be noted that the selection of quotes used in this document, are used for illustrative purposes only and do not represent the entire analytical process associated with reaching any of the conclusions in this report.

The main purpose of this phase of the research was to provide illustrative qualitative examples to complement, triangulate and help to explain the 'dry' figures reported by the quantitative research, a process sometimes known as 'putting meat on the bones' (e.g. see Bryman, 2006). Additionally participants were invited to give their views on potential interventions to reduce their offending or harmful substance use behaviours, particularly in relation to alcohol and violence.

The mixed methodology strategy, employed across Chapters 4 and 5, allows for different perspectives to be taken on the same social phenomenon. This adds to the completeness

and diversity of the research, with the credibility of any conclusions made being enhanced if the findings from both of these different methods concur (Bryman, 2006). Alternatively, the offset of two approaches may initiate contradictory results, which can then be further examined to develop a fuller understanding of what is being studied (Greene et al, 1989). For example, in this research it was possible to develop more complete understandings of the relationships between drinks brand / beverage choice and perceived associations with violence, and also between different levels of involvement with weapons, because the findings of the 2007 survey and 2008 interviews initially seemed to be at odds.

Finally Chapter 6 synthesises the findings reported from the three previous chapters and offers some pointers towards improved recognition of, and intervention towards, the issues raised by this research report. The value of this project is not only because there has been a paucity of research into alcohol and violence among offender populations in Scotland in recent decades, but also because the time-span of this project gives it a unique strength in assessing these ever evolving issues.

3. Trends in Young Offenders drinking surveys (1979 – 2007)

3.1 Demographic and background trends

All three of the quantitative surveys described in Chapter 2 were collated to see how patterns of Young Offenders' drinking had changed over time. While not a true longitudinal study (continuously following the same individuals) combining these three cross-sectional surveys allows trends over three decades to be measured.

When examining differences between the three surveys, 1979, 1996 and 2007, it must always be borne in mind that these may (also) be reflecting more global changes, affecting Scottish society over the past three decades, rather than mere changes in offending or drinking patterns among Young Offenders. For example, between 1979 and 2007 criminal justice and social policy has changed. Changes with particular relevance to this research might include reforms in alcohol licensing regulations, changes to state benefits, new offences being added to the criminal law and new ways of dealing with offenders being introduced, such as changes to custodial sentencing policy and new community alternatives to custody (e.g. 'tagging orders'). Patterns of substance use in the wider community have changed markedly (e.g. the rise of illegal drug use, new alcoholic beverages and new drinking venues in the modern 'Night-time Economy'). More generally there have been changes in employment patterns, family structure and other population trends across Scotland.

This is illustrated by Table 3.1 which details the changing demographics of the three survey samples. Note that changes in society have necessitated some changes in the way in which some of the questions in this table were asked (e.g. marriage versus partner). However where questions were asked in an identical way in each survey, a measure of the statistical significance of the numerical differences indicated is provided by the final column of Table 3.1, with significant differences across groups being highlighted in bold type (by chi-square for categorical variables, e.g. "If married", and by *F* test from one-way ANOVA for continuous and pseudo-continuous variables, e.g. "mean age"). This was done where possible for all tables (3.1. through 3.5) comparing the results from the three surveys throughout this chapter.

Table 3.1: Sample Demographics

	1979	1996	2007	p
Participants	96	152	172	-
Mean Age	18.7	18.3	18.5	0.088
If married* ¹	17 (17.7%)	4 (2.6%)	2 (1.2%)	0.000
Co-habiting	10 (10.4%)	13 (8.6%)	33 (20.1%)	
Single	69 (71.9%)	134 (88.7%)	129 (78.7%)	
If has a partner	-	-	89 (61.4%)	-
If has any children	14 (14.6%)	25 (16.4%)	25 (14.9%)* ²	0.899
Employed (inc. 'casual', training etc.)	31 (32.3%)	18 (11.8%)	64(38.8%)* ³	0.000
If lives in parental home	63 (65.6%)	65 (47.4%)	111 (65.7%)	0.010
Own home / tenancy	17 (17.7%)	35 (25.5%)	24 (14.2%)	
Other residence (inc. 'digs', hostel etc.)	16 (16.6%)	37 (27.0%)	34 (20.1%)	
If has a father	81 (84.4%)	122 (80.3%)	-	-
If has a mother	91 (94.8%)	136 (90.1%)	-	-
If father lives in parental home	-	-	71 (48.2%)	-
If mother lives in parental home	-	-	134 (89.3%)	-
Father Employed	52 (63.4%)	59 (38.8%)	93 (63.3%)	0.002
Mother Employed	44 (48.4%)	49 (32.2%)	77 (51.7%)	0.023

*¹ Includes one married participant in 1979 who was already divorced

*² Excludes five participants in the 2007 survey who stated that they were expecting to become a father

*³ Includes one respondent who was in education

Table 3.1 provides a first opportunity for examining each of the three possible trends between these three points in time (i.e. 'no-change', 'linear trend' and 'non-linear trend', see Chapter 2). Firstly some variables could remain constant across the three surveys, such as the mean age of respondents, which was never far from 18 and half years old in every sample, or the number of respondents who had children of their own, which was never far from 15 percent. Secondly some trends could be consistently in the same direction (either up or down), such as the demise of marriage since the 1970s implied by Table 3.1. Finally, some trends could be non-linear, in that the findings from the middle year, 1996, differed from those of the other two, 1979 and 2007.

As will be seen throughout this chapter, this non-linear pattern was found across a range of variables, indicating that in some respects today's Young Offenders more closely resembled those of the 1979 cohort in comparison to the 1996 cohort. An example of this trend pattern, shown by Table 3.1, can be seen from the variable asking whether respondents were in paid employment prior to their sentence. In both 1979 and 2007 respondents were more than twice as likely to be in paid employment compared to 1996. Indeed all the employment variables on Table 3.1 show the same pattern, indicating that fewer jobs were available to (or taken by) both Young Offenders and their parents during 1996 (raising the question of whether this was down to the type of Young Offender in custody, e.g. drinker or drug user, or merely reflective of labour market trends). Similarly respondents were equally likely to live in their parental home in either 1979 or 2007, when around two-thirds of the sample did so, yet only a minority lived with their parents in 1996.

Next, as shown by Table 3.2, respondents' family drinking variables were compared, specifically the drinking patterns of these Young Offenders' parents and their partner (if they currently had one). The trends here were less clear than in Table 3.1. Taking respondents' fathers first, there appeared to be a decline in numbers of fathers who were described as drinkers. In contrast, amongst those fathers who did drink, there appeared to be an increase in drinking frequency, with, for example, the number who stated that he drank daily doubling between 1979 and 2007 (see Appendix 1 for the exact wording of these questions). On the other hand, there was a similar increase in fathers who consumed alcohol infrequently (i.e. less than weekly), suggesting a polarisation of how fathers' drinking was perceived, with more of both seemingly heavier and lighter drinkers.

Table 3.2: Family Drinking Background

	1979	1996	2007	<i>p</i>
If father drinks alcohol	82 (95.3%)	91 (74.0%)	104 (71.7%)	0.000
Father drinks 'daily'	11 (12.9%)	14 (18.7%)	24 (26.1%)	0.000
Father drinks 'evenings' – 'weekly'	60 (70.3%)	59 (78.7%)	38 (41.3%)	
Father drinks less than 'weekly'	14 (16.5%)	9 (12.0%)	30 (32.6%)	
Considers father to be an 'alcoholic'	7 (8.0%)	6 (4.1%)	10 (7.7%)* ²	0.392
If Mother drinks alcohol	66 (72.5%)	85 (62.5%)	88 (56.8%)	0.048
Mother drinks 'daily'	4 (6.9%)	1 (0.9%)	8 (11.0%)	0.000
Mother drinks 'evenings' – 'weekly'	39 (67.2%)	42 (37.2%)	36 (49.3%)	
Mother drinks less than 'weekly'	15 (25.9%)	70 (62.0%)	35 (39.7%)	
Considers mother to be an 'alcoholic'	4 (4.3%)	7 (4.9%)	5 (4.5%)* ²	0.384
If Partner* ¹ drinks alcohol	15 (52.0%)	3 (21.4%)	60 (67.4%)	-
Partner* ¹ drinks 'daily'	1 (7.1%)	0 (-)	5 (8.9%)	-
Partner* ¹ drinks 'evenings' – 'weekly'	2 (14.3%)	1 (33.3%)	34 (60.7%)	
Partner* ¹ drinks less than 'weekly'	11 (78.6%)	2 (66.6%)	17 (30.4%)	
Considers partner* ¹ to be an 'alcoholic'	0 (-)	-	4 (6.2%)	-

*¹Termed 'wife' in 1979 and 1996

*² The 2007 figures exclude two fathers and one mother deceased through alcohol

Despite the relatively large proportion of fathers drinking daily (up to 28.3% in 2007), the number of respondents who described their fathers as 'alcoholics' was comparatively low in each survey, never exceeding one tenth of the sample.

The decline in mothers who were described as drinkers over time was even greater than that reported for fathers. What was also striking was that respondents' mothers, who did drink, appeared to drink much less frequently than fathers. Mothers appeared to be particularly infrequent drinkers during the 1996 survey. The proportion of mothers described as 'alcoholic' was consistent across the surveys, and with the exception (albeit marginally) of 1996, these were fewer in number than was the case with 'alcoholic' fathers.

Interestingly the proportions of respondents' partners who were described as drinkers was also lower than might have been expected in 2007 (e.g. given current concerns about young women's drinking, e.g. see Ford, 2005; Hinsliff, 2004; Plant & Plant, 2001; Slack, 2008; Smith & Taher, 2008). Unfortunately the earlier surveys only referred to respondents' wives, and therefore the numbers completing this section were small (especially in 1996, by which time much fewer Young Offenders were married than in 1979, see Table 3.1). Nevertheless, from these data comparatively few Young Offenders partners appeared to be frequent drinkers or described as 'alcoholic', at least in the view of the respondents who had one.

The reported extent of parental and in particular partners' drinking contrasts sharply with respondents own self-reported drinking patterns shown by Table 3.3, which if they are used by Young Offenders as a yard-stick to measure others' drinking behaviour against may, comparatively, have lowered the figures in Table 3.2 (i.e. heavy drinkers may not consider more moderate alcohol consumers as "drinkers" at all) (see also Davies & Stacey, 1972; Dight, 1976). As can be seen from Table 3.3, by any yardstick, this population was heavily involved with alcohol use.

Table 3.3: Male Young Offenders' Drinking Background

	1979	1996	2007	<i>p</i>
If respondent drinks alcohol	87 (90.6%)	111 (74.0%)	155 (90.6%)	0.000
Gets drunk "daily"	7 (7.3%)	31 (22.6%)	58 (40.3%)	0.000
Gets drunk "weekly"	34 (35.4%)	54 (39.4%)	71 (49.3%)	
Gets drunk less often	55 (57.3%)	52 (38.0%)	15 (10.4%)	
Drinks more than companions	10 (10.6%)	49 (44.1%)	41 (20.3%)	-
Drinks same as companions	-	34 (30.6%)	88 (62.9%)	
Drinks less than companions	84 (89.4%)	28 (25.2%)	11 (7.9%)	
What drinks*¹:				-
Spirits drinker	41 (47.1%)	37 (32.5%)	32 (27.6%)	
Beer drinker	72 (82.8%)	71 (62.3%)	46 (39.7%)	
Wine drinker	5 (5.8%)	18 (15.8%)	52 (44.8%)	
Cider drinker	-	22 (19.3%)	10 (8.6%)	
Other drinker (e.g. liqueurs, shots)	-	-	7 (6.0%)	
Any / all (not included in above)	11 (12.6%)	10 (8.8%)	-	
Where drinks*²:				-
Home drinker	-	51 (48.6%)	56 (39.7%)	
Pub drinker	-	22 (21.0%)	42 (29.8%)	
Hotel drinker	-	1 (0.9%)	0 (-)	
Club drinker	-	2 (2.0%)	36 (25.5%)	
Outdoors drinker* ³	-	2 (2.0%)	67 (47.5%)	
Other setting drinker	-	27 (25.7%)	15 (10.6%)	
All / any (not included in above)	-	2 (2.0%)	1 (0.7%)	
Mean Total SADQ score	<u>10.5</u>	<u>12.5</u>	<u>14.3</u>	0.030
Scoring 'severe dependency'	5 (5.8%)	4 (3.6%)	17 (11.6%)	
Scoring 'moderate dependency'	13 (15.1%)	37 (33.0%)	29 (19.7%)	
Scoring 'mild physical dependency'	59 (68.6%)	58 (51.8%)	90 (61.2%)	
Scoring zero	9 (10.5%)	13 (11.6%)	11 (7.5%)	

*¹ Termed as what 'usually' drinks in 2007 (owing to more detailed alcohol product questions)

*² Termed as where 'mostly' drinks in 2007 (owing to more setting questions)

*³ Termed as 'street' in 1996

Note - Figures in some columns do not sum to 100% as participants could give more than one response, for example 'what drinks' and 'where drinks'

3.2 Trends in alcohol use

Taking the number of respondents who described themselves as drinkers first, it is interesting to note that these figures never reach one hundred percent. This is not because some respondents are under-18 years of age, as in the 2007 survey for example only two of the 16 reported 'non-drinkers' were under-age (the proportion of non-drinkers was greatest amongst 19 and 20 year-olds). Why there are so many non-drinkers in each survey is not known, though it is possible that some may never have consumed alcohol (for whatever reason), some may have given up (or think they have given up because no alcoholic beverages are available within the YOI), some may use other substances instead of alcohol (i.e. illegal drugs), while others may simply not see themselves as drinkers (compared with their peers). This latter possibility might also have reduced the number of reported drinkers in these respondent's families, especially among the women (see Table 3.2).

With the above caveats in mind, it was striking that an identical number (90.6%) of respondents in both the 1979 and 2007 surveys described themselves as drinkers, and that more than a quarter described themselves as 'non-drinkers' in the 1996 survey. Despite this pattern, among those who did drink, the numbers reporting getting 'drunk' "daily" rose steadily across the surveys (from only 7.3% in 1979 to 40.3% by 2007).

Although the high proportions reporting getting drunk "daily" may in part be a function of the question, in that choosing this option can simply indicate drinking more than just "weekly" (see Appendix 1), subsequent qualitative interviews revealed that for many Young Offenders, especially during the weeks prior to their arrest, this response could be perceived to be quite literally the case (see Chapter 5). Also, given that the question was worded in the same way in all three surveys, an upward trend is clearly indicated no matter whether these respondents get drunk daily or merely most days.

This upward trend is also indicated by the steady decline in those reporting becoming drunk less than weekly, also shown on Table 3.3. This raises another possibility, that respondents' (or indeed wider society's) interpretations of the word "drunk" may have changed (e.g. in terms of what kind of a subjective state this is or the stigma attached to it). However, even if this is indeed the case, to some unknowable extent, Table 3.3 at least

demonstrates a steady trend towards a culture of extreme alcohol intoxication (see Martinic & Measham, 2008).

Table 3.3 also lists several variables which address the context of Young Offenders' drinking. There was a steady decline in respondents reporting that they drank less than their companions (from 89.4% of drinkers in 1979 to only 7.9% by 2007), though the highest number who reported drinking more than their companions was recorded in 1996. Interestingly the number who said they drank about the same as their companions doubled between 1996 and 2007 (this option was not provided in 1979). Again this trend may literally be the case or it may be reflecting a greater acceptability in present day culture of being seen as drinking more.

Types of beverages usually consumed by respondents were found to have varied greatly over the time scale of this research. Owing to new drinks being included (and an option for drink anything / all beverages in the 1979 and 1996 surveys, see Table 3.3) these data are not strictly the same for statistical comparative purposes. Nevertheless, clear trends are implied here, specifically there has been a steady decline in both spirits and beer consumption, counterbalanced by a huge increase in wine drinking. As will be seen in Chapter 4, which examines beverage choice in detail, one particular brand of (tonic) wine appears to have been behind this trend.

The 1996 and 2007 surveys (only) asked about the setting where respondents usually drank alcohol. Again there were some minor differences between how these surveys measured this variable. In particular a change was made to the measurement of 'al fresco' settings, from an option for "street" drinking in 1996 to "outdoors" in the 2007 survey. There was a huge increase observed in respondents who selected the 'al fresco' option (either "street" or "outdoors"), more than could be accounted for by the change in how the question was worded (i.e. given that the 'al fresco' option rose from 2.0% to 47.5%, while the "other" setting option on Table 3.3. only fell from 25.7% to 10.6% - when specified by the 2007 survey respondents, these other settings mainly referred to other people's houses). There was also a large rise in club drinkers between 1996 and 2007, perhaps reflecting the rise of the alcohol-fuelled 'Night-time Economy' in the past decade (Chatterton & Hollands, 2003; Hadfield, 2006; Hobbs et al, 2003; Jayne et al, 2006).

The final rows of Table 3.3 refer to the Severity of Alcohol Dependency Questionnaire, showing the mean Total SADQ scores for each of the three samples on this scale, as well as indicating how many individual Young Offenders in each cohort had total SADQ scores indicating either 'severe' or 'moderate alcohol dependence' (see Chapter 2 for how the SADQ is scored). Higher scores indicate more severe dependency and imply greater levels of consumption. As might be expected there was a steady rise in the mean Total SADQ score of respondents over time, with more reaching the criteria for 'moderate dependence' in 1996 and more reaching the criteria for 'severe alcohol dependence' in 2007, when the fewest respondents scored zero (i.e. no apparent indication of alcohol dependence). This would appear to confirm the trends indicated by the other self-report measures used in successive surveys, as detailed in Table 3.3.

As is shown by Table 3.4, when questions enquiring about the relationship between respondents' drinking and offending patterns were compared over time, a similar pattern indicating the increased salience of alcohol was revealed. Between 1979 and 2007, there was a consistent rise in respondents who reported having a prior conviction for drunkenness, who felt that alcohol had contributed to their previous offences, who stated that they were drinking at the time of their current offence, who felt that they were drunk at the time of their current offence and who drank after their current offence. In particular the number of respondents who attributed their current offence to their drinking behaviour rose steadily from only 29.5% in 1979 to 56.8% in 2007, in other words by 2007 a majority of Young Offenders blamed alcohol for their current custodial sentence (as is indicated by the final row in Table 3.4).

Table 3.4: Drinking and Current Offence

	1979	1996	2007	<i>p</i>
If has previous “drunk” conviction	14 (14.6%)	47 (33.6%)	78 (54.5%)	0.000
If drink contributed to previous offences	46 (47.9%)	80 (58.4%)	109 (79.6%)	0.000
If drank prior to current offence	56 (58.9%)	59 (41.3%)	117 (81.3%)	0.000
If drinking at time of this offence	14 (14.7%)	62 (44.0%)	97 (69.8%)	0.000
If drunk* at time of the offence	45 (47.4%)	74 (52.8%)	106 (76.8%)	0.000
If remembers prior to the offence	69 (72.6%)	60 (43.8%)	64 (46.7%)	0.000
If remembers the offence	80 (84.2%)	96 (69.1%)	97 (69.3%)	0.018
If drink after the offence	14 (14.7%)	51 (36.7%)	63 (45.0%)	0.000
If blames current offence on drinking	28 (29.5%)	56 (40.0%)	79 (56.8%)	0.000

* Termed as “under the influence” in the 1979 and 1996 surveys

Two features of Table 3.4 differed from this overall pattern. Firstly the number of respondents who reported remembering either the offence itself or the period before their current offence was, as might be expected, much greater in 1979 than in the two later surveys, however the numbers who could recall the circumstances of this offence did not decline any further, but was similar in both 1996 and 2007. (As will be seen from later sections, it is interesting to speculate whether this lack of difference, in being able to remember their current offence, between these two surveys, despite the higher levels of alcohol use in 2007, was down to the higher number of respondents in the 1996 cohort who attributed their offence to illegal drug use).

Secondly, the numbers who stated that they consumed any alcohol before their current offence did not increase steadily over time (as opposed to the variables measuring the extent of drinking surrounding the offence, see above). Instead, the trend in Young Offenders who reported drinking before their current offence was the same as that for respondents who are drinkers (see Table 3.3), in that respondents from the 1996 survey were the least likely to have consumed alcohol before their current offence.

3.3 Trends in Offending

Table 3.5 provides details of respondents' current offences. Although comparisons are made complicated by there being more new offences by 2007 (especially in Group 5) and because more of the respondents in the 2007 sample have been convicted of multiple offences, some very large differences are apparent between the three surveys (only in the 2007 survey were any respondents convicted of offences from more than one Group). Although it should be stressed that these figures relate to what Young Offenders were receiving a custodial sentence for during each of the three survey years, rather than a reflection of offending patterns in the community, the implications of these data are clear and striking.

Table 3.5: Current Offence

Crime / Offence	1979	1996	2007	p
GROUP 1 TOTAL	21 (22.3%)	13 (10.0%)	87 (53.4%)	0.000
Serious Assault etc.* ¹	15 (16.0%)	5 (3.8%)	69 (42.3%)	
Robbery	6 (6.4%)	8 (6.2%)	16 (9.8%)	
other Group 1 * ²	0 (-)	0 (-)	4 (2.5%)	
GROUP 2 TOTAL	6 (6.4%)	0 (-)	1 (0.6%)	0.001
Rape	6 (6.4%)	0 (-)	0 (-)	
Lewd Indecency	0 (-)	0 (-)	1 (0.6%)	
GROUP 3 TOTAL	34 (36.2%)	44 (33.8%)	18 (11.0%)	0.000
HB	15 (16.0%)	12 (9.2%)	5 (3.1%)	
OLP	0 (-)	5 (3.8%)	0 (-)	
Shoplifting	1 (1.1%)	1 (0.8%)	1 (0.6%)	
Fraud	1 (1.1%)	1 (0.8%)	0 (-)	
(other) Theft	17 (18.1%)	25 (19.2%)	12 (7.4%)	
GROUP 4 TOTAL	4 (4.3%)	2 (1.5%)	6 (3.7%)	0.437
Fire-raising	2 (2.1%)	0 (-)	3 (1.8%)	
Vandalism etc.	2 (2.1%)	2 (1.5%)	3 (1.8%)	
GROUP 5 TOTAL	3 (3.2%)	38 (29.5%)	37 (22.7%)	0.000
Public Justice etc. * ³	3 (3.1%)	27 (20.8%)	11 (6.8%)	
Weapons etc.	0 (-)	3 (2.3%)	18 (11.0%)	
Drugs	0 (-)	8 (6.2%)	12 (7.4%)	
GROUP 6 TOTAL	22 (23.4%)	23 (17.7%)	29 (17.8%)	0.431
(Petty) Assault	16 (17.0%)	13 (10.0%)	27 (16.6%)	
Breach of the Peace	6 (6.4%)	10 (7.7%)	2 (1.2%)	
GROUP 7 TOTAL	4 (4.3%)	10 (7.7%)	9 (5.5%)	0.537
Motor Vehicle Offences	4 (4.3%)	10 (7.7%)	9 (5.5%)	-
TOTAL VIOLENT *⁴	37 (42.0%)	30 (23.1%)	119 (73.0%)	0.000

*¹ Includes Murder and Culpable Homicide

*² i.e. Firearms

*³ Includes Police Assault, Probation or Bail breaches and Fines

*⁴ Comprises all Group1, Rape, Police Assault, Weapons and (Petty) Assault

Note – Figures do not add up to 100% as respondents had been convicted of more than one offence.

Looking at Group 1 Crimes first, the trend which is apparent here is similar to that exhibited by some drinking variables (e.g. the percentages who drink alcohol and the percentages who were drinking before their offence across the three surveys, see Tables 3.3 and 3.4 respectively), in that the numbers currently in custody for serious violent crime were greater in 1979 and especially in 2007 than was the case in 1996. Specifically, the number of Young Offenders whose current offence involved serious violence was just under one quarter (22.3%) of the sample in 1979, falling to only one tenth in 1996 (10.0%), then rising to a majority (53.4%) by 2007.

One potential explanation for this trend might be more disorderly offences being classified as serious in 2007, than had been the case before. However this would not seem to be the case, because Group 6 Offences (i.e. assault and breach of the peace) did not decline as might have been expected if this were so. Indeed, as is shown at the bottom of Table 3.5, if other crimes and offences which can be considered as violent (e.g. see WHO, 2002) are summed together with Group 1 Crimes (i.e. all serious violent crimes, plus Rape from Group 2, Police Assault, Possession of a Weapon or Possession of a Knife, all from Group 5 and the Group 6 offence of Assault) this time trend shows a fall in violence between 1979 and 1996, followed by an even larger rise between 1996 and 2007. This is amplified, with almost three quarters (73.0%) of the most recent sample having a current offence which was violent in nature.

