

Children, violence and vulnerability

The second annual
Youth Endowment Fund
report into young people's
experiences of violence

November 2023



Contents

3 Acknowledgements and foreword

4 Acknowledgements

5 Foreword

7 Main findings and summary

8 Headline findings

11 Executive summary

27 Methods and detailed findings

28 Methodology

32 What we found

33 How much violence is there?

45 Who's affected by violence?

58 What are the day-to-day impacts of violence?

65 Why do children commit acts of violence, and what happens when they do?

70 How much violence is there on social media?

80 What do children and adults think about the causes of and solutions to violence?

97 Reflections from our Youth Advisory Board

98 What our Youth Advisory Board thought

111 Annexes

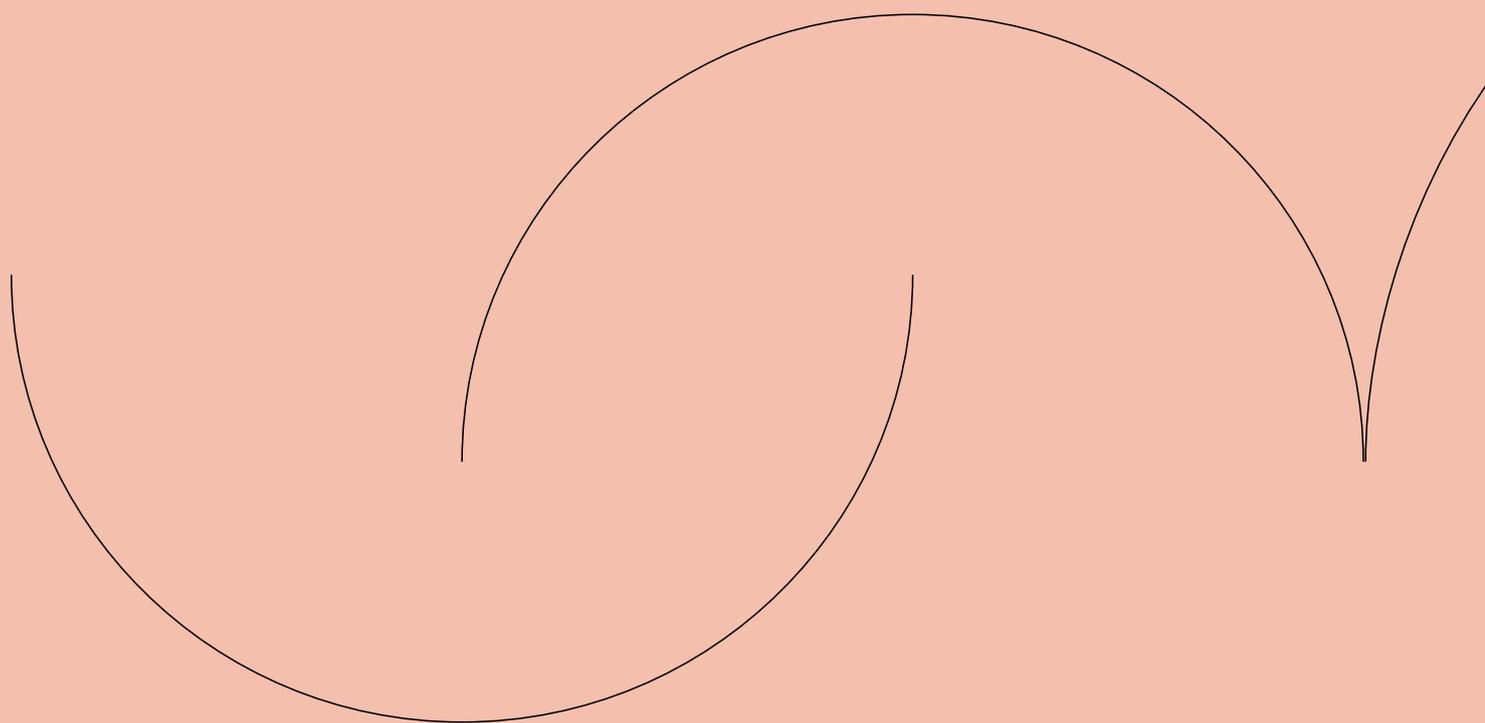
112 Annex 1

118 Annex 2

122 Annex 3

Part 1

Acknowledgements and foreword



Acknowledgements

We'd like to thank our survey partner [walr.](#) and members of our Youth Advisory Board, in particular Fatoumata Bayo Diba, Shaquille Cooper, Lily Moreton, Krishna Ramrakhani, Jibril Rose and Georgia Toman.

Lead contributors from the Youth Endowment Fund were Cassandra Popham and William Teager. Other contributors from the Youth Endowment Fund were Chad Hemady, Matthew Shaw and Elizabeth Yarrow.

All views expressed in this report are those of the Youth Endowment Fund.

© 2023 The Youth Endowment Fund Charitable Trust. All rights reserved.
This publication contains some public sector information licensed under the Open Government Licence v3.0:
www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/doc/open-government-licence/version/3

Foreword

No child should grow up fearing for their own safety or that of their friends or family.

I often get asked the question, “*What can be done to prevent violence?*” To answer this meaningfully, you have to turn to the evidence.

For our *Children, Violence and Vulnerability* report, we surveyed over 7,500 teenage children in England and Wales about their experiences of violence, making it one of the most comprehensive studies of its kind. Our findings paint a highly nuanced picture of the prevalence and severity of violence in children’s lives today.

The good news is that most children’s lives are largely free from violence. They see their homes and schools as safe spaces and credit their parents and teachers for keeping them safe from harm.

Unfortunately, not everyone can say the same. Our findings show that the odds are stacked against the most vulnerable children. Those children supported by a social worker or youth offending team, receiving free school meals, regularly missing school or using drugs are significantly more likely to be exposed to violence – as victims and perpetrators.

Our report also highlights why so many are concerned about what children view online. Footage of fights, threats and misogyny is commonplace on platforms like TikTok and Telegram. A worryingly high 60% of teenage children said they’ve seen real-world acts of violence on social media, while 26% have seen content that encouraged violence against women and girls.

Perhaps we shouldn't be surprised that over a third of teenage children would like to turn social media off for everyone.

This year, we sought to understand why children became involved in violence. Their answers were illuminating – not only because they highlighted how little support is given to children to prevent it from happening again, but also because they pointed us towards the type of support that might be beneficial. “Beefs”, baiting and bullying were the most common reasons given. In the heat of the moment, could having a trusted adult mentor to turn to make all the difference? Do we need to equip children with the skills to manage their emotions so that feelings like anger, pride and embarrassment don't lead to tit-for-tat retaliation? Would changing the society our most vulnerable children live in make more of a difference?

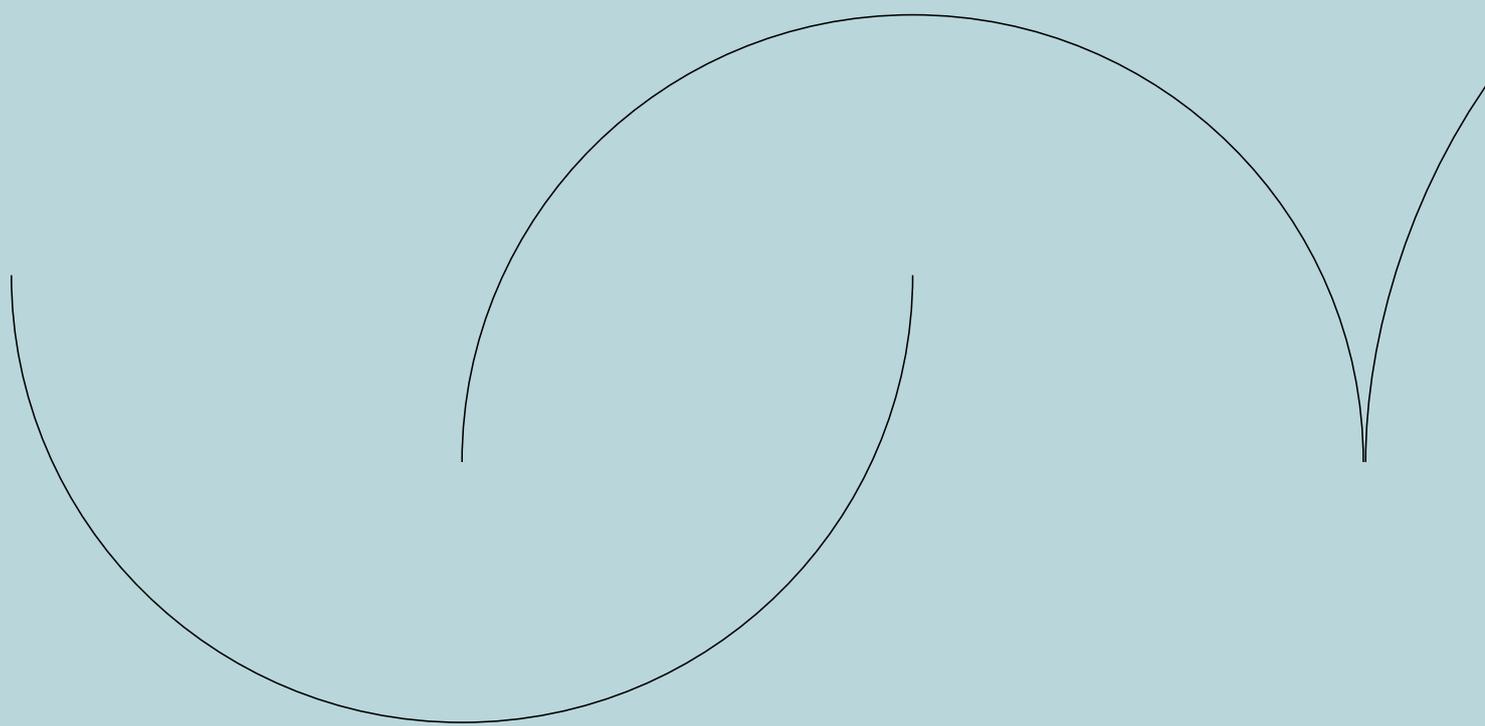
Here at the Youth Endowment Fund, it's our job to find out. This means conducting, collating and synthesising studies so that we can be confident about what we know, as well as commissioning world-leading research and evaluations to find out what we don't.

Violence isn't inevitable. By understanding children's lives, learning what works and building a movement to put this knowledge into practice, we can help all children to be happier, healthier and safer.

Jon Yates
Executive Director,
Youth Endowment Fund

Part 2

Main findings and summary



Headline findings

This year, we surveyed over 7,500 13 to 17-year-olds in England and Wales. We found that a large minority were involved in violence over the past 12 months. 1 in 6 have been victims, and a similar proportion have committed violence themselves. 1 in 4 are victims or perpetrators; and nearly 70% of victims experienced physical injury. Experiences of violence aren't evenly distributed, with some groups overrepresented. Many teenage children are changing their behaviour due to feeling unsafe, with 1 in 5 saying they'd skipped school, and most that commit violence are not getting the support they need. Violence on social media is hard to avoid, especially on TikTok. Adults and children share similar views on the drivers and solutions to violence.

What we found:

A minority of children are either victims or perpetrators of violence...

1 in 6 children were victims, and half were victims or witnesses.

16% of children were victims of violence in the past 12 months, and 47% of children had been either a victim or witness. Assault was the most common type of violence experienced (63% of victims¹).

1 in 7 children had perpetrated violence.

15% of children reported committing violence in the past 12 months. 5% said they were a member of a gang and 4% said they'd carried a weapon. 1 in 4 (24%) were either victims or perpetrators of violence.

7 out of 10 victims experienced physical injuries.

68% of children that were victims said they'd experienced violence that led to physical injuries. 50% of perpetrators of violence said they'd committed acts of violence that led to physical injuries.

...and it's not evenly distributed.

Experiences of violence were concentrated among the most vulnerable.

Children were twice as likely to be victims of violence if they were regularly missing education (32% were victims), were supported by a social worker (37%) or used drugs (36%). Children were four to five times more likely to be victims if they'd been in a gang (63%), carried weapons (65%) or had contact with the police (76%).

1 in 3 children whose family used foodbanks were also victims of violence.

Children whose parents made some of the most difficult changes in response to cost of living pressures had higher rates of victimisation. Victimisation rates were 31% among those now using foodbanks, 29% for those whose parents asked them to wear old clothes, 25% for those not allowed to go on school trips and 23% in households where parents skipped meals or reduced portion sizes.

Boys were more likely to be victims and perpetrators, but rates among girls were also high.

18% of boys and 15% of girls were victims. Girls experienced more sexual assault than boys (7% vs 5%) and boys experienced more physical assault (15% vs 10%). 17% of boys and 13% of girls were perpetrators. 54% of violence by boys led to physical injury (45% for girls). 6% of boys were in a gang and carried weapons, compared to 3% for girls.

Black children were overrepresented.

While the majority of victims (70%) and perpetrators of violence were White (72%), a higher proportion of Black children were victims (21%) and perpetrators of violence (22%), compared to White children (16% and 14%, respectively).

Half of perpetrators of violence were also victims.

48% of perpetrators of violence were also victims. This increases to 64% for children receiving free school meals, 81% for children in gangs and 87% for those who had contact with the police about a suspected offence.

Violence – and the fear of violence – leads children to change their behaviour.

Around half said violence – and the fear of violence – impacts their day-to-day lives.

47% of children reported that violence and the fear of violence impacted their day-to-day lives. 26% of children said they kept themselves more isolated, 20% had difficulty sleeping and 18% found it hard to concentrate at school.

Negative impacts of violence were more common for minority ethnic children.

Asian, Black and mixed ethnicity children were most likely to be impacted, with on average 54% reporting impacts on their day-to-day lives, compared to 45% of White children.

Only half of children felt safe at youth clubs, compared to a large majority at school.

84% of children felt very safe at home, and 69% felt safe at friends' or relatives' homes. 85% felt either very or fairly safe at school, and 20% felt unsafe in parks or on the street. 14% (1 in 7) felt unsafe at youth clubs, with only 54% saying they felt fairly or very safe there.

1 in 5 children skipped school due to feeling unsafe.

20% of children (1 in 5) said they'd skipped school due to feeling unsafe. This increased to 37% of children on free school meals, 46% of children who'd been supported by a social worker, and 67% of children supported by a youth offending team.

Children that commit violence don't get the support they need.

Most acts of violence were motivated by retaliation.

Most children that committed violence were provoked in some way (69%): 34% to retaliate, 50% because they felt baited and 23% because they were bullied.¹

Most of the time adults didn't find out...

58% of perpetrators said that no one in authority found out. 35% said they were punished (i.e. grounded) by their parents.¹

...and most perpetrators of violence received no support.

Only 16% of children who perpetrated violence were offered support or training to control their behaviour, meaning that 84% received no support. More vulnerable children (e.g. receiving free school meals) were even less likely to receive support (12%).¹

Violence online is hard to avoid.

6 in 10 had seen real-world acts of violence on social media.

60% of children saw real-world acts of violence on social media, increasing to over 85% of children most at risk of involvement with violence. 29% had seen content relating to weapons.

Half of TikTok users had seen violent content on the platform.

33% of all children had seen violent content on TikTok, 25% on Snapchat and 20% on YouTube. However, nearly half (46%) of TikTok users had seen violent content on the platform, compared to 38% of Snapchat users, 34% of Facebook users and 27% of YouTube users.

Platforms pushed content promoting violence against women and girls.

26% of children had seen content promoting violence against women and girls. 27% said it had been suggested to them by the platform they used; only 9% of children viewing such content had searched for it and 50% had seen it on someone else's profile.

Nearly half of children who experienced violence would turn off social media.

35% of children said that, given the option, they would turn off social media permanently for themselves and the people they know. This rose to 49% for children who had been victims of violence and 67% for those who'd had contact with the police.

Adults and children rate gangs as the biggest driver of violence.

4 in 10 children and half of adults rated social media a major driver of violence.

62% of children thought that drugs were a major factor and half thought gangs were – the two highest drivers. These were also ranked highest for adults. A surprisingly high proportion thought social media was a major factor – 42% of children and 52% of adults.

Children and adults thought the school exclusions increased violence.

5% more children thought being excluded would increase violence than decrease it. Adults also had a negative view of exclusions, with 16% more adults thinking they increased violence than decreased it. Half of children and adults said that mental health support, behaviour training, or anti-bullying programmes would reduce violence.

Children had mixed views on whether the police kept them safe.

Half of children agreed that the police kept them safe from violence, compared to 90% who said the same of parents and 61% teachers. Police presence in schools and more police on the streets were rated as two of the most effective strategies for reducing violence.

¹ Results are for the subgroup of children that responded to these questions. Around a third of children skipped detailed questions on the types of violence experienced or perpetrated.

Executive summary

The Youth Endowment Fund’s annual Children, Violence and Vulnerability report takes a unique look into teenage children’s experiences of violence – in person and online.

This research was conducted to help better understand how violence – in its many forms – impacts what children think, feel and do. We hope the richness of this data provides valuable insights for all those working to keep children and communities safe.

For this year’s report, we’ve trebled the sample size – surveying over 7,500 children aged 13 to 17-years-old in England and Wales – and have included results from a separate survey of 3,000 adults so that we could compare their views. All results are adjusted to ensure they’re nationally representative.

This year we’ve also delved deeper, asking new questions about why children commit violence, the spread of violence on different social media platforms and violence against women and girls online. Alongside this, we’ve interviewed members of our Youth Advisory Board (YAB) to understand how our results compare to their lived experiences.



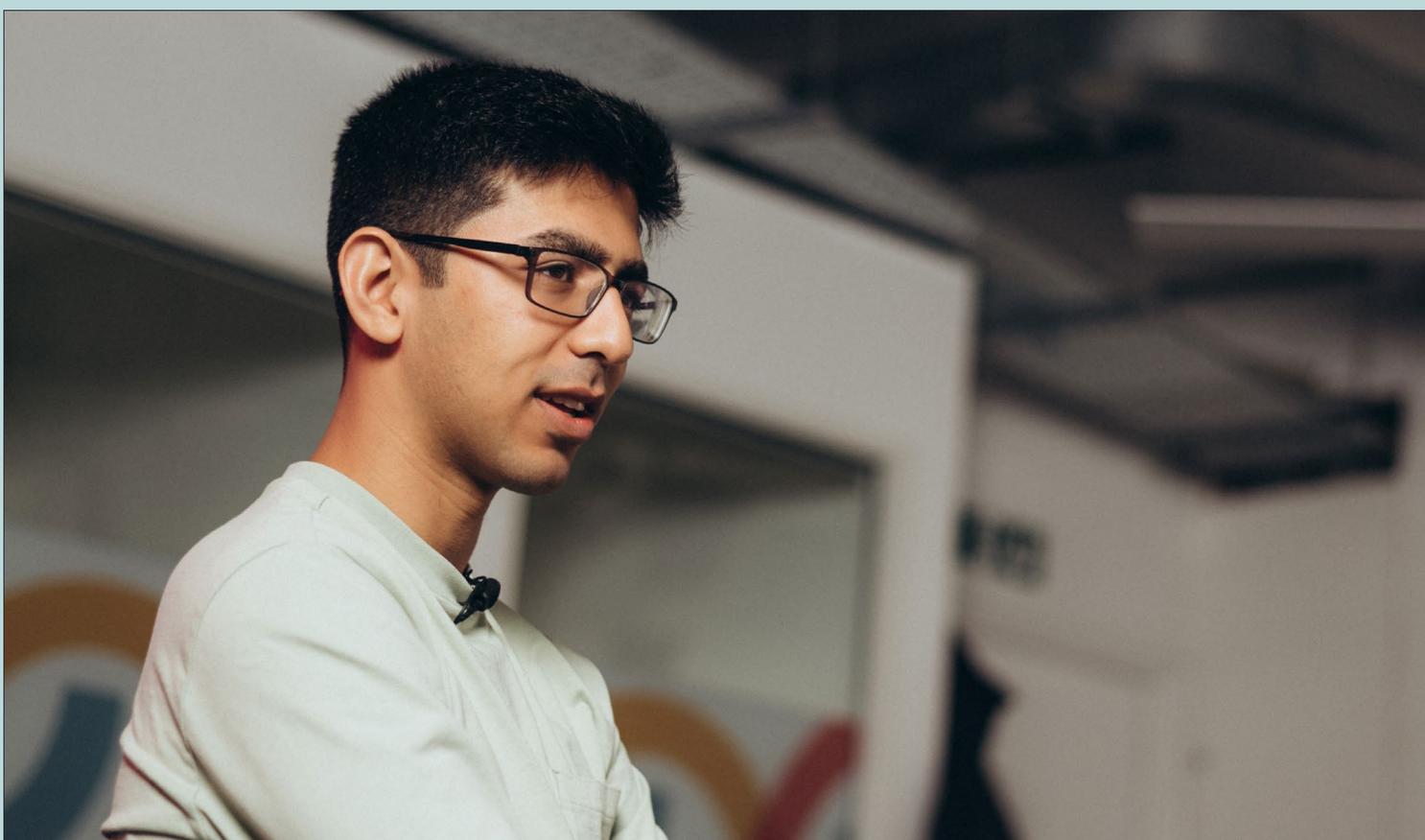
Here's what we found...

A large minority of children (1 in 4) are either victims or perpetrators of violence, and almost half have seen a violent attack.

Based on our survey of 7,574 teenage children, 16% said they had been a victim of violence in the past 12 months. Among these victims, 68% experienced some form of physical injury as a result – equivalent to 360,000 13 to 17-year-old children in England and Wales. Even more (44%) said they'd witnessed violence in the past 12 months. Nearly half (47%) said they'd either been a victim or witness to violence within the last year.

When asking children about their experiences of violence as victims or perpetrators, we used the following definition:

“By violent crime, we mean the use of force or threat of force against another person or people, for example punching someone, threatening someone with a weapon, or mugging someone. This also includes sexual assault, which is when somebody intentionally touches someone in a sexual way without their consent.”



The findings didn't come as a surprise to members of our YAB, many of whom had been affected by violence in some way. Shaquille shared:

"I think it's become very normalised. A lot of us can name people off the top of our heads that we know have been a victim of violence or perpetrated violence. I have friends myself that have been stabbed."

Jibril agreed:

"You're exposed to violence from a very young age. And you grow up in survival mode... You're ready at all times. So, I really resonate with that point a lot."

A notable proportion (15%) told us that they'd committed some form of violence themselves, with half saying it led to physical injuries for the other person. 5% said they were a member of a gang, and 4% said they'd carried a weapon.

While 1 in 4 (24%) said they'd been either a victim or perpetrator of violence, it's important to note that this means the majority said they were not directly involved in violence either as victims or perpetrators (76%).

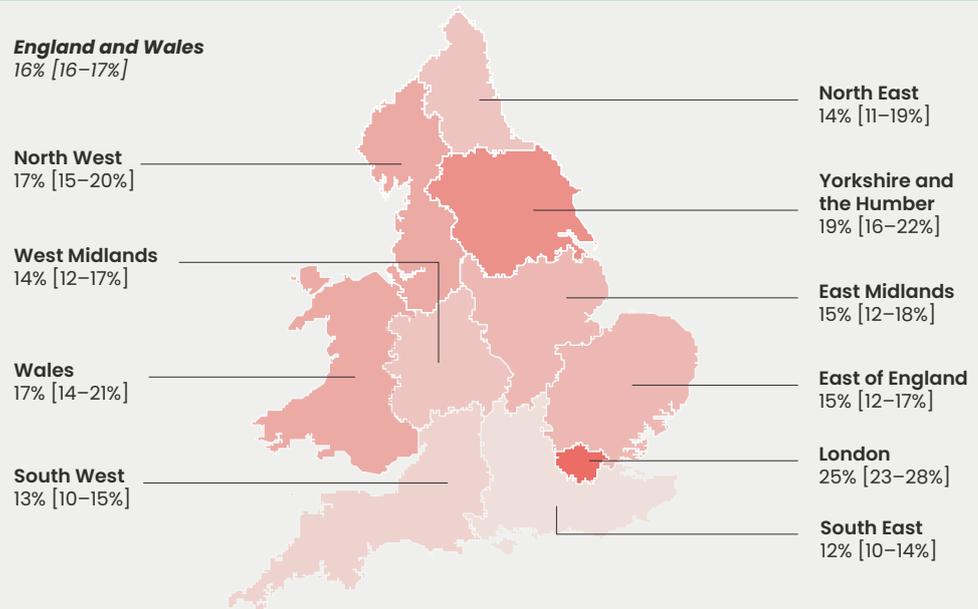


Youth violence is not evenly distributed

There's significant variation across the country, with a quarter of children in London saying they'd been a victim of violence, compared to just over one in 10 in the South East. There's a similar pattern for perpetration, as the experiences of Krishna from our YAB highlights:

"I don't really have to worry about crime [where I live], but then it's kind of a reality check whenever I have to travel to a city or I'm staying overnight in London, for example."