With the high proportion of Group 1 Crimes in this sample, as might be expected, other Crimes were less common in the 2007 survey. For example, little more than one tenth (11.0%) of this final sample were in custody for a Group 3 Crime (i.e. dishonesty – the most often recorded category of crime, for all types of offenders, nationally in Scotland, e.g. see Scottish Government, 2008b). As will be seen in the following chapters there may have been more reasons for this reduction in dishonesty than the mere statistical artefact suggested by Table 3.5. It was also noteworthy that this decline in dishonesty (i.e. non-violent theft) did not extend to (violent) Robbery. Again it should be stressed that these figures are representative of offenders receiving custodial sentences and that non-violent offenders may have been more likely to receive alternatives to custody in 2007.

These trends in alcohol use and offending across the three surveys are illustrated graphically by Figures 1 and 2. Firstly, Figure 1 combines some of the non-linear trends reported in Tables 3.3 to 3.5. Specifically, this line graph shows trends in the percentage of respondents from each of the three surveys 1979, 1996 and 2007 who were drinkers and who reported getting drunk daily, who stated that they usually drank wine and who blamed alcohol for their current offence. All of these variables show an increasing trend over the timescale of this project, one which was common among alcohol variables throughout this research (e.g. see Table 3.4). By way of contrast, Figure 1 also shows the percentage of all respondents in each survey whose present conviction was for a crime of dishonesty (i.e. in Group 3, see Table 3.5), which had a declining pattern over time.

Figure 2 shows some of the non-linear trends in offending and alcohol use recorded across the timescale of this research. That is the percentage of all respondents in each survey who described themselves as drinkers, the percentage of drinkers who had consumed alcohol prior to their current offence and the percentage of all respondents whose current offence was a violent one (as defined by the last row of Table 3.5). Each of these display a v-shaped pattern, one of being reported by a greater number of Young Offenders in 1979 than was the case 1996, before rising to an equal, or even higher level, in 2007 than had been recorded in 1979. Also shown in Figure 2 is the proportion of all Young Offenders in each survey who stated that they had been employed prior to custody, a variable which also displays this v-shaped pattern (their patterns of parental employment and living in their parental home were also similar, see Table 3.1). Figure 2 highlights how in some respects Young Offenders in the present era more closely resemble their counterparts from the 1970s than those of the 1996 cohort. It is interesting to speculate whether one reason for this pattern might have been the effect of changes in the levels of other forms of substance use (i.e. illegal drugs) among Young Offenders between these dates. The next section will examine changes in the use of other intoxicating substances found by comparing these surveys data.

Figure 1: Linear Trends in Alcohol Use and Offending

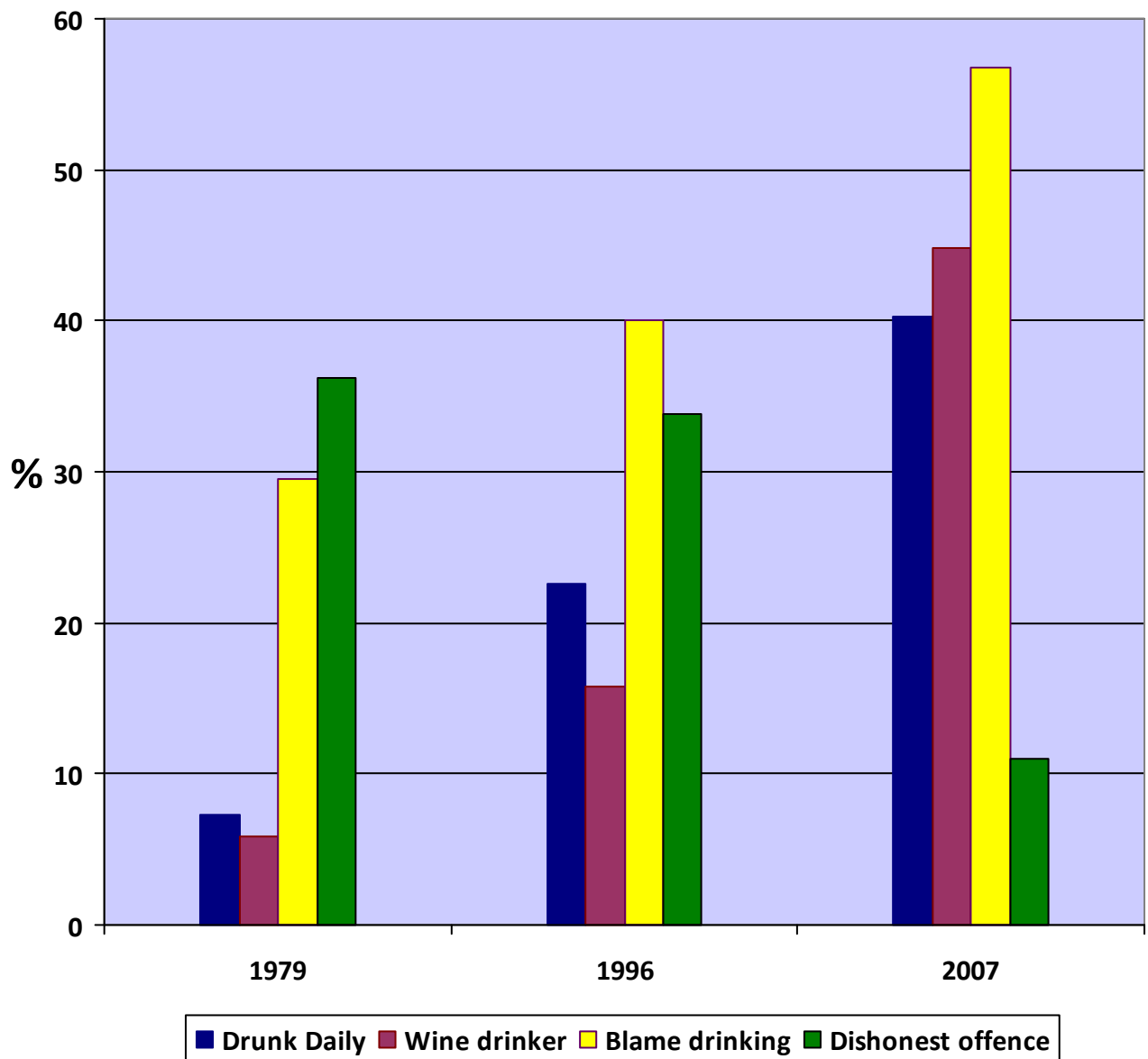
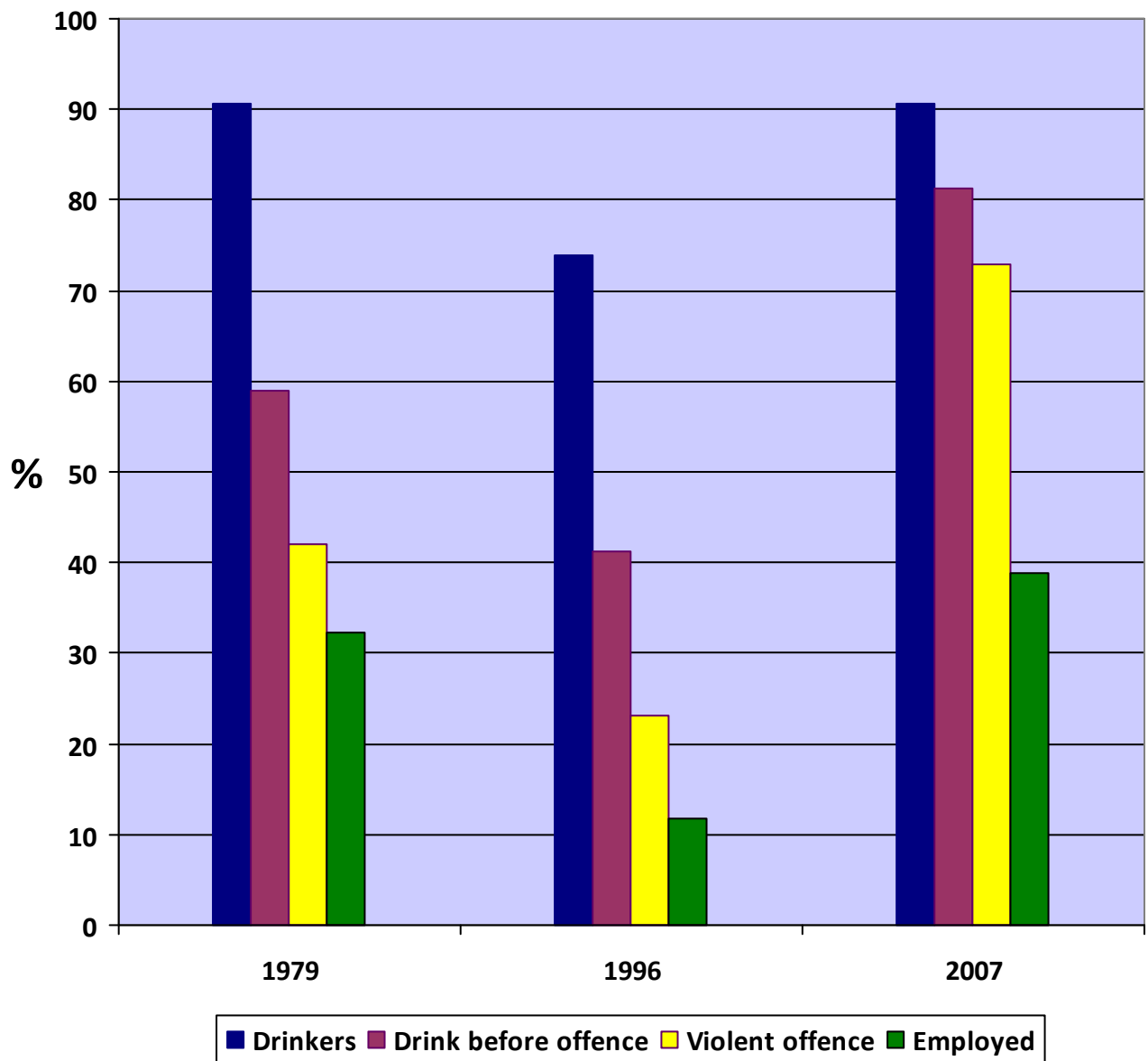


Figure 2: Non-linear Trends in Alcohol Use and Offending



3.4 Trends in other drug use

A factor which may have influenced the patterning of offences detailed in Table 3.5, and Figures 1 and 2, was the rise of widespread illegal drug use in Scotland. The first survey was conducted in 1979, only one year before the first signs of the 'epidemic' of problematic opioid use (i.e. heroin addiction) was noted in Scotland (Ditton & Sperits, 1981; Haw 1985; Haw & Liddel, 1986). Also the period between the 1979 and 1996 surveys saw the advent of the rave / ecstasy (MDMA) scene, a brief period in time between 1988 and the early 1990s when alcohol use in licensed premises was frowned upon by many young people (who might otherwise have been regular weekend drinkers), and which saw the 'normalisation' of recreational drugs use (e.g. cannabis) across the UK (e.g. Collin with Godfrey, 1997; Forsyth, 1996; Henley Centre, 1993; Measham, 2004; Parker et al, 1998). Table 3.6 shows the patterning of other drug use over the timescale of this research.

Table 3.6 is limited in that questions specific to illegal drug use were only included in the 1996 and 2007 surveys, owing to the absence of widespread use in 1979. The only consistently asked question relating to other drug use (which may include medicines) was whether respondents mixed drugs with alcohol. As might be expected there was a huge rise in the numbers doing so between 1979 and 1996.

Cigarette smoking was the only other form of other substance use also recorded across all three surveys. As is shown by Table 3.6, this has remained fairly constant at around eighty percent of each sample having smoked tobacco.

Table 3.6: Other Drugs

	1979	1996	2007	P (96-07)	2007 (only) Prior month
Mixes alcohol and other drugs	15 (15.6%)	92 (64.8%)	119 (78.8%)	0.000	-
Smokes cigarettes* ¹	76 (79.2%)	123 (84.8%)	113 (77.4%)	0.245	-
If ever used "solvents"	-	19 (13.5%)	40 (28.0%)	(0.003)	-
If ever used cannabis	-	109 (77.3%)	134 (85.4%)	(0.074)	97 (66.4%)
If ever used heroin	-	38 (27.0%)	29 (19.7%)	(0.147)	23 (15.9%)
If ever used morphine	-	14 (9.9%)	12 (8.5%)	(0.667)	7 (4.9%)
If ever used methadone	-	-	22 (14.8%)	-	13 (8.7%)
If ever used dihydrocodeine	-	-	38 (26.6%)	-	24 (16.8%)
If ever used buprenorphine	-	-	17 (11.5%)	-	8 (5.4%)
If ever used benzodiazepines	-	75 (53.2%)	97 (61.8%)	(0.077)	61 (43.6%)
If ever used ecstasy	-	78 (55.3%)	105 (68.2%)	(0.023)	65 (45.8%)
If ever used amphetamines	-	72 (51.4%)	83 (54.2%)	(0.629)	35 (24.3%)
If ever used cocaine (powder)	-	35 (24.8%)	110 (70.1%)	(0.000)	63 (45.7%)
If ever user 'crack'	-	8 (5.6%)	32 (21.2%)	(0.000)	15 (10.0%)
If ever used LSD	-	72 (51.1%)	51 (33.6%)	(0.002)	13 (8.8%)
If ever used magic mushrooms	-	-	50 (32.5%)	-	9 (6.0%)
If ever used ketamine	-	-	22 (14.7%)	-	8 (5.4%)
If ever used antidepressants	-	-	22 (15.2%)	-	6 (4.1%)
If ever injected drugs	-	-	14 (9.1%)	-	10 (6.5%)

*¹ 2007 survey includes 3 respondents who circled a "sometimes" smokes option, not asked in 1979 and 1996

It was possible to compare reported lifetime use of certain illegal drugs between the 1996 and 2007 surveys. Table 3.6 shows consistently high (i.e. used by a majority of Young Offenders), and rising, levels of use of cannabis, ecstasy, amphetamines and benzodiazepines, which as will be made clear in subsequent chapters is likely to be down to diazepam, the drug formerly marketed as Valium®, use (indeed subsequent interviews revealed that Young Offenders still refer to diazepam as Valium, ‘vallies’ or ‘blues’ – a nickname derived from the colour of the strongest tablet bearing this brand name – regardless of the substance’s current source of manufacture, see Chapter 5).

Perhaps in line with wider trends in Scotland there was a large increase in the number of cocaine users, from around one quarter of respondents in 1996 to 70.1% by 2007 (making the powdered form of this substance the second most popular illegal drug after cannabis in the most recent survey) and, from a smaller baseline, a corresponding increase in ‘crack’ cocaine use. According to figures released by The Scottish Government (2008c), in 1996/1997 there were 126 cocaine seizures in Scotland and only 3 ‘crack’ seizures, by the year 2006/2007 these had increased to 1,692 seizures and 226 seizures respectively.

Though still a minority activity, the use of ‘solvents’ (volatile hydrocarbons and other inhalants) also increased markedly between the last two surveys. Volatile substances reported as being inhaled for this purpose in the 2007 survey included gas ($n = 32$ users / sniffers), glue ($n = 8$), petrol ($n = 7$), deodorant ($n = 5$), aerosols ($n = 2$), air-freshener ($n = 1$) and cleaning fluid ($n = 1$).

In contrast to the above trends, lifetime levels of LSD use actually fell from just over one half of respondents in the 1996 survey to around one third of the 2007 sample. Again this would again seem to concur with wider trends in the community, rather than anything peculiar to Young Offenders, because between years 1996/97 and 2006/2007 seizures of LSD nationally fell from 131 to just 24 (Scottish Government, 2008c).

Perhaps the more interesting drug to fall in popularity amongst these Young Offenders was heroin, lifetime levels of which dropped from 27.0% in 1996 to 19.7% by 2007. Even though the numbers of Young Offenders involved with this drug were always relatively

small, and this reduction in heroin use recorded between the 1996 and 2007 surveys did not reach statistical significance, it is an important finding given that, unlike the examples of other drugs detailed above, heroin use appears to have increased greatly in the community between 1996/1997 and 2006/2007, when the number of seizures in Scotland actually increased from 1,403 to 3,289 (Scottish Government, 2008c). This discrepancy may imply that Scotland has an ageing heroin user / offender population.

Table 3.6 also shows measures of both lifetime and current use (i.e. used in the month before custody) for a wide range of drugs, recorded by the 2007 survey only. These two measures seem to relate to each other quite closely, in that lifetime users of (most of) the more popular drugs had also done so in the month prior to their arrest, the exceptions to this pattern being amphetamines and LSD, perhaps suggesting that these are declining in popularity (magic mushrooms being well out of season at the time of the 2007 survey). Less commonly used lifetime drugs, such as buprenorphine, 'jellies', 'crack', ketamine and antidepressants, were only used by a few respondents (10.0% or less) in the month prior to custody. Interestingly, although small in number, lifetime morphine and methadone users and injectors of any drug (all of which were strongly associated with heroin use) did not seem to have declined in the same way. A more detailed analysis of drug use in the 2007 sample will be provided in Chapter 4.

The 1996 and 2007 surveys also looked at the relationship between illegal drug use and offending, specifically how Young Offenders paid for these substances. This is shown in the top section of Table 3.7, which also compares how drug-attributed offending compares with alcohol-attributed offending at these two times (unfortunately no comparable question asked Young Offenders directly how they obtained funds for their drinking habits).

When interpreting the top section of Table 3.7 it should be remembered that the differences between surveys are as likely to be a function of changes in patterns of employment (of both Young Offenders and their parents, see Table 3.1) as they are of changes in patterns of these respondents' substance use. Nonetheless in both 1996 and 2007 a majority of respondents reported that they used legal means to obtain money for drugs, with most finding this money by legal means in 2007, particularly from their own

wages (rising from one-in-ten to one-in-four drug users between surveys), contrasting with a fall in numbers who claimed to obtain their drug money from benefits (33.7% to 14.9%).

Unfortunately it cannot be known from this survey what these wages were (e.g. from a salary, casual employment or 'off the books' jobs) and also respondents understanding of employment. The prices paid for drugs by the respondents in each survey may also have changed (i.e. lower costs may mean less need among offenders to make use of a criminal income in order to purchase drugs).

In contrast the numbers who obtained money for drugs through acquisitive crime fell, significantly between 1996 and 2007, with obtaining by theft falling from 44.6% to 25.8% between these dates. This would concur with the data on present offence, which displayed a sharp drop in convictions for Group 3 Crimes (dishonesty) between these surveys (see Table 3.5). Again this was not the case with violent acquisitive crime, robbery (again also refer to Table 3.5). The numbers paying for illegal drugs through dealing remained small (around 10% or less drug users citing this as one of their financial / drug sources).

Table 3.7: Relationships between drugs & offending (1996 & 2007)

How obtains money for illegal drugs* ¹ :	1996	2007	<i>p</i>
Pay for drugs by any legal means	48 (57.8%)	70 (68.6%)	0.086
Family	7 (8.4%)	12 (11.9%)	
Wages* ²	9 (10.8%)	41 (40.2%)	
Benefits	28 (33.7%)	15 (14.9%)	
Other (borrow, friends, free etc)	10 (12.1%)	12 (11.9%)	
Pay for drugs by any acquisitive crime	39 (47.0%)	33 (32.4%)	0.030
Theft	37 (44.6%)	26 (25.8%)	
Robbery	2 (2.3%)	7 (6.9%)	
Pay for drugs through dealing	6 (7.2%)	11 (10.9%)	0.284
Drug use and current offence:			
If used drugs prior to offence	-	87 (56.1%)	-
If blames offence on drug use	57 (40.1%)	46 (30.1%)	0.045
If blames drinking	56 (40.0%)	79 (56.8%)	0.006
If blames drink <u>and</u> drugs used	24 (17.4%)	25 (20.2%)	0.566
If blames neither	53 (38.4%)	42 (33.9%)	0.446
If <u>only</u> blames drugs used	30 (21.7%)	12 (9.7%)	0.008
If <u>only</u> blames drinking	31 (22.5%)	45 (36.3%)	0.014

*¹ Does not add to 100% as drugs/money could be obtained by more than one means

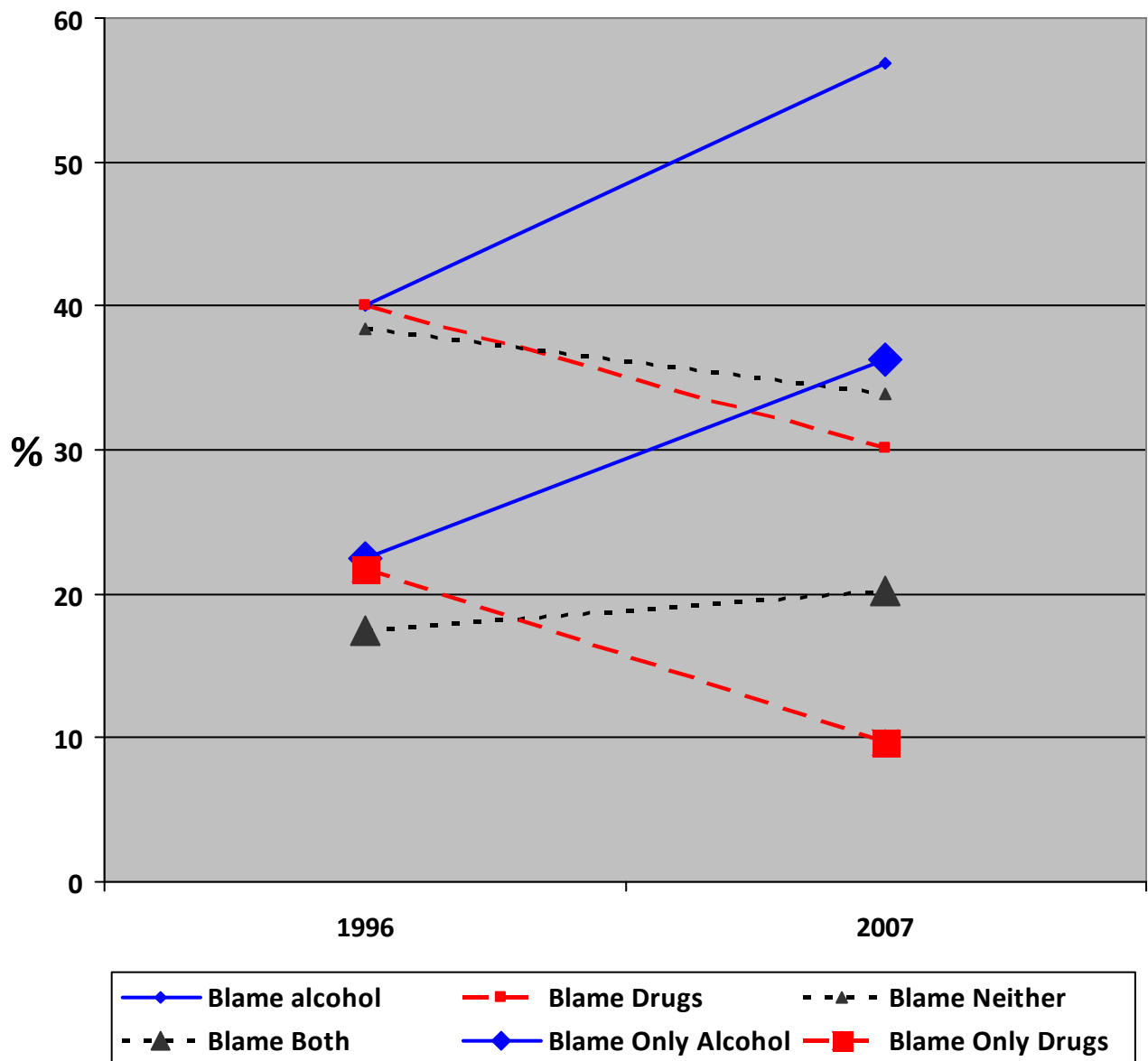
*² Includes one "casual" work in 1996

Another potential clue as to why these drug-crime figures fell between the last two surveys (other than there being more jobs) can be gleaned by looking at individual drugs used in the month prior to custody in 2007. Of 75 past month users of cannabis 25 (33.3%) funded at least part of their illegal drug use by acquisitive crime. A minority of users of other popular drugs (e.g. ecstasy 20 out of 54, or cocaine 17 out of 48 past month users) gave some form of acquisitive crime as among their methods of obtaining money for drugs (not necessarily these drugs) the close exception to this pattern being the 49 past month benzodiazepine users nearly half ($n = 24$) of whom had funded their use through theft or robbery (the balance being held by one individual whose only benzodiazepine used was temazepam, as opposed to diazepam).

At the other extreme was heroin, as 14 of the 19 (73.7%, i.e. a large majority of) respondents who had used this drug during the month prior to custody stated that they obtained at least some drugs via at least some acquisitive crime.

The second section of Table 3.7 shows that although a majority (56.1%) of the 2007 survey respondents had used drugs before their current offence comparatively few blamed these drugs for this offence, unless alcohol was involved also. In contrast to alcohol (see Table 3.4), the number of respondents blaming drugs for their offence fell (from 40.1% to 30.1%) between 1996 and 2007. The number blaming both alcohol and drugs for their current offence was similar in both years (17.4% and 20.2% respectively) as were the numbers blaming neither drink nor drugs (38.4% and 33.9%). However, the numbers only blaming illegal drugs fell sharply (from 21.7% to 9.7%), while the numbers only blaming alcohol increased (from 22.5% to 36.3%). These trends are illustrated graphically by Figure 3.

Figure 3: Changes in attributing blame (1996 & 2007)



In summary, in contrast to the 1996 survey, when only one tenth of offences involved serious violence, and the numbers of Young Offenders blaming alcohol and illegal drugs for their current offence were the same, by the time of the 2007, when a majority of offences involved serious violence, almost four times as many respondents were blaming alcohol alone as were blaming drugs alone, and two-thirds of all of those who did blame illegal drugs also blamed their drinking.

By using data from the more detailed questions asked in the 2007 survey (see Chapter 2), Chapter 4 will look more closely at the relationship between alcohol, other drugs, and violence, including involvement with gangs and weapons.

4. Cross-sectional survey (2007)

4.1 Patterns of alcohol consumption

The 2007 survey contained extra items on the context of respondents' drinking and also on their involvement in violent offences (see Chapter 2 and Appendix 1). These allowed the Young Offenders to give some indication of the reasons behind their drinking and offending behaviours, as well as providing some pointers for topics to be covered in the subsequent qualitative phase of the research (see Chapter 5).

When respondents were asked why they consumed alcohol a variety of reasons were given. These are shown by Table 4.1, which also asks why they preferred their "favourite" drink (beverage or brand) and why they chose their "usual" drink. It should be noted some respondents cited more than one reason for their favourite and 'the usual', and also that these two drinks were often quite different beverages or brands.

From Table 4.1 it can be seen that three reasons constituted the bulk of responses as to why respondents consumed alcohol in the first place, namely 'socialising', for 'enjoyment' and to get drunk (without specifying why). Other interesting, but less common, responses included reasons surrounding boredom or something to do, and various psychological motives, including to forget about bad thoughts, to improve confidence and to stave off depression. Most interestingly, despite the extent of their drinking (e.g. see Table 3.3) only two cited reasons relating to addiction or temptation. As will be seen in the following chapter this finding may have implications for interventions aimed at moderating Young Offenders' drinking, as the finding is important for understanding choice and behaviour.

The reasons behind respondents' choice of favourite drink were quite different, though many still said that they chose this beverage because they could get drunk on it. The most popular answer however was 'taste', implying that even these heavy drinking Young Offenders (e.g. see Tables 3.3 and 3.4) can see more reasons for consuming alcohol than merely achieving intoxication or peer group influences. Only six gave reasons related to price and in one instance the attraction of the beverage concerned (Jack Daniels 'whiskey') was its 'premium price' (i.e. it was his favourite alcoholic drink because it was expensive).

Table 4.1: Reasons for drinking alcohol

	Why drink	Why favourite Drink	Why usual drink
General like it / nice	10 (9.7%)	26 (22.2%)	20 (22.5%)
Taste	3 (2.9%)	43 (36.8%)	24 (27.0%)
Social / weekend / celebrate / casual	27 (26.2%)	2 (1.7%)	-
Enjoy / get a laugh / fun / relax	21 (20.4%)	3 (2.6%)	3 (3.4%)
Get drunk / 'mad with it' / feel buzz	27 (26.2%)	23 (19.7%)	11 (12.4%)
Not get (too) drunk with it	-	2 (1.7%)	3 (3.4%)
Easy to drink down	-	3 (2.6%)	1 (1.1%)
Something to do / boredom	16 (15.5%)	-	-
Confidence / calm / loose inhibitions	2 (1.9%)	1 (0.9%)	-
Addicted / temptation	2 (1.9%)	-	1 (1.1%)
Forget /escape	4 (3.9%)	1 (0.9%)	1 (1.1%)
Depression / mood / have better time	4 (3.9%)	-	2 (2.2%)
Good for you	1 (1.0%)	-	-
Good quality / the best	-	3 (2.6%)	2 (2.2%)
Expensive price	-	1 (0.9%)	-
Cheap price	-	5 (4.3%)	13 (14.6%)
High ABV	-	-	2 (2.2%)
Fashion / for young boys / cool	-	3 (2.6%)	3 (3.4%)
Just what everybody does	2 (1.9%)	-	-
Just what I do	3 (2.9%)	6 (5.1%)	5 (5.6%)
Don't know why	4 (3.9%)	7 (6.0%)	6 (6.7%)

Note - Columns do not sum to 100% as respondents could give more than one reason

When asked why they drank their usual drink, Young Offenders' responses showed some differences from those given for their favourite. Though still the top answer, 'taste' was less important, with only just over one quarter of drinkers giving this response for 'the usual', as opposed to more than one third for their favourite drink. Getting drunk was also stated less frequently as the reason for their choice of usual drink (see Table 4.1). Price was cited more often, though as this reason (either alone or in combination with others) was given by only thirteen (14.6%) respondents, it can be concluded that cost was not a major constraint on alcohol consumption among these Young Offenders.

Table 4.2 details the actual beverages cited as being either their favourite or their usual drink by the 2007 survey respondents. Again it should be noted that even though the percentage of some beverages (e.g. Buckfast tonic wine) were similar in both columns on Table 4.2, these do not necessarily correspond to the same individual drinkers. For example, two of the respondents who stated Buckfast tonic wine was their favourite drink stated that cider was their usual drink, while three respondents who stated that Buckfast tonic wine was their usual drink stated that Jack Daniels 'whiskey' was their favourite. Table 4.2 also details the beverages which respondents could remember drinking before their current offence (see Table 3.4), which again could be either the same or different from their favourite or usual drink, and could include more than one beverage or brand.

Perhaps the most striking feature of Table 4.2 is the narrow range of brands mentioned. In particular the salience of one brand, Buckfast tonic wine, was noteworthy. This one brand, which dominated wine consumption, was the favourite drink of 40.9% of respondents, the usual drink of 37.9%, and a beverage consumed before the current offence of 43.3%. Thus the rise of wine drinking shown in Table 3.3 would appear to be down to the huge popularity of this one brand among Young Offenders. This finding also has some implications for interventions in that Buckfast is not cheap (around £5.00 per bottle at the time of the survey) and tends to be stocked by small community licensed grocers rather than the major supermarkets (Galloway et al, 2007; Forsyth & Davidson, 2008). It is also sold in sturdy glass bottles, the implications of which in regard to serious alcohol-related violent offences will become more apparent in Chapter 5 (see also section 4.2 of this chapter re glass bottles being used as weapons).

Table 4.2: Alcohol products consumed

	Favourite drink	Usual Drink	Drank before offence
Wines:	59 (44.4%)	52 (44.8%)	49 (49.0%)
Buckfast tonic wine	54 (40.9%)	44 (37.9%)	43 (43.4%)
'table wine'	0 (-)	0 (-)	2 (2.0%)
Champagne (Moet)	1 (0.8%)	1 (0.9%)	0 (-)
MD 20/20 ('maddog')	5 (3.8%)	5 (4.3%)	7 (7.1%)
unspecified wine	1 (0.8%)	3 (2.6%)	1 (1.0%)
Spirits:	37 (28.8%)	32 (27.6%)	42 (42.0%)
Smirnoff vodka	11 (8.3%)	7 (6.0%)	0 (-)
Glen's vodka	4 (3.0%)	6 (5.2%)	1 (1.0%)
other branded vodka	1 (0.8%)	4 (3.5%)	1 (1.0%)
unspecified vodka	6 (4.5%)	9 (7.8%)	34 (34.3%)
Jack Daniels 'whiskey'	13 (9.8%)	5 (4.3%)	3 (3.0%)
other branded whisky (JW)	1 (0.8%)	0 (-)	0 (-)
unspecified whisky	1 (0.8%)	2 (1.7%)	1 (1.0%)
other specified spirit	2 (1.5%)	1 (0.9%)	0 (-)
unspecified spirits	0 (-)	0 (-)	3 (3.0%)
Beers:	35 (26.3%)	46 (39.7%)	31 (31.0%)
Tennent's lager	13 (9.8%)	14 (12.1%)	4 (4.0%)
Stella Artois lager	9 (6.8%)	9 (7.8%)	2 (2.0%)
Budweiser lager	3 (2.3%)	2 (1.7%)	1 (1.0%)
Miller lager	3 (2.2%)	6 (5.2%)	3 (3.0%)
Kronenbourg 1664 lager	2 (1.3%)	2 (1.7%)	0 (-)
Fosters lager	0 (-)	2 (1.7%)	0 (-)
other branded lager	2 (1.5%)	2 (1.7%)	0 (-)
unspecified lager	3 (2.3%)	3 (2.6%)	7 (7.1%)
any ale or stout	1 (0.8%)	1 (0.9%)	0 (-)
unspecified beer	1 (0.8%)	8 (6.9%)	14 (14.1%)
Ciders:	3 (2.3%)	10 (8.6%)	21 (21.0%)
Frosty Jack white cider	0 (-)	3 (2.6%)	2 (2.0%)
Strongbow ciders	1 (0.8%)	0 (-)	3 (3.0%)
other branded cider	2 (1.5%)	3 (2.6%)	1 (1.0%)
unspecified cider	0 (-)	4 (3.4%)	15 (15.5%)
Other drinks:	12 (9.0%)	7 (6.0%)	9 (9.1%)
any schnapps	1 (0.8%)	0 (-)	1 (1.0%)
any alcopop (WKD)	1 (0.8%)	0 (-)	0 (-)
Aftershock shots	2 (1.5%)	0 (-)	1 (1.0%)
other specified shot	1 (0.8%)	1 (0.9%)	2 (2.0%)
unspecified shots	0 (-)	0 (-)	1 (1.0%)
Absinthe	2 (1.5%)	1 (0.9%)	2 (1.0%)
Southern Comfort liqueur	3 (2.3%)	3 (2.6%)	0 (-)
Baileys liqueur	2 (1.5%)	2 (1.7%)	1 (1.0%)
other liqueur (Pernod)	1 (0.8%)	0 (-)	0 (-)
any cocktails	0 (-)	0 (-)	1 (1.0%)

Note - Columns do not sum to 100% as respondents often consumed more than one drink

Unlike Buckfast tonic wine, some other categories of beverage were not consistently represented across the three columns of Table 4.2. For example, spirits appeared more likely to be cited as a beverage consumed before current offence than as either the favourite or usual drinks of respondents. (The significance of this finding emerged during the subsequent qualitative interviews, which will be discussed in Chapter 5). Beer appeared more likely to be a usual drink, while cider appeared unlikely to be a favourite drink, but more likely to be a drink consumed before these respondents' current offence. Other drinks, including some which have been implicated as being a cause for concern in relation to excessive youthful drinking, such as alcopops, perry or shots (e.g. see Carvel, 2006; Duffy, 2006; Hall, 2002) were either rare or conspicuous by their absence among these Young Offenders.

4.2 Patterns of weapon use

Another recent cause for concern among young people in Scotland, and one which was more apparent in the 2007 survey sample, is the involvement with weapons. Table 4.3 details all of the various types of weapons which the respondents stated that they had either "carried" or "used". When examining Table 4.3, it should be noted that some respondents may have either carried or used more than one type of weapon. Also it should be stressed that users were not a subset of carriers, in that some people may have used a weapon (e.g. a vehicle) but not carried it.

A majority ($n = 97$, 63.8%) of respondents stated that they had (ever) carried a weapon. A similar number (96, 62.7%) stated that they had used a weapon. As might be expected most users were also carriers ($n = 76$, 79.2%, chi-square = 31.032, $p = 0.000$), however there were also 18 (33.3%) supposed non-carriers who had stated that they had used a weapon. The complexity of relationships between weapon users and carriers will be explored in more detail from the findings of qualitative interviews reported in Chapter 5.

Table 4.3: Weapons

Weapon	If carried	If used	Weapon	If carried	If used
"knife"	53	43	"Gun"	3	4
Sword	8	8	Airgun	2	0
Dagger	2	0	Pellet-gun	1	0
"tenner shot"	3	1	Stun-gun	0	1
Machete	6	5	Gas-gun	2	1
Cleaver	1	1	CS gas canister	2	1
'lock back' knife	14	9	Tazer	1	0
Kitchen knife / devil	1	2	Brass-knuckle(s)duster	3	2
Carving-knife	1	0	Chain	0	1
Fishing-knife	1	1	Screwdriver	1	1
Butterfly knife	0	1	'Stanley' blade	0	1
Flick-knife	0	1	Axe	2	1
"blade"	3	2	Hatchet	1	1
Pole / post	5	3	Mallet	1	1
Cosh	4	7	Hammer	6	6
"chib"	3	2	Brick	1	8
Cue ball in sock	0	1	Crowbar / metal bar	1	2
Pool / snooker cue	1	3	Stick / piece of wood	2	2
Golf club	5	4	Chair	0	1
Bat	11	15	Vehicle	0	1
Baseball bat	7	10	Belt	0	1
Baton	3	2	Bottle	2	21
Truncheon	1	0	Any weapon	97 (63.8%)	96 (62.7%)

One reason behind the discrepancy between weapon users and carriers on Table 4.3 can be seen by comparing the two most often used weapons, knives (described only as such) and bottles. Only six knife users had not carried this weapon. In contrast only one bottle carrier had used it as a weapon. What this illustrates is that some objects may not be considered as (designated) weapons by these respondents. As will be expanded upon in Chapter 5, this raises the possibility that the figures for bottle carrying and use shown in Table 4.3 ($n = 2$ and 20 respectively) may be an underestimate.

When asked why they were carrying a weapon, around half ($n = 38$) of the 75 respondents who answered stated that for this was “protection” (or in case there was trouble). Other reasons given comprised; for fighting ($n = 11$, including six who specified gang fighting), to assault someone (or words to that affect, $n = 5$), because people were after them ($n = 3$), paranoia ($n = 3$), because they had been mad or stupid at the time ($n = 3$), for drug preparation ($n = 1$), for stealing cars ($n = 1$), for the police ($n = 1$), because they were getting rid of it ($n = 1$), it was a one off ($n = 3$) and because everybody else does ($n = 1$), plus six respondents who claimed that they did not know why they did it.

Another question in this section (see Appendix 1) asked whether respondents had ever been in a gang. Interestingly the number of respondents who stated that they had been in a gang was very similar to the corresponding figures for weapon use and carrying ($n = 90$, 65.7%, see Table 4.3). Indeed a strong statistical relationship was found between carrying a weapon and being in a gang, with 68 respondents (77.3% of those answering both questions) having engaged in both behaviours (chi-square = 16.274, $p = 0.000$). Although there was also a significant relationship between gang membership and weapon use, both behaviours engaged in by 63 (70.8%) respondents, this finding was less robust (chi-square = 5.667, $p = 0.017$), perhaps indicating that weapon carrying is more of a feature of gangs than actual weapon use. As will be expanded upon in Chapter 5, another type of involvement with weapons, weapon owning (i.e. keeping a weapon at home) is likely to be responsible for some of this difference.

4.3 Patterns of other drug use, alcohol and offending

A final question in this section, unique to the 2007 survey, asked whether the respondent had been under the influence of alcohol or drugs when they had used a weapon to injure someone. As might be expected from the findings reported in Chapter 3 (e.g. see Tables 3.4 and 3.5) a great many (80.5%) of those who had injured someone with a weapon stated that they were under the influence of alcohol at the time. The number who stated they were under the influence of drugs was also large (52, 67.5%). However there were considerable differences between drugs here, as is illustrated by Table 4.4, which also summaries other more detailed drug questions unique to the 2007 survey.

As can be seen from Table 4.4 the benzodiazepine diazepam was, after alcohol, the drug which weapon users were most often under the influence of at the time when they injured someone. Almost one quarter (23.4%) of all drug using Young Offenders stated that they had been under the influence of diazepam when they had injured someone with a weapon. Other drugs were also mentioned by some respondents in regard to them being under the influence of these substances during weapon use, particularly cannabis and ecstasy. However, as will be seen from the analysis of the qualitative interviews reported in Chapter 5, this is likely to be a function of either these drugs high frequency of use (i.e. cannabis – no doubt many weapon users were also under the influence of tobacco) or the circumstances of use (e.g. ecstasy – used in social settings where there is a high likelihood of a violent encounter taking place), rather than any violence-inducing properties which these drugs may exhibit. In contrast, subsequent questions about the 2007 sample's drug use revealed that the association between diazepam and violence, including weapons use, cannot be so easily explained away.

Table 4.4: Illegal drug Use

	Under influence when used a weapon to injure someone (% users)	“Main Drug” (% all drug users)	“Main Drug” problems score (sample mean = 5.3)	Used drug before offence (% users)	Blame drug for offence (% users)	Drug(s) alone blamed for offence : Alcohol also blamed (Ratio)
Diazepam (Valium)	18 (23.4%)	14 (9.4%)	8.9 **	36 (40.9%)	24 (51.1%)	4 : 17
Temazepam ('jellies')	1 (1.3%)	0 (-)	-	3 (3.4%)	0 (-)	-
Heroin	5 (6.5%)	12 (8.1%)	12.3 ***	10 (11.4%)	10 (21.3%)	5 : 1
Morphine	0 (-)	0 (-)	-	1 (1.1%)	0 (-)	-
Methadone	0 (-)	2 (1.3%)	8.1	3 (3.4%)	0 (-)	-
Buprenorphine	0 (-)	0 (-)	-	2 (2.3%)	0 (-)	-
Dihydrocodeine	0 (-)	0 (-)	-	3 (3.4%)	0 (-)	-
Cannabis	12 (15.8%)	57 (38.3%)	3.5 ***	38 (43.2%)	2 (4.3%)	0 : 1
Cocaine (powder)	8 (10.4%)	23 (15.4%)	6.0	28 (31.8%)	4 (8.5%)	1 : 2
'crack'	4 (5.2%)	4 (2.7%)	5.3	5 (5.7%)	1 (2.1%)	1 : 0
'ecstasy'	12 (15.8%)	24 (16.1%)	3.6 *	29 (33.0%)	6 (12.8%)	3 : 3
Amphetamines	3 (3.9%)	5 (3.4%)	5.0	13 (14.8%)	2 (4.3%)	0 : 1
LSD	0 (-)	1 (0.7%)	7.0	0 (-)	0 (-)	-
Mushrooms	0 (-)	0 (-)	-	2 (2.3%)	0 (-)	-
Solvents	0 (-)	0 (-)	-	1 (1.1%)	0 (-)	-
'all' / 'lots' (can include alcohol)	7 (9.1%)	-	-	6 (6.8%)	5 (10.6%)	-
Non-user of drugs	-	12 (8.1%)	-	-	-	-
Alcohol among drug users	57 (79.2%)	-	-	104 (82.5%)	68 (56.7%)	-
Alcohol among all respondents	62 (80.5%)	-	-	117 (81.3%)	79 (56.8%)	-

Drug problem score significantly different from sample mean * $p > 0.05$, ** $p > 0.01$, *** $p > 0.001$

Note - Columns do not sum to 100% as respondents often used more than one drug

As can also be seen from Table 4.4, diazepam was the only commonly used drug to have more respondents ($n = 18$) stating to have used a weapon to injure someone under its influence than who stated that it was their 'main drug' ($n = 14$). As might be expected from the findings of Chapter 3 (see Table 3.6) cannabis ($n = 57$) was the illegal drug most often cited as their 'main drug' by respondents, with ecstasy ($n = 24$) and cocaine ($n = 23$) being the next most often 'main drugs'. Of particular interest were a small group ($n = 12$) who stated that their 'main drug' was heroin. This group scored highest on a short scale (see Appendix 1) designed to measure the extent of problem drug use (PDU). Interestingly, the only other drug to score significantly higher on this drug problems scale, than the sample mean (by independent t -test), was diazepam. In contrast, both ecstasy and especially cannabis scored lower than the sample mean.

The differences between drugs apparent from this short problem drug use scale may explain why drugs such as cannabis or ecstasy were used relatively frequently before current offence yet seldom blamed for it, especially in comparison to diazepam and heroin. For example cannabis was the drug most often used by respondents before their current offence ($n = 38$, 43.2% of all respondents who used any drug before their current offence), yet only two Young Offenders blamed it for the offence (one of whom also blamed alcohol). In contrast, diazepam was the second most commonly used drug before current offence (36, 40.9%) and the most often blamed illegal drug for the offence, being attributed as such by just over half of those who blamed any illegal drug.

Nevertheless, the numbers blaming any illegal drug was still small in comparison to those who blamed alcohol and this was true even among drug users, and as is also shown by Table 4.4, this was also the case among drug users who had used a weapon to injure someone. Around 80% of respondents were under the influence of alcohol when they used a weapon to injure someone, regardless of whether they were an illegal drug user or not. The same was true of the numbers stating that they consumed alcohol before their current offence, with just over half blaming alcohol for their current offence regardless of whether or not they were illegal drug users.

The final column on Table 4.4 shows the ratio of those who blamed either alcohol or illegal drugs for their current offence, among respondents who were users of both. Once again diazepam is the drug which is the most salient. Not only had more respondents used this combination of substances before their current offence ($n = 21$, the next most common combinations being alcohol with ecstasy and/or heroin, both $n = 6$), but in most cases (17/21) both diazepam and alcohol were together blamed for this offence (just 4 respondents blamed diazepam only, just one of whom stated that he had not been drinking prior to the offence). In contrast to diazepam, five out of the six respondents who used both heroin and alcohol, only blamed the illegal drug for their current offence.

The small group of heroin users in the 2007 sample were outliers in a number of other ways. Firstly, as can be seen from Table 4.4, all ten respondents who used this drug before their current offence blamed it for the offence. This would concur with those twelve respondents who stated that heroin was their 'main drug' recording the highest scores on the short problem drug use scale (also shown on Table 4.4). In the 2007 sample there was also a strong geographical component to the distribution of these heroin and other opioid users across Scotland (geographical was not recorded by the two earlier questionnaires). This is shown in the top section of Table 4.5 which breaks down patterns of opioid use in the 2007 sample by Criminal Justice Authority (CJA) area. The bottom section of this table breaks down other key variables that had a statistically significant geographical component (by chi-square, $df = 7$) by CJA area.

Table 4.5: Significant Geographical Differences by CJA

CJA (<i>n</i> respondents)	<u>Ever used</u>			<u>Used in month before sentence</u>		
	Heroin	Morphine	Methadone	Heroin	Morphine	Methadone
Tayside (8)	4 (57.1%)	2 (33.3%)	2 (3.3%)	4 (57.1%)	2 (28.6%)	2 (28.6%)
Grampian-H. & I. (14)	6 (50.0%)	2 (30.0%)	6 (54.5%)	5 (45.5%)	2 (2.0%)	4 (36.7%)
Ayr,-D. & Galloway (27)	6 (25.0%)	1 (4.2%)	4 (16.7%)	4 (16.7%)	0 (-)	2 (8.3%)
Central & Fife (11)	2 (20.0%)	2 (18.2%)	3 (25.0%)	2 (20.0%)	1 (10.0%)	1 (9.1%)
Lothian & Borders (29)	4 (16.7%)	1 (4.2%)	3 (12.0%)	3 (12.5%)	1 (4.2%)	2 (7.7%)
North Strathclyde (23)	2 (10.0%)	2 (10.0%)	1 (4.5%)	2 (10.0%)	1 (5.0%)	1 (4.5%)
Glasgow (32)	2 (7.4%)	0 (-)	1 (3.8%)	2 (7.7%)	0 (-)	0 (-)
Lanarkshire (21)	1 (5.9%)	1 (6.2%)	1 (5.9%)	0 (-)	0 (-)	0 (-)
<i>p</i>	0.006	0.032	0.002	0.003	0.019	0.007
	Ever injected illegal drugs	Buckfast is favourite drink	Ever been in a gang	Blame alcohol for offence		
Tayside (8)	1 (16.7%)	0 (-)	4 (80.0%)	1 (14.3%)		
Grampian-H. & I. (14)	5 (41.7%)	2 (16.7%)	2 (18.2%)	7 (63.6%)		
Ayr-D. & Galloway (27)	2 (8.0%)	11 (45.8%)	7 (36.8%)	17 (70.8%)		
Central & Fife (11)	2 (18.2%)	3 (37.5%)	2 (22.2%)	8 (80.0%)		
Lothian & Borders (29)	2 (7.1%)	0 (-)	21 (75.0%)	7 (36.8%)		
North Strathclyde (23)	1 (4.5%)	6 (40.0%)	17 (81.0%)	9 (56.3%)		
Glasgow (<i>n</i> = 32)	1 (3.7%)	9 (36.0%)	23 (85.2%)	15 (57.5%)		
Lanarkshire (21)	0 (-)	13 (76.5%)	10 (76.8%)	11 (57.9%)		
<i>p</i>	0.007	0.000	0.000	0.041		

Notes – Figures exclude data from four respondents who stated that they lived in England

From Table 4.5 it can be seen that opioid using respondents (i.e. those who had used heroin, morphine or methadone, either in their lifetime or in the past month) tended to be concentrated in certain CJA areas (e.g. Tayside or Grampian-Highlands & Islands) rather than in other areas of Scotland (e.g. Glasgow or Lanarkshire). The same pattern was also found with dihydrocodeine use, reaching statistical significance ($p = 0.006$) for past month's use (see Table 3.6), with the largest number of users being from the Tayside CJA, then Grampian-Highlands & Islands, but again none from Lanarkshire (not shown on Table 4.5). This pattern was repeated with drug injection (shown in the bottom section of Table 4.5). These distributions are interesting from a drug policy perspective in that opioid users and injectors of other drugs (e.g. benzodiazepines) might be termed as potential problem drug users (potential PDUs).