Violence victimisation rates of teenage children – by region



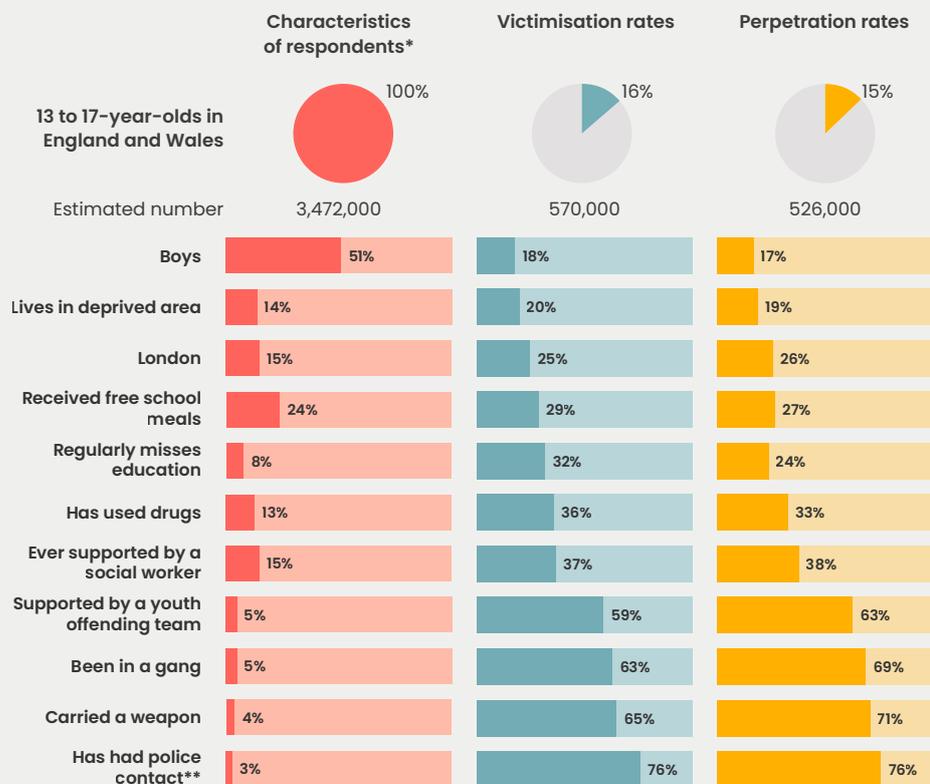
Note: Numbers in brackets represent a 95% confidence interval – this reflects the range we expect the estimates to fall within.

While boys were more likely to be both victims and perpetrators of violence, our findings also brought to light the prevalence of violence in girls' lives, too. Among the teenage girls surveyed, 15% reported being victims of violence, slightly lower than the 18% reported by boys. However, girls experienced a higher incidence of sexual assault – at 7%, compared to 5% for boys. Despite lower rates of perpetration among girls, 6% still said they'd committed some form of violence that led to physical injury, compared to 9% for boys.

Gender wasn't the only area where there were notable disparities in our findings. While the majority of violence was committed by White children (70%) and the majority of victims were White (72%), Black teenage children were, on average, more likely to be vulnerable as both victims (21%) and perpetrators (22%) compared to White children (16% and 14%, respectively).

Experiences of violence were also heavily concentrated among children more vulnerable to crime and exploitation. While just 15% of respondents had ever been supported by a social worker, 37% of those had been victims and 38% had been perpetrators of violence. Similarly, children who'd used drugs (13% of respondents) and who had regularly missed school (8% of respondents) were more than twice as likely to be victims or perpetrators compared to the average. The difference was greatest for those affiliated with gangs, who had carried a weapon or had contact with the police about an offence they were suspected of – they only represented 3–5% of the total sample, but they were four to five times more likely to be victims or perpetrators compared to the average.

Victimisation and perpetration rates of violence – by background characteristics



*Weighted to be representative of the 13 to 17-year-old population in England and Wales.

**Contact with the police where they were suspected of an offence.

It's important to emphasise the intersectional nature of violence and the backgrounds of those groups most overrepresented as victims and perpetrators. Many of the issues that put children most at risk of involvement in violence overlap. The overrepresentation of Black children in particular is likely due to the cumulative disadvantage, discrimination and multiple overlapping risks experienced.

Children in households most affected by the cost of living – such as those having to use foodbanks – are more likely to be victims of violence

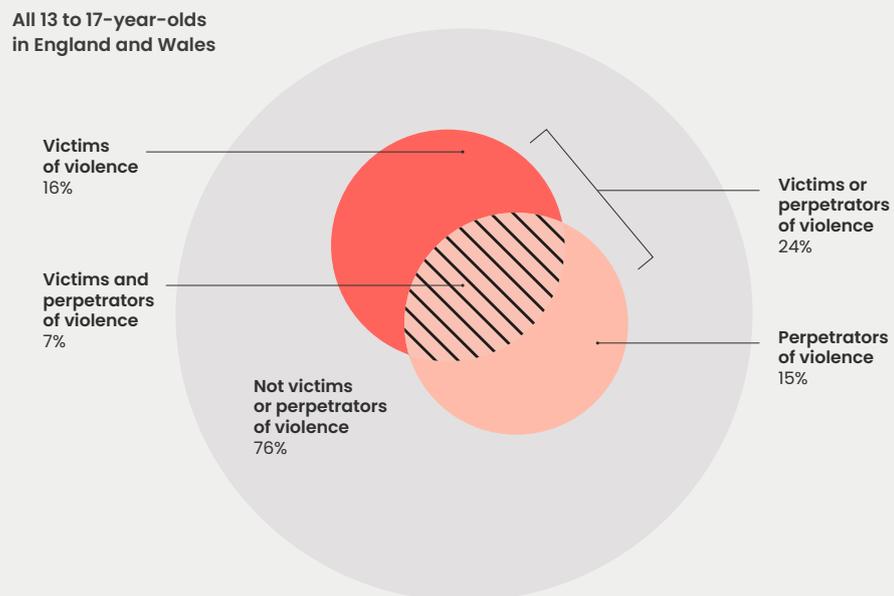
While most teenage children lived in households that had made changes in the past year to save money (95%), teenage children living in households facing some of the greatest pressures on their finances – including those now using foodbanks – were more likely to be victims of violence.

There's a substantial overlap between victims and perpetrators of violence, with nearly half of perpetrators also victims

We make the distinction between victimisation and perpetration in our findings. However, it's important to emphasise that they aren't mutually exclusive groups. In fact, we found a substantial overlap – 48% of teenage children who said they'd committed violence were also victims of violence. This proportion increased to 81% for those who said they were part of a gang, 78% for those supported by a youth offending team and 64% for those receiving free school meals. Reflecting on this, YAB member Lily commented:

"It says a lot about the support that we give – well lack of support that we give – to people at a victim level because they're just going on and perpetrating. They obviously didn't get the right support they needed, and it just goes around in a circle."

Overlap between victims and perpetrators of violence



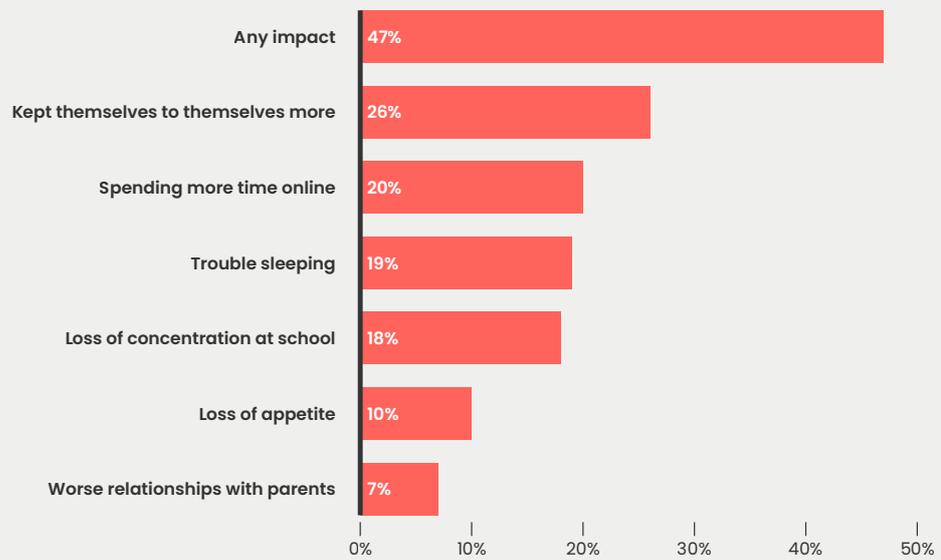
Violence – and the fear of violence – leads children to change their behaviour, with 1 in 5 saying they skipped school

For most children, school is considered a safe space – 85% said they felt either very or fairly safe at school. Yet for some children, the fear of violence, at times, keeps them away.

To better understand the link between violence and school absence, we asked children whether they had ever skipped school in the past 12 months due to feeling unsafe. One in five told us that they had, which is equivalent to 702,630 13 to 17-year-olds in England and Wales. This increased to 37% of children on free school meals, 46% of children supported by a social worker and 67% of children supported by a youth offending team.

Around half of teenage children (47%) said that violence, or the fear of violence, had affected them in some other way. Notably, 18% found it harder to concentrate at school, 19% experienced trouble sleeping and 26% expressed a tendency to isolate themselves more as a consequence of this fear. Minority ethnic children were more likely to feel these effects, with 55% of Asian, 54% of Black and 53% of mixed ethnicity children reporting impacts on their day-to-day lives, compared to 45% of White children.

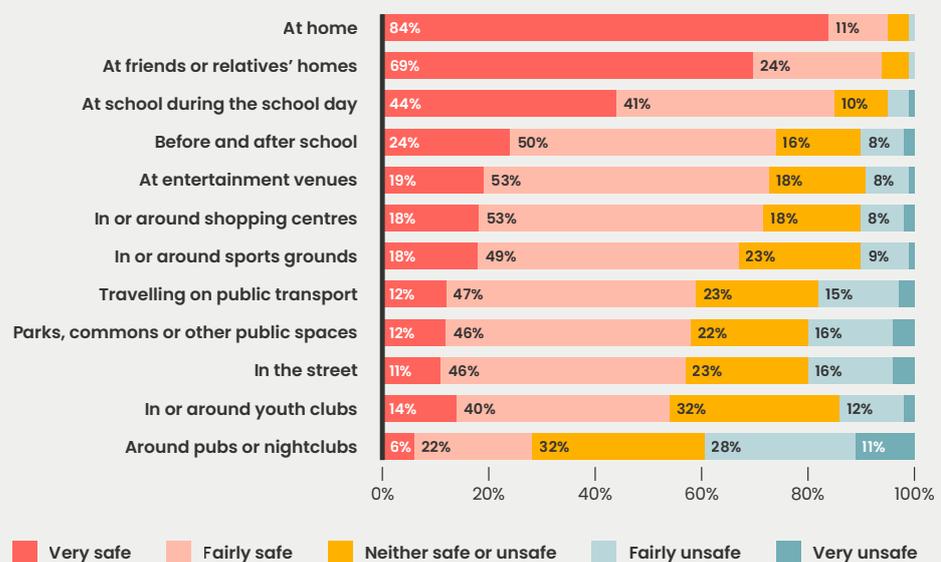
Day-to-day impacts of violence



Only 14% of teenage children said they felt very safe in or around youth clubs

We asked children where they felt safe and unsafe, and they typically felt less safe where there was less adult supervision, such as in parks, on the street or on public transport. However, being in or around youth clubs was also rated quite low in terms of where young people felt safe.

Where teenage children feel safe



To delve deeper into the safety of youth clubs, we turned to our YAB. Reflecting on his experience growing up, Jibril shared:

“I couldn’t really go to youth clubs because anyone could go to a youth club. If the youth club is in the middle of the area where most of the crime is, then you’re going to see a lot of gang members in the youth clubs, you’re going to see elders in the youth club, and they’re going to get up to no good.”

Sharing her experience from working at a youth club, Lily said:

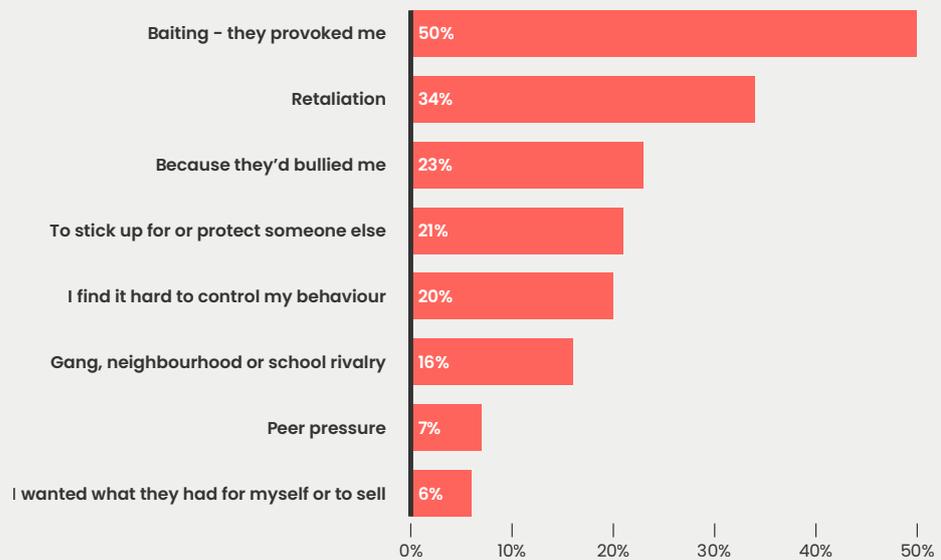
“We don’t have the funding or the resources to be able to protect the young people like we would want to. Some weeks we cannot open because it’s not safe enough for the young people and we don’t know what’s going to happen.”

Half of teenage children committing violence did it because they were provoked...

We wanted to explore why children committed acts of violence. To do this, we asked the 15% of teenage children who said they had committed some form of violence for the reasons why it had happened.

The most common explanation was that they felt provoked in some way. 50% said they’d been baited or threatened, 34% said it was in retaliation and 23% said it was because they’d been bullied. These reflect our earlier findings that nearly half of perpetrators have also been victims of violence. Less commonly cited reasons include gang, neighbourhood or school rivalries (16%), defending or protecting someone (21%) and struggling to control their behaviour (20%).

Why teenage children commit acts of violence



...and only 1 in 10 received support or training to prevent it happening again

When violence did occur, it went largely without consequences. 58% of perpetrators said nothing happened or no one in authority found out. Just over a third (35%) were punished by their parents and 18% by a teacher, with a smaller proportion being temporarily or permanently excluded from school (11%). In 9 out of 10 cases, when someone was injured, the perpetrator received no support or training to help prevent it happening again.

Violence online is hard to avoid, with six in 10 seeing real-world acts of violence such as fights and the use of weapons

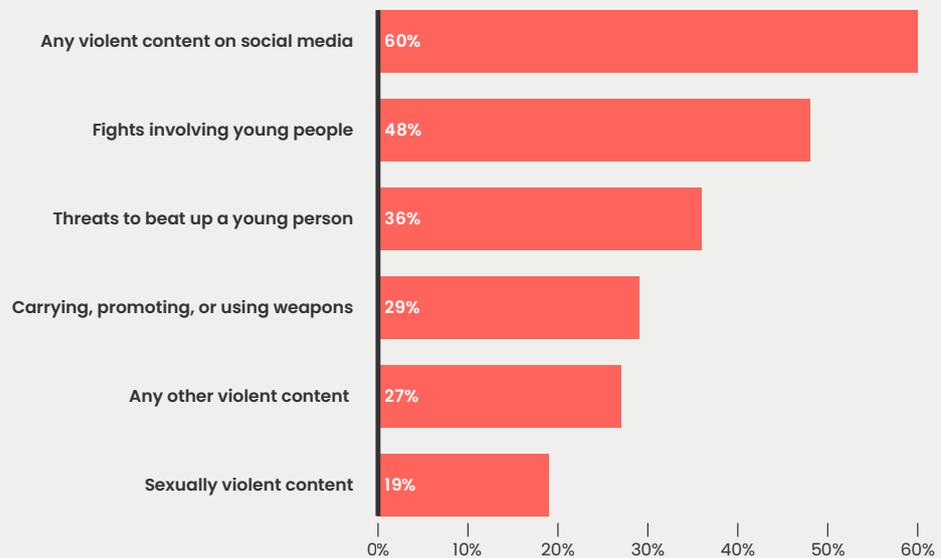
Nearly all teenage children (99%) said they used some form of social media. 60% of those surveyed said that in the past 12 months, they'd seen content on social media that showed real-world acts of violence, translating to around two million teenage children across England and Wales.

When asking children about the specific acts of real-world violence they’d seen on social media, we used the following definition:

“Have you seen content on social media in the form of messages or posts (text, audio or video) that included the following? Don’t include anything you have heard about on the news or seen in films or TV shows – we’re interested in things involving people you know, friends of friends or people in your local area.”

The most common type of content seen was footage of fights between children or young people and threats to beat up another child or group – viewed by 48% and 36% of all teenage children, respectively. Mirroring our earlier findings, those who are most vulnerable to harm and exploitation were more likely to be exposed to violence on social media and in person.

Proportion of teenage children seeing violent content on social media



TikTok was the platform where material showing real-life violence was most likely to be seen, both overall and as a proportion of its users. A third (33%) of all teenage children reported seeing violent content on TikTok, while 25% reported such experiences on Snapchat and 20% on YouTube. When examining the proportion of users of each platform exposed to this

content, almost half of TikTok users (46%) had encountered violent content on the platform, surpassing the figures for other platforms: 38% for Snapchat and Telegram users, 34% for Facebook users and 27% for YouTube users.

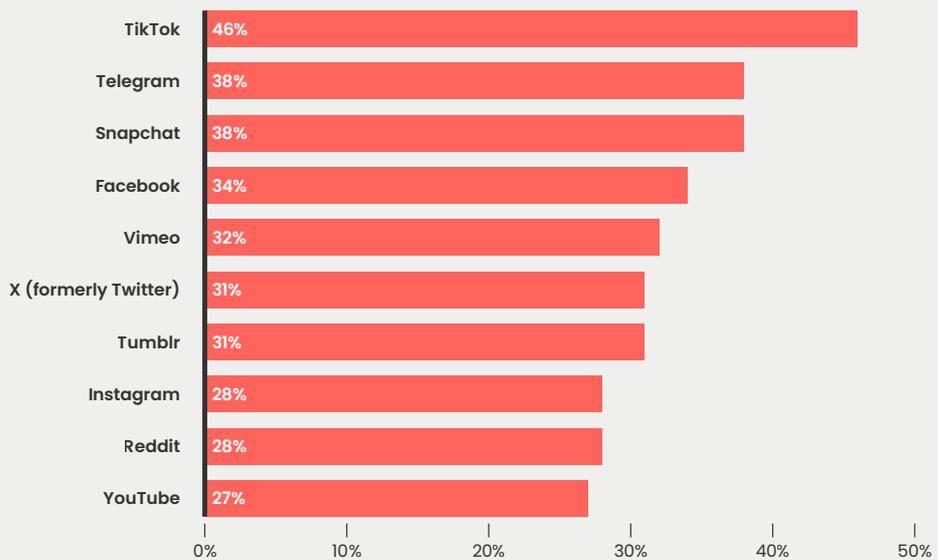
Sharing her experiences of TikTok, YAB member Fatoumata explained:

“It just takes you to watch two or three seconds of a video that might have some form of violence for the whole of your page in the next couple of days to be violence, violence and violence.”

Fellow Board member Jibril agreed.

“The crazy thing about TikTok is that you can’t hide from it. You can’t choose what you see because it comes up on your ‘For you’ page most of the time... You could be home, had a bad day and go on your phone, and the first thing you see is someone getting chased with a knife. How difficult is it to escape violence even in your own safe place like at home, in your bedroom? You can’t get away from it.”

Proportion of platform users who’d seen violent content



With increasing concerns about content that promotes gender-based violence and high-profile media reports of misogynistic “influencers”, this year we added new questions to explore the issue and examine its spread. Over a quarter (26%) of children aged 13 to 17 reported seeing content on social media that encouraged violence against women and girls. When asked how they found such content, only 9% said they’d actively searched for it. For the rest, it was viewed because it appeared on someone else’s profile (50%), was shared with them directly (33%) or was suggested to them by the platform they were using (27%). Numerous factors could lead to the promotion of this content through platforms’ algorithms – it might be because users share similar demographics and interests or because they’d viewed similar content in the past.

As YAB member Georgia explained, exposure to content that promotes violence against women and girls is often not an isolated incident for many young people:

“The amount of times I’ve seen on social media, not necessarily someone beating up a woman or beating up a girl, but like rape threats ... and in general being degrading towards women. It’s a bit like, ‘Where are you going to draw the line?!’”

When asked “if you could push a button that turned off all social media permanently for you and everyone you know, would you push it?”, 35% of children responded that they would. This figure rose to 49% for those that had been victims of violence, 65% for those who were a member of a gang and 67% for those who’d had contact with the police over an offence they were suspected of committing.

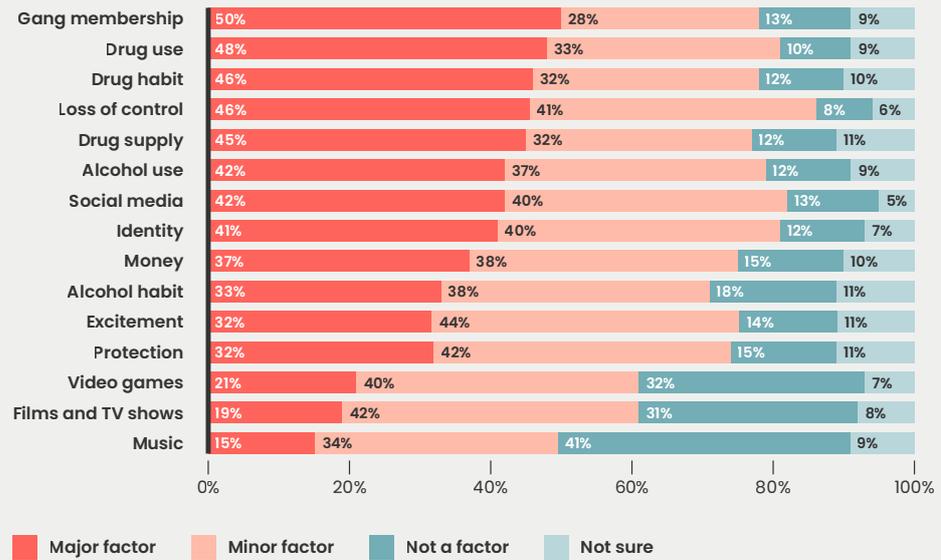
Adults and children rate gangs as the biggest driver of violence

In this year’s report, we compare what adults and teenage children think the main drivers of violence are and which solutions would help to reduce it, and we found that their views were similar.

Gangs and youth violence was one of the most frequently raised issues – gangs were the highest-ranked driver of violence for both adults and teenage children, although slightly more adults (62%) considered them a major factor compared to children (50%). Drug use was ranked as

the second most significant driver by both groups. Notably, 42% of teenage children believed that social media played a major role in fuelling violence, while adults ranked it slightly higher, with 52% attributing it as a major factor. In contrast, other forms of media, such as music, video games, films and TV, were deemed less influential factors by both adults and children.

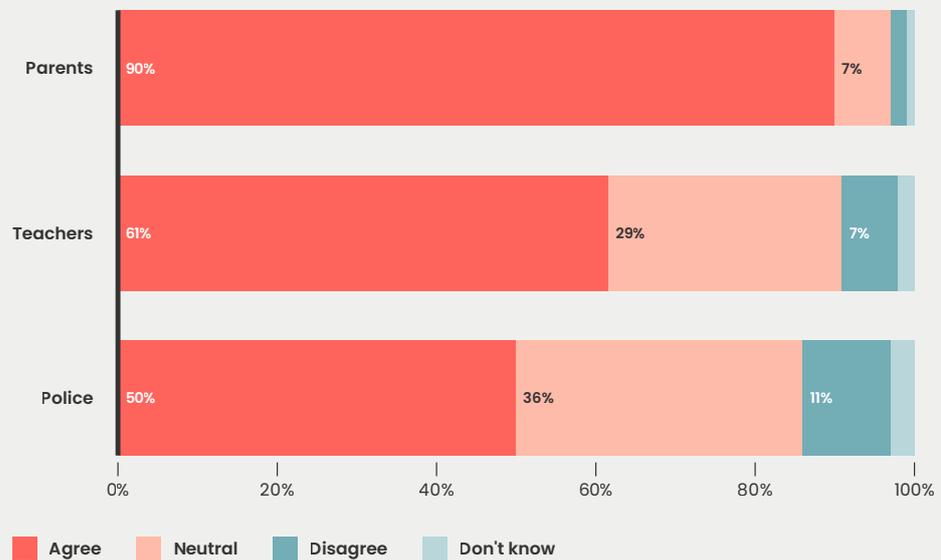
Teenage children’s views on the drivers of violence



We asked teenage children and adults whether they thought certain solutions would increase or decrease violent crime. Half of children and adults said mental health support, behaviour training or anti-bullying programmes would reduce violence. On the other hand, being excluded from school was the only intervention where more teenage children and adults thought it would actually increase violence rather than decrease it.

When it comes to teenage children’s opinions about the police, the picture is highly nuanced. While half agreed that the police kept them safe from violence, half didn’t – 11% disagreed and the rest either remained neutral or didn’t know. By comparison, 90% thought their parents kept them safe from violence, and 61% thought teachers did so. When asked about school-based solutions, police presence in schools was ranked as the third-highest solution to reducing violence. However, when put to our YAB, the appropriateness of police in schools was questioned by some.

**Proportion of teenage children that agreed with the statement
“they keep me safe from violence”**



According to Lily:

“I don't agree with it. Schools are a safe place, and to bring in someone who might not necessarily make that person feel safe, you're taking that safe place away from that young person or child.”

However, it was also noted that not all children have the same views of the police, nor are schools always considered safe spaces, as Krishna pointed out:

“You imagine school to be a safe place, but what if your school isn't a safe place and you actually want it to become a safe place?”

Young lives free from violence

The Youth Endowment Fund is here to prevent children becoming involved in violence.

All our funding is done to build a better understanding of what works to prevent children becoming involved in violence. We run trials of projects and collaborations across England and Wales so that we can learn more about the impact of specific approaches or interventions. We commission world-leading research about violence, its causes and its consequences. And we undertake evidence reviews of studies from around the world and summarise the findings in our [Toolkit](#). This online resource gives you the “best bets”, telling you how effective each approach is likely to be and how confident you can be in the evidence and provides indicative costings.

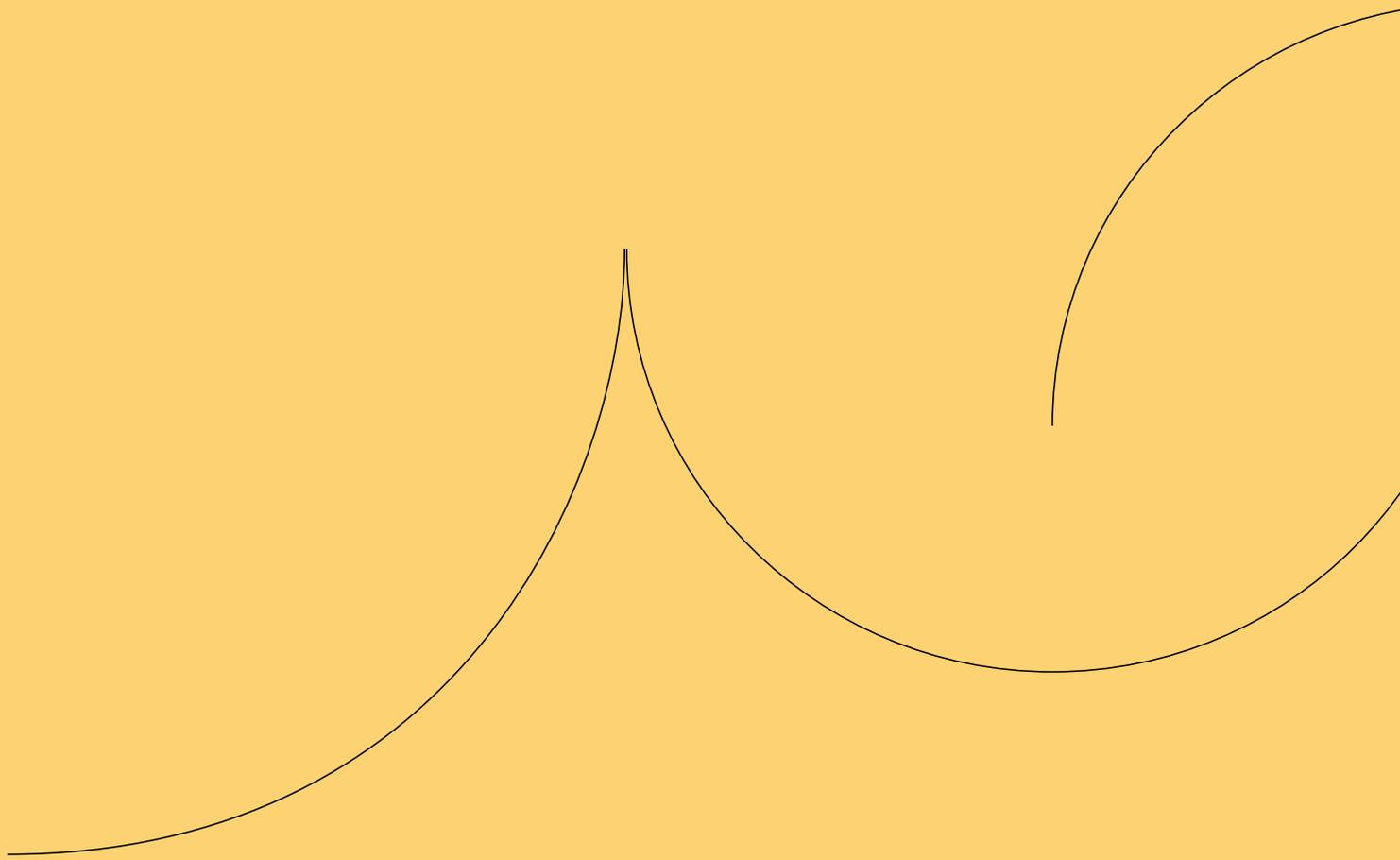
In the upcoming year, we’ll be publishing a number of other research reports and resources, touching upon many of the issues raised in this report. This includes a new evidence review on the impact of poverty on violence, new Toolkit strands – including summer jobs and school exclusions – and evaluation reports. Alongside this, we’ll continue to commission some of the most robust and innovative evaluations of violence prevention programmes ever undertaken in the UK. Already underway are evaluations on focused deterrence, police in schools, sports programmes and trauma-informed practice.

By learning what works and building a movement to put this knowledge into practice, together we can help every child to live a life free from violence.



Part 3

Methods and
detailed findings



Methodology

This is our second annual report into young people's experience of violence. This year, we set out to find out – in more depth – about the types of violence experienced; the violent content seen online and on what platforms; what happens to children that have perpetrated violence; and what children think the solutions are. The results are based on the responses of over 7,500 children aged 13 to 17 in England and Wales about their experiences over the previous 12 months. We also asked a separate group of 3,000 adults about their views.

What we wanted to find out

Last year, we conducted our first ever report into young people's experiences of violence. This included a survey of over 2,000 13 to 17-year-olds. This year, we wanted to build on what we found. In particular, we wanted to recruit a larger number of participants to provide even greater confidence in the findings and allow for analysis of the results in more detail. We also wanted to add to the questions we asked last time, including:

- Surveys of adults have found that the harm suffered by victims can vary a lot. To learn more about this variation within teenagers, we asked what the severity of violence experienced was, specifically whether violence caused physical harm.
- Last year, we found that social media is where children are most exposed to violence, so this year we wanted to find out where this happened, specifically on which social media platforms it is most viewed.
- The role of so-called "influencers" in spreading violent misogynistic content is under increasing scrutiny. This year, we wanted to find out how many teenage children had seen content that promotes violence against women and girls and how they came across it.

- In order to understand how to prevent violence, we need to understand not just who's involved, but why it happens and who gets support. To get at this, this year we also asked about what motivated the perpetrators of violence to act and whether they received any support or training to prevent it from happening again.
- Finally, this year, we also wanted to find out what solutions for reducing violence children thought would be effective.

For details on recruitment and the questions and definitions used throughout the survey, including the children's background characteristics, see [Annex 1](#).

What we did

This year, a total of 7,574 children aged 13 to 17 responded. As with last year, this was an online survey, conducted by our survey panel provider [walr](#). The survey took, on average, 15 minutes to complete and was live between 15 May and 16 June. Questions typically related to children's experiences over the previous 12 months. We made sure to recruit enough children of each age, of Asian, Black and mixed ethnicity, and from each region to look at how their experiences differed. The results were weighted to ensure they were representative of the population of 13 to 17-year-olds in England and Wales, based on age, gender, ethnicity, region, free school meal eligibility and the proportion of children who have been supported by a social worker. For more details, see [Annex 2](#).

In addition to the survey of children, we also conducted a separate survey of just over 3,000 adults. We wanted to find out how their beliefs and experiences compared with those of the children. We asked about:

- their perceptions of the levels of violence children are exposed to in the real-world and on social media;
- their own experiences of online violence; and,
- their thoughts on the drivers of and solutions to youth violence.

In total, 3,045 adults aged 18 and over in England and Wales responded. This included both those with and without children. These results were weighted to ensure they were representative of the adult population of England and Wales, based on age, gender, ethnicity and region.

How children were kept safe

All parents and guardians had to consent to their children taking part. For questions that were particularly sensitive (such as specific types of violence experienced), children were given the explicit option to skip these questions before seeing them in detail. They could also drop out at any time during the survey.

Children were asked to complete the survey on their own and where they could not be overseen. To protect their privacy, the way questions were asked meant responses would not remain visible. No one would be able to look back at previous responses once questions had been answered. At the beginning and end of the survey, children were signposted to relevant support services.

Approach to reporting results

No results are reported where the number of individual responses was less than 50 for a particular question. The smaller the number of respondents, the less confident we are in the results. For this reason, results are mainly reported for single groups or subgroups (e.g. region, ethnicity and gender). Where results are split by two or more variables (e.g. region and ethnicity) the number of respondents was typically too small to be confident in the findings.

In surveying, there is no single agreed-upon number of responses for which results should no longer be presented. We make clear where group comparisons are statistically significant or not (i.e. where we are confident that the differences between results for different groups isn't just due to random chance). In the report, we use 95% confidence intervals, which provide the likely range we expect the true value to fall within.

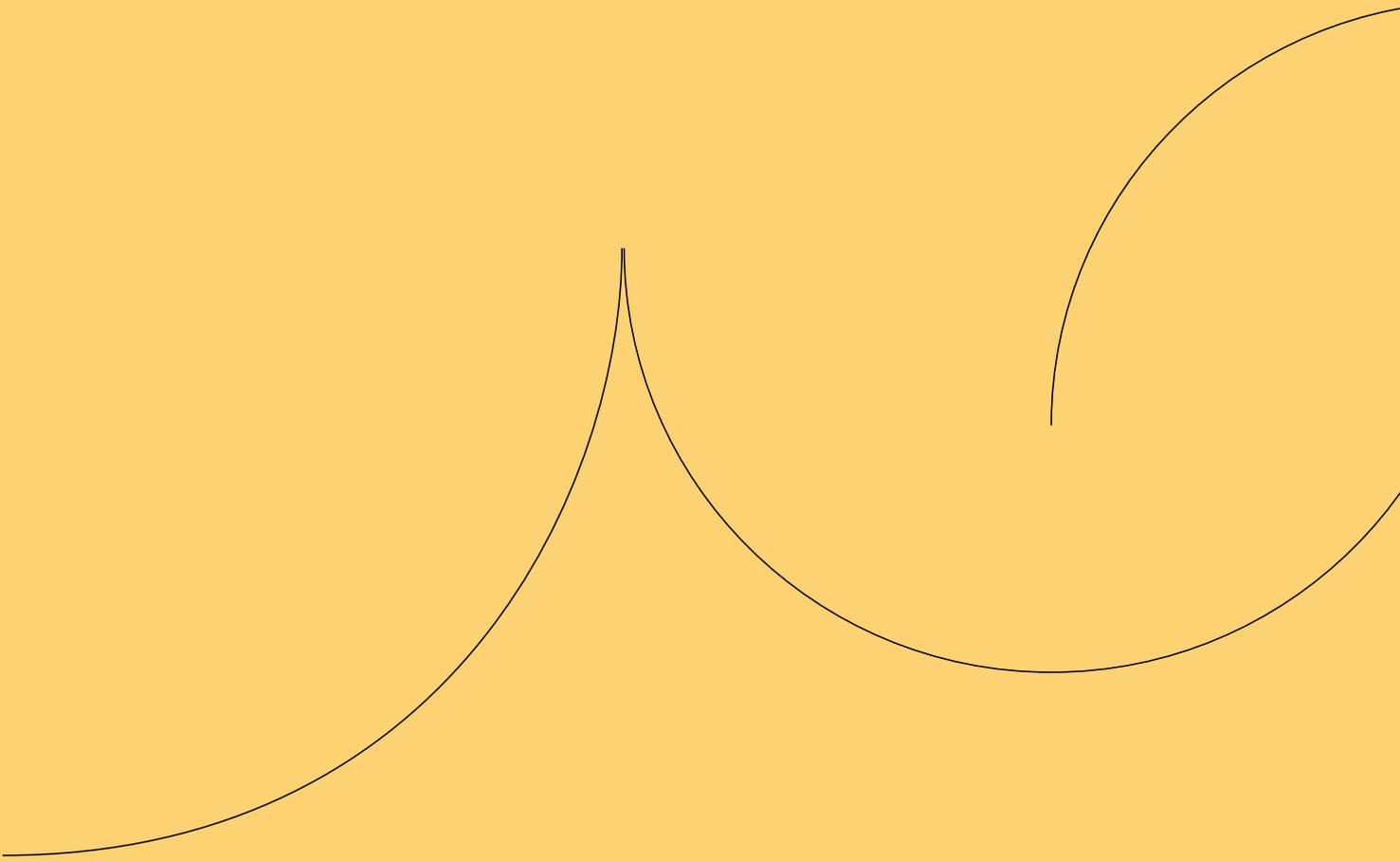
It's important to emphasise that the analysis presented is purely descriptive. We're not able to make any causal claims from the results presented.

What to bear in mind

Like all research, our survey has some limitations. We're trying to understand what children across England and Wales think and experience but are only able to reach a small proportion of them. It's important therefore to remember these limitations when interpreting the results:

- Weights are applied to ensure that the results are broadly representative of the national populations of England and Wales. However, the weights applied only cover a limited number of factors. Like most surveys, those who respond are self-selecting. Respondents had the option not to take part. The self-selecting nature of the respondents may therefore have biased the results.
- The sample size is significantly larger than last year's survey. However, when we look at the results for some smaller subgroups (e.g. region, ethnicity and age), these individual groups can be small. This makes it hard to make generalisable.
- The subject matter (children's experiences of violence) is sensitive. While we ensured the framing of the questions was suitable for children, it's possible that some may have been unwilling to respond openly and honestly, particularly about things they may have done.
- The questions and definitions within the survey are unique to this survey. It's not possible therefore to make direct comparisons with the results from other surveys, such as the Crime Survey of England and Wales.
- Caution should be taken when making comparisons between this year's survey and last year's. We've kept many of the questions the same in order to make comparisons. However, we cannot rule out that other changes made to the number of questions asked or who responded might affect the comparability of results between years.
- It's important to remember that all the responses are self-reported. We're therefore taking at face value what we've been told by respondents about their backgrounds, experiences and behaviours.

What we found



How much violence is there?

In this section, we look at the amount of violence experienced by teenage children in the past 12 months as victims, witnesses or perpetrators. Consistent with our findings last year, a minority of children were affected either as victims or perpetrators of violence. 16% of the 13 to 17-year-olds had been victims of violence and 15% had committed violence themselves. This is equivalent to around 570,000 victims and 526,000 perpetrators of violence across England and Wales. 1 in 4 (24%) were either victims or perpetrators of violence. Our new questions also shed light on the proportion of violence that led to physical injury, affecting around 7 in 10 victims.

How many teenage children experienced violence

Last year, we found that 14% of teenage children in England and Wales had been victims of violence in the previous 12 months, and 35% had been witnesses. This year, we've followed the same approach to explore how many teenage children have been victims, the types of violence experienced, who did it to them and who they told about it. This year, we also wanted to find out how many were victims of more serious violence that led to physical injury.

How we asked about the amount of violence experienced

As a reminder, by violence we mean:

“...the use of force or threat of force against another person or people, for example punching someone, threatening someone with a weapon, or mugging someone. This also includes sexual assault, which is when somebody intentionally touches someone in a sexual way without their consent.”

We also asked about experiences of specific acts of violence, including robbery (taking something with force or the threat of force), physical assault, sexual assault, and weapons offences (threatening or using a weapon on someone). When we asked if violence led to physical injury, we defined it as it follows:

“Were you [they] bruised, scratched, cut, physically hurt or injured in any way?”

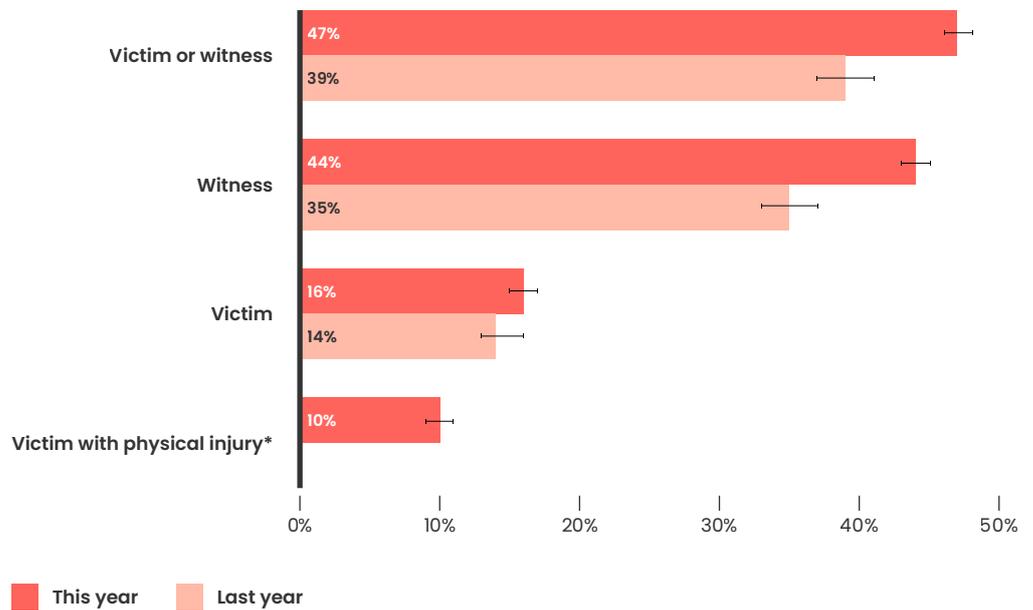
16% of all 13 to 17-year-olds reported being a victim of violence and 44% had been a witness of violence in the past 12 months. Almost half (47%) reported being either a victim or witness. The majority (68%) of victims (excluding victims of sexual assault)² said it had led to physical injury, or 10% of all teenage children. Extrapolating this to the population of England and Wales suggests that there were 1.6 million victims or witnesses, 570,000 victims and 358,000 victims experiencing physical injury in the last year.³

² Children who said they'd been a victim of sexual assault were not asked if it led to physical injury and so are not included in this subsample of victims.

³ Estimates were derived by applying the proportions of victims and witnesses to the total number of 13 to 17-year-olds in England and Wales taken from ONS 2021 mid-year-population estimates ([here](#)).

1 in 6
teenage children
had been victims
of violence

Figure 1.1: Proportion of 13 to 17-year-olds who were victims or witnesses of violence in the past 12 months



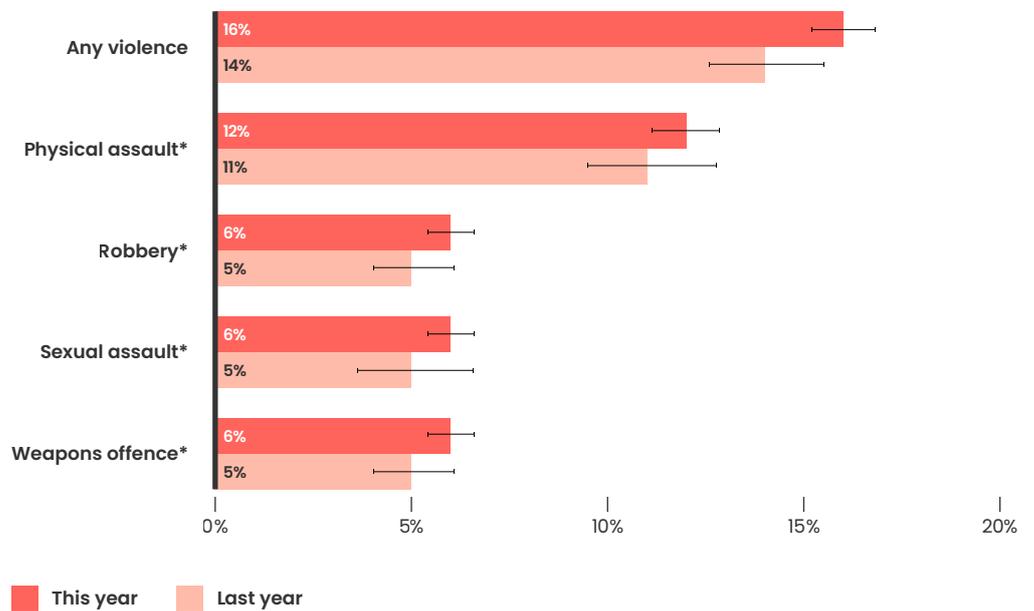
*Question added this year.
 Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals – this reflects the range we expect the estimates to fall within.

Physical assault was the most common type of violence experienced – 12% of 13 to 17-year-olds who answered questions on the type of violence they experienced⁴ said they’d been a victim of physical assault. 6% had been a victim of robbery, 6% sexual assault and 6% weapons offences.

The rates of victimisation we found this year were similar to last year (16% vs 14%) and not statistically significantly different. The pattern by type of violence experienced was also the same. The proportion that said they’d witnessed violence increased from 35% last year to 44% this year. It’s not clear why this increased while the proportion that were victimised remained the same. In part, it may be due to changes in the composition of the sample of responders. While we’ve controlled for changes in the rates of economic disadvantage, the composition of who responded may have changed in other unobserved ways.

⁴ 32% skipped the detailed questions about the types of violence they may have experienced.

Figure 1.2: Proportion of 13 to 17-year-olds who were victims of violence in the past 12 months – by types of violence



**These are based on the proportion of children that responded to detailed questions about the violence they'd experienced. Around a third skipped these questions.
Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.*

How this compares to findings from other surveys

As part of the annual Crime Survey of England and Wales (CSEW), the Office for National Statistics (ONS) surveys 10 to 15-year-olds on their experiences of crime and violence. Their [latest survey](#) for the year 2022/23 of around 1,300 10 to 15-year-olds found that 5.1% had been victims of violence based on the ONS's preferred measure (which focuses on crime perpetrated by non-family members or that led to physical injury – for more detail see [the CSEW User Guide](#)).

Our estimates (16% for any violence and 10% with injury) are notably higher than the ONS's 5% estimate. A number of factors could explain this.

Our survey is of an older age group (13 to 17 compared to 10 to 15). We defined violence in a different way, including sexual violence (which is excluded from the ONS measure), violence that didn't necessarily lead to injury and violence perpetrated by family members. Our survey methods are also different – an online questionnaire rather than face-to-face interviews. These differences mean that the results from our survey and the CSEW should not be directly compared.

What adults thought

From our separate survey of 3,000 adults, we found that:

Adults overestimated how many children are victims but accurately estimated the numbers that are witnesses.

We asked adults to estimate, on a sliding scale from 0–100%, what proportion of 13–17-year-olds in England and Wales they thought have experienced violence. On average, adults estimated that 40% of 13–17-year-olds have been victims of violence, compared to the 16% of teenage children that said they'd been victims. The adult estimate of the proportion of children who've witnessed violence (44%) matched that reported by children (44%).