When broken down by individual town of residence, rather than the blunt instrument of a geographically diverse CJA, the distribution of these potential PDUs was even more interesting. Regardless of CJA area, there was a tendency for opioid users or injectors to live in remote areas of Scotland. For example, potential PDUs from the Grampian, Highlands & Islands CJA included addresses in Shetland and Caithness, the North Strathclyde CJA potential PDUs were from Kintyre and a small town in Renfrewshire, the Ayrshire-Dumfries & Galloway CJA potential PDUs were mainly from Dumfries and Galloway, and the only potential PDU from Lanarkshire stated he lived in a former mining village lying outside the conurbation.

In short, this research with male Young Offenders found no evidence of any imminent heroin epidemic in urban Scotland (as some have predicted recently, e.g. BBC News, 2008a), rather evidence that the epidemic which began at the start of the 1980s (see also Chapter 3, section 3.4) was approaching its logical geographical end-point (Ditton & Frisher, 2000).

Most non-drug variables did not vary geographically (e.g. demographics, drinking backgrounds, types of offences including violent crimes, weapon carrying etc., presumably because these were so commonplace throughout the 2007 sample). One variable which did have a conspicuous geographical component was alcoholic beverage brand preference, which in some respects was the mirror image of the above PDU

variables. Specifically, as shown in the bottom section of Table 4.5, Buckfast tonic wine was most commonly the favourite drink of young offenders from Lanarkshire, and was distinctly less popular in large parts of the east of Scotland.

From Table 4.5, the distribution of gang membership also seemed to be greatest in the main urban areas of west central Scotland (i.e. Glasgow, North Strathclyde and Lanarkshire) though, unlike a preference for Buckfast tonic wine, gang membership was also commonly reported in the urban areas of eastern Scotland (e.g. Tayside). However as will be seen in Chapter 5, local rivalries in all regions of Scotland, including rural areas, could lead to similar group disorder issues.

Unlike drug use, respondents' drinking patterns (e.g. getting drunk 'daily', see Table 3.3) did not vary greatly between CJA areas. The exception to this was a significant difference in likelihood of blaming alcohol for current offence (there was no such difference in blaming illegal drugs). Curiously blaming alcohol for current offence appeared to be highest in areas with low gang membership (e.g. Central & Fife, Ayrshire-Dumfries & Galloway and Grampian-Highlands & Islands). Why this should be is unclear.

In summary, with the exception of a small group of 'main drug' heroin users, in most cases these Young Offenders' illegal drug-related offending appeared to be closely related to, if not simply a mere extension of, their alcohol-related offending. This appeared to be particularly the case with diazepam and violent offences, something which will be investigated in detail in Chapter 5, which reports on the qualitative interviews conducted during 2008 with a sample of 30 Young Offenders (see Chapter 2). It was intended that these qualitative interviews should shed light on the levels of alcohol use and related violent offending found by the three quantitative surveys, especially the higher levels of these behaviours reported by the 2007 cohort and described in detail by this chapter.

5 Qualitative interviews (2008)

5.1 Profile of interviewed participants

Before the qualitative interviews proper began, brief details of each participant's demographic background (including their current offence) were taken. Not only did this information provide some description of these Young Offenders, and their offences, but more importantly it also allowed a comparative check to be made with those who took part in the 2007 survey (see Chapter 4). Table 5.1 summarises these background details for the 30 participants who took part in these qualitative interviews.

It was possible that the relatively small sample size of the qualitative phase of this research might have resulted in a different sample profile (i.e. in comparing only 30 Young Offenders with a more representative 172 obtained in the 2007 survey). For example, the 2008 interviews may have included relatively few violent participants or Young Offenders who were employed prior to entering custody). However as Table 5.1 illustrates this was not an issue and the backgrounds and offences of the 2008 interview participants were very similar to those of the 2007 survey.

A second possible difference was that the situation might have changed during the one year gap between the final survey undertaken in the spring of 2007 and these interviews conducted during the summer of 2008. For example a new drug 'epidemic' (e.g. in problematic heroin use) might have reduced the number of alcohol-related violent offenders. Again this did not appear to be an issue, as, if anything, this smaller sample indicated that the trends suggested by Chapter 3 were continuing.

Further to these findings, during interviews it transpired that reported current offences were very much the 'tip of the ice-berg' of alcohol-related violence amongst Young Offenders in that all participants, including those currently convicted of non-violent offences (e.g. participant #12 or #18, see Table 5.1), were able to report a variety of previous alcohol-related charges and violent incidents, including those involving weapons. For example, the final column on Table 5.1 only relates to a weapon which was involved during their current offence, not all the weapons that they had ever used or carried, nor those weapons which had been used by others to injure the participant himself.

Table 5.1: Interview Sample Profile

ID #	Age	CJA	Employment status	Prior residence	Current offence(s)	Drink related	Weapon(s) involved
1	16	Glasgow	Unemployed	Parental	Assault Police assault & vandal	no yes	Baseball bat -
2	17	Cent. & Fife	Education	Other	Serious assault	yes	3 Knives
3	20	Glasgow	Employed	Other	Possession of knives	yes	5 'Stanley'
4	19	Cent. & Fife	Unemployed	Parental	Assault & robbery	yes	Axe
5	20	Grampian , Hi. & Islands	Unemployed	Parental	Drink driving Drunk & Disorderly	Yes yes	- -
6	19	Cent. & Fife	Carer	Parental	Serious assault	yes	2 Bottles
7	20	Glasgow	Employed	Parental	Assault	yes	-
8	17	Ayr, D & Gall.	Employed	Parental	Racial assault	yes	Bottle
9	18	Ayr, D & Gall.	Employed	Parental	Serious assault	yes	Bottle
10	18	Glasgow	Education	Tenancy	Armed Robbery	yes	Gun
11	17	Glasgow	Employed	Parental	Attempt Murder	yes	3 Bottles
12	20	Lanarkshire	Unemployed	Parental	Theft & Shoplifting	yes	-
13	19	Ayr, D & Gall.	Unemployed	Parental	Serious assault	yes	Bottle
14	16	Lanarkshire	Employed	Parental	Serious assault	yes	5-6 Bottles
15	17	Ayr, D & Gall.	Unemployed	Care	Serious assault	yes	Bottle, Bat
16	17	Lothian & B	Unemployed	Tenancy	Serious assault	yes	Bottle
17	20	Lothian & B	Unemployed	Tenancy	Possession of a knife	yes	2 Knives
18	17	Lothian & B	Unemployed	Parental	Motorcycle theft	no	-
19	17	Lanarkshire	Employed	Parental	Drink driving	yes	-
20	20	Lothian & B	Employed	Other	Car theft	yes	-
21	17	North Strathclyde	Unemployed	Parental	Serious assault Serious assault	yes yes	Screwdriver Knife
22	19	Glasgow	Unemployed	Parental	Attempt murder Serious assault, weapon	yes yes	Knife Baton
23	20	Lothian & B	Employed	Tenancy	Serious assault	yes	-
24	16	Glasgow	Education	Parental	Breach of peace	yes	Bottle
25	18	Glasgow	Unemployed	Parental	Serious assault	yes	Bottle
26	19	Glasgow	Employed	Parental	Serious assault	yes	-
27	18	Lanarkshire	Unemployed	Care	Serious assault	yes	Knife, Bat
28	17	Cent. & Fife	Education	Care	Serious assault	yes	Bricks
29	20	Lothian & B	Unemployed	Tenancy	Breach of ASBO Assault & robbery	Yes yes	- -
30	19	Glasgow	Unemployed	Hostel	Police assault, breach	yes	-

As well as showing a high degree of correspondence to the findings of the 2007 survey, there was also a remarkable degree of consistency within the qualitative interviews. This was the case across all aspects of these interviews, no matter what the participant's current offence or background. For example, different participants often detailed almost identical alcohol-related violent incidents or gave very similar reasons for their more general drinking patterns. However, accounts could also vary between participants, for example when they described their early exposure to alcohol.

5.2 Routes into alcohol related offending

There was some variance in participants' family background and also how they felt this might have impacted upon their drinking behaviours. As might be expected from the findings of the quantitative surveys (see Table 3: 2) some had witnessed problematic drinking patterns within their parental home, and in some cases a degree of social modelling on their older family members was suggested. This is illustrated in the following quotes for participants #2 and #17 who felt that the drinking behaviours which they had witnessed in the family home had somehow been transmitted on to them.

“He [father] never drank when I was there cos' obviously he had hepatitis and he wouldn't give me a drink cos' of that. I knew he had an alcohol problem but he'd not be drunk in front of me really, but when I got older and that, when I was 16 [years old], he'd sometimes get drunk then. He's an arsehole on drink, so that just like kind of encourages me to be an arsehole, that's how I saw it and that's how ended up in here [YOI] and how I was drinking.” (#2)

“...I would never go home, I'd just always stay out cos' seeing people when they are drunk, seeing the way people react when they are drunk... No you would think it would put me off, people wouldn't think I'd turn out the way I have with drinking and all that. When you see people like that you think I'll be able to handle it and that, till obviously you cannae.” (#17)

This pattern could also extend to early exposure to alcohol-related violent behaviour which again some seemed to have learned from within the family environment, as is illustrated by the quotes from participants #14 and #20.

“My dad, he used to drink all the time, he'd sometimes not drink for work and all that, but then he'd just go on a mad binge for months. Drink all the time.”... “...I hated it, obviously he was always sitting drunk in the house and he'd be arguing with your mum and that. He just argued with my mum all the time. He never battered me. I'd have punched him up and down. He was just always drunk and arguing with my mum all the time. When you're a wee guy it can be quite upsetting.” (#14)

“Yes if I touch sprits I’d fight. In the house and out the house, eh I’d probably have a big bottle and then I’d just get pissed. I used to hit ma girlfriend. She’d not be drunk. I stopped that though.” ... [When asked why by the interviewer] “Because of my past, because my dad used to hit my mum and eh, em I just took after him.” (#20)

More often however, accounts of early routes into drinking and related behaviours involved observing and hanging out with the older youths in their local community, in whose footsteps these young men had followed. This transmission of local drinking culture impacted upon every aspect of their drinking behaviour, even beverage / brand choice (perhaps explaining the preferences indicated in Tables 3.3 and 4.2).

“It was the older ones, we watched them I mean I was just 12 [years old] when I started drinking. I started on Buckfast.” (#4)

“I was 11 [years old] when I first tried it [alcohol] with ma older pals. They were 17, 18. I tried it cos’ it made me feel like part of the gang. We’d just play football and that was it. I tried Buckfast and vodka was the first time.” (#27)

As well as initiating participants into alcohol use, the older youths in their community could also become their source of supply while they were under-age. Now however, on reaching the legal age for alcohol purchase themselves, these Young Offenders appeared prepared to carry on this ‘tradition’ within their local community (see also Galloway et al, 2007).

“... You just stand outside an off sales and ask someone to go in for you. No it’s guys walking by and you just say ‘any chance you going to the off licence for us?’ and they go ‘yes, no bother’. Its boys 18 or 19 [years old] that will go in for you no bother cos’ they done it when they were younger, so they go in for you.” (#30)

“People don’t think nothing of going into an off-sales for a young one. People’s been there, they remember what they were like when they were young. They had to do it, so it’s pretty much the same.” (#22)

It soon became clear from these interviews that this Young Offender population already had extensive drinking histories, with a multitude of associated problems, long before they reached the legal age of alcohol purchase. Some Young Offenders could already be classified as problem drinkers, in terms of either the extent or the frequency of their consumption and in health terms, even before this alcohol use’s impact on their offending behaviour was considered. This confirmed the findings of the survey research (see Tables 3.3. and 3.4, e.g. SADQ data)

Although many Young Offenders were clearly drinking hazardously by their early teens, or even pre-teen years, as might be expected, participants tended to have their heaviest drinking period in the weeks prior to their present (or a previous) custodial sentence. Thus the high number who reported getting drunk “daily” in the 2007 survey may be less of an exaggeration than might have first been felt (see Table 3.3).

“...I used just drink socially but then it caught up on us a bit and I started drinking every single day. That was about last year or something. I don’t know, I had nothing else to do. I was signing on at the dole centre so I had money from that. I was staying at my mum’s so she fed us and I’d spend all ma money on drink. I’d have a bottle of Buckfast and then some cider, nearly every day. I was drunk every day. I’d start 12 o’clock the next morning...” (#25)

“... I would drink three big bottles of cider. I could drink in one night. I would do that seven days a week, I was never sober, honest. I was in a residential [school] and all that, they were taking me away like to [voluntary organisation specialising in youth alcoholism] and that, to help me stay off the drink but it wasn’t any good cos’ I still managed to get some. It wasn’t as much as I would usually drink but it was enough to stop me shaking and that.” (#29)

When asked how they managed to fund such extreme drinking habits, at such an early age, many appeared to obtain enough money without resorting to acquisitive crime. However, as is illustrated by the admissions of participants #27 and #2, this often masked a degree of dishonesty or subterfuge, such as pretending to be spending pocket money and leisure time attending alcohol-free venues while actually drinking somewhere else without their parents’ knowledge or consent, or otherwise obtaining funds from their family. These accounts also implied that some of the parents or guardians of these participants were unable to adequately supervise their children.

“...I get the money from my mum. She doesn’t know that I buy Buckfast for. I tell her the money’s for going to snooker, or the pictures or McDonalds.” (#27)

“My dad to start with, when I first started drinking my dad used to sell loads of drugs right. And obviously there was a lot of stuff going in and out the house and there was a lot of money in the house so like every once a month I would steal £100 off him. So that was paying for everything but I got caught once and got battered about so I never done that again.” ... [Later when moved to grandmother’s home] “...whenever I asked ma gran she’d give me it, cos’ she thought if she didn’t I’d just go and break into someone’s shed or something and steal stuff.” (#2)

Rather than obtaining money to buy drink through dishonest means, others, such as participants #16 and #17, were not averse to stealing alcohol, and appeared unconcerned about the consequences of being caught doing so while under-age.

“Ma dad was an alcoholic yeah, so I grew up with people drinking around me and then when I went to high school I used to just go and steal drink eh. From the shops and get steaming. I was in first year, so about 12 [years old], we’d go and steal bottles of vodka and go and get steaming with ma mates. Just got us on a bad way eh, I was an alcoholic when I was 14...” (#16)

“I was 13 [years old] and that, I was from school you know. It’s just a thing you do you know at the weekend partying with your pals and that. Getting bottles of vodka, stealing bottles of vodka from the shop and drinking it all. You just walk into the shops and get it, ASDA shops and that, you just walk in and take them off the shelf and walk out with it, I only got away with it for so long and then I got caught but cos’ I was under-16 I couldn’t get charged eh...” (#17)

Thus participants’ problems with alcohol had often become entrenched long before their arrival in the YOI. There are obvious implications here for the timing of early interventions. However their alcohol-related problems would appear to have reached their greatest severity immediately prior to their current offence. The nature of Young Offenders more recent alcohol use and offending will be discussed in the next section.

5.3 Alcohol and the nature of offences

By the time that they had arrived in the YOI, in some cases participants had resorted to acquisitive crime in order to obtain money to buy alcohol. In common with what has previously been found with research into how offenders fund illegal drug habits, this theft / delinquency could pre-date (and perhaps constitute a route into) problem drinking (e.g. Burr, 1987; Collins et al, 1985; Collison, 1996; Hammersley et al 1989; Hammersley et al, 1990; Pudney, 2002). Drinking alcohol (like injecting heroin) does not teach someone how to steal, however those who have stolen before, whether for fun or to raise money, may eventually find themselves stealing in order to raise money to buy alcohol, as is illustrated by the accounts of participants #27 and #10.

“...I was 13 [years old] and I was with older people and that. I got money off ma mum all the time. I’d ask her for it, like pocket money and all that. I never told her it was for a drink, you know what I mean, and she would always give me clothes money that I’d spend on drink. I’d steal clothes and go back with them and buy drink with the money...” (#27)

“Were you stealing anyway before you started drinking?” (Interviewer)

“Yes. We used to go into town and steal CD’s and all that and then end up stealing other stuff and selling it and then we started drinking.” (#10)

As well as such instrumental theft, on other occasions prior intoxication with alcohol could lead to unplanned opportunistic thefts (or other more expressive property crime), often with limited or no financial gain and less chance of getting away with it.

“I was in ma pals [house] and I ended up having too much to drink in there and then I ended up stealing all they clothes. It was two other people that broke the [shop] window and we were walking by and then we thought there is good money in that.” (#12)

“If I didn’t have a drink in me I would not have done it [stealing and burning five cars in one night] cos’ when I haven’t got a drink I don’t think that way” (#20)

More seriously, and also while they were already intoxicated, some participants reported engaging in instrumental violence (i.e. robbery) in order to continue drinking after they had ran out of alcohol or sufficient funds to buy more drink. It is interesting to speculate how this might compare with ways of obtaining funds for illegal drug use (which from Table 3.7 would appear to be predominantly obtained by non-violent means) and also how this relates to the persistence of robbery in the 2007 survey sample (see Table 3.5).

“I had it [a gun] in the house. I just had it in the house. I hid in ma room. I had it in the house and I went and got it and took it out with us. I knew I was taking it out. I knew I was going to do something, I knew I was going to do something to get money. I didn’t know what. The money was to get a drink. I was mad with it [drunk] and I wanted money for another drink so.” (#10)

“...Ma pal had hit him [the victim] with a bat and I had stabbed him. And the police came about three days later or something and I got lifted and that was all for drink. I just went for him cos’ we wanted money for drink. I stabbed him three times, it wasn’t serious stabbing it was like wee pricks and then I stabbed him in the arse once and ma pal hit him with a bat across the head.” (#27)

Such incidents also illustrate a view held by these participants that alcohol tended to make their offences more serious or more uncontrolled, rather than it being the case that drinking simply made them commit their offences in the first place. This is a theme which will be returned to later in this report

“I went and robbed more [Buckfast] wine. I ran into a shop and grabbed four half bottles of wine. And I drank some and gave out the rest of it, and the police chased me and I got lifted... They lifted me for having the axe in a shop. I was trying to get fags [cigarettes] out of the shop. I cannae remember doing it, the only time I knew what I’d done was when I

seen the CCTV when I was up in court. I had the axe [shows how he waved it around] and went like that in the shop.” ... “If I hadn’t had a drink I wouldn’t have gone out with an axe.” ... “I would have gone for fags anyway but I wouldn’t have taken an axe.” (#4)

“No they wouldn’t have happened, no chance cos’ every single offence I’ve had I’ve been drunk. Maybe one has happened when I’ve not been, but I would never had been caught with a knife cos’ I wouldn’t have had it on me, and I wouldn’t have serious assaults cos’ I was just stupid with being drunk. It definitely wouldn’t have happened...” ... “We’d probably end up fighting, but if I was sober I would throw a few punches and that, but if I was drunk I’d pick up a bottle or a brick or something and then it would end up much, much worse. If I had blues [Valium] as well it would be worse as well.” (#25)

As the previous quote from participant #25 also indicates, it was also felt by some that intoxication prior to offending could also lead to an increased likelihood of being arrested for that offence. This may go some way to explaining the large number of respondents in the 2007 survey who blamed their current, or prior offence(s) on alcohol (see Table 3.4).

“No I’ve got caught cos’ I’ve been drunk. When you’re drunk you don’t think straight, you think you will get away with it but you don’t, know what I’m saying.” ... “...if you’ve had a bit to drink it makes it ten times worse cos’ I think you’re angry when you’re on the drink, but if your sober you maybe get a wee fight and then stop, but if you’re drunk you end up getting really angry and doing stupid things.” (#12)

In this way even (illegal) drug offences could be attributed to alcohol, and as is illustrated by the following participant’s (#19) account, this relationship could be reciprocal, with intoxication leading to a drug offence and a prior drug conviction leading to an increased likelihood of arrest for alcohol offences.

“... if I’d just gone home not drunk, I wouldn’t have got caught with ma stash [cannabis and tick list of customers] and if I was sober I would have not left it lying about.” ... “...the thing with ma scooter [drink driving], I never got stopped [arrested] for pure ages, I never got stopped till I got caught with all the hash [cannabis] and that’s when they [the police] started watching me all the time, so if I didn’t get caught with that [cannabis and tick list] I probably would never have got stopped [for drink driving], never.” (#19)

There was also a view among participants’ that triggers for violence, ranging from long-standing grudges to minor one-off events, which might be allowed to pass without incident while sober, could result in an aggressive conflict if alcohol was involved.

“If you see someone you hate, if you were sober you’d think twice but if you’ve had a drink you would just go straight for them. You’re a complete different person with drink.” (#1)

“... there is a boy I’ve had problems with for years and eh just disagreements problems for ages and I seen him one night. I’d had a half [bottle of] vodka or something, not much but

enough. I seen him one night and he challenged me to a fight and cos' I had a drink in me I wanted to go for it and we started fighting and I hit him with a [half full Buckfast] bottle.” (#13)

In summary, these interviews confirmed the high level of alcohol use and related offending reported in the 2007 survey (see Tables 3.3 and 3.4), with some participants attributing their entire criminal record to alcohol in one way or another.

“I’ve never been sober when I’ve committed an offence, I’ve always been drunk. Every time. All ma record, police assaults, 13 police assaults and six or seven breaches and some thefts and that’s it. It’s all been linked to [alcohol] I’ve never had the jail before 9.00 PM. Its’ always 3.00 AM in the morning.” (#30)

“I wouldn’t have done them [offences], cos’ I’m not a violent guy. I’m only violent when I’ve got alcohol in my system” (#29 – who stated the longest he’d been alcohol-free was eight days)

One mediating factor, governing how participants reacted to potentially problematic situations or conflict, was the setting in which they were intoxicated (see Zinberg 1984, bio-psycho-social rules of ‘drug, set and setting’). Specifically, outdoor settings were viewed as those where they could behave in an unsupervised way while they were drinking or intoxicated, perhaps explaining why these were the most common locations where respondents in the 2007 survey stated that they consumed alcohol (see Table 3.3). Choosing to drink ‘al fresco’ meant they were free to enjoy themselves in whatever way they chose to, however these were the very settings where a violent encounter was the most likely outcome (see also Galloway et al, 2007). In contrast, indoor settings, be it their own or a friend’s parental home, or in on-trade licensed premises, were viewed as environments which were inherently safer, but where their behaviour was more constrained by both the physical environment and (adult) social norms

“If I was in a pub or in ma house like in my actual house then yes I wouldn’t be an arsehole unless I drank too much cos’ ma family would be there.” (#2)

“When you’re in a pub cos’ you’re grilled, you’ve got to be older and that. You just sit, you don’t sit quietly but you just sit and enjoy your drink if you’re in a pub rather than outside. Outside you run wild. Outside you’ve got all your pals and then you’ve got other schemes and that coming wanting to fight you so you end up getting involved in violence all the time.” (#28)

Alcohol consumption was felt by these Young Offenders to completely change their mind set, making them a “totally different person” to who they were while sober, and some

recalled incidents of what might be termed as 'alcohol myopia' (see Steele & Josephs, 1990), where they failed to appreciate the consequences of their actions while intoxicated, both in terms of future regret for the victims of their actions and the prospect of a custodial sentence.

"No it wouldn't have, we wouldn't have done anything to the guy [victim]. We wouldn't have been there [outside in another town] in the first place. But we were drunk and we didn't think about what we were doing. We didn't think about the consequences. Then it [bottle attack on off-duty PC] happened and I got the jail." (#14)

"...I just started fighting, it only happened in like a minute or something. I just started punching him and I couldn't stop and I just ended up kicking his head in basically. I had been drinking alcohol. It was cans, when you drink a lot you don't think of the things you're doing you just do it. It was just lager, cos' I was working the next day so I didn't want to go like get right pissed, but see when you're doing it you don't think of the consequences cos' it's like an adrenalin rush you get. And you just keep going. I do feel sorry for him, I regret doing it now obviously cos' I'm in here, but I wasn't thinking that at the time..." (#26)

In recalling such situations after the event, from within the YOI, participants acknowledged that while drunk they had failed to see alternative ways of solving conflicts of interest, implying that they could have resolved the issue more calmly if they had been sober.

"If I wasn't drinking I don't think that would have happened cos' I would have went for the bar staff and says to them 'look I'm getting hassled and that' and they could have kept him [the victim] in and we could have left [the licensed premises]. But when you've got a drink in you, you just do it [fight]." ... "What I thought was if someone smashes two bottles and I was walking towards them, I would have ran away eh, but I smashed the bottles and he's [the victim] still coming towards me and I just hit him across the head, well just at the side of the face and then that's when I ran away eh." (#6)

"No it [stabbing] wouldn't have happened, definitely would not have happened. My brother would not have punched him [the victim] I would have stopped my brother from hitting the guy, and starting it. I knew the guy, I liked him and he liked me as well but I was full of it [drunk] and then I lost it man, it was right over the top man." (#21)

Again this failure to think through the consequences of their actions, because of the effect of alcohol intoxication, was felt to have impacted upon the severity of their offences, as much as it being a cause of them.

"Do you think you would have hit those guys if you hadn't been drunk?" (Interviewer)
"Probably would have done the second guy cos' he hit ma pal, but probably I wouldn't have done the one I'm in here for. I would have just walked away." (#8)

In line with the 2007 survey reports, interviewed Young Offenders often reported not being able to (clearly) remember their offences owing to the sheer level of their intoxication (see Table 3.4). Some participants who could not remember their offence reported being shocked (and feelings of genuine remorse) when confronted with what they had done at a later point, by which time they had become sober.

“... When I went back [home, after the vodka bottle attack] I didn’t know I’d been through to Edinburgh, I thought I’d been in [home town] all night. I was picking up the bottles and throwing everything in the bin and he [friend] said we’d been through to Edinburgh and that. And I was like ‘oh no’... I couldn’t remember, but see when he was saying it to me I kept getting like wee flash backs and going ‘oh right I remember that and that’ and I looked at the texts on the phone...” (#6)

“...about 12 o’clock ma door went and it was the police and that guy that I had hit and he had a big white thing on his nose and I still didn’t remember, so I just stood there and the police said to the guy did you want to press charges and that. And I said to the guy ‘was that me that done that?’ and guy says ‘yes’ and I was like ‘oh I’m sorry I can’t remember doing it honest a God’ and then the guy said ‘I only asked you for the time’.” (#3)

Some of this extreme intoxication was attributed to the consumption of certain alcohol products. In particular, participants reported consuming spirits as making them more intoxicated and therefore more prone to violent offending. This would seem to concur with the findings of the 2007 survey where spirits (e.g. vodka) were almost as likely to be the beverage consumed prior to respondents’ current offence, as was tonic wine (the most popular drink overall see Table 4.2), despite spirits being less frequently cited as their ‘usual’ or ‘favourite’ drink. However this runs counter to Tables 3.3 and 3.4, which indicate a decrease in the popularity of spirits against an increase in violent offending over time.

“Vodka makes me violent. It makes me get really angry man. If I drink lots of it, a half bottle or something, I just start fighting, even if I’m at a pal’s house. If I drink Buckie [Buckfast] I’m fine or if I drink like 24 cans of beer I’ll be drunk, but I won’t cause any trouble.” (#4)

“I’ve battered folk on Buckfast yeah, but vodka makes you aggressive all the time so it does. You go looking for a fight and things like that when you go walking up the street you would always end up in a scuffle.” (#8)

As the above quotes indicate, some participants did not believe that tonic wine was particularly associated with their violent behaviour. However they did attribute special qualities to Buckfast. It is therefore interesting to speculate whether the stimulant effect of

tonic wine did have a unique impact on their behaviour (e.g. by creating the perception that they were less drunk), given that from both Table 4.2 and these interviews this beverage was clearly consumed before a great many violent offences (the use of Buckfast bottles as weapons notwithstanding, see section 5.6).

“It [Buckfast] makes you hyper man it’s the caffeine in it. It makes you hyper and you want to jump about and all that. Not like some drinks, I can’t drink vodka it just makes me feel heavy depressed all the time. I don’t like it. Gin just makes you heavy mad, just want to fight with everyone. Buckfast makes you want to party but if anyone’s annoying you they get what’s coming to them.” (#11)

“...it’s the caffeine in it that makes you hyper with Buckfast.” (#4)

At the time of these interviews tonic wine was not cheap (around £6.50 per bottle, i.e. more costly than at the time of the 2007 survey, see Chapter 4, section 4.1), though at this time there was also much debate in the Scottish Parliament and media about increasing the price of off-trade alcohol to reduce violence (e.g. BBC News, 2008b, Carrell, 2008; Gardham, 2008; McCann, 2008a). With this in mind it was noteworthy that at this stage in these proceedings, participants felt that merely increasing the prices of alcohol products overall would have little positive impact on their behaviour (see also Table 4.1), and it was also felt that this policy might impact more strongly (and negatively) on the law-abiding consumer.

“See if we put the price of alcohol up would you cut down?” (Interviewer)

“No. Probably drink stronger stuff so you don’t need to buy more and then you end up fighting. That would probably make you drink vodka. I stopped drinking it anyway but if the price went up you’d obviously just buy something stronger, spirits or something, it’s spirits that make me go crazy. That’s what I’d do anyway if Buckfast went up I’d just buy a bottle of spirits so I was steaming.” (#8)

“They wouldn’t have the money. Folk would say they wouldn’t change but they cannae drink as much cos’ they need an extra few pounds, just it would cause more hassle wouldn’t it? It would cause hassle for people that do drink sensibly, know what I mean like, we don’t get into trouble and we have to pay more, and then you’ve folk that would cause more trouble cos’ they have to find the right money and that would cause more of a problem, know what I mean, some people would steal, but I wouldn’t.” (#14)

Interestingly, it was even suggested that a ‘prohibitive’ price increase would simply foster an illegal market, perhaps with alcohol drinkers turning to illegal drug use and illegal drug dealers turning to alcohol sales.

“...even if you put up alcohol to a really dear price someone is going to find a way round that. Drug dealers would deal with alcohol...” (#29)

5.4 Involvement with Illegal drugs

The drug dealing / switching scenario suggested in the previous quote by participant #29 may have seemed especially logical for these Young Offenders as their routes into illegal drug use were often the same as, if not merely an extension of, their route into extreme drinking behaviours, with both family drug use influences in the home and those of older drug using youths outside in their communities again being to the fore, as the following accounts illustrate.

“...I got the [magic] mushrooms when I was 13 [years old] from the older boys in ma scheme. I was about 10 or something 10 or 12 or something when I got the bucket [cannabis] after that I smoked hash [cannabis] now and again when I had money for it. I’d get the older boys to get us it or go to this one person to get us it.” (#15)

“That’s how I started smoking dope [cannabis] man cos’ ma mum and dad and that, he said he was taking smack [heroin] in the house when I was there. It did influence me. I’ve tried smack but I didn’t get into it though.” (#2)

“Smoke[d] hash that’s it. I done it about five or six times. I tried it first last year. There was a few boys smoking it down the park and they gave us some. I couldn’t really be bothered with it. It just makes you feel tired I think.” (#9)

The final parts of the previous two quotes (by participants #2 and #9) also imply a relative lack of enthusiasm towards, at least certain, illegal drugs, almost as if their effects were considered inferior to those of alcohol by some participants. In particular, almost all of these participants held very negative views towards opioid drugs (i.e. heroin), even those such as participant #19 who was himself a convicted drug dealer.

“Kit, [heroin] that’s disgusting man, its dodgy...” (#19)

“...I would never take smack [heroin]. If I seen someone taking smack I’d take the ear off them I hate that...” (#18)

Such views may in part explain the apparent reduction in popularity of opioid drugs between the 1996 and 2007 surveys (see Table 3.6). It was particularly interesting that these violent Young Offenders disliked ‘junkies’ (i.e. heroin users) because such people were thought to be thieves (see also Tables 3.7 and 4.4).

“Smack [heroin], it doesn’t get tolerated in my scheme cos’ it’s junkies and that, they steal and all that. If anyone brought it in they would get battered and flung out.” (#15)

“...I’ve been offered heroin. I was offered it in the jail [Saughton Prison] before I came over here [YOI] eh. I was offered it a few times, but I’ve seen people get themselves in that way and they steal off people and I hate the way they treat people through their drugs stealing off pensioners and that. I can’t stand them...” (#17)

Only one of the Young Offenders interviewed, participant #16, stated that he had used heroin regularly or in what might be considered a problematic way. Like so many of the heroin users in the 2007 survey (‘potential problem drug users’, see Chapter 4, section 4.3) he did not live in the conurbations of central Scotland, however like participant #17 above, he came into contact with the drug while held on remand in the Saughton Prison for an alcohol-related offence. Since giving up heroin in the community, participant #16 had now been convicted of another-alcohol related offence (serious assault) and returned to custody.

“...I got into [heroin] through prison. Someone gave me it when I was in Saughton Prison. I did get sick the first time, but I was in prison a long time, I was in remand five months so it was there constantly I couldn’t get away from it and then when I got out I already had a habit so I just kept going at it. And then I lost everything, I lost ma girlfriend and that. I’ve been getting drug treatment since November. They tried to put me on methadone but that’s worse, I wouldn’t take it. I’d rather just stop taking it eh.” (#16)

As might be expected from the findings of the 2007 survey, attitudes towards opioids (e.g. heroin, morphine and methadone) differed from those towards other illegal drugs (see Tables 3.6, 3.7 and 4.4). Curiously, this was true even of benzodiazepine drugs (e.g. diazepam / Valium or temazepam / ‘jellies’) which have a long association with opioid / problem drug use in Scotland (e.g. see Forsyth et al, 1993; Zador, 2003). This acceptance of diazepam use seemed to stem from the fact that it was a prescription drug and because of the belief that it had a low overdose potential (unless it was mixed with other substances, such as alcohol).

“Yes my mum and my dad and my aunty they were into smack [heroin], blues [Valium], drink. So my aunty died of an overdose a few years back so, it must of affected me yes. Obviously it put me off cos’ she was taking smack, and I never touch smack. You get blues off the doctor so I don’t see how they are that bad, know what I mean, cos’ they are prescription drugs.” (#25)

“...Valium cannae kill you. Like you cannae overdose on Valium...” (#18)

In terms of relationships between illegal drugs and violence, there was a surprisingly high level of consistency to patterns of responses across participants. Specifically, some drugs were felt to reduce the likelihood of becoming involved in violence, but were others not.

“Do you think there are drugs that make people behave worse?” (Interviewer)

“Valium” (#2)

“Are there drugs that make people behave better?” (Interviewer)

“Ecstasy makes you feel happy, so it changes your mood from being like.” (#2)

“... On ectos [ecstasy] I used to go around cuddling people. On hash [cannabis] I’d want to fight more, all ma pals used to chill out and I’d be fighting with people, I was the opposite of everyone else on it. Valium it was just making me lose it...” (#27)

This apparent ‘hierarchy of violence inducing substances’ was very much in line with the findings of the 2007 survey (see Table 4.4). At one extreme of this hierarchy were substances which were felt to have either sedating effects (e.g. cannabis) or ‘pro-social’ effects (e.g. ecstasy). At the other end of this hierarchy were those substances thought to increase the likelihood of violence (e.g. diazepam – or for that matter alcohol).

“...you’re head it [cannabis] chills you out. You’re chilled out and you don’t want to do anything so it can keep you out of trouble sometimes, but not all of the time, but sometimes.” (#20)

“... coke [cocaine] and eccy [ecstasy] they make you feel brilliant, like ‘loved up’, like wanting to go dancing and that, everyone is your best friend.” (#29)

“[ecstasy]... just makes you want to talk to people and be nice to folk. If you were on it you wouldn’t be out looking for a fight when you were on it, but if someone started you’d fight.” ... “Blues [Valium] do yes. They make you go mad, make you do daft things. You can’t remember anything. I’ve only taken them a few times and when I do take them I only take one or two, I don’t like them. You’re not out of control but it’s different from every other drug. It does send you loopy. You would go out looking for a fight”. (#13)

The link between diazepam and violence was re-iterated time and time again by these participants. This would appear to support the findings of the 2007 survey, in which relatively few respondents stated that diazepam was their favourite drug, yet so many blamed it for their current offence and / or stated that they had been under this drug’s influence when they had used a weapon to injure someone (see Table 4.4).

“It had to be Valium [that was my favourite drug], it gives you confidence. When you mix it, it’s the devil’s mixture, it’s pure evil eh, totally evil, you can do things and you don’t remember doing it or nothing. I always just wake up on them and I’m lying in the cells or something and I can’t remember what I’ve done. Some bits come back to you but there are

some things I cannae remember at all. I can remember the [current] offence, but I cannae remember using the bottle, but I can remember kicking him in the head and that and stamping him on the head, but I cannae remember hitting him with a bottle.” (#16)

“When I done the stabbings and that I was on Valium and drink. It was Valium and vodka, yes it’s bad. You cannae overdose on Valium unless you take drink, then as soon as you start drinking it gets really bad. When I done that stabbing I took 64 vallies, I slept for a full day. Like I was vallied out ma nut for about a week and then I ended up doing it...” ...
“...ma auntie phoned me and said I had stabbed someone, but I didn’t think I did, but I had blood see all over me...” (#18)

As these accounts indicate, as was the case with alcohol, diazepam users often could not remember much of their offences, even their more serious violent crimes. In line with the 2007 survey’s findings, these participants felt that violence was most likely to occur when diazepam was consumed while drinking alcohol (see Table 4.4).

“I’ve not took Valium for ages but. Mix that with drink and that’s you man. You’ll get the jail guaranteed. You do mad stuff cos’ you’re out of it. It makes you feel violent. If you drink with it you go mad. Mix the two and you get violent. I’ve done more assaults with Valium.” (#4)

“...I’m all right it’s just drinking. If I’m not drinking, I’m just like if I have a few ‘blues’ [Valium] I’m all right, but if I drink and I take a few ‘blues’ that’s it, I’m metal. You just go off your head. You want to fight everybody all the time. Everybody is the same as soon as you get ‘blues’ and you mix it with alcohol that’s it. If you just have ‘blues’ through the week and not drink, I’ve been good in the house basically, I’ve not been going out, having my dad looking for us, and I would just sit in ma pals house and have smoke [cannabis] and take a few ‘blues’ and then you’re calm and that.” (#21)

Interestingly, as the final comment by participant #21, above, implies, users of diazepam felt that this drug’s violence inducing effect only happened when it was mixed with alcohol, but crucially not when mixed with other (i.e. illegal) drugs. In this respect diazepam did differ from alcohol, which many participants felt could be a cause of violence on its own without having to mix drink with any other substances.

“Hash [cannabis], then blues [Valium]. I like it. It’s just laid back it’s just the same as being stoned isn’t it? You only do stuff [violent crime] when you drink with it but.” (#25)

“...sometimes, it [Valium] can be used in ways that it has the effect on you, but it doesn’t affect you in a way that you’re going to end up so violent, but when you’re drinking with it, it affects you like that. Sometimes when you’re smoking cannabis with it, you relax more and like you can have a good time and that.” (#22)

Thus according to these participants' accounts, diazepam seemed to increase many of the negative effects of alcohol such as losing control, getting involved in serious violence and yet not being able to recall these incidents (this is perhaps unsurprising as for example both substances act upon the GABA receptors in the brain, see Miczek et al 1993, and have similar pharmacological properties such as disinhibition, see Boles & Miott, 2003).

Additionally, mirroring reports by temazepam users recorded during the 1980s-1990s, these illicit users of benzodiazepines (in this case diazepam mixed with alcohol) felt that one of the effects of using this anxiolytic drug was that it seemed to remove any fear of consequences of their actions, making them feel invincible, and in the extreme even as if they were invisible (see Hammersley & Pearl, 1997; also Ben-Porath & Taylor, 2002).

“...if you smoke hash [cannabis] and drink it's not that bad, but if you take 'blues', valli [Valium] and drink it's worse man. Like you can't remember anything and it makes things ten times worse cos' if I have a bottle of Buckfast I just get a wee bit drunk, but if I drink a bottle of Buckfast and take ten blues I'd be like ten times worse... Yes you start, you get a lot more eh sometimes you think 'like see if there was police and there was a Gay there' that I knew, I would think I could walk up and batter him and no one else would see me. And like you can do anything if you want...” (#25)

Unlike temazepam which is a short-acting hypnotic drug, diazepam (Valium) is a long-acting benzodiazepine and this may be reflected in those participant's who reported that the effects of this substance lasted a long time, perhaps days, even though they might not actually be aware of these effects until after they had consumed alcohol.

“No [I had not taken any Valium tablets prior to current offence] but I had 20 the day before, it would have still be in my system... Yes in all of them [offences] I've had 'blues' [Valium]. It was two serious assaults and a kitchen devil [domestic knife]. It's not good, it's when you start drinking with it, it makes it worse.” (#25)

“...When you mix it with alcohol you just want to kill someone. It makes you go mad. The Valium stays in your system for ages. It does make you go mad.” (#18)

Unlike diazepam, or for that matter alcohol, some other drugs, which were not thought by participants to be a direct cause of violence (see above) could also be linked to offending simply because their use coincided with times and social settings, where or when there was an elevated risk of a violent encounter (e.g. at the weekend, going dancing etc.).

“It [cocaine] doesn't make you want to go out and fight, but if you fight you're just on your toes and if someone were to start something you'd go for them.” (#8)

“...if you start fighting and someone knocks you down, you just get back up fighting again. You don’t feel anything. It [ecstasy] makes you dance as well.” (#4)

Such accounts would seem to explain why respondents in the 2007 survey often said they were under the influence of drugs such as cannabis, cocaine, amphetamine or ecstasy during violent incidents (e.g. when using a weapon to injure someone), but did not blame them for their offence in the same way in which they blamed diazepam (Valium) and alcohol (see Table 4.4). With this in mind, it was interesting that the properties of diazepam were not felt to make it the most suitable drug for planned (i.e. sober) violence, as the following exchange illustrates.

“Like for instance, I’ve been set about with samurais [swords], so stuff has happened just before I came in, but see like if I was out, that’s going to take a lot of ‘charlie’ [cocaine], like a lot of coke and then I will go mental like and then I’ll go and do something [get revenge for sword attack].

“Does ‘charlie’ make you feel invincible?” (Interviewer)

“No Valium does, but it makes you slow as fuck, so obviously you’re going to take ‘charlie’. You’re out to do some damage, I’d rather take ‘charlie’ than vallye.” (#18)

With the exception of diazepam (and in the absence of opioids), when describing the effects of illegal drugs, participants tended to feel that they were still in control of their behaviours, to a degree, something which they rarely stated about alcohol (especially stronger beverages such as spirits). As such participants were able to evaluate situations better, including potentially violent situations, while under the influence of most illegal drugs in comparison to when they were under the influence of alcohol, as is illustrated by the different explanations given by participant #1 of each of his two current offences.

“Would you have battered him even if you’d not had a joint [i.e. cannabis]?” (Interviewer – referring to first of two current offences)

“Yes it’s just the way I am, if anyone says anything about my mum I’ll do them in...” (#1)

“What about the police assault, would you have done it if you’d not had a drink?” (Interviewer – referring to second current offence)

“No, I wouldn’t have done that. I would have probably explained to ma mum that they were talking rubbish. I wouldn’t have flew for [assaulted] him.” (#1)

“...You still know what you’re doing on drugs, but when you’re so drunk you don’t know what you can do...” (#19)

Again, the role of setting of use appeared to be important in mediating whether each individual substance’s use was related to violence. In particular, these participants were

more likely to view alcohol (rather than illegal substances) as a 'street drug'. In this scenario, the effects of alcohol were seen to increase the likelihood of being or going outside, and being out on the streets was in turn seen as increasing the likelihood of a violent encounter (see also Table 3.3).

“You’re more likely to fight if you’re drinking. I don’t know, if I take drugs I prefer to sit in the house, I don’t walk about the streets.” (#13)

“When I take ecstasy and that I don’t come out the house, I just sit in the house and listen to tunes [i.e. dance music] and that. It’s when I drink, smoke dope [cannabis] and drink, I go out in the street and that, run about.” (#15)

Participants also described how illegal drugs could be used purposely as an adjunct to their drinking behaviours. For example ecstasy could be used to stay awake during all night drinking / dancing sessions, cannabis could help sleep off a previous drinking bout, cocaine could be used to help sober up (or drink more) and diazepam (Valium) to become more intoxicated with alcohol.

“Started drinking at weekends and all that, just a couple of bottles of ‘maddog’ [MD 20/20] in a couple of hours, it would be about 4.00 PM on a Friday, and then on the Saturday or sometimes all through the night, I took ecstasy, I’d take four or something and that would keep us awake.” (#15)

“...I always drink with it [cocaine], but see when you take coke and you start drinking, you cannae get drunk, you can drink as much as you want and you can’t get drunk, don’t know how that is. You just can’t get drunk, but if you drink before you take it and you’re drunk before you take it, you will stay drunk for a while, but it sobers you up.” (#18)

“...Soon as I wake up in the morning I smoke grass. I wake up 6.00 AM in the morning, and I don’t want to get up that early in the morning, so I just smoke a joint and go back to sleep and then 10.00 or 12.00 I get up and then go out and get drink... if I’m drinking it’s just Valium I take, but I end up in some state if I take the two of them ...” ... “.... I just sit there pure flaked out wanting to sleep or get ma head down and then get up for another session...” (#17)

In summary these interviews revealed that patterns of illegal drug use amongst Young Offenders were mainly a mere extension of their alcohol use, rather than part of an ‘alternative’ lifestyle choice (as in say the stereotype portrayed by the 1990s movie *Trainspotting*). This relationship was most apparent when examining their offending, particularly violent offending, in that, as was also implied by the 2007 survey results (see Tables 3.7 and 4.4), drug-related violence tended to take place while drunk. However,

during these interviews a range of other factors emerged which also influenced participants' involvement in violence.

5.5 Other factors relating to violent behaviour

As might be expected from a sample of male Young Offenders, issues relating to 'masculinity', such as male honour, proving one's-self / showing off and male group loyalty / bonding were often given as rational explanations for violent behaviour.

"No [even if I was sober] I would have done it [hit victim with a bottle] cos' like all my mates and that were doing it, to back my mates up..." (#15)

"... Women don't really fight, just bitch [laughs], but they don't stab you. Some lassies do encourage you, some wee idiots try to act up for the lassies, stupid wee boys trying to prove something" (#14)

In line with much previous research (e.g. Burns, 1980; Graham & Wells, 2003; Lang, 1975; Tomsen, 1997), male-to-male violence often entailed 'backing up' a friend, becoming involved in their fight so as not lose face and conforming to the norms of their peer group by 'necessarily' responding to aggression from others. Such scenarios have an obvious potential for vendetta-like reprisals and long-lasting cycles of violence.

"I was backing ma pal up [when I stabbed the victim with broken bottles] at the end of the day and he was hitting ma pals so that makes me angry." (#11)

"Yes I was in with ma mate, but someone attacked ma mate and I was sticking up for ma mate. Someone else came in and then two other guys came in and then attacked my mate, so I attacked them with a bottle eh." (#16)

In this violent sub-culture of 'hyper-masculinity', participants felt that they had to back up their friends, no matter what these peers had done, no matter what the outcome of such actions was likely to be. The consequences of not doing so was unthinkable for some participants, because refusing to become involved in the fight would risk them losing their friends, and potentially becoming a victim of violent retribution from their peers.

"...if someone ran away [from a fight] then they would probably get battered. That's the only reason no one runs away, there is no point in that is there? There is no point in having someone with you that is going to run away is there? If you are out with your pals and you see one of your pals getting stabbed and you run away and leave them how are you going to feel, know what I mean? You'd get heavy smashed for leaving them. It's your pal know what I mean you cannae leave your pal that's not going to be good is it?" (#14)

Participants were also able to provide 'positive' reasons reinforcing their involvement in violence. For some individuals violence could provide a drug-like 'rush', a sense of 'satisfaction' or even a social status, both within and outwith their male peer group.