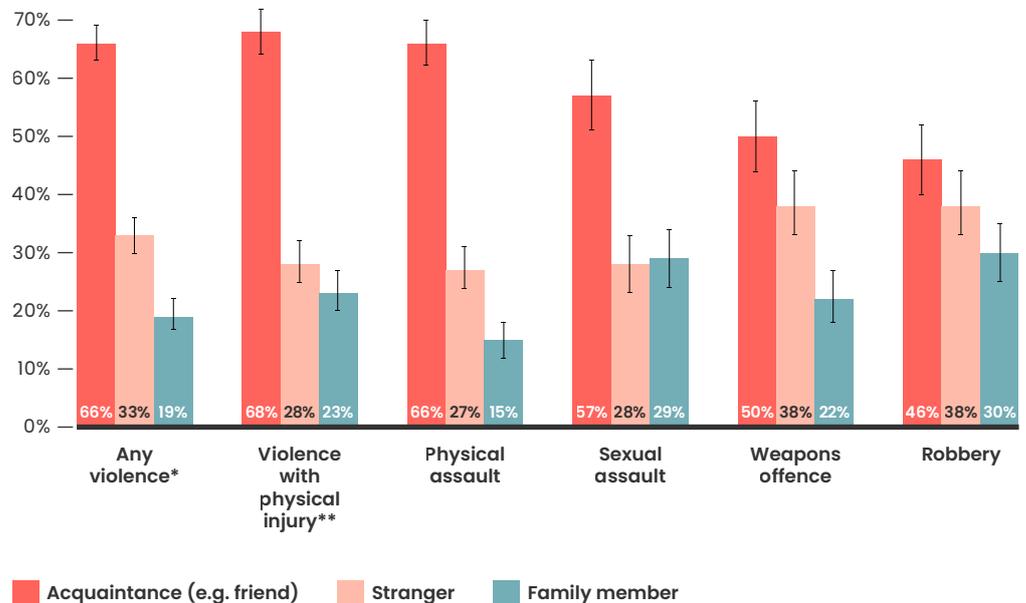
How victims knew the person that did it

We also asked children who said they'd been victims of robbery, physical assault, sexual assault and weapons offences about the person who had committed the violence against them. They could provide multiple answers if they'd been victimised by multiple people. Most victims (66%) said they knew who did it but they weren't related (e.g. a friend). A relatively high proportion (33%) had been victimised by strangers. 1 in 5 (19%) had been victimised by a family member. In total, three quarters (75%) of all victims who answered the question had been victimised by someone they knew, either an acquaintance or family member.

Victims of robbery (38%) and weapons offences (38%) were more likely to have been victimised by a stranger than victims of physical assault (27%). Victims of physical assault were more likely to have been victimised by an acquaintance (66%). Physical assault was the least likely to have been committed by a family member (15%). Compared to physical assault, sexual assault was more likely to have been committed by a family member. Victims of violence (robbery, physical assault or weapons offences) that led to physical injury reported a similar pattern to victims of any violence. Most (68%) had been victimised by an acquaintance, 28% by a stranger, and 23% by a family member.

Figure 1.3: How victims knew the person that committed violence against them – by type of violence

3 in 4
13 to 17-year-old
victims of
violence knew
the perpetrator



*Victims of physical assault, sexual assault, weapons, or robbery.
 **Victims of physical assault, weapons or robbery, that led to physical injury.
 Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

Who victims told

Almost all (93%) of the victims said they had told someone about the violence they experienced. Parents (59%) were the most commonly told, followed by friends (42%) and someone at school, such as a teacher (34%). A quarter (25%) of all victims (equivalent to 4% of all 13 to 17-year-olds) said they had told the police.

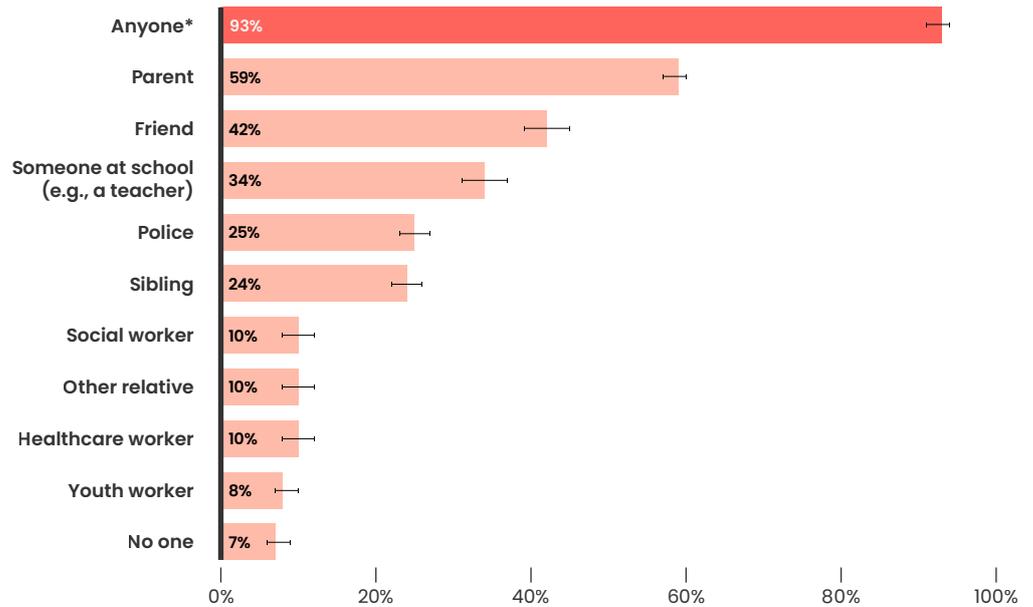
A similar proportion of respondents (93%-95%) across assault, sexual assault, robbery, and weapons offences told at least one person about

the violence they experienced. There was no difference in who victims of violence resulting in physical injury told. 29% of victims of violence with physical injury told the police but this was not significantly different to victims of any violence.

Figure 1.4: Who victims told about the violence they’d experienced in the past 12 months

1 in 4

13 to 17-year-old victims of violence said they told the police



*From the list provided.

Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

How many teenage children perpetrated violence

Last year we found that 19% of 13 to 17-year-olds had committed acts of violence in the previous 12 months in England and Wales. This year, we used the same approach and definitions for questions about victimisation. All children were asked whether they’d perpetrated any violent crime using the broad definition we used for victimisation.⁵ We then asked those who agreed to answer more specific questions about the types of violence they’d perpetrated (robbery, physical assault, sexual assault or weapons offences).⁶

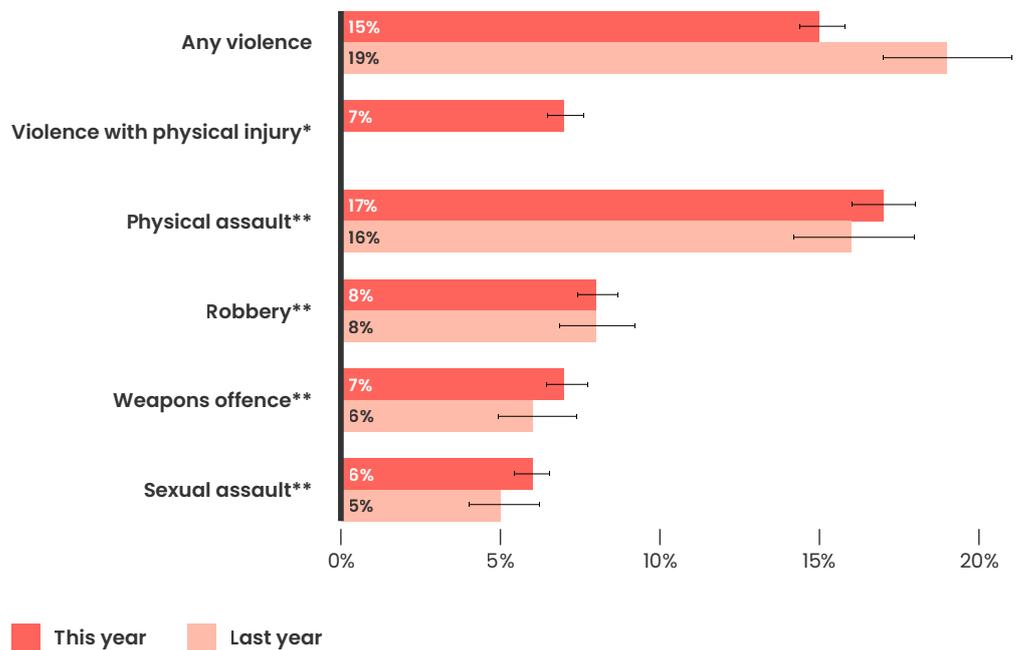
⁵ Last year, we only asked about the individual types of violence they experienced. This means that the overall rates of violence perpetrated are not fully comparable between years.

⁶ 28% skipped the detailed questions about types of violence they may have perpetrated.

This year, we found that 15% of all 13 to 17-year-olds had committed violence in the previous 12 months in England and Wales. This equates to 526,000 13 to 17-year-olds.⁷ This is lower than last year, where 19% of respondents reported committing violence, although the figures are not fully comparable due to changes in methodology. Half (50%) of those who'd committed violence (excluding sexual assault)⁸ said it had led to physical injury – corresponding to 260,000 13 to 17-year-olds.

Figure 1.5: Proportion of 13 to 17-year-olds who'd committed violence in the past 12 months – by type of violence

1 in 7
 13 to 17-year-olds
 committed an act
 of violence in the
 past 12 months



*New question this year.

**These are based on the proportion of children that responded to detailed questions about the violence they'd perpetrated. 28% skipped these questions.

Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

⁷ Estimates were derived by applying the proportion of perpetrators of violence to the total number of 13 to 17-year-olds in England and Wales taken from ONS 2021 mid-year-population estimates ([here](#)).

⁸ Perpetrators of sexual assault were not asked follow-up questions about whether it led to injury.

As with victimisation, the most common form of violence committed among those who answered more specific questions was physical assault (17%). 8% of respondents said they'd committed robbery, 7% weapons offences and 6% sexual assault. The rates by type of violence were similar to last year's survey.

How these findings compare to other surveys

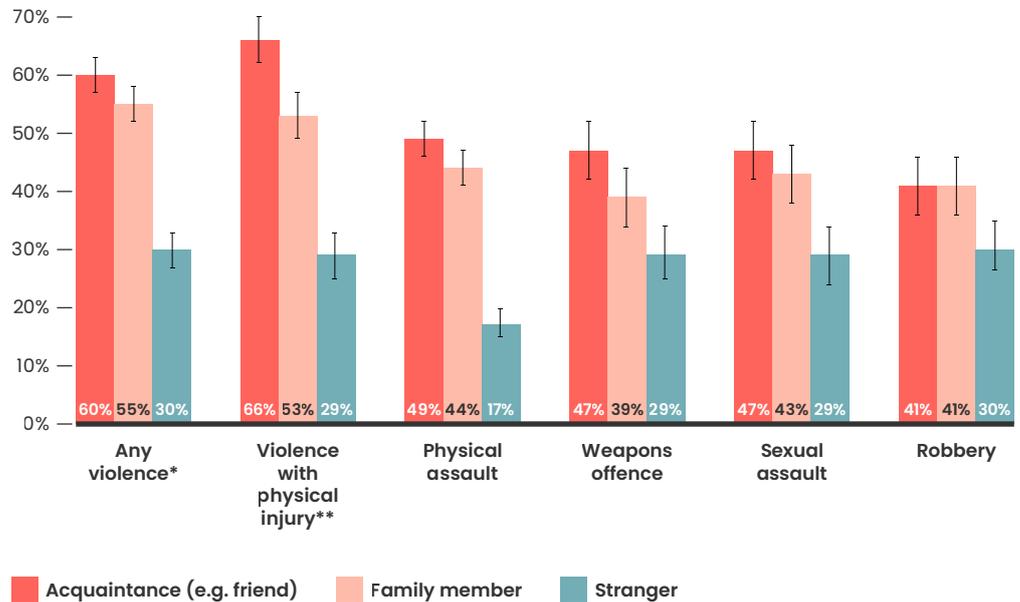
The Offending, Crime and Justice Survey (OCJS) surveyed around 5,000 10 to 25-year-olds annually between 2003 and 2006 and found that 15% of respondents had committed assault. This was defined in similar terms to the definition we used in our survey and is in line with the 17% figure we found, despite the age range of the OCJS sample being different to our own.

Recent analysis from the Millennium Cohort Study (MCS) – a longitudinal cohort study of around 19,000 children born in England and Wales between 2000 and 2001 – found that at age 17, 25% of those that hadn't carried weapons committed acts of assault in the previous year, compared to 66% of those that had carried weapons. These are notably higher than our 17% estimate, possibly because of the older age group.

1 in 5

13 to 17-year-olds that committed violence in the past 12 months did it to a stranger

Figure 1.6: How 13 to 17-year-olds who committed violence knew the victim – by type of violence



*Perpetrators of physical assault, weapons offences, sexual assault or robbery.
 **Perpetrators of physical assault, weapons or robbery, that led to physical injury.
 Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

60% of teenage children who had committed robbery, physical assault, sexual assault or weapons offences said they had done so against someone they knew but were not related to. A similar proportion (55%) had committed violence against a family member. 30% had committed violence against a stranger. Children who'd committed violence (robbery, physical assault or weapons) resulting in physical injury were more likely to have done so to an acquaintance (66%) than a family member (53%).

Looking across all four specific types of violence, children were less likely to commit violence against a stranger compared to acquaintances and family members. Perpetrators of physical assault were least likely to have done this to a stranger (17%).

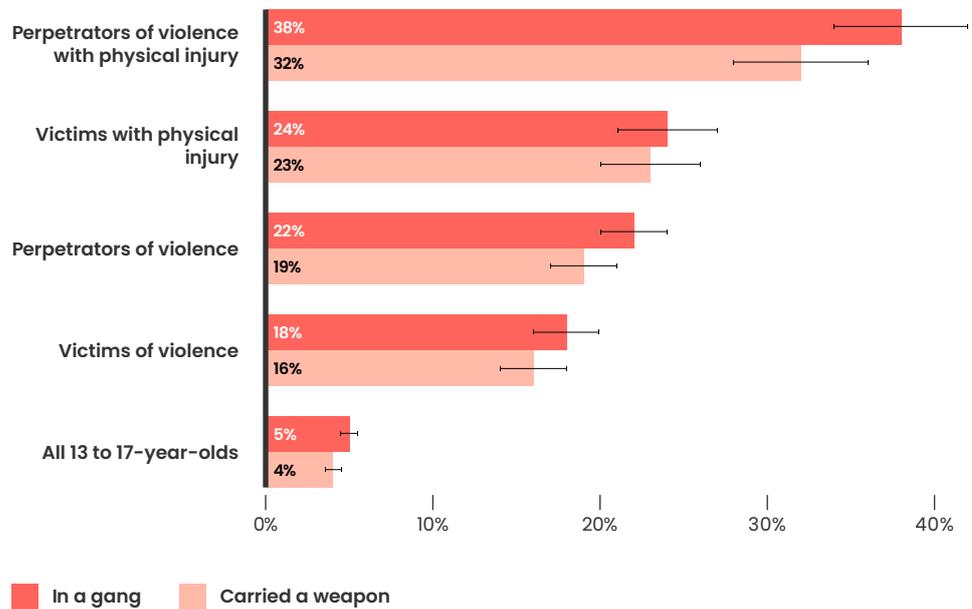
How many teenage children have been in gangs or carried weapons

We also asked all children whether they had been in a gang or carried a weapon in the past 12 months. We defined a gang in the following way:

“By a ‘gang’, we mean a group of young people who think of themselves as a gang, probably with a name, and are involved in violence or other crime.”

We found a larger proportion that reported being in a gang (5%) and carrying weapons (4%) compared to last year (2% for each one). The differences are statistically significant. While the figures have increased on last year, the overall proportions remain small.

Figure 1.7: Proportion of 13 to 17-year-olds who said they were in a gang or carried a weapon in the past 12 months – by victimisation and perpetration of violence



Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

There was a high degree of crossover between children in gangs and carrying weapons and those who had been a victim of or committed violence. Victims of any violence were almost four times more likely to be in a gang (18%) and carry weapons (16%) than the average, and victims of violence that had resulted in physical injury were even more likely (24% in a gang; 23% carried a weapon).

Teenage children who'd committed violence resulting in physical injury were almost 8 times more likely to be in a gang (38%) or carry weapons (32%) than the average. These differences are statistically significant.

How these findings compare to other surveys

Carrying a weapon

Our 4% figure is broadly in line with figures from the Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC) [Youth Violence Survey](#) of 11–16-year-olds, which found that in 2018, 3% of children in London self-reported carrying a knife. Our definition included all weapons, not just knives, which may in part explain why our estimate is higher. Our 4% figure is also broadly in line with findings from MCS, which found that at age 14, 3.7% of children said they'd carried a weapon, and at age 17, 6.4%.

Being in a gang

Our 5% estimate this year is somewhat higher than the 3% estimate from 2018 MOPAC Youth Violence Survey for self-reported gang members in London among 11–16-year-olds. MOPAC used a similar definition of gang members to the one we used. While higher, the overall percentage remains small.

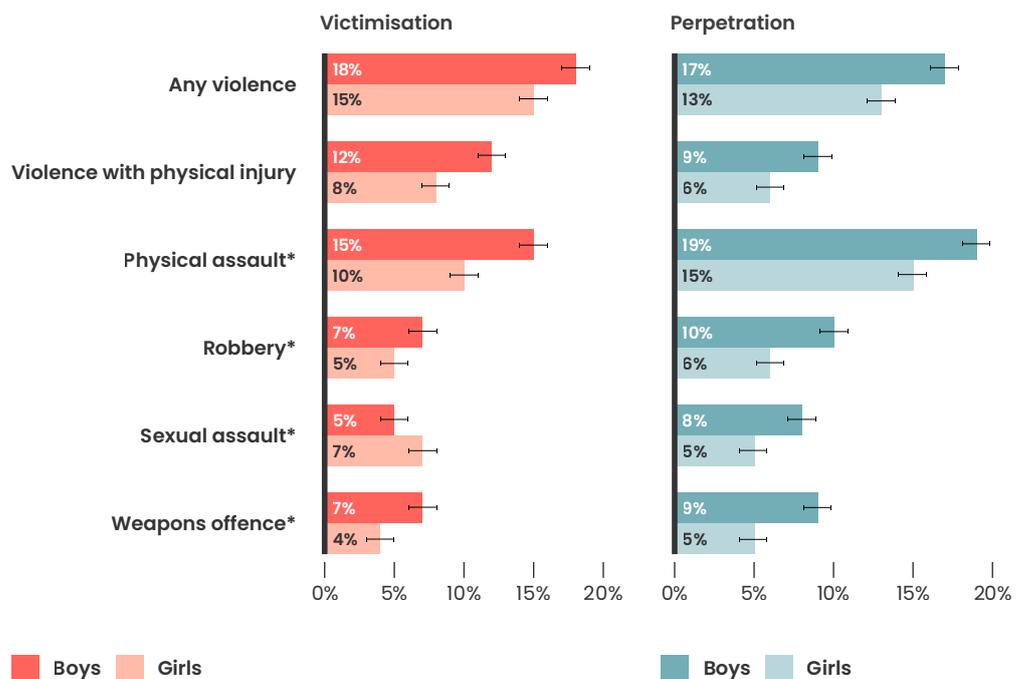
Who's affected by violence?

In this section, we look at which teenage children are impacted by violence. We show that experiences of violence are not evenly distributed. Boys were more likely to be victims and commit violence. Black children were a third more likely to be victims compared to White children. Around half of those who committed violence were also victims. And experiences of both victimisation and perpetration were concentrated among the most vulnerable. Children in families facing some of the greatest pressures to their spending in the past year, including those now using foodbanks, were more likely to be victims. Children in gangs, who carried weapons or had contact with the police were four to five times as likely to be victims or perpetrators than average.

Demographic differences

Figure 2.1: Proportion of boys and girls who were victims and perpetrators of violence in the past 12 months – by type of violence

1 in 8
girls aged 13
to 17-years-
old committed
violence in the
past 12 months

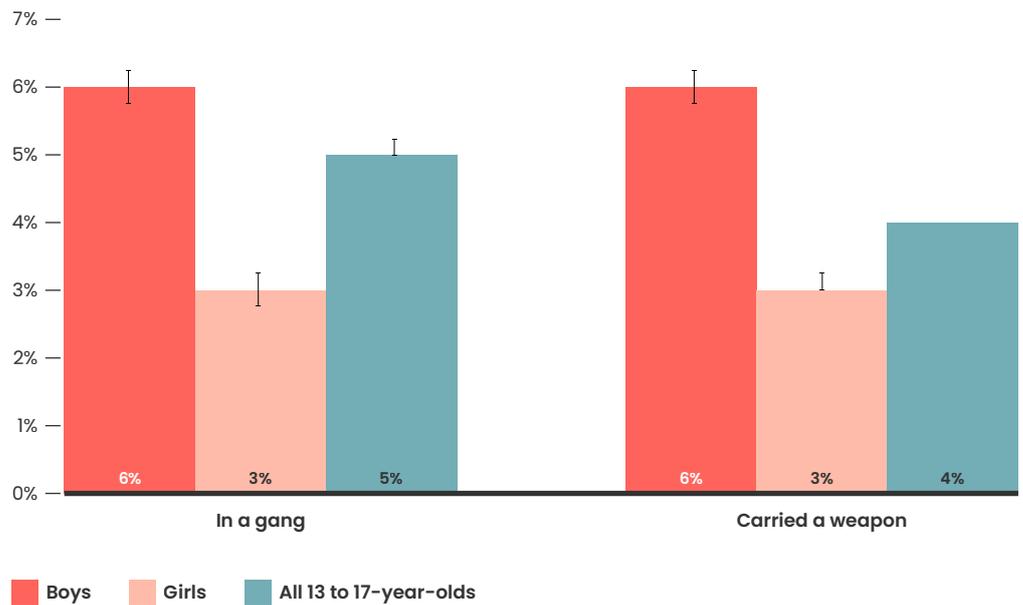


*Percentages based on the proportion of children that responded to detailed questions about the violence they'd experienced or perpetrated; Around a third skipped these questions.
Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

We know there’s a large degree of gender disparity in the youth justice system, with boys much more likely to be convicted or cautioned. In line with this, we found that boys were significantly more likely to have been victims (18%) and have committed violence (17%) than girls (15% victims and 13% perpetrators of violence). Boys were also significantly more likely to have been involved in more serious violence. 12% of boys and 8% of girls were victims of violence that led to physical injury. 9% of boys and 6% of girls committed violence that led to injury.

Looking at specific types of violence, boys were more likely than girls to have been victims of physical assault, robbery and weapons offences. We see a similar pattern for perpetration. Boys were also more likely than girls to say they had been in a gang or carried weapons in the past 12 months. 6% of boys said they had done each, compared to 3% of girls. All these differences are statistically significant.

Figure 2.2: Proportion of boys and girls who were in a gang and carried weapons in the past 12 months



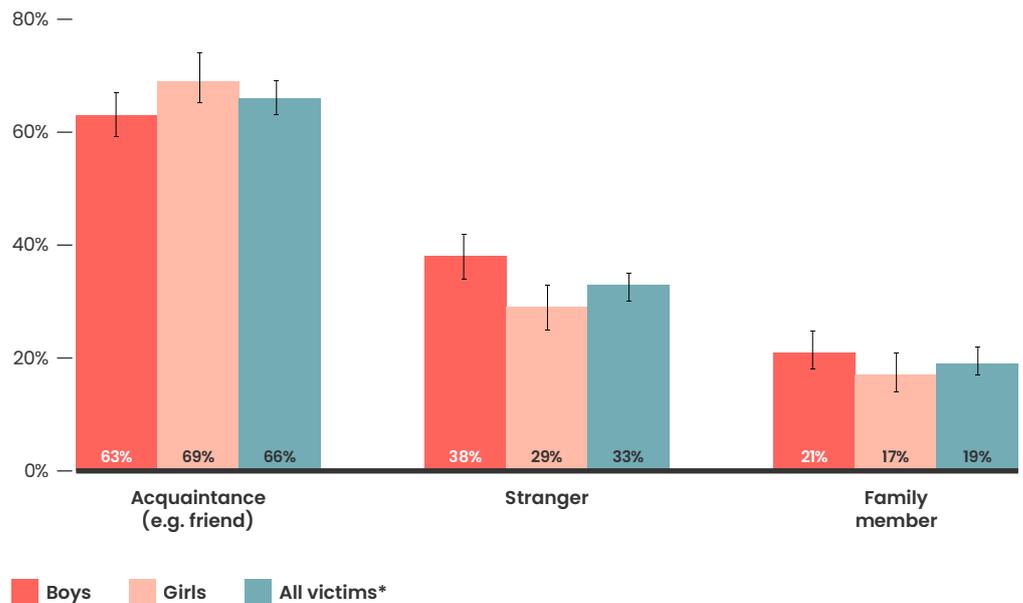
Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

Despite this, a notable proportion of girls had still been victims and perpetrators of violence. Girls were significantly more likely to have been victims of sexual assault (7% of girls compared to 5% of boys), although boys were more likely to have committed sexual assault (8% compared to 5% of girls).