"...I just smashed it on his head a couple of times and then I chucked the brick away, I wasn't getting enough satisfaction out of it, so then I punched him on his head." (#29)

"It's not all to do with drink anyway, it's mainly to do with drink at the weekends but when you're 12, to 15, 16 [years old] I'd say you want to prove yourself. We don't carry knives down my way, just bottles." (#8)

5.6 Involvement with weapons

Both of the previous two quotes also hint at a reluctance to use certain weapons (or in the case of participant #8 that bottles may not be considered to be weapons in the same way as knives) and also perhaps the view that it was more 'macho' not to resort to weapon use. Others claimed that they had considered the pros and cons of weapon carrying, particularly knives, but stated during the interview that they had decided not to carry one because of the consequences of using, such as imprisonment, or owing to the effects of alcohol on their self-control.

"I've been thinking about it sometimes that I should walk out the house with a knife sometimes, but I don't but, but sometimes if I had it and something started happening and I had one. But I don't do it, I wouldn't carry one. I fight with a lot of people and then they wouldn't fight with us if I had a knife. I'd show them ma knife and they would be 'all right' and walk away, but I wouldn't do it cos, I'd get the jail. I've got a wean [child] and all that just in case I got the jail for two or three years." (#30)

"...I've never actually used one cos' if I start I'd kill someone cos' if I'm drunk I blank out and just keep going so if I had a weapon I'd probably use it." (#5)

However as might be expected from the findings of the 2007 survey (see Table 4.3) such reticence was not always the case, and some participants indicated that they always carried a knife in the community.

"I always carry a knife, I don't know, just in case someone says something. If I don't like boys then I'll fight know what I mean. I'd rather stab the guy than lose that fight. I don't want to look like a coward. I couldn't walk away when I was out there cos' of ma pals, I couldn't do it." (#27)

"...I remember attacking him, but I don't remember if I had a knife in my hand or not, but I must have had a knife in my hand if he's ended up with two stab marks and I always had a knife at one point, especially if leaving my area, I would always have one on me because

everybody else carried one, and I thought if I'm going to get attacked, and somebody's got a knife, then I'm no going to stand there with nothing, so I decided I'd take one as well..." (#22)

Also in line with the findings of the 2007 survey, there was a distinction between weapon carriers and weapon users.

"Then I got caught in school with two knives and I got expelled for that as well. It was just a thing everyone used to walk about with knives. It's supposed to be cool, but then you notice your pals are going down for murder and that. It's not really attractive. Three of ma pals are in for murder." (#17)

"No I never got tooled up. I've used it, but I didn't carry stuff like. I've used knives and quite a lot of stuff. You get knives from anywhere. If you're in a house and people want to fight you, you just grab something" (#18)

Additionally these interviews revealed another category, weapon owners, and in particular that there was a distinction between owing a weapon, or a potential weapon, keeping it at home, and carrying it (outside) in the community.

"I had a machete in the house and I took it out the house. I bought it off someone and walked round the house with it and put it in my room. I never took it out the house when I was sober though." (#4)

"Why did you want to buy that?" (Interviewer)

"I don't know. It looked smart. Everyone has got knives." (#4)

"I'd get drunk and go back home and get a knife, but I wouldn't do it if I was sober know what I mean, you don't need one, but when you're drunk and then you think you'll go up and get one. It's stupid isn't it?" (#13)

As the previous two quotes indicate, what might have seemed like a fashion accessory or ornament while sober could easily become something more risky when alcohol is involved. Indeed several participants described how they only seemed to think it was a good idea to carry, and hence be caught in possession of, a weapon while drunk. This was also the case with items, such as household tools or cutlery, which may not be considered as a (designated) weapon when the carrier is sober (again perhaps accounting for some the discrepancies between carriers and user shown in Table 4.4).

"... I got caught with a 'kitchen devil' [domestic knife] in town and I got done for serious assaults. I was drunk and I thought I could walk out with a knife and not get caught. I don't know why, I can't remember how I got it. I can't remember how I got it or nothing. I just woke up in hospital and they said you were in here with a knife..." (#25)

“...And I ended up just getting drunk and I was near ma dad’s and I thought fuck it, I just went up to my dad’s and got a hammer just in case. I went and got a hammer, and then when I went back down I got caught by the police with it. I’d had vodka and wine, don’t know [how much]. I was drunk I thought it was a good idea at the time, it was stupid. No I thought when you go out if you do see anyone you’ll just smash them and run you know what I mean? I don’t usually carry anything know what I mean? Its only it’s just every time I get drunk I just go and get something just in case. I don’t know what it is. You’re game for a fight when you’re not drunk, but when you’re drunk obviously it makes you want to fight more doesn’t it.” (#14)

Other participants, described scenarios in which they had initially not been carrying a weapon, but following a disagreement or conflict they would return home to obtain weapons, specifically to commit an offence.

“I was fighting with this boy in a flat right, I got kicked and burst ma nose and ma dad lives a few flats above it and I’ve ended up running up the stairs trying to get an axe and running down the stairs and trying to box with him and that.” (#12)

“He [my friend] was alright, but at the time he’d just been stabbed eight or nine times the other night and obviously at the time he bought hundreds [lots] of Valium to like take the pain away, and we started drinking and I took ten Valium and I was walking down and this cunt [the victim] started. I must have run away to my house and got three knives and gave one to all ma pals and I had one.” ... “I just thought I’ll go and get knives and I went and got them and then this cunt just happened to start on one of ma pals so I stabbed him...” (#2)

As well as their own weapon carrying leading to violence, participants seeing others carrying weapons, especially others carrying a knife, could also lead to violence. In such scenarios their response could often be an extreme one, in order to counter the perceived threat which such a weapon represented. Thus, despite the high number of carriers in the 2007 survey who felt that weapon carrying gave them ‘protection’, carrying a knife, rather than improving safety, could actually result in the carrier becoming the victim.

“I don’t know I just went out and all the boys [my friends] were shouting at a boy [older man] and I can remember that his boy [son] and that was there and then I seen a knife, he had a knife and that’s when I hit him with a bottle. I had a bottle and I hit him with it. It wasn’t that boy [the victim] that had a knife but the older guy had a knife, his boy was about the same age as me...” (#9)

“The other one was outside a pub... I had a fight with the two of them and we walked away from them and they followed us down the road and they said they had a knife on them and they were going to stab us. So I think someone hit one of them with a bottle and started giving the two of them a kicking... I don’t know if he [the victim] had a knife but he was walking with his hand in his jacket, so I wasn’t taking any chances. It was said in court but there was no proof, even if he didn’t have a knife it would have happened cos’ he said he had one...” (#13)

Both of the above accounts indicate how the participants, who were drinking, were in possession of bottles with which they were able to overcome opponents believed to be armed with knives. Indeed the utility of bottles as a weapon in such circumstances was noted by some participants who would, for example, choose beverages or brands which they believed were more likely to trigger aggression in them simply because of the bonus of a free weapon which the purchase of a wine or vodka bottle entailed.

“If I was drinking it and someone started giving me cheek [verbal abuse] then I could use the bottle as a weapon. I’ve done it once or twice or something, I flung a bottle at someone, I missed him, well one hit him on the back of the head.” (#30)

“If you drink beer you’re not as bad, but if you drink spirits you tend to forget what happened and all that. Beer is cheaper but you don’t want to walk about the streets with a bag full of cans you’d rather just buy a bottle or something and you can carry it.... If I’m going to go out with my pals and I’ve got a bottle then if someone starts anything you can hit them with a bottle.” (#25)

In other cases a ‘glassing’ had only taken place because the participant just happened to have a bottle in their possession at the point in time when a conflict erupted.

“Eh I would have started fighting with him yes but I wouldn’t have hit him with a bottle.” (#13)

“Cos’ you wouldn’t have had the bottle?” (Interviewer)

“Yes [laughs] but I wouldn’t have done it anyway if I had it if I was sober.” (#13)

“I definitely would not have done it if I was sober. I would have went down and put a stop to it, but I definitely would not have hit him with a bottle like that.” ... “Cos I had the [vodka] bottle, it’s what I was drinking.” (#9)

In contrast to what was found in the 2007 survey (see Table 4.3), from the accounts of violent incidents provided by these participants, bottles appeared to be a more frequently used weapon than any other, including knives (see Table 5.1). This may imply that in the 2007 survey such glass vessels were not considered as (designated) weapons by some respondents perhaps owing to the ubiquitous nature of bottles in this extreme drinking sub-culture. Here lies an obvious point of escalation, not only was alcohol use in itself felt to lead to more serious or uncontrolled violent outcomes, but it also came packaged with a ready-made weapon, a bottle, which (like other less accessible weapons) these Young Offenders were more likely to use while intoxicated.

“... There is always bottles around you anyway. Not a stash of them, if you’re walking in the park you’ll always find some there and there are folk there and they have weapons you’re going to pick one up.” (#28)

“I didn’t have a knife man it was the bottle I had, it was the neck of the bottle I stabbed him with. It was two Buckfast bottles and a ‘maddog’ [MD 20/20] bottle... If I hadn’t been out of it [drunk] I don’t think I would have went as far with man. I opened up three times man and stabbed him in the face and on the side of his head and that.”(#11)

It should also be stressed that as well as being the perpetrators of serious violence, participants were often also the victims of such crime including stabbings or ‘glassings’ (see also Rivara et al, 1995). However, participants’ reactions to being a victim varied between those who became more violent themselves as a result and those who wished to reduce their level of involvement.

“...I think maybe when I was 15 [years old] that’s when I stopped like feeling sad when people got hit, probably cos’ I got stabbed when I was 15, once in my side with a knife and once in my back with a screwdriver and I died and came back to life and the hospital said it was a miracle that I lived cos’ the screwdriver was a centimetre away from ma heart and the knife was a centimetre from my kidney, so maybe it’s cos’ like I’ve been stabbed so I don’t care about anyone else now. They can do it to me so I don’t care if I do it to them.” (#18)

“...one of my pals was fighting this boy, but my pal had him down on the ground and he shouted. He knew I had the knives [five ‘Stanley’ knife type blades] on me and he shouted ‘give me it’ or something and I said ‘no’ cos’ like obviously I don’t like that man cos’ I’ve been stabbed myself and I know how it feels to get stabbed. So I said ‘no man, I’m not giving you nothing’ and he said ‘just give us it to stab the bastard...’” (#3)

As suggested in the previous quote, rather than simply happening to be carrying knives before a conflict began, or purposely returning home to collect them after an initial conflict, some participants reported obtaining a weapon on the street from others when they were already drunk and aggravated during the midst of an already violent conflict. This situation appeared to be amplified by gang membership, in that other members could act as the ‘provider’ (a fourth category of weapon involvement) for the eventual weapon user, who may not have been carrying. Again this may account for some of the differences between weapon carriers and weapon users found in the 2007 survey (see Table 4.3).

“I never had a knife on me, it was with a screwdriver. I got handed it. Ma pals gave us it, my troops [gang]. They would have done it but I shouted ‘give me it’, ‘throw us it’ ...” (#21)

“Stabbed a cunt [victim] man... I didn’t have a knife man, it was someone else’s and I took it off him. I asked him for it cos’ we were all gang fighting.” (#11)

5.7 Involvement with gangs

The routes into gang activity taken by participants mirrored their routes into alcohol (and other drug) use, in that they had tended to observe and copy others, outside, in their community from a young age. This meant modelling their behaviour on older youths (i.e. offenders), who were felt to have social status within their local neighbourhood.

“...I got into it cos’ I saw all the older ones fighting so I started fighting cos’ I didn’t want to be different. The older ones were doing it, if you see someone else doing it you want to do it...” (#24)

“I don’t think you can stop that [gang culture] to be honest. You cannae, it’s you learn more from the older ones and you see them talking about fighting and doing this and doing that and all the birds [girls] go with them and then before you know it your doing it and go and do it and do it and do it and then all the younger ones copy you. All the time like when you see someone coming out of jail, you see them and you think ‘one of they ones’ and you copy it and follow them. The best thing to do is get out of the council schemes and go to the bought houses like where it’s snobby. Go there and it’s all hoity-toity areas but when you’re in a council scheme there is nothing you can do about it...” (#21)

As with involvement in violence per se (see above) involvement in gangs, and group conflicts, could provide a source of excitement or empowerment, with several participants describing such behaviours in terms such as providing a drug-like rush.

“It [gang fighting] was good [laughs]... the adrenalin was good. (#4)

“See gangs, it’s just a kind of adrenalin man, better than anything else man, at the end of the day man you just get adrenalin man. You just start not to care man, so you just fight anyone man, you like cunts [victims] being scared of you man, that’s what you have a good time doing.” (#11)

Although Table 4.5 implies that gang membership is higher in the urban areas of the West of Scotland, participants from other parts of the country revealed that analogous behaviours also took place in other regions, where group conflicts were also based on local rivalries such as housing scheme of residence.

“...people in Edinburgh, we don’t usually do that, like we don’t gang fight, like we used to gang fight, but we don’t gang fight like people in Glasgow, but if people to come into our area, we will batter them...” (#18)

“Not a different area cos’ [seaside town] is small and everyone knows each other. It’s when folk come down from different towns and start fighting. There’s fights but I wouldn’t call it a gang. We all join in.” (#13)

In rural areas the same group conflicts could be explained by long-standing inter-village rivalries, ‘territorialism’ (see Frondigoun et al, 2008; Kintrea et al, 2008) which could persist beyond youth (i.e. gang age).

“Yes [the next former mining village], it’s just about a mile away from us. Just a five minute walk. It’s been like that from when my dad was a wee boy though. Not so much now, we go out for nights out and that, but when we were about 14 [years old] and that we’d just meet up in the fields. Then we’d fight all the time. Aye we used to pick up things on the way over bottles whatever, not from the house but you always found something anyway. That’s what you’d do on a Friday and Saturday walk over and get a fight.” (#8)

“...we don’t get on with [the next former mining village], like it’s been like that from when our fathers were boys. I done it when I was younger but not now cos’ if you go into [the other village] in the pubs an clubs or we’d get battered. We don’t go in with sticks and that, we did when we were younger but not now.” (#9)

There was some reporting of a degree of organisation towards gang fights or other group conflicts, with several participants describing how new technologies, such as the internet or mobile phones, could be utilised to such ends. These arrangements appeared to involve a degree of pressure or provocation from both outwith and within the gang.

“...it’s that they’d [the rival village’s gang would] phone and then we’d just end up going. They would phone you and shout you down the phone and all that just things like ‘you [village/gang name] bastards’ and all that.” (#8)

“...someone might go ‘let’s go and have a fight’ and then it usually takes one more person to say okay, and then you think well ma pals are going to I’ll go up as well. And then everyone goes up.” (#25)

As might be expected, alcohol seemed to make the difference between thinking about a group conflict and actually becoming involved in one (see also the Glasgow interviewees of Kintrea et al, 2008). On such occasions, an element of rational disinhibition commonly known as ‘Dutch courage’ (e.g. see Burns 1980; Pernanen, 1991) seemed to increase the likelihood of participants choosing to enter another group’s home ‘territory’.

“And then eh we’d go to [name of next area] and there would be hundreds [lots] of boys there and we’d end up fighting. Don’t know why we went, it was drink eh? When we were drinking we’d just go ‘we’ll just go up for a fight’. “ ... “You don’t really care when your full of drink do you? Yes you don’t care. You care when you get caught and get stabbed and

all the rest of it yes, but you just think ‘that’ll never happen to me’, you think all that don’t you?” (#25)

“Not when you’re sober, only when you’re drunk. When you’re drunk you want to go down to their area and fight, you get a fight going, folk get hurt. Did you see that on the telly, that boy got into hospital, that was my troops [gang] that done that, that’s the people we fight with. ...we were at a party, a birthday party and they came and ran up to the door with choppers [bladed weapons] cos’ the party was in their scheme, but hundreds [lots] of people got stabbed that night but, five or six got stabbed. (#13)

Gang membership and group conflicts could constitute a form of ‘recreational violence’ (Graham & Wells, 2003), even among those who had themselves been victimised by other groups. ‘Attractions’ to such behaviour included camaraderie, inflicting pain or fear in others, status / respect within their local neighbourhood, the thrill of the chase or, like alcohol (see Table, 4.1), simply ‘something to do’ at the weekend.

“I got caught [during a gang fight] and hit with a ‘tenner shot’, hit with a machete, and stabbed with a bottle in the head two or three times. It left a scar there, there and one in the back [of my head]. I got a fractured skull as well... I went back out as soon as I got my stitches out... Cos’ it’s boring sitting in the house, it’s something to do. It’s like an adrenalin rush when you’re running about with all your pals and all that, that’s what it was yeah.” (#25)

“...it’s not that I want a fight, it’s that I hate people from other areas cos’ they say stuff so as soon as you see them you want to take the face off them for stuff. If you batter them they are going to go about saying stuff cos’ you battered them, but if you mark their face they wake up in the morning and look in the mirror and see it and they are not going to talk about you again are they?” [Interviewer asks whether this might lead to revenge attacks by his victims] “Maybe, but that’s even better. It’s exciting. Maybe other people don’t think so, but its better when people are looking for you. They are looking for you and they are going to seriously going to try and kill you then obviously that’s when their weapons will come out. They will have knives and stuff and that’s when you start doing stuff. Stuff happens eh. I do find it exciting.” (#18)

The “gang” may also have been a (their) form of collective insurance policy for individuals as they have no other perceived option for protection. Those currently in a gang may consider themselves as being safer while in the community than those who were not. Further, those who chose to cease their involvement in gangs could face a new set of problems, from both their former comrades and enemies alike, as is illustrated by the following accounts from participant #3 who was attempting to cease his gang involvement.

“...I done that for a year, that gang thing. I stopped when I was 15 [years old] but I still drank and that, but I didn’t fight, I didn’t gang fight or anything, but see even though I didn’t fight, one day I was out with ma girlfriend one day, no the one I’m going with just

now, it was with ma ex-girlfriend I was out with her. I met her outside her work man, in the town, and I was walking with her and a boy ran up and stabbed me in ma leg three times. And I nearly died man cos' of ma artery, he nearly stabbed my artery." ... "...he was from another gang but he already knew I stopped all that and he still done it man. I had stopped gang fighting for a year." ... "...I started thinking about what I was doing and I settled down and I just told all them to go, ma pals and that they all came up like, they used to come up and ask me to go out during the day and walk about and look for a fight, but instead I said I wasn't going out with them and they went. So one of them phoned me and said 'just come up here now' and I said 'no' and then he said 'see then next time you're out you're getting your throat slit you dafty' or something like that..." (#3)

As is illustrated by participant #3's accounts, above, leaving a gang was not the same as leaving the gang culture, as not only were there still existing vendettas with members of other gangs to be settled, but now also a new, perhaps more personal, threat from their old gang. In this way, those who had purposively left their local gang could find themselves in danger within their own neighbourhood.

"I just left [the gang], I started working and I fell out with them all. It's worse for me now, cos' now I cannae walk about my bit [home area] cos' I don't hang out with them. I've made it worse for myself, cos' if I stepped out there, I mean if I had not fell out with them and could hang out with them then my life would be a bit easier than it is now. It would get me into trouble but it would make ma life easier. Cos' all the people I fight with now, I wouldn't' fight with them cos' I wouldn't have fallen out with them. It was cos' I didn't go out with them and they started giving me grief and then I made it worse for myself... No they won't let me back in, I wouldn't' want back in. If they see me some of them will chase me..." (#30)

"... I tried to be a mechanic, I did a seven day course sort of thing, but the guy [employer] says I was too violent for being around cos' there were tools about, cos' it was different schemes; it was all different schemes that was in the same place. I was the only one from [name of town] and I kept hitting people. I never started the fights, cunts [my victims] would wind us up cos' I was from [that town] and I would just hit them and the guy sacked us. It wasn't the guy that was trying to bully us it was the young cunts." (#27)

As the experience of participant #27 above highlights, gangs and other local territorial rivalries could act as a barrier to routes out of an offending lifestyle in the community (see also Frondigoun et al, 2008; Kintrea et al, 2008). This was true both in terms of employment opportunities and sources of alternative (i.e. legitimate, mainstream and sober) recreation.

"There is actually a place [sports centre] but you can't go cos' of the gang fighting, cos' it's in like the end of a scheme at the start of another scheme so you can't go there. Sport that's probably the best thing [as an alternative to offending] for it man." (#10)

“...if you had a gym down my bit [home area] you could go to that but there is none, well there is one but it’s in a scheme that we fight with, know what I mean, so you’d end up in a fight straight away if you went into it...” (#14)

5.8 Routes out of alcohol-related offending

Several participants spoke of how they had become more involved in sport or other activities whilst in the YOI, even describing these in similar terms to gang behaviours or violence, for example as ‘something to do’ or a drug-like buzz (i.e. ‘adrenalin’).

“I’m going to stay with my mum and that and get my life sorted out, get myself a job and that. Don’t know what will happen when I get bored. I used to do things like swimming. I’ve been getting high on adrenalin in the gym in here [YOI] constantly for a buzz.” (#16)

“Having options man, sports and things and classes with how to deal with peer pressure and that. Eh sports is probably the best thing [as an alternative to offending] cos’ ever since I’ve been in here [YOI] that’s what I’ve done, PE, gym.” (#10)

Moreover, they hoped to be able to carry on these activities post-liberation, though unfortunately the same barriers (e.g. “nothing to do”) and temptations (i.e. alcohol) were felt to have the potential to prevent this.

“There are different centres and football. You do do it; go and play football during the week and that. It’s Friday, Saturday and Sundays, it’s the weekend you drink, cos’ there is nothing on at the weekend it’s boring, so you get a drink and have a laugh and do whatever you want to do.” (#30)

“I was always going to smoke hash [cannabis] or drink or something cos’ there is nothing to do. All you do is hang out and if you play football you fall and get cut on glass, it’s stupid. So you go and get bevy [drink] and fight.” (#21)

Interestingly several participants pointed to the lack of availability of recreation which they could legally afford at the weekends. This was seen as important as, today, many Young Offenders have jobs and worked during the week (see Table 3.1).

“...most people have got a job during the week so it’s really the weekends you need it, football or something, go out and have a game, if there was a football team I’d go and play football.” (#24)

“I liked ma job, I had a laugh and that, but it’s always on the minimum wage all the time man, that’s all you get hit with the minimum wage so you don’t drink sensible, all you do is go out and fight and all that, but if you’ve got a good job you’ve got something to look forward to cos’ you can do other things, but on the minimum wage you cannae, you just go out and get mad with it [drunk] at the weekends.” (#11)

Further, some participants felt that early intervention (i.e. the provision of alternative choices) was preferable, as younger males were less set in their ways, not carrying lengthy lists of previous convictions or bad reputations, and also because these younger ones were unable to access the safer drinking settings of on-trade licensed premises.

“It’s just really till you’re at the age when you can get into pubs and then you quieten down a bit you see all the younger boys, all the wee boys about 13 [years old] and that out drinking. There’s nothing else to do. Don’t know what you can do.” (#8)

“See some of the stuff they do in here man like a Constructs course and that, it’s all problem solving, see if they done stuff like that in schools and that. Like all day I’ve been in a Construct class today and they are like what could I do to stay away from the jail and all that. If they did things like that and alcohol awareness and all that in school. Stuff like that that would be good for them if you were taught that in school. That Construct stuff and that you can see how to deal with peer pressure and all that you know. Things like that would be good if you were in school. You need to start early as possible, in primary school. I was drinking all the time from 13 [years old].” (#10)

Participants felt there was a lack of credible alcohol services available for younger males, in comparison to what was available within the YOI, even those interviewed who had previously undergone some level of intervention while in the community.

“Well I think eh well the first time when I went up for that serious assault and that, they could at least try to give me alcohol courses or drug courses or something like that cos’ they just stuck us on probation and community services and told us to behave ma self. I kept drinking.” (#25)

“I was in a daft thing [agency in community] when I was out there but it wasn’t helping me it was making me worse. They used to talk to you about drink and that and tell you what to do, like if you were younger if you’re mum told you what to do you’d do the opposite. So they were like trying to tell you what to do and that so like I was like ‘fuck this!’. So I’ve got to help myself, that’s what the woman in here [YOI] keeps saying, she keeps saying ‘I can’t help you, I’m just trying to ‘lead the light’ for you’ and all this shit, and you need to help yourself and all that, so fuck you! It’s not them that can help me, I know that and that’s what she keeps on saying to me ‘it’s not us that can help you, you need to help yourself’.” (#2)

Interesting, as implied in the above quote, the involvement of parents in any intervention at this early stage could be viewed as counterproductive. This argument against parental involvement in alcohol interventions would seem to be supported by the findings from all three quantitative surveys (see Table 3.2), even though this is at odds with the predominating view that in any such circumstances where feasible the external contacts may have a part to play in the intervention.

“...if they [agency] are sitting saying ‘don’t drink it’s bad’ you’ll listen to them, but if you’re sitting with your dad, and they [agency staff] are sitting going don’t drink it’s bad, and they [parents] are sitting half cut [half drunk], know what I mean, you’re like ‘that looks good, if you like it, it cannae be that bad’. There’s no point in that.” (#14)

Another argument in favour of early intervention was that some participants felt that drinking alcohol was their entitlement by the time they reached 18 years of age. This was particularly the case among those who had been in employment, for whom drinking at the weekend was seen as something which they had earned the right to do by honest means.

“Not for my age group but, just you’re going to drink anyway, but if you work all week I think you’re entitled to drink.” (#8)

“I wouldn’t stop drinking cos’ ma pals stopped, I like having a drink at the weekend, that’s what I work all week for.” (#9)

This is clearly a problem for alcohol intervention policies aimed at Young Offenders, in that, in contrast to say illegal drugs which have no legal age of ‘entitlement’ on the ‘social-clock’ and where traditionally employment has been seen, with some justification, as a route out of problematic substance use (McIntosh et al, 2008). Such intervention should be based on minimising the harm.

Also, perhaps again in contrast to how illegal drug problems are regarded, especially opioids (i.e. heroin addicts), some participants felt that even though all their offences could be attributed to alcohol, they did not require any help with their drinking. For them, seeking help for drinking seemed to equate only to notions of ‘addiction’ or ‘alcoholism’, neither of which were felt to be applicable to their drinking experiences. This would concur with the findings of the 2007 survey (see Table 4.1)

“All ma crimes are related to alcohol but I’m not addicted to it. I could easily go without it. I can stay sober for months...” (#19)

“No, I’m not an alcoholic. Well yes but I wasn’t just drinking for me cos’ in Aberdeen everyone knows me and I tried to give it a shot but it just doesn’t work.” ... “I wouldn’t say the drink is a problem, it is when I start fighting with folk and that, but I’ve not really got a problem with it.” (#5)

While in the YOI some had considered the reasons why they were there, and had belatedly concluded that they did need help with their drinking. This echoes previous research and existing intervention practice which has identified arrest as a potential

catalyst for substance use behaviour change (Prochaska & Di Clemente, 1984) and as a critical time for effective interventions to be made (see Babor et al 2001; Kubiak et al, 2006; Raistick et al, 2006; Rivara et al, 1995).

“I would never had said that at the time, but when I look back now I can say it [that I had an alcohol problem].” (#27)

“Most of the time if I; that’s how I’m doing alcohol counselling up here cos’ if I wasn’t drunk I wouldn’t have committed the crimes, I wouldn’t have done that if I was sober. So I’m just trying to come off it a bit.” (#12)

Other participants felt that although they might need help for their drinking, they did not need any help within the YOI because alcohol was not available to them while they were in custody. Such participants felt that help with their drinking would however be needed, and therefore better placed, immediately after liberation.

“I don’t know, in here [YOI] you’re not getting drink anyway you’re a totally different person, so no, I don’t think it would really help.” (#8)

“...Within moderation, I’ll have a drink [when I get liberated], yeah, but I got a bit of support when I was inside, and I did the courses in here, but when I get out I’ll have this, that and the next thing in the way of help. I didn’t get help when I was out before...” (#22)

“I don’t know if I need help cos’ I’m in here [YOI] and I’m not bothered with it [alcohol]. It’s just when you get out there [the community] you don’t know. I might look for some help when I get out....What sort of help can you get outside for things.... if you got leaflets and advertising about drink... you only see ‘just stop smoking’ and that’s it, sometimes on TV they give you a number to call to stop smoking but there is nothing on drink.” (#6)

As also indicated in the previous comment, some felt that the amount or quality of help available in the community was limited and that if they were not able to receive it straight away then they would inevitably return to their old ways.

“...I went eight days [without a drink] the last time I was out, that’s the longest I lasted. I was all for stopping drinking and I went to see a counsellor and he never turned up to meet me so I was like that ‘it’s me trying, and if you’re not going to do your part!’ So I just went and bought alcohol. It was the alcohol councillor. I had a meeting for the day after I got out I remember ma social worker was there with us and we were waiting for an hour and no one turned up so I was like that to myself ‘fuck them, if they can’t even turn up I’ll go and get drunk’. But I was ready to do it, I was there with my social worker and everything and they couldn’t be bothered to turn up so that was it.” (#29)

“I did get help, I did [local authority] Alcohol Awareness & Counselling. I used to go to AA [alcoholics anonymous] meetings when I was 16 [years old] with ma brother. It didn’t really

work no. The only way I got off the drink is coming to the jail eh. I'm not really a drinker anymore." (#16)

As indicated in the above quotes, for some participants, the only substantial periods of time during which they could remain sober were during their custodial sentences. Other participants were happy to be in YOI, at least periodically, as it allowed them the opportunity to get sober, get fit, make friends and stay away from violence.

"...I'm happy in here. If I'm in the jail I can't hurt anyone." (#29)

"...You can meet someone in here [YOI] and be their best pal for two year while you're doing your sentence and then the two of you are out in the street and drunk and you end up getting a stabbing..." (#14)

As the second part of participant #14's statement makes clear, this situation does nothing to resolve their issues when they return to the community and it was clear that some who were favourable towards the provision of help for alcohol users within the YOI, and who might have 'good intentions', recognised that things would not be so easy after their liberation date.

"It's something you don't think about drink when you're in here [YOI] cos' you can't get it [alcohol] but when I get out I'll be drinking, but I'm on the tag this month so I can't go out drinking or I'll end up back in here..." (#2)

"I think I'm all right, I explained how much I was drinking and how much I was having at the weekend and that, I don't know, it's hard man to say to stop that, just even to cut down cos, as soon as you get back out you're going to do the same thing again aren't you? When you're in here you want to stop but as soon as you get back out you're just like 'what's the point man?'" (#30)

Indeed some reported ways in which the enforced sobriety of a custodial sentence could actually add to their problems post liberation, for example because of a reduced tolerance to alcohol or exposure to other forms of substance use while in custody.

"Cos' I was in the jail when I was 16 [years old]. I was in the jail for about a year and I just didn't drink at all so I didn't need it when I got out. I just couldn't be bothered with it eh I was more into other stuff [i.e. heroin habit acquired while held on remand in Saughton Prison]." (#16)

"...Then I got out, but I was only out about seven weeks, then I was back in, and that time I was in for two year, then I was out nine and a half month and now I'm back in again. It was all because I was out one night, and ended up being really drunk. I didn't really drink a lot, but because I hadn't been drinking, my tolerance was down, and I was out of control, and I

sort of blacked out and the next thing, I ended up... [hitting the victim with my extendable baton and being re-convicted]" (#21)

However, some other participants complained about the lack of help available within the YOI. This was not simply in terms of there not being any help available, but more so about the narrow range of services and who could access these (see also *SPS Prisoner Survey 1994-2008* findings on drugs and alcohol, which are provided as Table 6.1 and discussed in Chapter 6, section 6.2 of this report).

"No I refused it [help for alcohol use in the YOI] cos' I don't like sitting in groups with people talking about issues and alcohol and that that's why I refused it. Cos' I just don't like sitting groups. I'd take it one-to-one but not in a group. I never take groups, even when I was on probation I couldn't do groups, I'd just walk out them, it doesn't matter. I get paranoid eh and I get very paranoid and I cannae cope with it and that so." (#17)

"There are hundreds [lots] of groups in here but it's really hard to get on them, it's all the lifers and that, but I'm in a different hall and I still cannae get into one of those groups, it's murder. They keep saying you need to wait. You can't get Constructs or Anger Management or drugs or alcohol, anything like that. People get out and six months later they are back in ..." (#21)

"When you're in remand you don't get a lot of help and support, it's only when you get sentenced you get a lot more help. You should get help in remand cos' if well, if I done it when I was in remand and then I've been in there for four months and then I get out and they have done nothing at all in that four months, well like what good is that to anyone really. So you need to do something [i.e. an offence] that serious to get a sentence to actually get help. I thought the point was if you're in remand you're supposed to get help so you don't get long sentences." (#25)

Participants' views on help with Anger Management were very similar to, and intertwined with, those regarding help for alcohol problems.

"I don't know if I need it cos I've not got an Anger Management problem if I've not been drinking." (#25)

"No I've not got an alcohol problem. I only drink at weekends. It's just me. I'll still fight if I was sober." (#13)

"Do you think you need Anger Management?" (Interviewer)

"Don't know, I've never thought of it. Don't know, a fight's a fight." (#13)

Again, as with alcohol, some participants felt that help with Anger Management within the YOI was of only of limited usefulness as they only became angry while in the community, because they only became angry after drinking alcohol which was not available to them

while they were in custody (this is not to minimise the impact of the violence which can take place within Young Offenders Institutions).

“There is no point in doing Anger Management if you’re not going to be steaming [drunk] when you’re doing it cos’ you are a totally different person when you’re not drunk. You just need to try and tell folk what not to drink, how much to drink and how to try and control it.” (#8)

Despite this, other participants felt that help with Anger Management within the YOI might be useful, again for similar reasons to those given for alcohol, although some of those interviewed did not appear to have thought about such help before.

“...in the jail people think about what they have done, so if you get people to do it [Anger Management] they might realise. They should definitely give alcohol and drugs help as well.” (#20)

“I got angry cos’ he had a knife and he could have stabbed any of my pals and that, that’s how I got angry and done it. There was probably another way to stop him but I can’t think of any other way cos’ he was standing with a knife in his hand.” (#9)

Also in line with their views on alcohol, participants tended to stress the need for early intervention, as they felt that they would have benefited from Anger Management much more if it had been available to them when they were a lot younger.

“You should get Anger Management not just when you’re in here [YOI], like before you’ve battered someone. See the boys doing it [violence] now, they are all about 13, 14 [years old] and that they walk into other towns with sticks and that, all the young boys.” (#9)

“I have been asking for Anger Management since I was 14 year old and I’ve never had it. My social worker always says she’d get me it but she never got me it. When I was in secure [unit] when I was 15 [years old], they like had me doing something like that Anger Management, but how’s speaking about something going to help you. If you’re going to stop you’re going to stop...” (#18)

Inevitably some participants saw the ‘carrot’ of seeking help, for either their substance use or violence, as a way of demonstrating to the courts, or others, that they were taking steps to address their problems. It is however a positive sign that these Young Offenders did at least recognise that they had Anger Management issues that they could receive help for. Also that this perception may allow for an initial contact to be made with services and for involvement with programmes for an intervention to be made, which could not take place if Young Offenders do not come forward.

“Probably quite a lot of people that could be doing with Anger Management. Me for one, I really need all this behind me. Especially, if I’m up in court for a serious assault, I need to show that I’m taking steps towards avoiding this.” (#22)

“I’ve only started one class the now, but there is a two week course and I’ve to do that. And then I’m going to get a letter to show the court to show that I’ve been getting alcohol counselling cos’ I’ve been committing offences when I’m drunk, so it goes a wee bit better for me in court...” (#12)

“...I’ve got assaults I’ve still to go up for, so I went to ma doctor and ma social worker took me, she’s like you need to get something done about this cos’ you’re just going to keep re-offending and you’re going to make things worse for yourself. So I went to ma doctor and asked about what I could do and all that but I still went and got mad with it [drunk]. I wasn’t ready to stop man but I made it look as if I was trying you know, I mean so it looked good for us going up to court.” (#11)

Although at first glance the above reasoning may seem like a rather cynical use of (potentially limited) available help, it is worth noting that the threat of a custodial sentence could act as a catalyst to behavioural change, perhaps encouraging those to seek help who might not otherwise have considered doing so. Indeed, the prospect of a custodial sentence was seen to be a modifier of these young men’s behaviour throughout these interviews, especially while sober, but only in a post-hoc sense while drunk as the following quotes illustrate.

“He [the victim] was on his bike and I, know, I was in a car with one of my pals and we were driving past and I’d saw him on the bike. Ma mate was actually going to run him over but I said ‘don’t do that’ man cos’ that would have been a serious charge that, probably attempt murder or something. I goes like ‘let us out with a baseball bat’ and I ran up behind him and took him clean off his bike man and got stuck right into him man. I think I broke his leg I’m not sure.” (#1)

“I was steaming [drunk], I wouldn’t have done it [theft by shoplifting] if I wasn’t, see when I woke up in the cells the next day I was saying to myself ‘I wouldn’t have done that if I wasn’t drunk’, I was pure raging, I knew I was going to get the jail for it. I was gutted man cos’ I’ve got a bad record, know what I’m saying, I’ve had charges since I was 16 [years old]. So when you go up, the judge he’s like, he’s just not learning, so it’s jail. I was scunnered [consternated and disenchanted] man...” (#12)

This was not always in a positive direction however. For example, after committing a serious alcohol-related offence, far from stopping drinking and offending behaviour the prospect of an imminent custodial sentence could escalate these behaviours, perhaps explaining why so many in the 2007 survey reported drinking after their offence (see Table 3.4).

“...I knew I had to go back up to court for this, for the stabbing right, for stabbing this cunt [victim], and so I was I knew I was going to get the jail, so that night I just started drinking and taking drugs and I ended up going out and smashing a car window.” (#2)

Likewise, at the other end of a custodial sentence, liberation presented a similar opportunity for extreme intoxication, especially owing to reduced tolerance.

“...I cannae get drunk see, when I come into prison. I can get drunk when I first get outside prison cos’ I can feel it better, but after a week I can’t feel it. So nine times out of ten, I end up getting put back in jail, just so that I can get that feeling for when I’m out again. I like getting out cos’ then I get drunk and I can feel the alcohol.” (#29)

“Most people just don’t want it [help inside] cos’ they know for a fact when they get back out they are going to do the same thing again.” (#30)

These final comments perhaps illustrate a further major hurdle facing any future alcohol interventions within the YOI, that some Young Offenders behaviours are so entrenched they are unlikely to seek help with the issues covered in this research in the first place. This should not dissuade those from attempting interventions from doing so, but could perhaps inform the types of programmes offered prior to, during and after custody.

6. Discussion

6.1 Conclusions

This report has highlighted a strong linkage between alcohol consumption and violent crime among Young Offenders in Scotland. The value of this work should not be understated as there has been a paucity of research into this issue among offenders in Scotland in recent decades. The time-span of this research indicates that the lack of attention paid to these issues cannot be attributed to there not being a problem that needs to be addressed. Indeed although the data collected here may be more reflective of young people who receive custodial sentences than it is of behaviours in the wider community, there can be no doubt that, on the basis of the evidence presented in this report, at present there is an urgent need to address this issue in Scotland. Firstly there is a need to recognise the problem, which would appear to be much greater among Young Offenders than are the problems from all illegal drug-related issues combined. Secondly there is a need to improve interventions, both within the criminal justice system and in the wider community, preferably at some point before offenders reach the YOI (either in terms of interventions being made at an earlier age or in terms of offending history).

The findings of this report have highlighted that the alcohol-related problems experienced by Young Offenders are manifest from a young age, pre-dating their arrival at the YOI by some years. Despite their youthful age (16 to 21 years), the Young Offenders who participated in the quantitative surveys reported extensive alcohol-related offending histories, and those interviewed appeared to have modelled their own extreme drinking behaviours, including alcohol-related violence, on older family members and in particular on older youths within their local community. Such findings highlight the need to tackle these underlying issues in order to prevent future generations from continuing the transmission of these harmful behaviours.

Nevertheless it was apparent that Young Offenders' harmful drinking behaviours, again including involvement with violence, escalate, reaching their greatest extent in the periods immediately before (or after) their recent custodial sentence(s). Some were already entrenched in problem drinking behaviours, whether this was defined by self-reported behaviour, SADQ scores or accounts given during face-to-face interviews. Many others

could be described as either 'hazardous drinkers' (also known as 'risky' or 'binge' drinkers) or 'harmful drinkers' (SHAAP, 2008). Hazardous drinkers are defined as those who consume over the recommended daily or weekly limits (of 3-4 units per day or 21 units per week for an adult male), putting themselves at increased risk of harmful drinking, which is defined as those who exhibit clear evidence of alcohol-related problems but without this having resulted in their receiving treatment.

Trends in alcohol use and violence appeared to co-vary, such that more extreme drinking behaviours and subsequent apportioning of blame appeared to be greatest among more violent cohorts of Young Offenders. The association between alcohol and violence was apparent throughout this research, but more so in recent times. Over the time span of the research, alcohol problems amongst Young Offenders appear to have increased and this trend was apparent even among drinkers in the 1996 cohort when drugs were also an issue, though violence less so. Most of those who took part in the 2007 survey and all of those interviewed in 2008 linked alcohol to violence. However, rather than alcohol simply being seen as a cause of this violence, it was also seen as increasing the severity of violence (whether this is measured in terms of severity of injuries to the victims, seriousness of the charges involved, length of time spent in custody by the offender or wider costs to society).

In contrast to alcohol, illegal drugs were not strongly linked to violence in this population. This was apparent from both the quantitative and qualitative phases of the research. Indeed in 1996, when the largest number of Young Offenders blamed their offences on drugs, there were much fewer respondents in custody for serious violent crimes. By 2007 a more violent Young Offender population seemed to have shifted away from blaming drugs, towards blaming alcohol for their offences. Among those interviewed, if there was a reported relationship between illegal drugs and violence, for most drugs this was felt to be a negative one in comparison to alcohol. The exception to this pattern was diazepam (Valium), which when mixed with alcohol (and only when mixed with alcohol) appeared to result in even greater levels of drunkenness and more uncontrolled (and serious) violence. There would appear to be a need to investigate the role of this substance in facilitating violence further, particularly in relation to its long-acting mode of action.

Although levels of any drug use (i.e. cannabis) has increased over time and there has been a large increase in cocaine use in recent years, among today's Young Offender population it appears safe to conclude that their use of illicit drugs is much more of an extension of their drinking behaviours rather than an alternative to alcohol consumption. Moreover, problem drug use related behaviours among this population appeared to be declining (e.g. in terms those who blame their offending on illegal drugs and also those who stated that they funded their drug use from acquisitive crime). These findings have obvious implications for substance use treatment policies.

The findings of this report indicate that in recent years (in contrast to recorded trends in the wider community) levels of opioid use, injection and associated economic crime (i.e. heroin addiction) among Young Offenders have receded, towards the geographical margins of Scotland. Meanwhile alcohol-related serious violent crime has increased greatly throughout this population (arguably reflecting trends in Scottish society). Interviewed Young Offenders displayed very negative attitudes towards heroin addicts, who they despised as thieves, an interesting reaction from such openly, often unrepentantly, violent young men.

Another current cause for concern investigated by this research was the use of weapons, such as knives, by Young Offenders. Combining the 2007 survey and 2008 interview data revealed a complex pattern of involvement with weapons, including different categories of weapon owners, weapon carriers and weapon users. Both of these complementary phases of the research indicated that alcohol intoxication (either alone or in conjunction with diazepam) was the factor that turned weapon owners into carriers and weapon carriers into users. Again this finding highlighted the way in which alcohol use tended to escalate violent behaviour as much as cause it. Of particular concern in this respect was the use of bottles (i.e. alcohol containers) as weapons. The 2007 survey findings indicted that knives were the most often carried and used weapon by Young Offenders, with bottles being the next most often used weapon, despite this glassware rarely being reported as carried for this purpose. However, despite being qualitative in nature, the face-to-face interviews indicated that bottles, rather than knives, were the weapons most commonly used in serious assaults. This inconsistency may imply that many of the Young Offenders who took part in the 2007 survey did not view such ubiquitous glassware as a (designated)

weapon. This may also be true of other items, such as household tools or cutlery. In any case it highlights the need for alcoholic drinks, particularly beverages associated with offender populations, to be marketed in plastic containers (e.g. tonic wine).

The beverages consumed by Young Offenders were interesting in their own right. The survey phases of this research indicated a trend towards the increased consumption of wine 'al fresco' (i.e. in outdoor settings), and away from the consumption of 'traditional' Scottish drinks such as beer or spirits inside licensed premises (see also Jarvinen & Room, 2007). Indeed in this population, alcohol was *the* 'street drug' (other substances being more likely to be used either in the home, e.g. cannabis, or at organised dance events, e.g. ecstasy). This trend towards 'al fresco' wine drinking is of concern for two reasons, firstly because outdoor settings were those where interviewed Young Offenders believed that the risk of a violent encounter was greatest. Secondly, as was also indicated in the 2008 interviews, because this style of drinking, and product choice, could lead to a ready supply of bottles for use as weapons in street disorder (e.g. cider bottles are usually plastic and off-trade beer is often sold in aluminium cans).

Of particular note was the high prevalence of the Buckfast tonic wine brand, which constituted the "favourite" and the "usual" drink of around four in ten Young Offenders and which dominated wine consumption in this population (see also Galloway et al 2007). This brand's popularity among Young Offenders was all the more remarkable considering it was not mentioned by any respondents who came from some large and populous parts of the country (e.g. Tayside or Edinburgh). Interestingly the prevalence figures for this brand (and also that of some other beverages reported here) were very similar to those recorded by recent research conducted in a Scottish town to survey the prevalence of alcohol-related litter in residential communities, which found that 35.1% of all alcohol detritus and 54.0% of discarded glassware was Buckfast tonic wine bottles or their remains (Forsyth & Davidson, in press).

Different properties were associated with different alcoholic beverages, especially in relation to violent behaviour, for example Buckfast tonic wine was thought to make drinkers "hyper" (i.e. give sustained energy). Although the 2007 survey found that more than four in ten respondents who were drinking before their current offence had been

drinking Buckfast, interviewed Young Offenders believed that spirits were the beverages the consumption of which was the most likely to make them become violent. This raises some interesting questions about the widespread use of caffeinated alcoholic beverages and their effect on young drinkers' behaviours.

Buckfast was also of interest in that it was sold in glass bottles, which were often used as weapons, and because it was not cheap. Retailing at around £6.50 per bottle at the time of the 2008 interviews (i.e. more than it cost at the time of the 2007 survey) this caffeinated, phosphate containing, fortified beverage would not have been affected by recent Scottish Government proposals to introduce minimum pricing based on alcohol content (e.g. Gardham, 2008; McCann, 2008a). Their current preference for the Buckfast brand indicates that Young Offenders have sufficient funds available to choose a premium beverage and that their choices were being made for reasons other than the Alcohol By Volume (ABV) / cost equation. Recent research by Galloway et al (2007) has indicated that Buckfast consumers in this age group choose this product because of its utility as a street drink, its extra ingredients (e.g. caffeine) and a 'macho' image brand identity, and the findings of this report would seem to be in accord with this.

Neither the 2007 survey nor the 2008 interviews indicated that price was presently a major constraint on Young Offenders alcohol consumption. Few appeared to fund their current drinking habits via acquisitive crime, though many had done so while younger and some did resort to violent robbery after they had run out of alcohol (and were already intoxicated). Indeed minimum pricing would appear to have a greater potential to affect law abiding young people, rather than those interviewed who believed that Young Offenders would simply respond by engaging in more economic crime in order to meet the minimum price, or that such a policy would create opportunities for drug dealers and 'bootleggers'.

Similarly dismissive views were expressed about policies designed to reduce anti-social behaviour by making alcohol less accessible to (again all) young people by increasing the legal age of purchase (i.e. by raising the off-sales age to 21) (e.g. see Allardyce, 2008; Dinwoodie 2008; Howie, 2008; McCann, 2008b). These Young Offenders had experienced no difficulty in obtaining alcohol (or for that matter other prohibited drugs) at a very young age (often sub-teen years). Furthermore, in the sub-culture of their communities it was

seen as the norm to buy alcohol for those under-age and having been the recipient of such transactions in the past, interviewed Young Offenders felt obliged to pass on this tradition on reaching the legal age of purchase themselves by becoming the drinks provider for younger males.

This report also highlighted influences other than alcohol which may impact upon Young Offenders' behaviours. Of the three surveys, the 1996 cohort differed demographically, with Young Offenders in that year being more likely to be unemployed, living away from their parental home and for both of their parents to be also more likely to be unemployed at that time. This negative economic scenario may have impacted upon the relatively higher level of (non-violent) acquisitive crime and problem drug use recorded by the 1996 survey (i.e. less 'conventional' lifestyles than is the case with today's YOI population). As well as alcohol use, the 2008 interviews linked involvement in violence (much higher in the 2007 survey than in 1996) to a range of other issues, including those relating to male honour / group loyalty and territorialism, but particularly involvement with 'gangs', which could act as a barrier to the cessation of offending, for example by such negative social networks limiting access to jobs or recreational facilities.