When we look at who victims said did it, both girls and boys were most likely to have been victimised by an acquaintance. Boys were significantly more likely to have been victimised by a stranger (38%) compared to girls (29%). This was particularly the case for physical assault, where 33% of boys who'd been victims of assault had been victimised by a stranger, compared to 18% of girls. Boys and girls did not differ in terms of who they told about the violence they'd experienced.

Figure 2.3: How victims knew the person that committed violence against them – by gender*

2 in 5
 boys aged 13 to
 17-years-old who
 were victims of
 violence had it
 done by a stranger



*Victims of robbery, physical assault, sexual assault, and weapons offences.
 Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

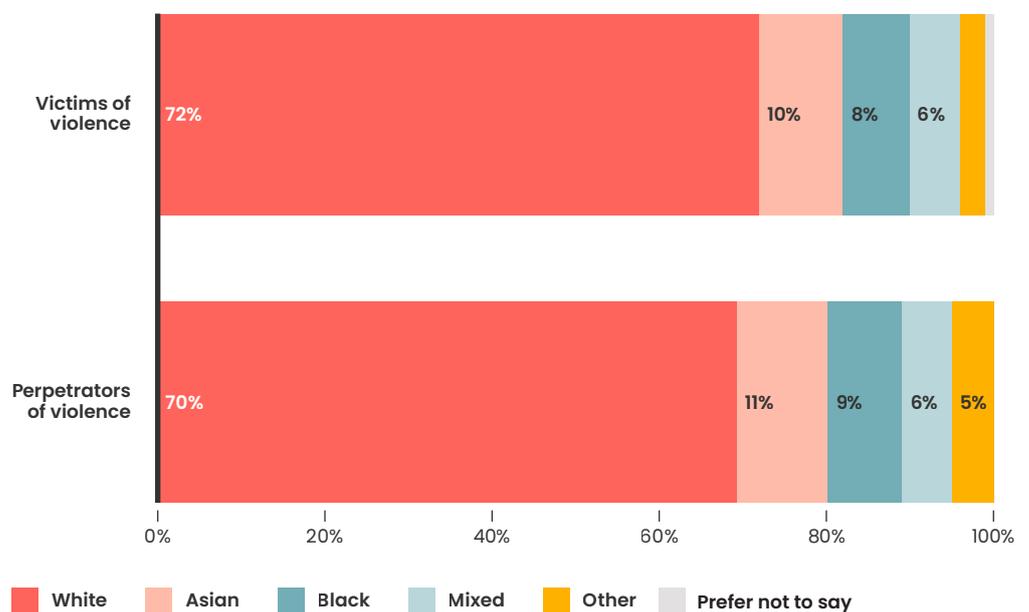
How this compares to other sources

Offending statistics show a large disparity between boys and girls. For example, in 2021/22, boys made up 86% of all children cautioned or sentenced. However, we found that boys made up 58% of all perpetrators of violence aged 13 to 17. Our measure of violence is much broader than that captured by official offending statistics.

The MCS found that at age 17, boys were around twice as likely as girls to have carried or used a weapon, broadly in-line with our finding that 6% of boys aged 13–17 said they carried a weapon, compared to 3% of girls. Other surveys of victimisation rates among children show a large gap between boys and girls. For example, the 2018/19 Crime Survey of England and Wales (CSEW) found that 7.2% of boys aged 10 to 15 were victims of violence, compared to 3.5% of girls.

Most victims and perpetrators of violence were White. 70% of the 13 to 17-year-olds victims were White, 11% Asian and 9% Black. There was a similar pattern with perpetrators of violence – 72% were White, 10% Asian and 8% Black.

Figure 2.4: Proportion of all 13 to 17-year-old victims and perpetrators of violence in the past 12 months – by ethnicity

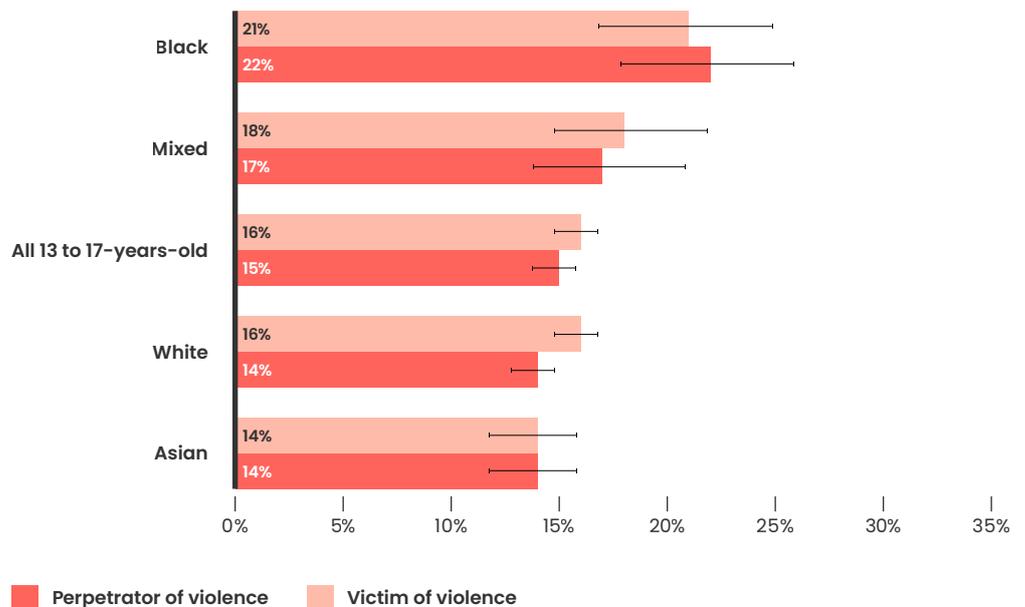


However, when we look at victimisation and perpetration rates within individual ethnicity groups, we see that Black respondents were overrepresented, both as victims and witnesses. 21% of Black 13 to 17-year-olds were victims, compared to 16% of White 13 to 17-year-olds. 22% of Black 13 to 17-year-olds had committed violence compared to 14% of White 13 to 17-year-olds.

These differences were statistically significant. Rates may also be higher for children from mixed ethnic backgrounds, but the differences were not statistically significant. Due to the small number of responses of children from mixed ethnic backgrounds, we cannot be confident of this difference.

Figure 2.5: Rates of victimisation and perpetration of violence in the past 12 months – by ethnicity

1 in 5
 Black children
 aged 13 to
 17-years-old
 had been victims
 of violence

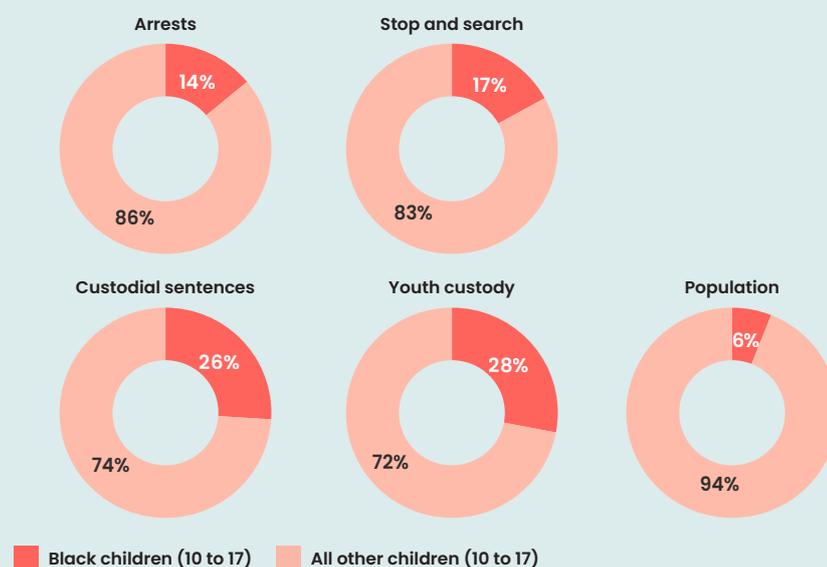


Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

How this compares to other sources

In line with our findings, publicly available data show that Black children are significantly overrepresented at all stages of the criminal justice system and as victims of violence. While Black children aged 10–17 make up just 6% of the population (based on [2021 Census figures](#)), in 2021/22, they represented [14% of arrests](#), [17% of stop and searches](#), [26% of children that received custodial sentences](#) and [28% of the average monthly youth custody population](#). We do not know to what extent the overrepresentation of Black children in these figures represents higher incidence of offending or higher rates of policing in these communities or more punitive sentencing of children from Black backgrounds. The YEF has work underway exploring the drivers of disproportionality in detail.

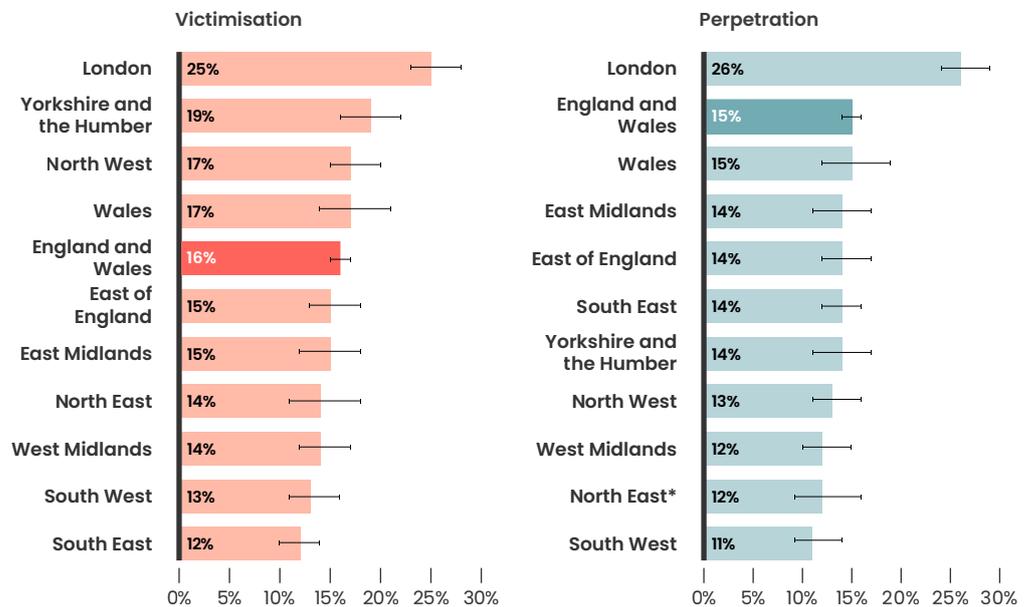
Figure 2.6. Proportion of Black 10 to 17-year-olds interacting with the criminal justice system



When it comes to victims of violence, data from the Home Office’s [Homicide Index](#) show that 28% of homicide victims aged under 25 in the past three years (2018/19–2020/21) were from Black backgrounds, while making up only 5% of young people in this age range. This increases to 39% for homicide victims who died due to knife assault.

It’s fundamental to our mission that we understand and address the disproportionalities in the experiences of children from Black, Asian and other minority ethnic backgrounds in relation to violence and criminal justice. Through our race equity commitments, we’ve set out how we’ll use the evidence we generate to challenge our partners to address racism. We also challenge our own internal decision-making to ensure what we do is conducted in a racially equitable way.

Figure 2.7: Proportion of 13 to 17-year-olds who were victims and perpetrators of violence in the past 12 months – by region of England and Wales



**This statistic should be treated with caution as there were less than 50 perpetrators of violence in the North East.*

Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

Last year we found that the proportion of 13 to 17-year-olds who had been a victim or witness of violence was highest in London (47%) and lowest in the South East and East of England (31% each). This year we found that rates of both victimisation (25%) and perpetration of violence (26%) were again highest in London. This was significantly higher than any other region.

It’s important to note that London, as the only single city, is geographically distinct. Respondents living in cities in other regions may also experience higher rates of victimisation and perpetration. Looking at the other regions, Yorkshire and the Humber had the second highest proportion of victims (19%), followed by the North West and Wales (both 17%).

The South West (13%) and South East (12%) had the lowest rates of victimisation this year and were similarly ranked last year as well.

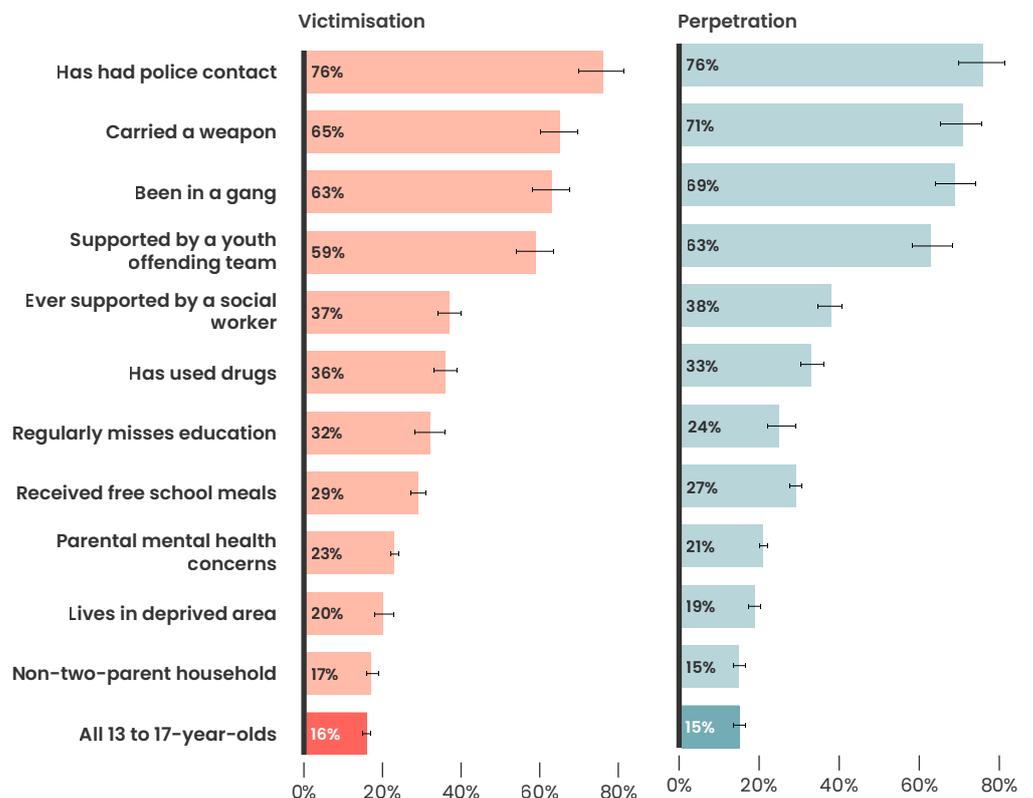
The rates of 13 to 17-year-olds reporting committing violence were similar across all regions other than London. Wales was second highest at 15%, and the South West of England was lowest at 11% although these differences are small and not statistically significant. The ranking of regions outside of London by rates of victimisation and perpetration should be treated with caution, due to the similarity in rates.

Vulnerabilities to violence

Consistent with our findings last year, teenage children from disadvantaged backgrounds, struggling in education, engaging in risky behaviour or who had had contact with the criminal justice system were more likely to be victims or perpetrators of violence. Similar conclusions are echoed in recent analysis by the [Department for Education](#) that looked at the groups most likely to offend, using linked education, care and offending data.

Figure 2.8: Proportion of 13 to 17-year-olds who were victims and perpetrators of violence in the past 12 months – by vulnerabilities to violence*

2 in 3
13 to 17-year-olds
who'd carried
weapons had
been victims
of violence



*The number of children attending Pupil Referral Units who were victims and perpetrators was less than 50, so these results have been suppressed.

Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

From the results, 13 to 17-year-olds who had regularly been absent from school (32%) or had ever been supported by a social worker (37%) were more than twice as likely to have been victims than the average. They were also significantly more likely to have been perpetrators of violence.

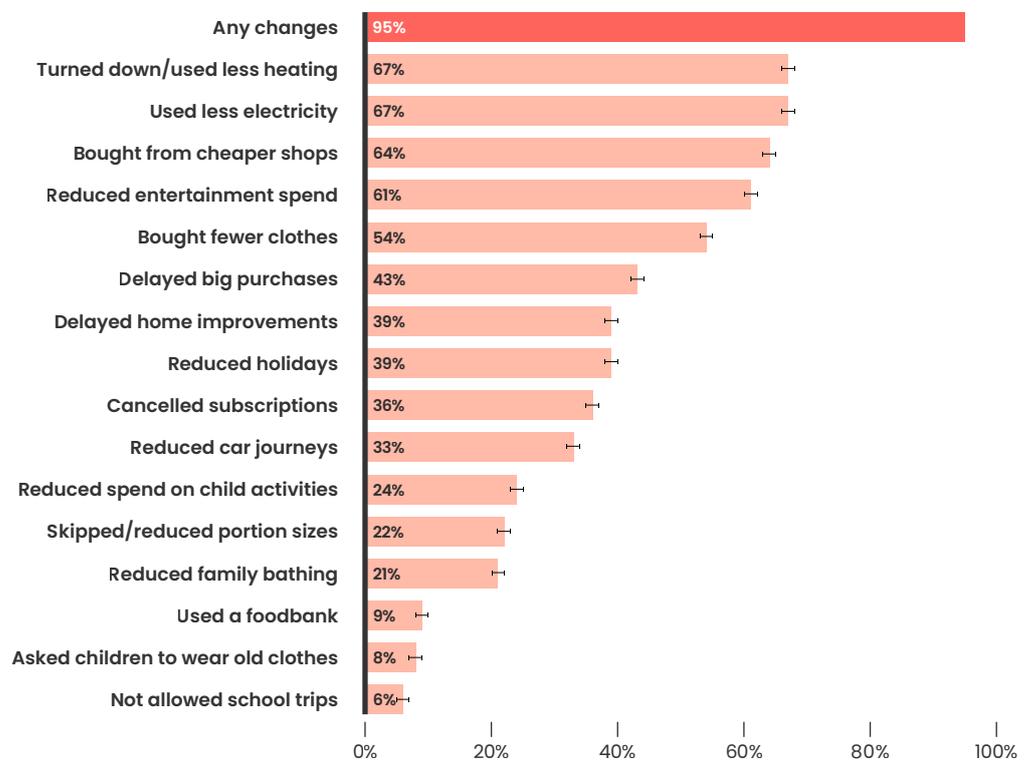
Children who said they were engaging in risky behaviour – taking drugs (36%), having been in a gang (63%) and carrying a weapon (65%) – were also significantly more likely to be victims of violence. The rates of perpetration were similar to the victimisation rates in these groups.

Finally, teenage children who had engaged with the criminal justice system in the previous year – supported by a youth offending team (59%) or had contact with the police over a crime they'd been suspected of committing (76%) – were significantly more likely to have been victims. They were also four to five times more likely to have been perpetrators of violence than the average.

These differences are all statistically significant. Those who attended a Pupil Referral Unit were also more likely to have been victims or perpetrators of violence, but the number of children in these subgroups is too small to be confident in this comparison.

Over the past year, rising costs have put increasing financial pressure on families. To explore this further, we asked the parents of the children that answered the survey what changes they'd made to cope.

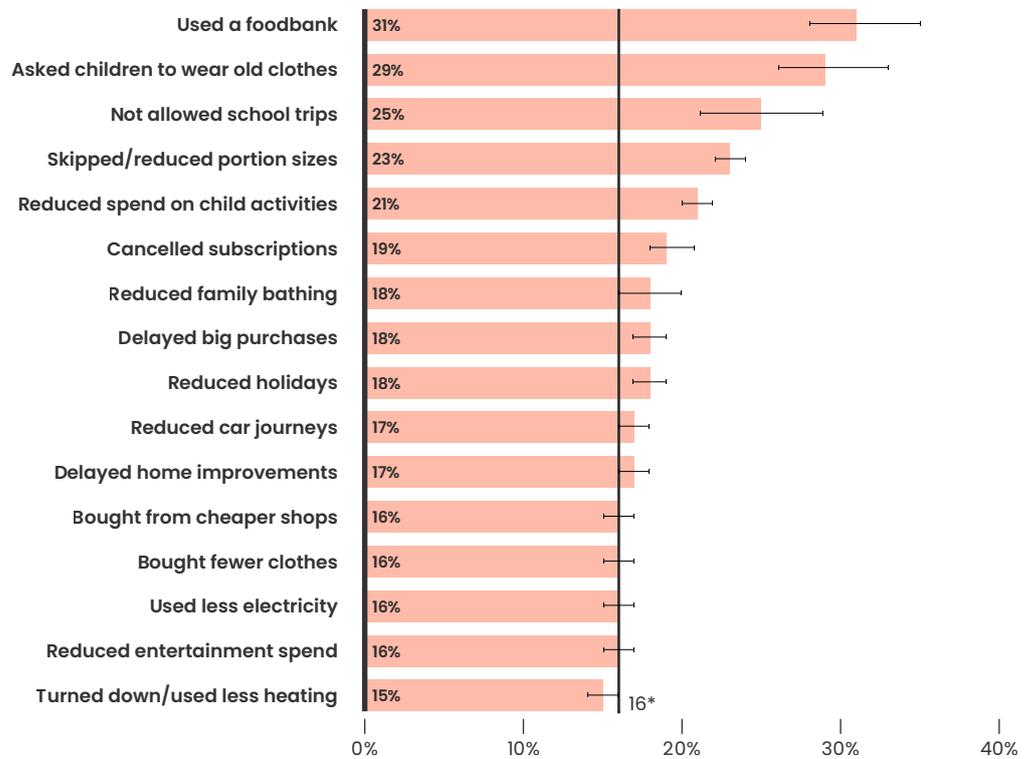
Figure 2.9: Proportion of 13 to 17-year-olds’ households that made changes in the past 12 months due to the increased cost of living



Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

Almost all (95%) children were from households where parents said they’d made at least one adjustment to their spending in response to rising costs. Most had reduced spending on everyday activities, such as using the heating less (67%) and using cheaper shops (64%). Many had reduced spending on larger, more infrequent costs, including delaying big purchases (43%) and reducing holidays (39%). A minority had made more difficult changes, such as skipping meals or reducing portion sizes (22%) and using foodbanks (9%).

Figure 2.10: Proportion of 13 to 17-year-olds who were victims of violence in the past 12 months – by type of cost of living adjustment



*Victimisation rate across all 13 to 17-year-olds.
 Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

1 in 3
 13 to 17-year-olds
 in households
 using foodbanks
 had been victims

Children in households making some of the less common – and arguably most difficult – changes, such as using foodbanks (31%), asking children to wear worn out clothes (29%), not permitting children to go on school trips (25%), skipping or reducing portion sizes (23%) and reducing spending on child activities (21%), were significantly more likely to have been victims of violence than average. These results show that families most affected by cost of living pressures are also those where children are more likely to have experienced violence.

The overlap between victims and perpetrators of violence

Consistent with our findings last year, we found a large overlap between teenage children that had been victims of violence in the past 12 months and those that had committed violence themselves. Almost half (48%) of those that committed violence were also victims and 45% of victims had also committed violence.

Figure 2.11: Overlap between victims and perpetrators of violence, among all 13 to 17-year-olds

All 13 to 17-year-olds in England and Wales

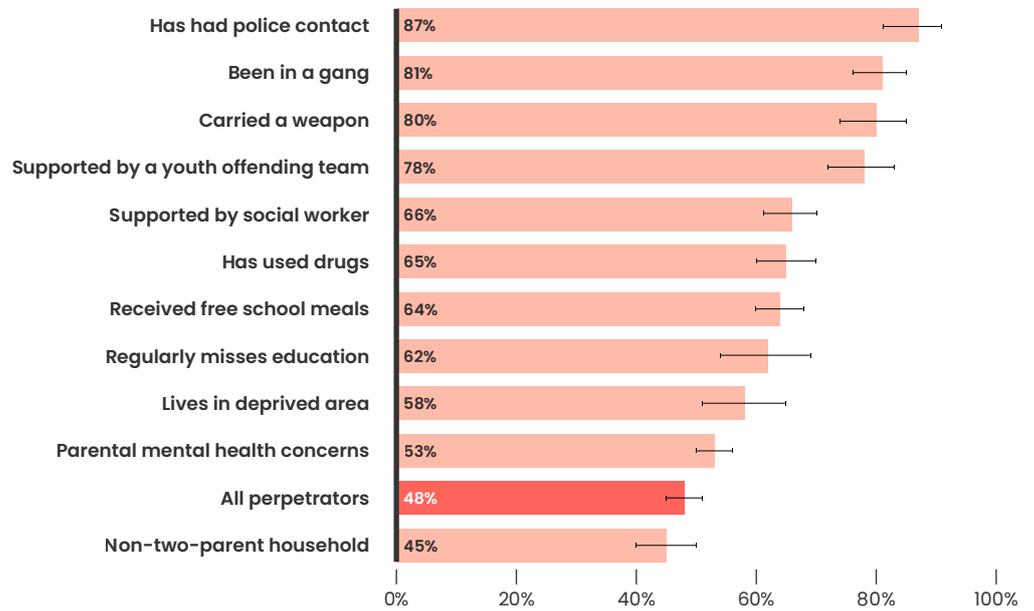


1 in 2
who perpetrated
violence had
also been victims

The overlap between victims and those who've committed violence increased with certain key background characteristics or experiences. For example, while 48% of all 13 to 17-year-olds who'd committed violence were also victims, this increased to 66% of those that had ever been supported by a social worker, 80% of those who'd carried a weapon and 87% of those who'd had contact with the police over a crime they were suspected of committing.