Another barrier to reducing the harmful behaviours examined by this project was the finding that many Young Offenders did not see their drinking as problematic, even those whose every offence was alcohol-related. The 2008 interviews indicated that this was because, to this population, seeking help for drinking equated with alcoholism or addiction, which was not how they perceived their own consumption (nor did they use 'problem drugs' such as heroin). Additionally on reaching 18 years of age (as many do within the YOI), interviewed Young Offenders felt that they were entitled to a legal drink, especially those who had worked all week and 'earned it'. There are clear implications for interventions here, say in comparison to drug treatment which advocates participation in the mainstream (economy and conventional lifestyle) as a route out of offending.

When asked about routes out of offending, some interviewed Young Offenders highlighted a lack of affordable alternative recreational pursuits to drinking in the community. Others highlighted a lack of alcohol specific interventions within the community, particularly early intervention. Some felt that there was a need for a broader range of services within the

YOI, though others felt this was not the most appropriate time for an intervention compared with the period immediately after their return to the community, when the need for some form of through-care was apparent if they were to be prevented from returning to their old ways.

6.2 Considerations

Other evidence of indicating the present need to tackle male Young Offenders drinking comes from the findings of the recent Scottish Prisoner Surveys. This is shown in Table 6.1 which provides some of the information on the substance use patterns of Young Offenders (taken from the most recent Scottish Prisoner Survey, SPS Prison Survey 1994 – 2008).

Table 6.1, the Prison Surveys 2005 – 2008 shows increased trends among male Young Offenders in both being drunk at the time of the offence (74% in 2008) and in response to being offered help for alcohol problems, both inside and outside the YOI (54% and 43% respectively in 2008). The Prison Survey tends towards the measurement of alcohol dependency rather than associated problems and this could have specific outcomes for programmes and programme delivery. The data from the present research shows a much more complex set of issues to be addressed. Drinking patterns, including binge drinking, type of beverage being consumed, the setting where this takes place and the behaviours emanating from these aspects have all to be taken into account. Patterns of consumption do not signify a dependency or significant psychological dependence or manifest themselves in serious offending. But what it does do is to influence consideration on a wider plain as to what is to be addressed and how this is to be done.

There are alcohol and drug interventions taking place within the Young Offenders Institution. As to whether they are the right programmes, with content to address the varying needs and delivered in the best way to achieve the maximum impact is for others to determine. What is clear by the Institution's own figures is that they are only touching the surface as far as alcohol consumption is concerned as less than 7% of those who had drunk alcohol had received help either inside or outside the institution.

Table 6.1 Aspects of programme delivery within the Young Offender Institution.

YEAR-ON-YEAR COMPARISONS	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
DRUG USE OUTSIDE							
My drug taking was a problem for me ON THE OUTSIDE	*	*	*	44	38	37	38
I was under the influence of drugs at the time of my offence	*	*	*	55	53	55	54
I committed my offence to get money for drugs	*	*	*	21	14	14	12
I was receiving treatment for my drug use before my imprisonment	*	*	*	14	7	8	8
ALCOHOL							
I was drunk at the time of my offence	*	*	*	66	71	70	74
My drinking affected my ability to hold down a job	*	*	*	30	*	27	30
My drinking affected my relationships with family	*	*	*	42	*	45	48
If I was offered help IN PRISON for alcohol problems I would take it	*	*	*	39	50	53	54
If I was offered help ON THE OUTSIDE for alcohol problems I would take it	*	*	*	30	39	41	43
I am worried that alcohol will be a problem for me when I get out	*	*	*	25	27	25	28
On the OUTSIDE , did you ever think you ought to CUT DOWN your drinking?	*	*	*	n/a	49	52	51
Has anyone ever ANNOYED you by criticising your drinking?	*	*	*	n/a	41	39	42
Have you ever felt GUILTY about your drinking?	*	*	*	n/a	36	36	36
Have you ever had an EYE-OPENER - a drink first thing in the morning?	*	*	*	n/a	38	37	50
Have you used alcohol in the LAST MONTH while in THIS PRISON ?	*	*	*	*	7	7	8
I was assessed for alcohol use on my admission to prison	*	*	*	*	38	40	41
I have been given the chance to receive treatment for alcohol problems during my sentence	*	*	*	*	46	43	46
I have received help/treatment for alcohol problems during my sentence	*	*	*	*	23	23	27

(*) Question was not asked in these years

(n/a) Data not available

In 1994 and 1998, prisoners were asked to report their drug activity during the last SIX months. In all other years, they were asked to report drug activity in the last month.

Traditionally the approach to problem drinking has been to concentrate on dependency (i.e. 'alcoholism') with the eventual aim of most interventions being cessation / abstinence. However, it is not the minority of alcoholics who cause the most problems for society but the hazardous and harmful drinking patterns adopted by non-dependent drinkers. Although the individuals who took part in this research did not see themselves as 'alcoholics' or 'addicts' who needed to stop drinking, there can be little doubt from the evidence reported here that many, if not most, Young Offenders are drinking hazardously or harmfully and do require some form of intervention. One inexpensive way of reaching a relatively large population of hazardous and harmful drinkers, such as would be found in the YOI, and who may not perceive that they require some form of intervention, is Screening Brief Interventions (SBI) (see SHAAP, 2008). SBI assesses individuals in a relatively short period of time (a few minutes) and allows potentially hazardous or harmful drinkers the opportunity to be offered a variety of interventions and information about their behaviour in a variety of (non-clinical) settings. Such interventions are felt to be best positioned where hazardous and harmful drinkers come into contact with other services, including general health services, police custody and in this case the prison service (e.g. see Babor et al 2001; Kubiak et al, 2006; Raistick et al, 2006; Rivara et al, 1995; SHAAP, 2008).

There are a number of advantages to employing SBI in the YOI setting. Firstly a relatively large number of potential hazardous and harmful drinkers can be reached quickly (e.g. as they come into the YOI at induction, as was used to recruit all the Young Offenders who took part in current research project, see Chapter 2). As this report has shown, Young Offenders are unlikely to be actively seeking treatment at this point in their lives, but this is also a time when their drinking may be, more obviously than is usually the case, viewed as having recently caused them problems. This is highlighted by the high number of Young Offenders who for whatever reason blamed their current custodial sentence on their drinking behaviour. Secondly a period of custody can provide a window of clarity for Young Offenders contemplating behaviour change (Prochaska & Di Clemente, 1984). Thirdly interventions carried out within the YOI reach offenders during their formative drinking years, albeit in the latter phases of this process, making long-term change a more feasible goal than might be the case with adult prisoners who may be more set in their ways.

The current research used the Severity of Alcohol Dependence Questionnaire (SADQ) as part of the research process. This worked fairly well, though it is perhaps too long (there were sometimes missing answers to individual questions on this scale, particularly among those who did not believe that the SADQ questions were relevant to their drinking but who had indicated that they were experiencing problems in the questions which they did answer). Moreover the SADQ questionnaire was originally envisaged as a measure of the severity of dependence, not an instrument designed to assess whether or not there is a problem with dependence (or alcohol use). Several other instruments are available which would suit this purpose.

Alcohol SBI instruments used within non-clinical settings currently include AUDIT (or the Alcohol Use Disorders Identification Test, Babor et al, 2001) and the CAGE questionnaire for (alcohol) dependence (named from its 4 questions - Cut down on drinking, Annoyed at criticisms of drinking, Guilty about drinking and Eye-opener in the morning, Mayfield et al, 1974). The latter of these, the CAGE, has been included in the Scottish Prisoner Survey since 2006 (see Table 6.1). The CAGE questionnaire is rooted in an era when SBI was focused more on dependency than on hazardous or harmful drinking. There is no mention of consumption levels in CAGE and its appropriateness for use in a Young Offender population must be questioned, especially given that their offences (usually crimes of serious violence) were more likely to be as a result of extreme (often weekend) intoxication rather than dependency. In short it is possible to be a dependent drinker but not commit serious crimes leading to a custodial sentence and so CAGE may be more suited to health interventions than in violence reduction.

The AUDIT questionnaire enquires about both frequency and level of consumption. The full AUDIT questionnaire consists of 10 items, however a shortened version, the FAST or Fast Alcohol Screening Test (Hodgson et al, 2003), with only four questions is also available. SBI for hazardous and harmful drinkers is currently being undertaken in other non-clinical settings in Scotland, for similar reasons to those proposed here with Young Offenders (see SHAAP, 2008). This has included SBI being conducted in Accident & Emergency units in Ayrshire & Arran (AUDIT), General Practice in Tayside (FAST) and in Maxillofacial Surgery (treatment of facial injury) in Glasgow (AUDIT). Thus AUDIT, or at least FAST, could be employed in the YOI environment. However FAST was developed for

busy settings where time may be more limited than is the case within the YOI, and as such there should be no major impediment to using the full AUDIT questionnaire in a custodial setting.

There is a need to show that dependency (e.g. as measured by SADQ or CAGE) is no longer the sole issue for making alcohol interventions in a custodial setting. Interventions within the YOI should aim to reduce offending behaviour and this can be done more effectively, across many more Young Offenders, by tackling the amount of alcohol which they consume in a single session rather than their frequency of consumption. This is not to deny that many Young Offenders do have alcohol dependency issues (regardless of whether or not they are interested in receiving help with their drinking).

The pattern of offences uncovered by the 2007 survey and 2008 interviews was one of serious violence following easily affordable alcohol intoxication, rather than one of petty acquisitive crime to 'feed an expensive habit' (i.e. dependency) as may be more common among illegal drug offenders. The solutions to health issues and offending issues are not necessarily the same, nor are socio-legal classifications a good indicator of problems, be these in relation to public health or public order goals (e.g. see Nutt et al, 2007; Reuter & Stevens, 2007; Royal Society for Arts, 2007). All too often any drug use is deemed worthy of intervention whereas alcohol is only deemed worthy of similar action when dependency is involved. The challenge presented here lies in the finding that many of these Young Offenders' alcohol-related serious violent crimes were not as a result of dependence but of intoxication and took place in a culture where alcohol intoxication has become normal behaviour in the mainstream Scottish culture.

This is not to say that illegal drug problems should be ignored, but the need to influence patterns of alcohol use among Young Offenders still predominates, particularly in the field of violence, weapons and gangs. With the increase in consumption and the blaming of the offence on alcohol, consideration has to be given to the assessment of individual needs. Violent behaviour has to be part of this for all categories of Young Offender. Alcohol is a major factor influencing behaviour amongst this group of Young Offenders and should be recognised as such in future programme planning. Given the cultural acceptance of "drink" any future consideration of programmes or other interventions have to take account of

fluctuations in the individual's and wider circumstances - nothing remains static for any period of time.

This research has highlighted that interventions need to be considered from an early stage, not only within the Young Offenders Institution. The content of this report should be considered when formulating or reviewing future programme strategies for Young Offenders to include addressing attitudes to and consumption of alcohol, illegal substance misuse, weapons, violence and social networks.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: 2007 Questionnaire

DRINKING AND DRUG USE IN THE COMMUNITY A SURVEY OF YOUNG OFFENDERS, 2007

This study is being carried out by Scottish Prison Service and Glasgow Caledonian University, to look at how patterns of drinking among Young Offenders in the community have changed over the years. Some of the questions will ask you about the drinking behaviour of those close to you. There are also a few questions about your use of illegal drugs in the community, and about some criminal activity while you were outside.

This research is not only intended to look at drinking among YOs at the present time, it is also intended to build on previous, similar research carried out in 1979, and 1996. It is hoped that this study will give an idea of how, if at all, things have changed over the years. It is intended that the information gathered with this research will give a better idea as to what type of support services should be provided for Young Offenders who may want help or advice about their drinking.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. You don't have to answer any questions that you don't want to, and you can tell the interviewer to stop at any time. The information obtained will be analysed at Glasgow Caledonian University. Nobody will be able to be identified from the data. Please note that all the questions refer to your drinking – and possibly your drug use – while in the community. None of the questions are about such activities while in custody.

If any of the questions in this research cause you distress, or make you want further information, you can in the first instance talk to any member of addiction or nursing staff. They can offer support and advice, and they can also give you information on other in-prison and community organisations who can also help and advise.

If you are happy to take part in this research, please tick this box []

Thank you in advance for helping us with this research. It is greatly appreciated.

SECTION ONE – SOME BACKGROUND DETAILS

What is your age? _____ What is your date of birth? _____

Which town or area of the city are you from? _____ Postcode _____

Are you currently sentenced or on remand? Sentenced [] Remand []

What is your conviction/charge? _____

If you have been sentenced, how long is it for? _____

How old were you when you served your first custodial sentence? _____

What is your marital status? Single/married/living with partner

Have you any children? Yes/No

If yes, how many? _____

Who do you live with? Own home/parents/digs/hostel/other

Were you employed before this sentence? Full employment/casual employment/unemployed

If you were employed, what was your most recent job? _____

Is your father employed? Yes/No/Don't know What is was his job? _____

Is your mother employed? Yes/No/Don't know What is was her job? _____

SECTION TWO – YOUR USE OF ALCOHOL

Do you drink? Yes/No

If 'no' go to Section 3

Why do you drink?

If you do drink, what did you have to drink in the last week prior to committal (type of drink and amount)?

I can't remember []

Monday Tuesday Wednesday Thursday Friday Saturday Sunday

Types _____

Amount _____

What is your favourite drink (including brand name)? _____ Why? _____

What do you usually drink (including brand name)? _____ Why? _____

Where do you drink (please tick all that apply)? At home/public house/hotel/ club/outdoors/other

Where do you mostly drink? At home/public house/hotel/ club/outdoors/other

At what times do you drink (please tick all that apply)? Morning/afternoons/evenings/post-midnight/all

How often do you get drunk? Daily/weekly/fortnightly/monthly/less often/never

Who do you drink with (please tick all that apply)? Friends/wife/relatives/girlfriend/no-one/others

Do you typically drink more or less than your company? More/less/about the same

Have you had any previous convictions for being drunk? Yes/No

Do you think alcohol has contributed to any of your previous offences? Yes/No/Don't know

Did you drink alcohol just before your most recent offence ? Yes/No

How much did you drink? _____

What were you drinking? _____

Where were you drinking (e.g. pub in Saltcoats) _____

Were you drinking at the time of the offence: Yes/No

Were you drunk? Yes/No

Do you clearly remember the period immediately prior to the offence? Yes/No

Do you remember the offence itself? Yes/No

Did you drink after the offence? Yes/No

Would you blame the offence on the alcohol you drank? Yes/No

SECTION 3 – USE OF ALCOHOL AMONG THOSE CLOSE TO YOU

Does/did your father drink?	Yes/No/Don't know
Is yes, how often?	Daily/evenings/weekends/weekly/fortnightly/ monthly/less often/ Don't know
How would you describe your father's drinking?	Don't know Teetotal Light drinker Moderate drinker Heavy drinker Alcoholic Deceased (through alcohol)
Does your father still live at home?	Yes/No/Don't know
Does/did your mother drink?	Yes/No/Don't know
If 'yes', how often?	Daily/evenings/weekends/weekly/fortnightly monthly/less often/Don't know
How would you describe your mother's drinking?	Don't know Teetotal Light drinker Moderate drinker Heavy drinker Alcoholic Deceased (through alcohol)
Does your mother still live at home?	Yes/No/Don't know
Does your partner drink?	Yes/No/I don't have a partner
If 'yes', how often?	Daily/evenings/weekends/weekly/fortnightly/ monthly/less often
How would you describe your partner's drinking?	Teetotal Light drinker Moderate drinker Heavy drinker Alcoholic

Now we would like you to recall a recent month when you were drinking heavily in a way, which for you, was fairly typical of a heavy drinking period. Please fill in the month and the year.

Month.....

Year.....

We would like to know more about your drinking during this time and during other periods when your drinking was similar. We want to know how often you experienced certain feelings. Please reply to each statement by putting a circle round **Almost Never** or **Sometimes** or **Often** or **Nearly Always** after each question.

First we want to know about the physical symptoms that you have experienced first thing in the morning during these typical periods of heavy drinking.

PLEASE ANSWER EVERY QUESTION

1. During a heavy drinking period, I wake up feeling sweaty.
Almost Never Sometimes Often Nearly Always
2. During a heavy drinking period, my hands shake first thing in the morning.
Almost Never Sometimes Often Nearly Always
3. During a heavy drinking period, my whole body shakes violently first thing in the morning if I don't have a drink.
Almost Never Sometimes Often Nearly Always
4. During a heavy drinking period, I wake up absolutely drenched in sweat.
Almost Never Sometimes Often Nearly Always

The following statements refer to moods and states of mind you may have experienced first thing in the morning during these periods of heavy drinking.

1. When I am drinking heavily, I dread waking up in the morning.
Almost Never Sometimes Often Nearly Always
2. During a heavy drinking period, I am frightened of meeting people first thing in the morning.
Almost Never Sometimes Often Nearly Always
3. During a heavy drinking period, I feel at the edge of despair when I awake.
Almost Never Sometimes Often Nearly Always
4. During a heavy drinking period, I feel very frightened when I awake.
Almost Never Sometimes Often Nearly Always

The following statements also refer to the recent period when your drinking was heavy and to periods like it.

1. During a heavy drinking period, I like to have a morning drink.
Almost Never Sometimes Often Nearly Always
2. During a heavy drinking period, I always gulp my first few morning drinks as quickly as possible.
Almost Never Sometimes Often Nearly Always
3. During a heavy drinking period, I drink in the mornings to get rid of the shakes.
Almost Never Sometimes Often Nearly Always
4. During a heavy drinking period, I have a very strong craving for a drink when I awake.
Almost Never Sometimes Often Nearly Always

Again the following statements refer to the recent period of heavy drinking and the periods like it.

1. During a heavy drinking period, I drink more than a quarter of a bottle of spirits per day (4 doubles or 1 bottle of wine or 4 pints of beer)
Almost Never Sometimes Often Nearly Always
2. During a heavy drinking period, I drink more than half a bottle of spirits per day (or 2 bottles of wine or 8 pints of beer)
Almost Never Sometimes Often Nearly Always
3. During a heavy drinking period, I drink more than one bottle of spirits per day (or 4 bottles of wine or 15 pints of beer).
Almost Never Sometimes Often Nearly Always
4. During a heavy drinking period, I drink more than 2 bottles of spirits per day (or 8 bottles of wine or 30 pints of beer).
Almost Never Sometimes Often Nearly Always

Imagine the following situation:

You have been COMPLETELY off drink for a FEW WEEKS. You then drink VERY HEAVILY for TWO DAYS.

1. I would start to sweat
Not at all Slightly Moderately Quite a lot
2. My hands would shake
Not at all Slightly Moderately Quite a lot
3. My body would shake
Not at all Slightly Moderately Quite a lot
4. I would be craving for drink
Not at all Slightly Moderately Quite a lot

SECTION 5 – USE OF OTHER DRUGS

REMEMBER, THIS SECTION IS ONLY ABOUT YOUR USE OF DRUGS IN THE COMMUNITY, NOT ABOUT YOUR USE OF DRUGS WHILE IN CUSTODY.

Do you smoke cigarettes? Yes/No/sometimes

Have you taken any form of solvents? Yes/No What? _____
(glue, gas, cleaning fluids)

Have you ever used any of these drugs? Did you use them in the month prior to this sentence?

	Ever used	Used in month prior to sentence
Cannabis (dope/hash/grass/blow):	Yes/No	Yes/No
Heroin (H/smack/skag/kit):	Yes/No	Yes/No
Morphine (M/morph):	Yes/No	Yes/No
Dihydrocodeine (DF118s):	Yes/No	Yes/No
Buprenorphine (Temgesic/Subutex):	Yes/No	Yes/No
Methadone:	Yes/No	Yes/No
LSD (acid):	Yes/No	Yes/No
MDMA (ecstasy/E/eccies/pills):	Yes/No	Yes/No
Benzodiazepines (Valium/blues):	Yes/No	Yes/No
Temazepam (jellies, eggs)	Yes/No	Yes/No
Amphetamines (speed/whiz/sulph):	Yes/No	Yes/No
Cocaine powder (coke/charley/ching):	Yes/No	Yes/No
Crack cocaine:	Yes/No	Yes/No
Magic Mushrooms:	Yes/No	Yes/No
Ketamine (K, Special K)	Yes/No	Yes/No
Antidepressants (Prozac/amitriptyline): (not on prescription)	Yes/No	Yes/No

Have you used any other illegal drugs? Which ones? _____

Are you currently being prescribed any drugs? Yes/No

If you are currently on prescription, which drugs are you being prescribed? _____

Have you ever injected drugs? Yes/No

Which drugs? _____

Did you inject in the month prior to this sentence Yes/No

Which drugs? _____

How do you usually obtain money to pay for your drugs?

Do you think your drug use is the cause of this sentence? Yes/No

Had you taken drugs prior to the offence? Yes/No

Which drugs had you taken? _____

Do you clearly remember the period immediately prior to the offence? Yes/No

Do you remember the offence itself? Yes/No

Did you take any drugs after the offence? Yes/No

Would you blame the offence on the drugs you had taken? Yes/No

Which drugs would you blame? _____

Do you ever mix drugs with alcohol? Yes/No

Now please think of the main drug you use, and fill in the following scale.

For the following questions, 0=NEVER/ALMOST NEVER, 1=SOMETIMES, 2=OFTEN, 3=ALWAYS/NEARLY ALWAYS.

MAIN DRUG

Name: _____

Have you thought that your use of your main drug was out of control? **0 1 2 3**

Has the prospect of not using your main drug when you normally would made you anxious or worried? **0 1 2 3**

Have you worried about your use of your main drug? **0 1 2 3**

Have you wished you could stop your use of your main drug? **0 1 2 3**

For the following question, 0=NOT DIFFICULT, 1=QUITE DIFFICULT, 2=VERY DIFFICULT, 3=IMPOSSIBLE.

How difficult do you find it to stop or go without your main drug? **0 1 2 3**

SECTION 6 - CRIME GENERALLY

Have you ever been sentenced for a violent offence? Yes/No

What was the offence? _____

Have you ever carried a weapon? Yes/No

Which weapons have you carried? _____

Why were you usually carrying a weapon? _____

Have you ever used a weapon? Yes/No

Which weapons have you used? _____

Have you ever used a weapon to injure somebody? Yes/No

If 'yes', were you under the influence of alcohol and/or other drugs of any kind when you used the weapon?

Which ones? _____

Have you ever been in a gang? Yes/No

AND FINALLY, YOUR COMMENTS

Are there any other comments you want to make?

Do you think we missed anything out in this questionnaire? Are there any questions you think we shouldn't have asked, or any questions where you think we just got it wrong?

Thanks very much for taking the time to fill in this questionnaire. It's much appreciated.

Appendix 2: 2008 Interview Topic Guide

Age _____ Area (town/scheme) _____ Job (or last job) _____

Current conviction/offence(s) _____ Sentence _____ (months)

If ever drank alcohol when in community

- Reason(s) why drinks (in past, or just before sentence)
- How much / often / where (e.g. home, pub, outside) drinks?
- What brands Favourite drink – why?
Usual brand drinks (if different) - why?
Problematic brand (if different) – why this one?
- If drank before current offence (what drank, where, what happened)

If doesn't drink

- Why not (anymore)

If used drugs

- Why use (which ones, in the past, before sentence)
- What drugs Favourite drug or drug used most often (if different) – why?
Problematic drug in any way (if different) – why this one?
- If used any drug before current offence (which drug, where, what happened)

If thinks offending related to drink or drugs

- Current offence – what happened?
- Other offences – what happened?
- How gets money to pay for alcohol (and drugs) – what if price of alcohol increased?
- Differences between alcohol and drugs (which drugs) in relation to offending

If ever committed a violent offence

- If related to drink (or drugs) or not
- If used weapon (which) – what happened?
- If carried weapon (used not used) – why?
- If attributes decision to use / not use weapon to alcohol (or drugs)

If in gang (name, territory of gang etc.)

- Role in drinking behaviour (or drugs – which ones taboo)
- Role in offence (or past offending – who are their enemies)

Others drinking

- Family (who, family structure), peers, partner, others
- If problematic or treated (impact of these on participant)
- How sees in relation to own drinking (impact upon participants drinking)

What can be done to reduce problems among young people in Scotland with

- Alcohol or other drugs (reasons for desistence)
- Violence/offending (e.g. anger management)
- If has sought / would seek help for any above (under what circumstances)

Do you think alcohol (or drugs) has led you to be in Polmont today – why / why not?

Anything else?