This is significantly greater overlap. Indeed, victims and perpetrators of violence shared many of the same characteristics.

Figure 2.12: Proportion of 13 to 17-year-old perpetrators of violence who have also been victims in the past 12 months – by vulnerabilities to violence*



*The number of children attending Pupil Referral Units who had been both perpetrators and victims of violence was less than 50, so these results have been suppressed.

Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

What are the day-to-day impacts of violence?

In this section, we look at where children feel safe and how violence affects their lives. We found that violence – and the fear of violence – leads children to change their behaviour. Around half of children reported violence impacting their day-to-day lives, including trouble sleeping and difficulty concentrating at school.

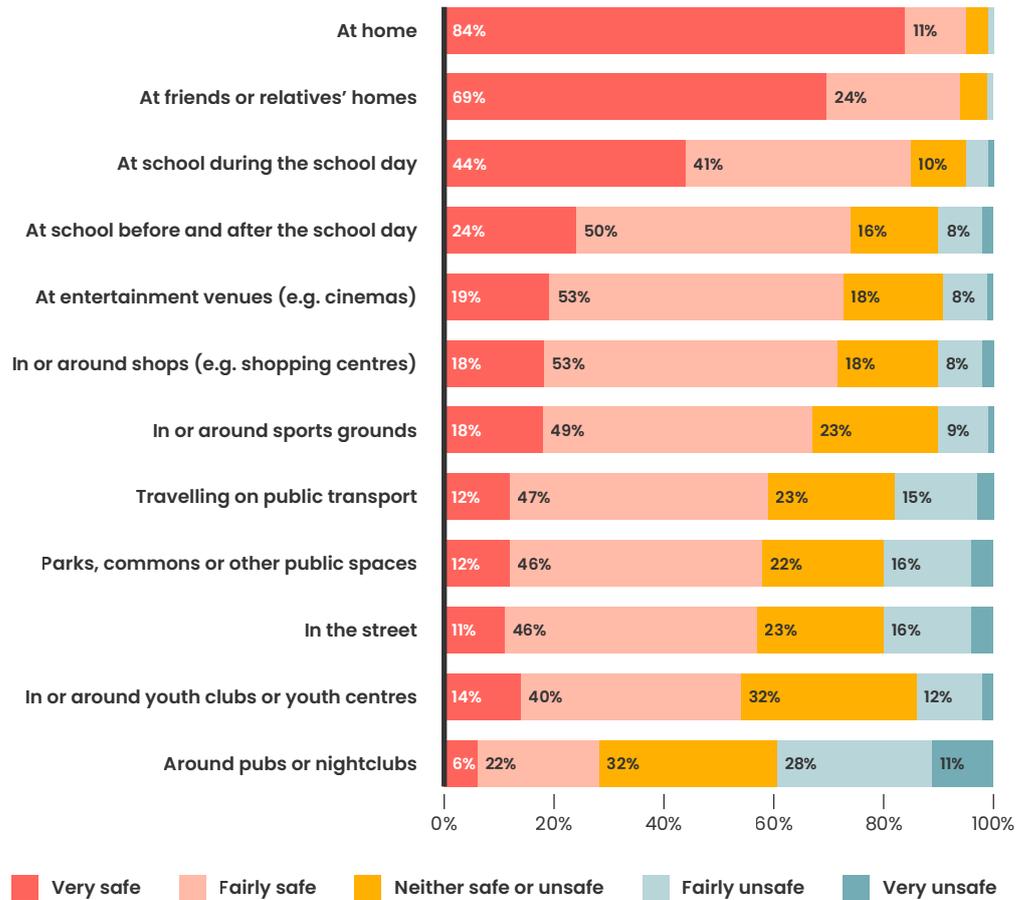
Around 1 in 5 children said they'd skipped school in the past 12 months due to feeling unsafe. Only half of children said they felt safe at youth clubs, with around 1 in 7 saying they felt unsafe.

Where young people feel safe

Violence has the potential to affect where young people feel safe. We asked respondents how safe they felt in different locations. The majority of teenage children felt safe at home (84% very safe and 11% fairly safe). Feelings of safety were also high at school, with 85% saying they felt either very or fairly safe.

1 in 2
teenage children
said they felt
safe at or around
youth clubs

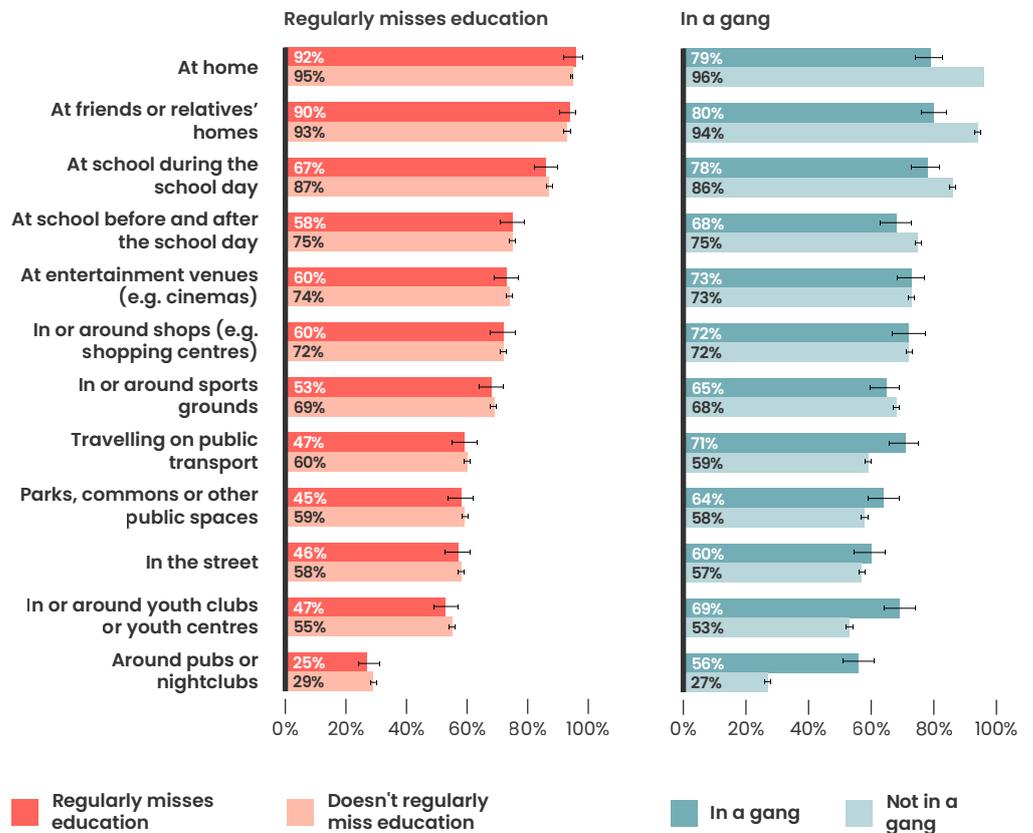
Figure 3.1: Locations 13 to 17-year-olds felt safe or unsafe



Consistent with our findings last year, respondents felt less safe in areas where they were less likely to be supervised, such as in parks (12% very safe), in the street (11% very safe), and around pubs and night clubs (6% very safe). A relatively low proportion of respondents said they felt safe at or around youth clubs, with only 54% saying they felt very or fairly safe. 14% (1 in 7) said they felt unsafe in or around youth clubs.

Teenage children that said they missed education regularly were less likely to say they felt safe at school. 67% said they felt fairly or very safe at school during the school day (compared to 87% of 13 to 17-year-olds never or rarely missing education) and 58% before and after school (compared to 75% of those never or rarely missing education). These differences are statistically significant. Although teenage children that regularly missed education felt less safe across most locations, the difference was particularly large in and around school.

Figure 3.2: Proportion of 13 to 17-year-olds that felt very or fairly safe in different locations, for those that regularly miss school or are members of a gang



Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

Teenage children who said they were in a gang were less likely to feel safe at home and more likely to feel safe in places where others felt unsafe, such as in the street, in public spaces and around entertainment venues. 79% of teenage children in gangs said they felt safe at home, compared to 96% of children not in gangs. 71% said they felt safe travelling on public transport (compared to 59% of those not in gangs), 64% in parks and other public spaces (compared to 58% of those not in gangs) and 56% around pubs or nightclubs (compared to 27% of those not in gangs). These differences are statistically significant.

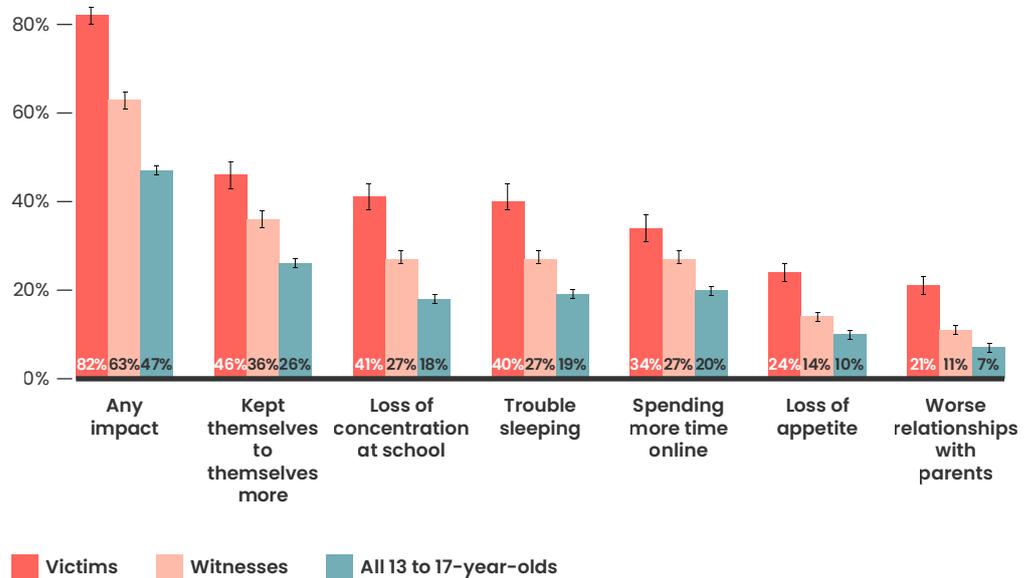
The day-to-day impacts of violence

Violence – and the fear of violence – can have a variety of negative impacts on young people. We asked about several ways in which violence can impact children’s day-to-day lives. This repeats the question we asked last year. Just under half (47%) of 13 to 17-year-olds said violence

or the fear of violence had at least one impact on their day-to-day lives. This is higher than the proportion we found last year (41%). As we note elsewhere in the report, it's not possible to say whether this increase is due to an increase in children experiencing these impacts or due to changes in the composition of the sample of children that responded to the survey. The most common impact felt was 13 to 17-year-olds keeping to themselves more (26%), followed by spending more time online (20%). Nearly 1 in 5 said they had trouble sleeping or found it hard to concentrate at school. 10% of children said it made them lose their appetite.

Figure 3.3: Proportion of 13 to 17-year-olds with day-to-day impacts due to violence or the fear of violence – by experience of violence

1 in 5
teenage children
said violence
and the fear
of violence
made it harder
to concentrate
at school

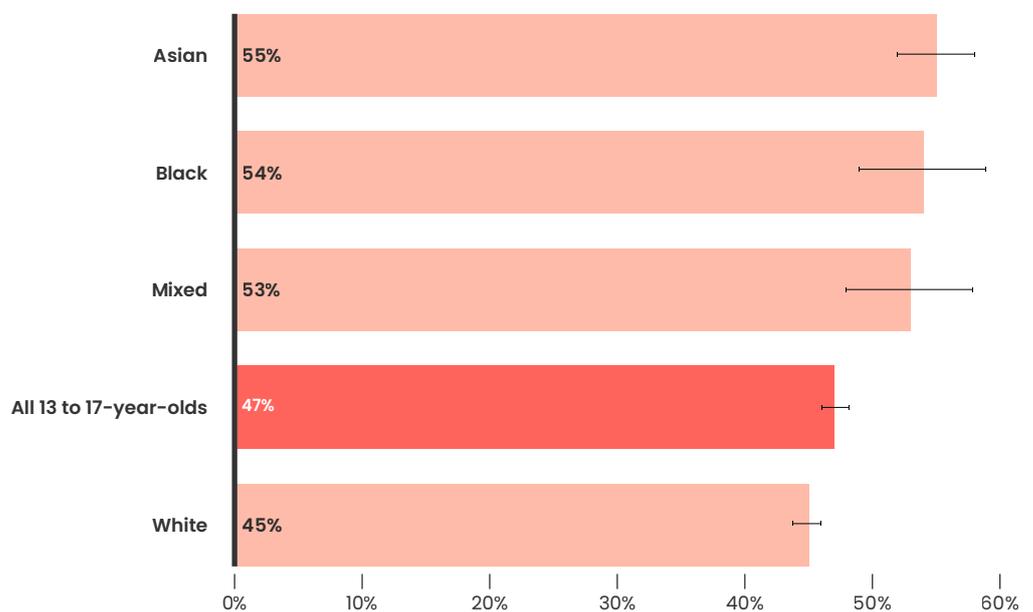


Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

Teenage children that had direct experiences of violence were significantly more likely to report it impacting their day-to-day lives. 82% of victims said they had experienced at least one of the impacts we asked about. Nearly half of victims said they kept themselves to themselves more, while 2 in 5 (41%) said they struggled to concentrate at school.

When we look at the results by ethnicity, teenage children from Asian, Black and mixed ethnic backgrounds were all more likely to report impacts on their day-to-day lives due to violence and the fear of violence, compared to White children. On average, 54% reported impacts compared to 45% of White children. The differences are statistically significant.

Figure 3.4: Proportion of 13 to 17-year-olds with day-to-day impacts due to violence or the fear of violence – by ethnicity



Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

Looking at specific impacts, mixed (23%), Black (25%) and Asian (25%) children were significantly more likely to report spending more time online as a result of violence or fears of violence compared to White children (18%). There were no other significant differences by ethnicity on specific impacts; several of the subgroups were too small to make comparisons by ethnicity.

How violence affects school attendance

We also asked whether children had missed school due to feeling unsafe:

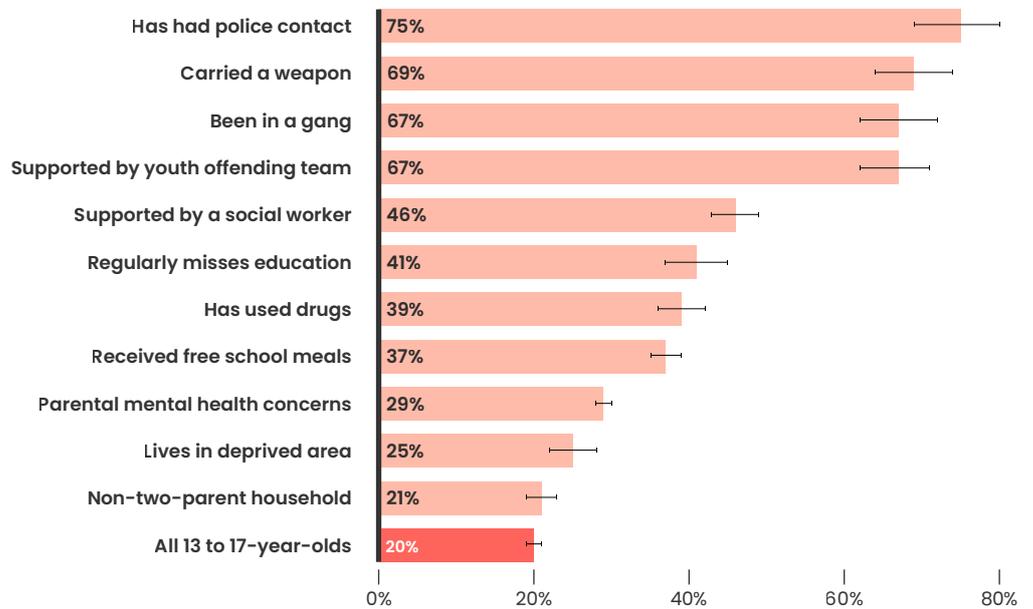
“In the last 12 months, have you ever been absent from school, including just part of a school day, because you felt you would be unsafe at school, or on your way to or from school?”

20% of respondents said they’d skipped school in the past 12 months because they felt unsafe, equivalent to 702,630 13 to 17-year-olds in England and Wales. Black (24%) and mixed ethnicity (25%) children were significantly more likely to say they’d skipped school due to feeling unsafe, compared to White children (19%). This proportion also increases significantly for the most vulnerable.

29% of 13 to 17-year-olds whose parents had concerns about their mental health, 39% of those that had used drugs in the previous 12 months and 46% of those that had been supported by a social worker said they'd skipped school due to feeling unsafe.

Those at highest risk of involvement in crime or who'd had contact with the criminal justice system were most likely to skip school due to feeling unsafe – 67% of children in gangs, 69% of children that carried a weapon and 75% of those who had been in contact with the police over the previous 12 months.

Figure 3.5: Proportion of 13 to 17-year-olds that skipped school due to feeling unsafe in the past 12 months – by vulnerabilities to violence*



*The number of children attending Pupil Referral Units who had skipped school due to feeling unsafe was less than 50, so these results have been suppressed.

Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

1 in 5
 teenage children
 said they'd
 skipped school
 due to feeling
 unsafe

The 20% of teenage children who said they skipped school due to feeling unsafe may seem at odds with the 85% who said they felt very or fairly safe at school. However, 15% of all respondents could not say they felt safe at school during the school day. We also asked how safe children felt at school before and after the school day. 26% didn't say they felt safe. The 20% of respondents who'd skipped school could have either been concerned about violence inside of school or on the way to or from school.

How does this compare to official absence figures?

20% of 13 to 17-year-olds said they were absent at least once due to concerns over their safety. How credible does this seem? Data published by the [Department for Education \(DfE\)](#) shows that in 2021/22 a large majority of children (96%) were absent from school at least once. 94% of children in secondary schools had at least one authorised absence – mainly due to sickness. Just over half (54%) had at least one period of unauthorised absence.

We do not know why 20% said they had skipped school. This could relate to fears of physical violence, bullying more broadly or other concerns over their safety. These periods of absence may have been recorded as either authorised (e.g. time off sick because their parents were worried) or unauthorised. In the context in which nearly all children have time off school per year, the 20% figure seems credible.

Why do children commit acts of violence, and what happens when they do?

In this section, we explore what motivates children to commit acts of violence and what support they receive. We found that children that commit violence don't get the support they need. Most acts of violence were motivated by retaliation, with nearly 7 in 10 perpetrators saying they'd been motivated to retaliate or because they felt baited. Most perpetrators were not found out by adults, with nearly 6 in 10 saying no one in authority found out. Only 16% of perpetrators were offered support or training, falling to 9% for children committing acts that led to physical injury.

Why young people committed violence

As we've shown, 15% of 13 to 17-year-olds said they'd committed an act of violence in the past 12 months. Of those children that said they'd committed an act of robbery, physical assault or weapons-related violence, we asked why they did it. They could select multiple reasons, as they may have committed a violent act more than once or because they had more than one reason at the time. We did not ask these follow-up questions to perpetrators of sexual assault.

7 in 10
 teenage
 perpetrators
 of violence said
 they did
 it because they
 felt provoked

Figure 4.1: Reasons 13 to 17-year-olds committed acts of violence in the past 12 months^{*,}**



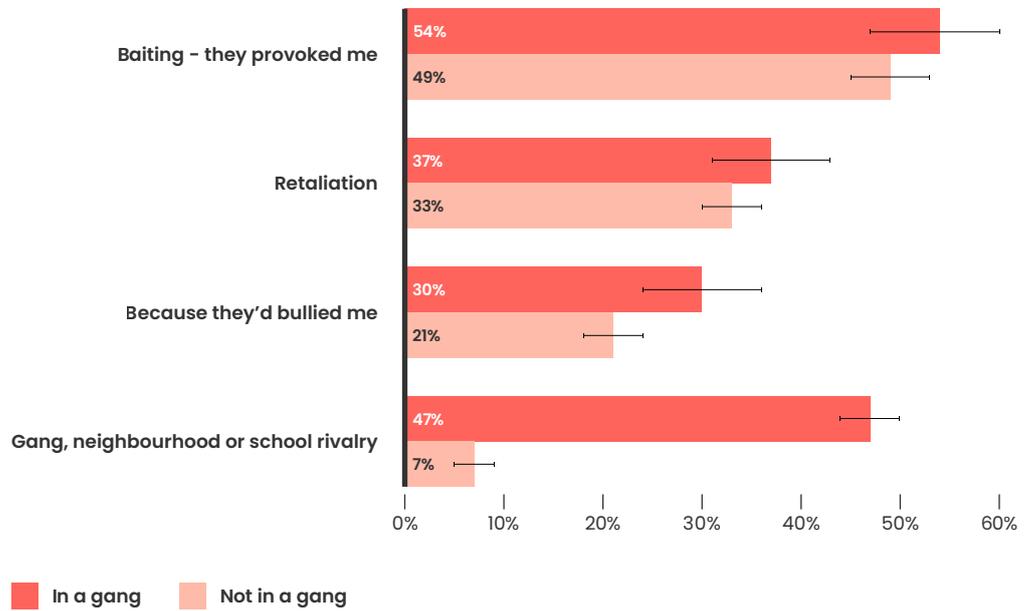
^{*}Results for "I'd taken drugs or alcohol" have been suppressed as less than 50 respondents gave this reason.
^{**}Perpetrators of robbery, physical assault or weapons offences.
 Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

Looking across all 13–17-year-olds who'd committed robbery, physical assault or weapons violence, being provoked through baiting (50%) or retaliation (34%) were the most common reasons for committing acts of violence. 69% gave either as a reason, 23% said they did it because they'd been bullied and 21% to stick up for someone else.

When we look at those who'd committed violence (robbery, physical assault or weapons violence) where it had led to physical injury, a significantly higher proportion said it was due to gang, neighbourhood or school rivalry – 27% compared to 16% of all perpetrators. Girls and boys who had committed violence gave very similar responses in terms of reasons.

Figure 4.2: Reasons 13 to 17-year-olds committed acts of violence in the past 12 months – by gang membership***

1 in 2
gang members
that committed
violence did
so because
of gang rivalry



*The options "To stick up for or protect someone else", "I find it hard to control my behaviour", "Peer pressure", "I wanted what they had for myself or to sell" and "I'd taken drugs or alcohol" were suppressed from this figure due to less than 50 respondents selecting these.

**Perpetrators of robbery, physical assault, or weapons offences.

Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

For teenage children who were in a gang and committed violence, gang, neighbourhood or school rivalries played a much more significant role in why they said they'd committed violence. Nearly half (47%) of teenage children that said they were part of a gang that had committed violence said they'd done it for this reason, compared to those not in gangs (7%).

What happened after committing violence

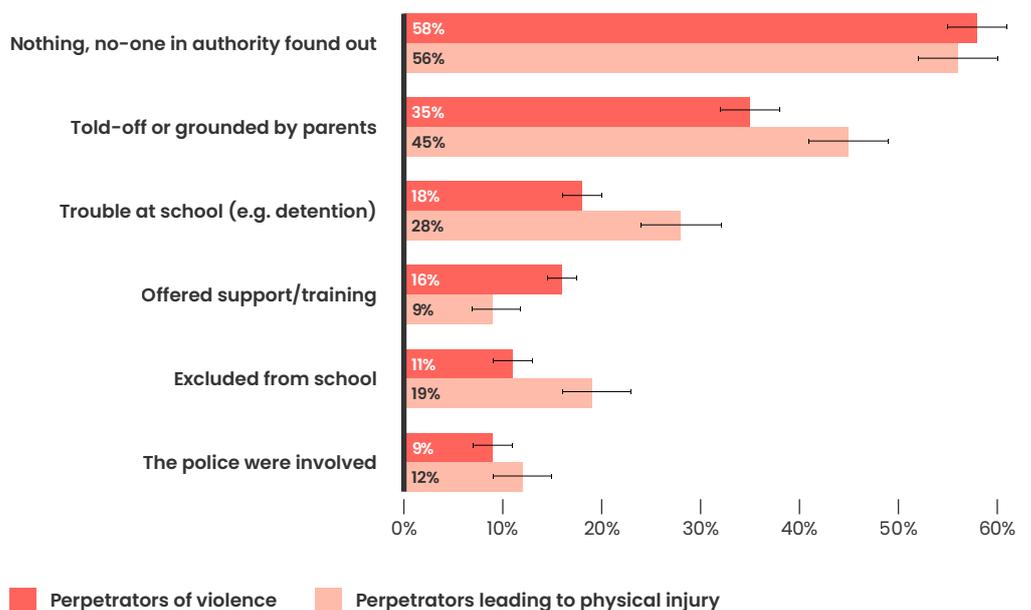
We also asked children who said they'd committed robbery, physical assault or weapons offences what happened to them after they'd committed acts of violence. As with the reasons for committing violence, they could select multiple outcomes, as they may have been violent more than once or because more than one thing could have happened to them.

For the majority of 13 to 17-year-olds who responded (58%), no one found out. 35% were told off or grounded by their parents, and 18% were given detention. A small minority (16%) were offered support or training to control their behaviour in the future. 11% were excluded from school and 9% said the police were involved.

Teenage children that had committed violence (robbery, physical assault, or weapons offences) that led to physical injury were significantly more likely to be sanctioned by parents (45% were grounded) or at school (28% were given detention and 19% were excluded). They were also more likely to say the police were involved (12%), but the difference was not significant.

Only 9% were offered support or training. However, this statistic represents a very small number of respondents (46), and so we are less confident in this finding.

Figure 4.3. What happened to perpetrators of violence after they'd committed violence*



*Perpetrators of robbery physical assault, or weapons offences.
 Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

1 in 10
 perpetrators
 of violence
 leading to
 physical injury
 were offered
 support
 or training

We also saw that those most in need of support are least likely to receive it. For example, only 12% of children receiving free school meals received support following perpetration of violence, compared to 20% of children not on free school meals. This difference is statistically significant.

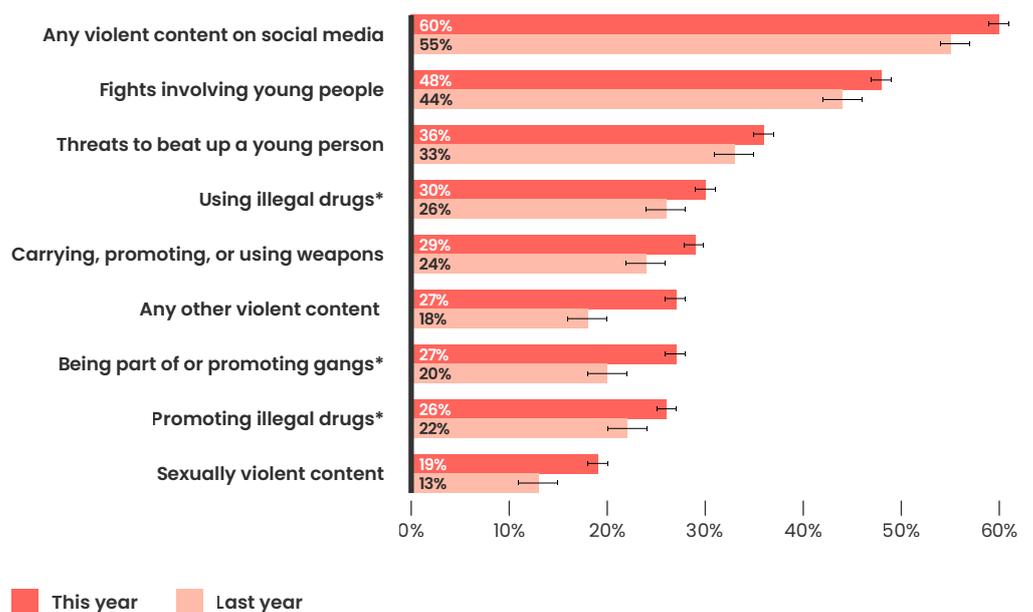
There was no difference in the proportion of boys and girls who said they were offered support. The numbers of children in other subgroups (such as ethnicity) who received support after committing violence were too low to report any other group differences.

How much violence is there on social media?

In this section, we look at the violent content teenage children see on social media, including the platforms they've seen it on. As with last year, we found that violence online is hard to avoid, with 60% of teenage children having seen real-world acts of violence on social media in the previous 12 months. This was significantly higher for vulnerable children increasing to over 90% of children that carried weapons. TikTok was the platform where most violent content was seen. Content that promoted violence against women and girls was commonplace, frequently being suggested to children, rather than it being searched for. Around a third of children would turn off social media given the choice and this increases to half of children that were victims of violence.

Violent content teenage children saw on social media

Figure 5.1: Proportion of 13 to 17-year-olds that saw different types of violent content on social media in the past 12 months



3 in 5
teenage children
had seen violent
content on
social media

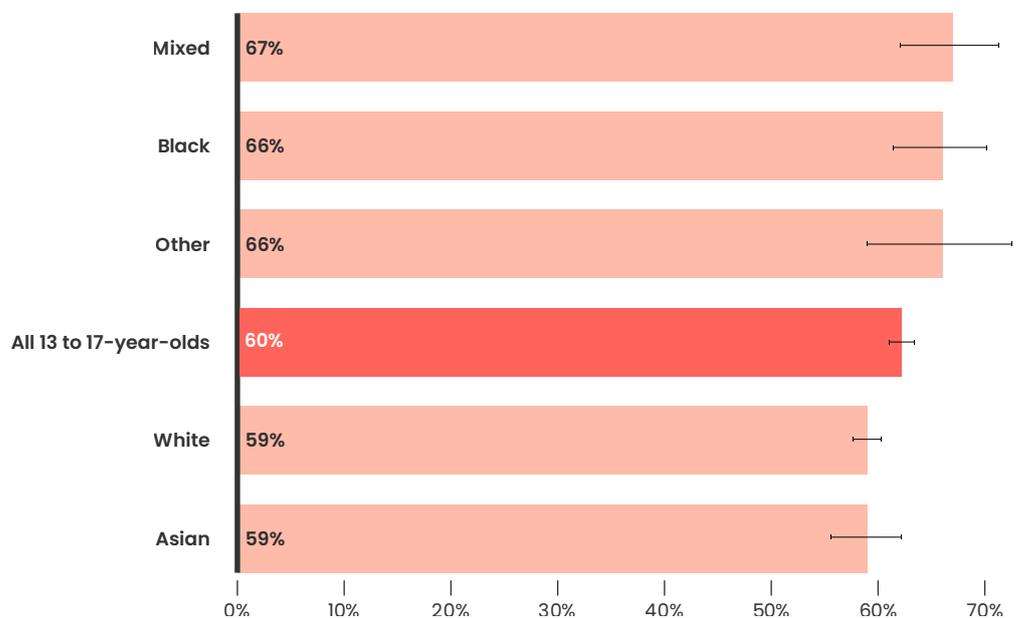
*Not included in the definition of any violent content.
Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

We asked teenage children about their experiences of violence online, specifically when using social media. We wanted to find out how much and what types of real-life violent content they'd seen. We stated:

“Don't include anything you have heard about on the news or seen in films or TV shows – we're interested in things involving people you know, friends of friends or people in your local area.”

We found that 60% of 13 to 17-year-olds in England and Wales had seen real-world acts of violence on social media. The pattern of types of violence seen on social media was similar to last year. Fights involving young people was the most common type of violence seen (48%), followed by threats to beat up a young person (36%). Content depicting carrying, promoting or using weapons was seen by 29%. The 60% figure for having seen real-world acts of violence on social media is higher than the 55% found last year. As discussed previously, this difference may not reflect an increase in the number of children seeing violence on social media and may be due to changes to the composition of children responding to the survey.

Figure 5.2: Proportion of 13 to 17-year-olds that saw violent content on social media in the past 12 months – by ethnicity

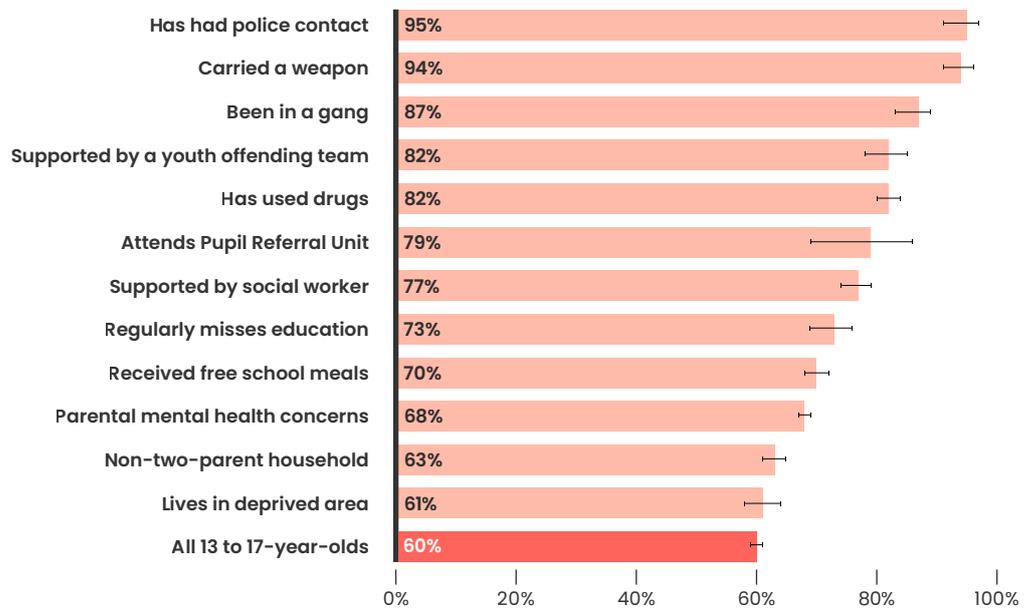


Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

The proportions of boys and girls who’d seen violent content on social media were similar – 61% for boys and 60% for girls. The difference is not statistically significant. There was no consistent pattern by age. 64% of 14-year-olds reported seeing violent content on social media, compared to 55% of 13-year-olds and 60% of 15-year-olds. Children of Black or mixed ethnicity were significantly more likely than White children to report seeing violent content on social media (66%/67% vs 59%).

Vulnerable children were more likely to have seen violent content on social media. 68% of teenage children whose parents had concerns about their mental health had seen real-world acts of violence on social media in the previous 12 months, compared to 60% of all children. 70% of 13 to 17-year-olds receiving free school meals, 73% regularly missing education and 77% supported by a social worker had seen violent content. Well over 80% of children at the highest risk of involvement in crime, including children in gangs and who carried weapons, said they’d seen violent content on social media. These proportions were significantly higher than the average.

Figure 5.3: Proportion of 13 to 17-year-olds that saw violent content on social media in the past 12 months – by vulnerabilities to violence



Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

9 in 10
children in gangs
have seen violent
content on social
media in the past
12 months

What adults thought

From our separate survey of 3,000 adults, we found that:

Adult's views on the prevalence of violent content on social media are in line with children's experiences.

On average, adults estimated that 58% of 13 to 17-year-olds had seen violent content on social media in the past 12 months. This compares to the 60% of teenage children that said they'd seen it.

Adults are just as likely to see real-world acts of violence as teenage children. 62% of adults said they'd seen real-world acts of violence in the past 12 months. This is similar to the level of exposure by teenage children (60%).

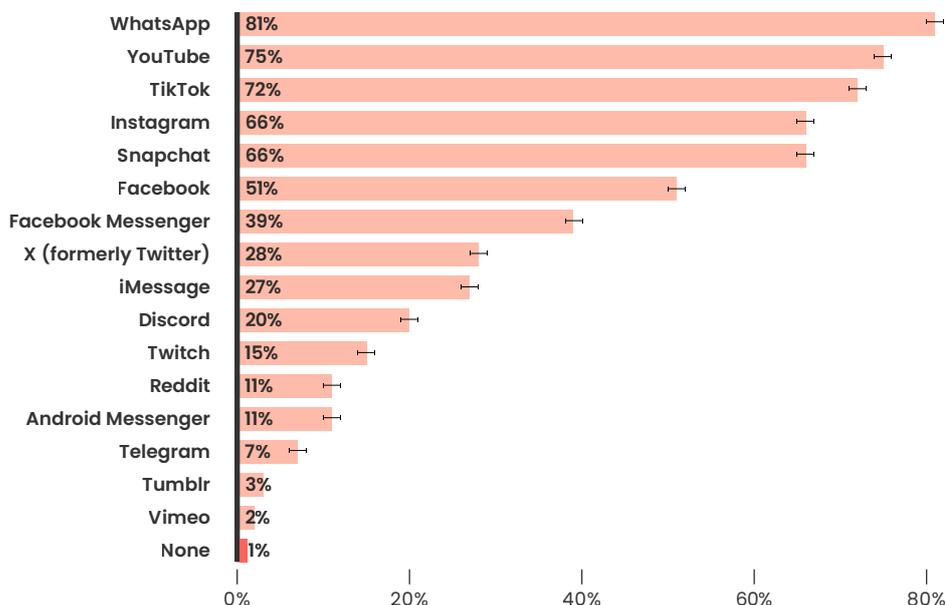
The social media platforms they viewed it on

We asked children which social media platforms they used and on which platforms they'd seen violent content. This means that we can look at which platforms are most used and where violent content is most highly concentrated.

"You said that you have used the following⁹ social media platforms in the last 12 months. Did you see any violent content on them during this time period? Don't include anything you have heard about on the news or seen in films or TV shows – we're interested in things involving people you know, friends of friends or people in your local area."

⁹ We asked about usage across 16 of the most used social media platforms in the UK, including messaging and other types of content sharing. The list of platforms was derived from several separate online sources, as of March 2023. Respondents were also allowed free text entry of platforms they'd used in the past 12 months that we'd not specified.

Figure 5.4: Usage of social media platforms by 13 to 17-year-olds in the past 12 months



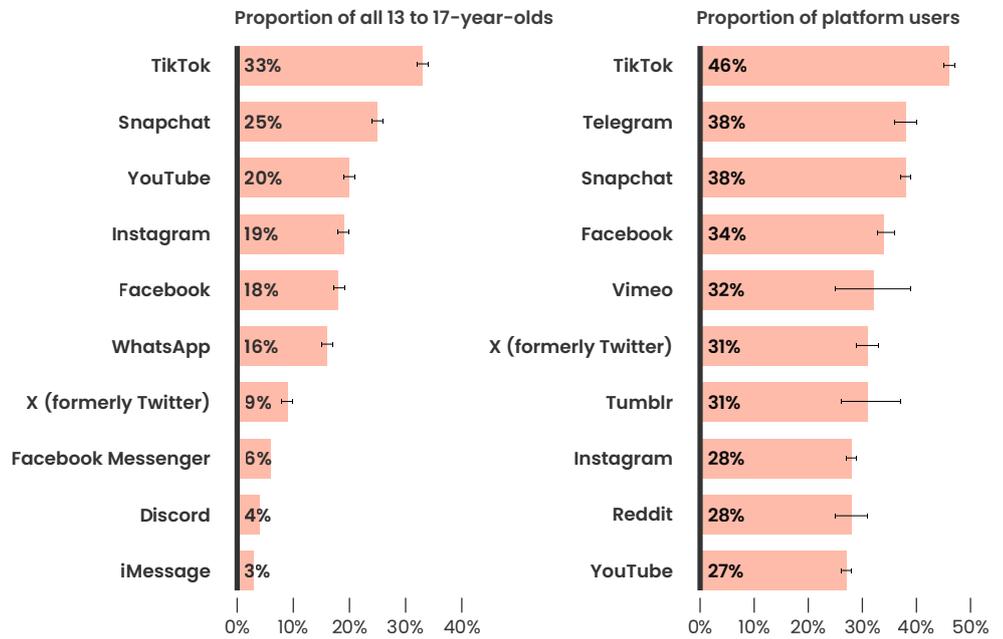
Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

99% of teenage children said they’d used at least one social media platform in the last 12 months. The most commonly used was WhatsApp, with 81% of children saying they’d used it in the past 12 months. This was followed by YouTube (75%), TikTok (72%), and Snapchat (66%) and Instagram (66%).

TikTok was the platform on which teenage children were most likely to see violence, both as a proportion of the total sample of 13 to 17-year-olds and when comparing the proportion of platform users who’d seen violence on each platform. A third of all children aged 13 to 17 in England and Wales had seen violent content on TikTok in the past 12 months. Nearly half (46%) of TikTok users had seen violence on the platform.

1 in 3
 teenage children
 have seen
 violent content
 on TikTok in the
 past 12 months

Figure 5.5: Top 10 social media platforms where 13 to 17-year-olds saw violent content in the past 12 months – proportion of all 13 to 17-year-olds and of platform users



Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

Snapchat (25%), YouTube (20%) and Instagram (19%) trailed TikTok in terms of the proportion of all 13 to 17-year-olds that had seen violent content on them. Telegram (38%), Snapchat (38%) and Facebook (34%) trailed TikTok in terms of the proportion of 13 to 17-year-old platform users that had seen violent content on them.

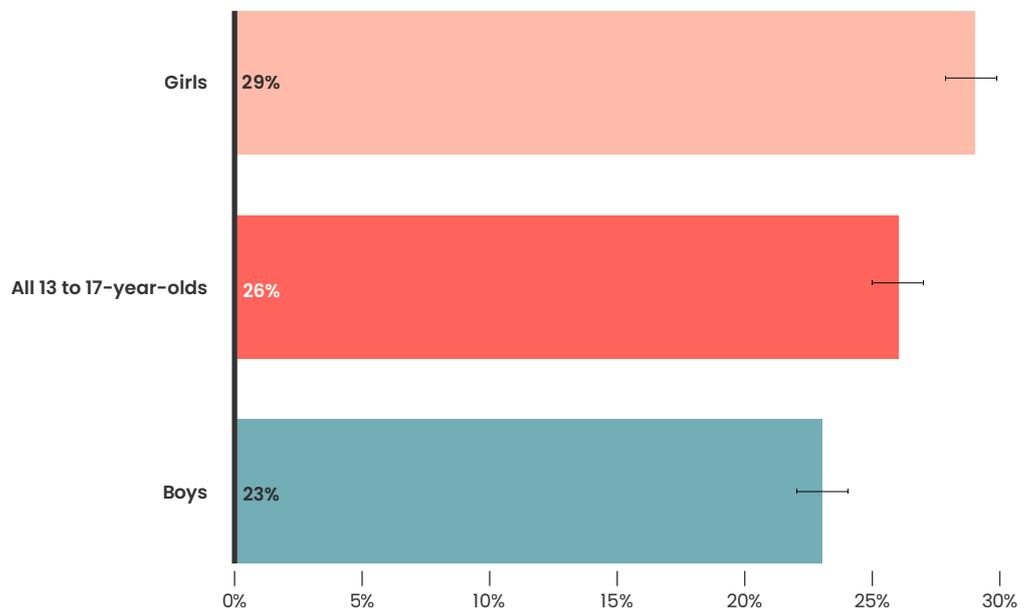
Content promoting violence against women and girls

In recognition of increasing concerns about content on social media that promotes violence against women and girls, we introduced a new question to explore this issue. The definition we used was adapted from the definition adopted by the [United Nations General Assembly](#) for violence against women and girls:

“In the last 12 months, have you seen material on social media that encourages violence against women or girls? This includes videos or posts that encourage or show any act of violence that might lead to physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women or girls. For example, this could be assault or harassment (such as staring, name calling or touching without someone’s permission), controlling behaviour (such as telling someone where they can go or who they can speak to) or holding someone without letting them go.”

Figure 5.6: Proportion of 13 to 17-year-olds that saw content on social media promoting violence against women and girls in the past 12 months

1 in 4
 have seen
 content that
 promotes
 violence against
 women and girls

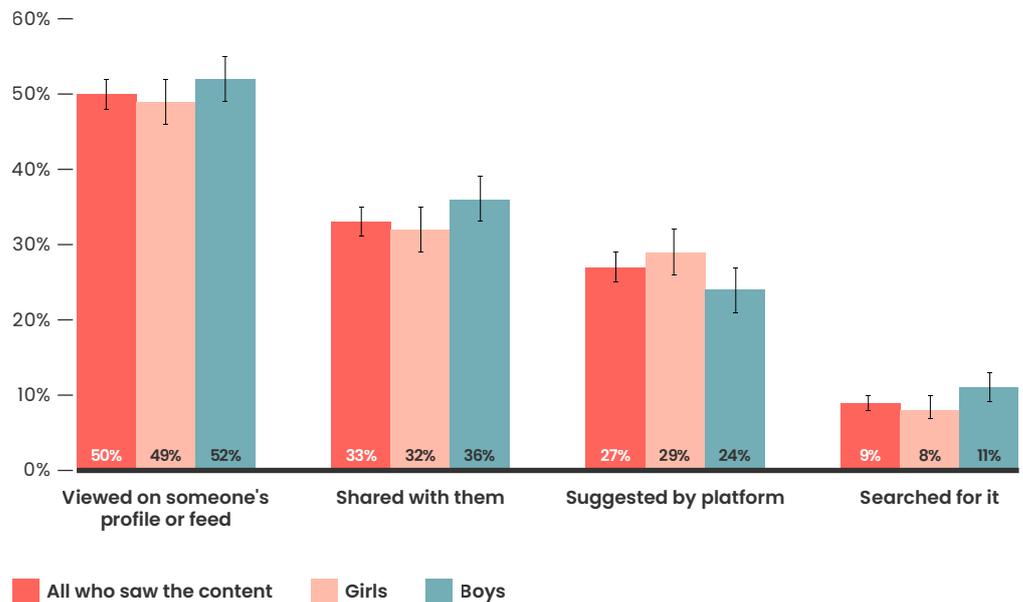


Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

Around a quarter (26%) of teenage children in England and Wales had seen content on social media that promotes violence against women and girls in the past 12 months. The rate was higher for girls – 29% compared to 23% for boys. It’s not clear why girls were significantly more likely to report seeing such content. It may be due to girls being more aware of seeing this material. Black children were also significantly more likely to report seeing such content (34%), compared to Asian (26%) and White (25%) children.

1 in 4
 children viewing
 content that
 promoted
 violence against
 women and girls
 had it suggested
 to them by
 the platform

Figure 5.7: How 13 to 17-year-olds came across content on social media promoting violence against women and girls



Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

When asked about how they found this material, a minority said they'd searched for it (9%). The proportion was higher for boys – 11% compared to 8% for girls, although the difference isn't statistically significant. The most common way of coming across this content was viewing it on someone else's profile or feed (50%). 27% of teenage children that'd seen content promoting violence against women and girls had it suggested to them by the platform they were using. We do not know why platforms have been suggesting and showing this content to young people. It could have been due to similar content they'd viewed in the past, content people they followed were viewing or based on the assumptions platform algorithms make about the material that will attract the most views from young people.

What adults thought

From our separate survey of 3,000 adults, we found that:

Adults are more likely to have seen content that promotes violence against women and girls.

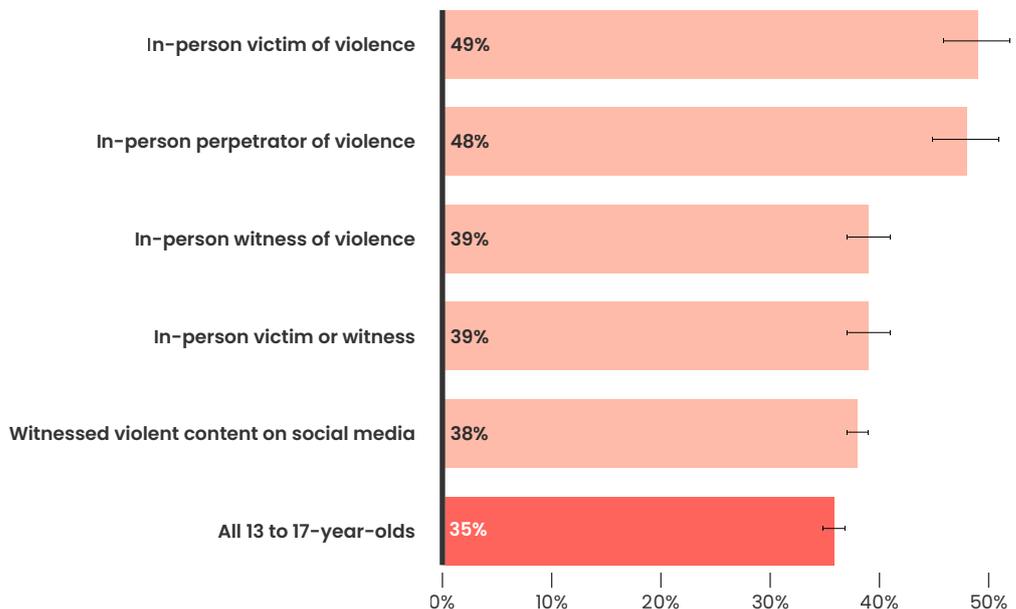
40% of adults said they'd seen content on social media that promotes violence against women and girls, compared to the 27% of teenage children who said they'd seen this content in the past 12 months. This number could be higher because adults are more likely to be aware of seeing this type of material than children. As with children, a high proportion (35%) said this content was suggested to them by the platform.

Would teenage children turn off social media?

We asked respondents if they were presented with a button that turned off social media for them and everyone they knew, would they push it? 35% of all teenage children said they would turn off social media. There was no statistically significant difference between boys and girls or White children and children from any minority ethnic backgrounds. Children who had experienced violence, in person and on social media were more likely to say they'd switch it off. 38% of children that had seen violent content on social media would turn it off. 48% of children who'd committed violence and 49% of victims of violence would turn off social media. These differences were statistically significant.

Figure 5.8: Proportion of 13 to 17-year-olds that would turn off social media – by their exposure to violence

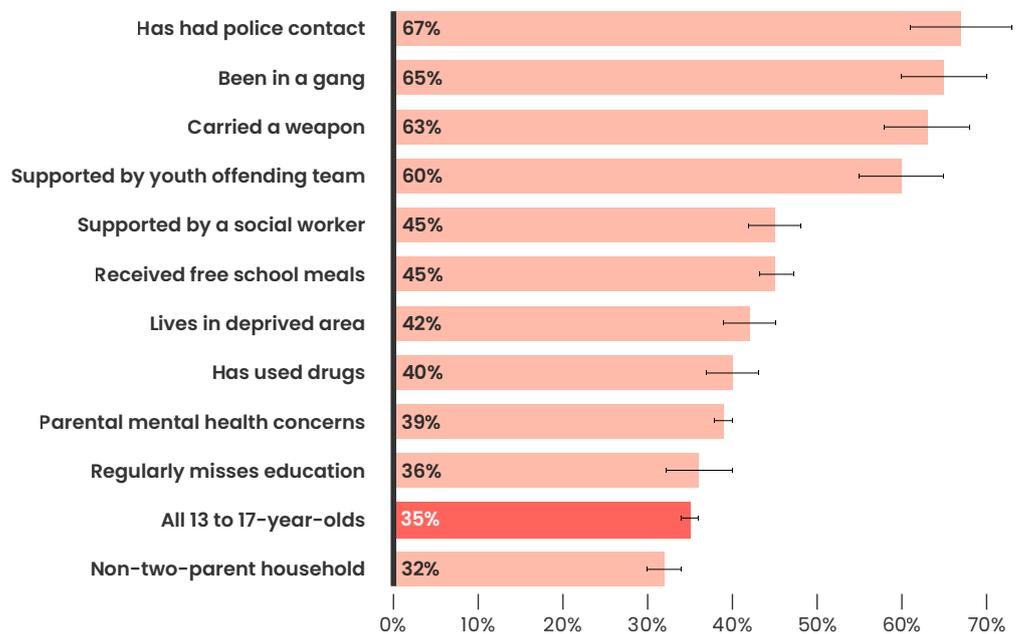
1 in 2
 13 to 17-year-olds
 who've been
 victims of
 real-world
 violence would
 turn off social
 media



Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

The proportion of teenage children that said they’d turn off social media increased with children’s vulnerability to violence. 45% of 13 to 17-year-olds receiving free school meals and 45% of those who had ever been supported by a social worker would turn off social media. 63% of those carrying weapons and 67% of teenage children who’d had contact with the police over a crime they were suspected of would turn it off. It’s important to note that this question didn’t ask why they would turn it off, so there could be reasons other than violence that play into this.

Figure 5.9: Proportion of 13 to 17-year-olds that would turn off social media forever – by vulnerabilities to violence



*Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.
The number of children attending Pupil Referral Units who'd turn off social media forever was less than 50, so these results have been suppressed.*

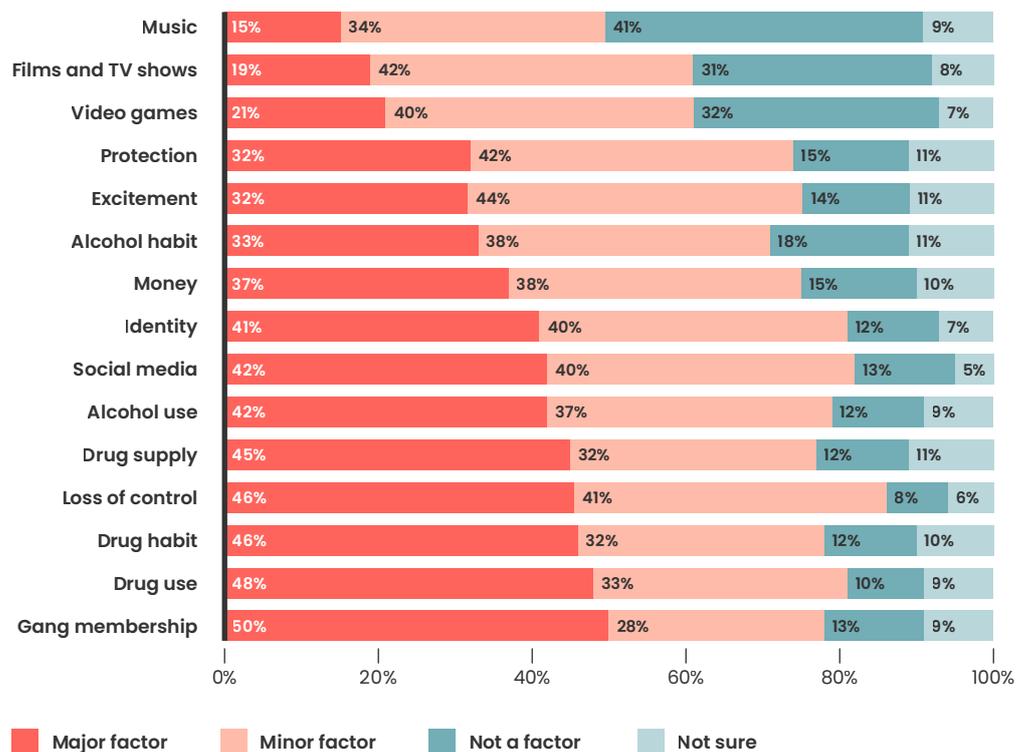
7 in 10
teenage children
in contact with
the police said
they'd turn off
social media

What do children and adults think about the causes of and solutions to violence?

In this section we look at what children and adults think the drivers and solutions to youth violence are. We found that adults and children rate gangs as the biggest driver of violence. Drugs and gangs were rated highest among children and adults as the likely drivers of violence. There was a surprisingly high proportion of children (4 in 10) and adults (5 in 10) that thought social media was a major factor. Children had mixed views on whether the police kept them safe – around half said they did, compared to 9 in 10 for parents and 6 in 10 for teachers. Both adults and children thought school exclusions increased violence.

What young people think the drivers of violence are

Figure 6.1: 13 to 17-year-old’s views on the drivers of violence



4 in 10
teenage children
said social
media was
a major driver
of violence

We asked respondents to rate the importance of several potential factors in terms of why young people commit acts of violence in their area. Gang membership was considered the most important driver of violence, with half of respondents saying it was a major factor. 62% of children said drugs played a role, either linked to drug use (48%), supporting a drug habit (46%) or due to the supply of drugs (45%).

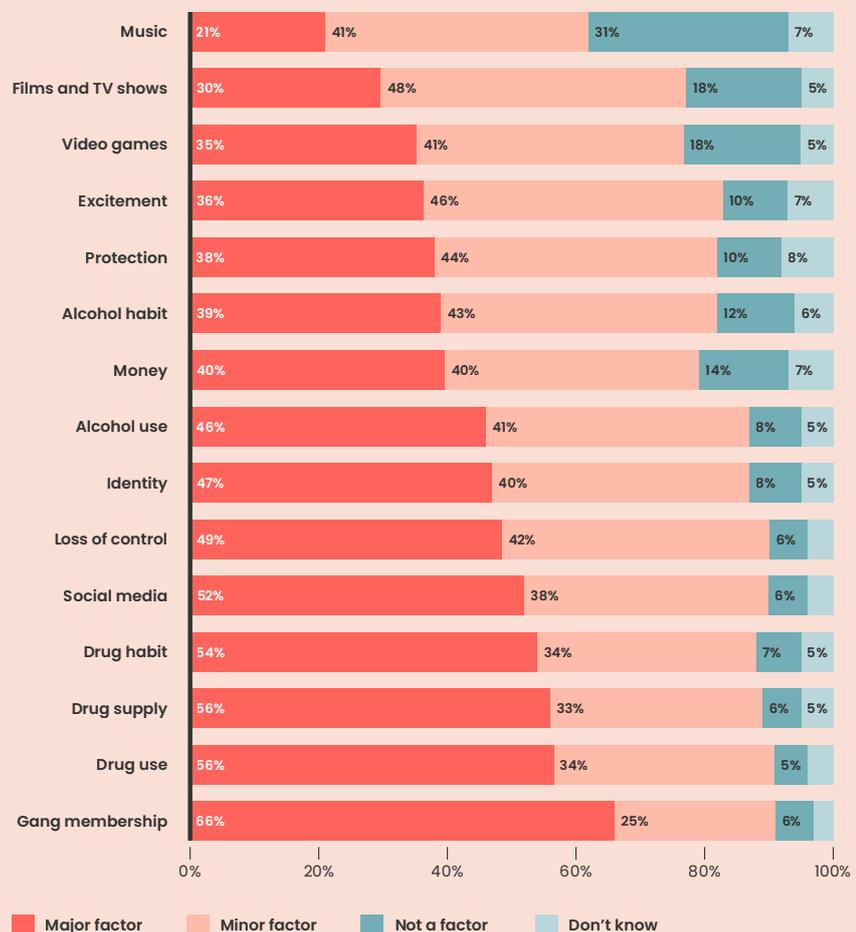
Social media use was ranked highly compared to other forms of media. 42% of children said social media was a major factor of violence, compared to 21% for video games, 19% for films and TV, and 15% for music.

What adults thought

From our separate survey of 3,000 adults, we found that:

Adults held similar views on the main drivers of violence to teenage children.

Figure 6.2: Adult's views on the drivers of violence



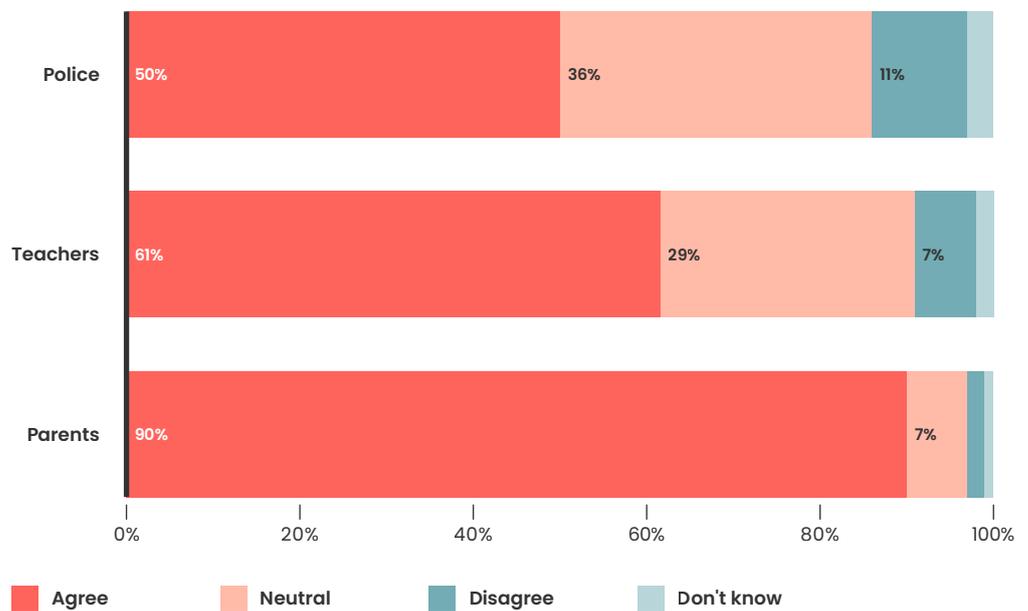
Adults had similar views to teenage children on the main drivers of violence. Gang membership and drug use were ranked highest, and social media appeared surprisingly high, with over half saying it was a major factor. Video games, films and TV and music ranked lowest.

Who keeps young people safe from violence

To understand what teenage children think about the police’s role in protecting them from violence, we asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement: “[They] keep me safe from violence”. We did this for parents, teachers and the police, as all of these are adults that are associated with protecting children’s safety.

Figure 6.3: Proportion of 13 to 17-year-olds agreeing with the statement, “[They] keep me safe from violence”

1 in 2
teenage children
agreed with
the statement:
“The police
keep me safe
from violence”



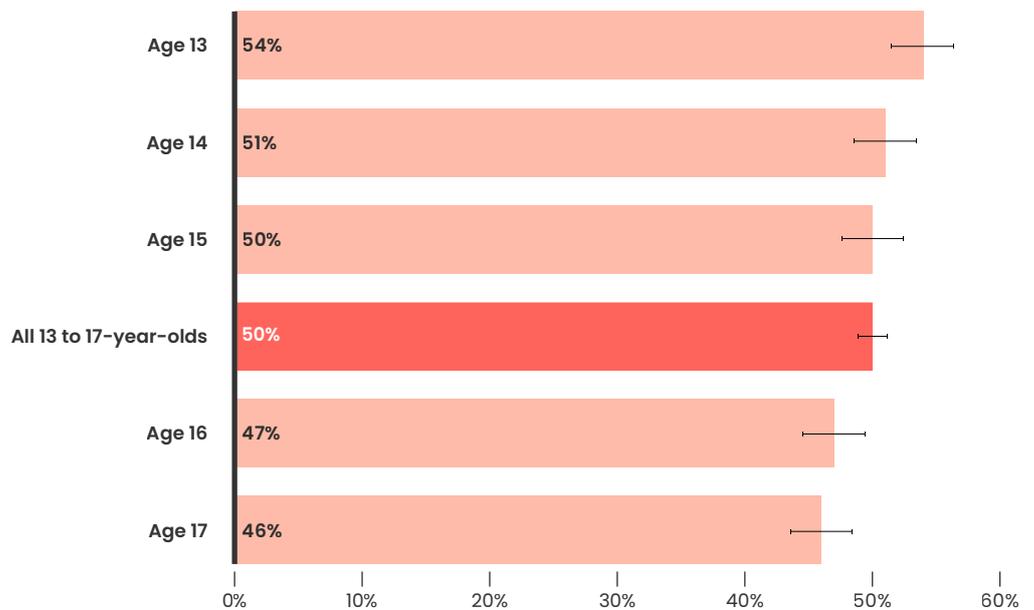
Respondents had mixed views on the police. Only half (50%) of teenage children agreed that the police keep them safe from violence, while 11% disagreed. This compares to 90% agreeing that parents keep them safe from violence and 61% for teachers.

How this compares with other findings about the police

Our question was adapted from [MOPAC’s 2018 Youth Voices](#) survey of 7,832 11 to 16-year-olds in London. They asked respondents whether they agreed that the police can protect them from crime. They found that 47% agreed and 16% disagreed. Our findings were broadly in line with the proportions found in MOPAC’s survey. They also found that 41% thought the police were helpful and friendly, 37% thought they treated everyone fairly and 31% thought they do a good job in the area they live.

Younger children were more likely to agree with the statement. 54% of 13-year-olds agreed that the police kept them safe from violence, compared to 46% of 17-year-olds. This difference was statistically significant.

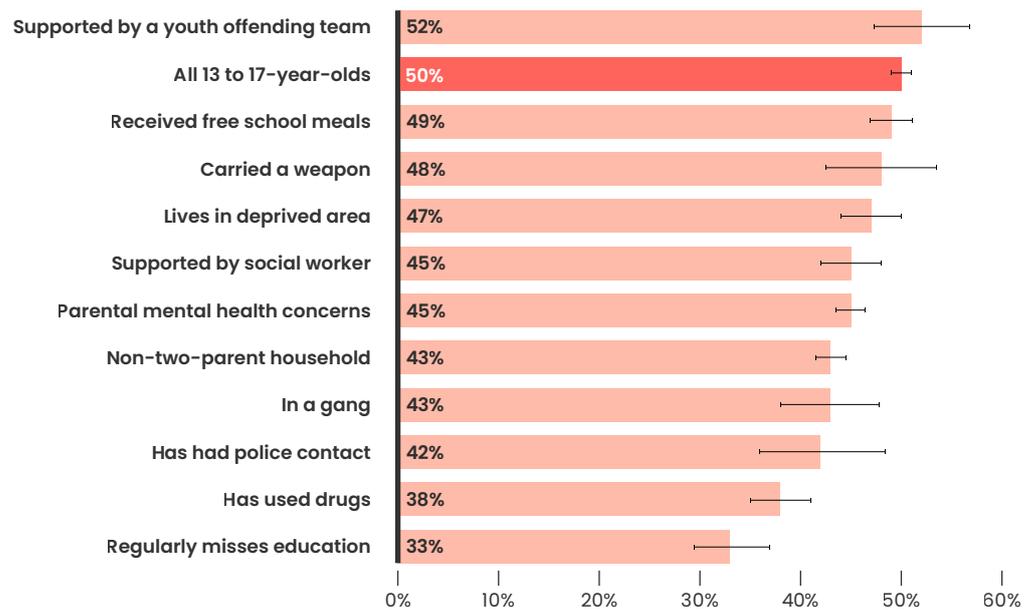
Figure 6.4: Proportion of 13 to 17-year-olds agreeing with the statement, “The police keep me safe from violence” – by age



Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

When we look at the results broken down by children’s vulnerability to violence, there isn’t a consistent pattern. Respondents that regularly skip school (33%) or who had used drugs (38%) were some of the groups least likely to think the police kept them safe from violence. 43% of children in gangs and 42% of children that had contact with the police agreed with the statement, compared to half of all 13 to 17-year-olds.

Figure 6.5: Proportion of 13 to 17-year-olds agreeing with the statement, “The police keep me safe from violence” – by vulnerabilities to violence*



*The number of children attending Pupil Referral Units who agreed with the statement was less than 50, so these results have been suppressed.

Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

The proportion saying the police kept them safe was the same for boys and girls. There were also only small differences by region, which were not statistically significant.

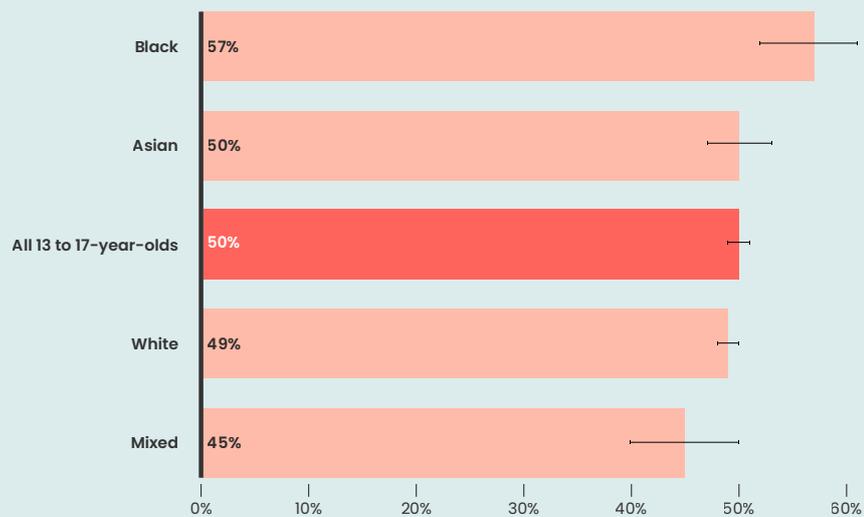
Children’s views on the police

Children’s views on police vary according to their characteristics but also the issue they are asked about. The picture is not always consistent.

They keep me safe...

In examining responses to the question of whether teenage children agree with the statement (“The police keep me safe from violence”), we found that a higher proportion of Black children agreed than White children: 57% compared to 49%. The difference is statistically significant.

Figure 6.6: Proportion of 13 to 17-year-olds agreeing with the statement, “The police keep me safe from violence” – by ethnicity

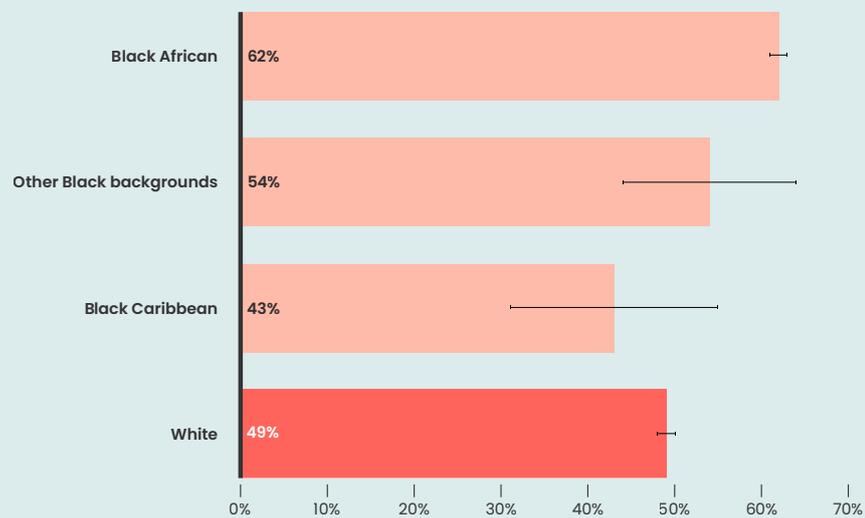


Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

This result surprised us, particularly coming at a time when the issue of institutional racism within the police and the scrutiny of high-profile incidents involving specific police practices have been under the media spotlight. Research by others has shown that Black children have less trust in the police. A recent survey by [Crest Advisory](#) of 1,542 10 to 18-year-olds found that 36% of the 100 Black children surveyed said they trusted the police, compared to 75% of White children.

It’s important to emphasise that unlike Crest’s research, we didn’t explicitly ask about trust in the police – we asked about young people’s views on whether the police kept them safe. As the findings from MOPAC’s 2018 Youth Voices survey showed, while just under half (47%) of all children in London said the police kept them safe from crime, a smaller proportion of children said the police treated them fairly (37%) and did a good job in their areas (31%). Black children were even less likely (20%) to say the police treated them fairly.

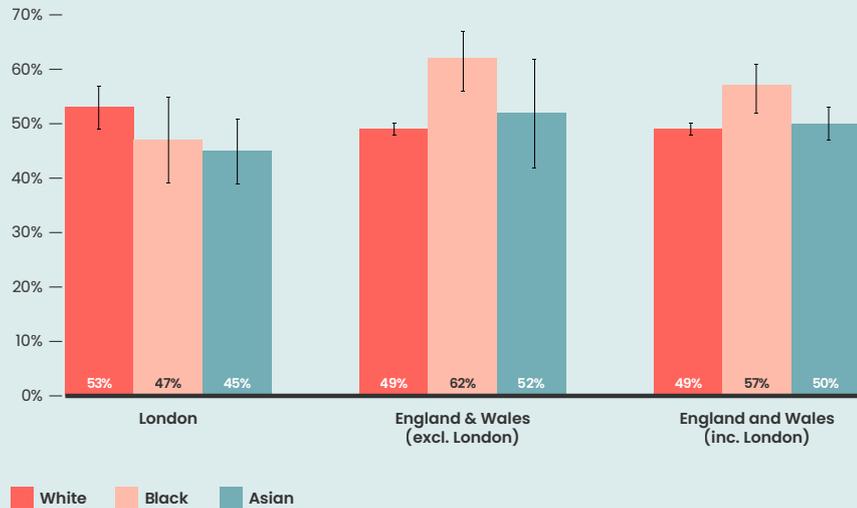
Figure 6.7: Proportion of 13 to 17-year-olds agreeing with the statement, “The police keep me safe from violence ” – by individual Black backgrounds compared to White children



Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

To dig into this further, we looked at responses broken down by children from Black Caribbean and Black African backgrounds separately. The number of responses are small for each (87 and 307, respectively), meaning we have low confidence in the findings. However, they do tentatively show that teenage children from Black Caribbean backgrounds have less confidence in the police keeping them safe than both Black African and White children.

Figure 6.8: Proportion of 13 to 17-year-olds agreeing with the statement, “The police keep me safe from violence” – by ethnicity and region

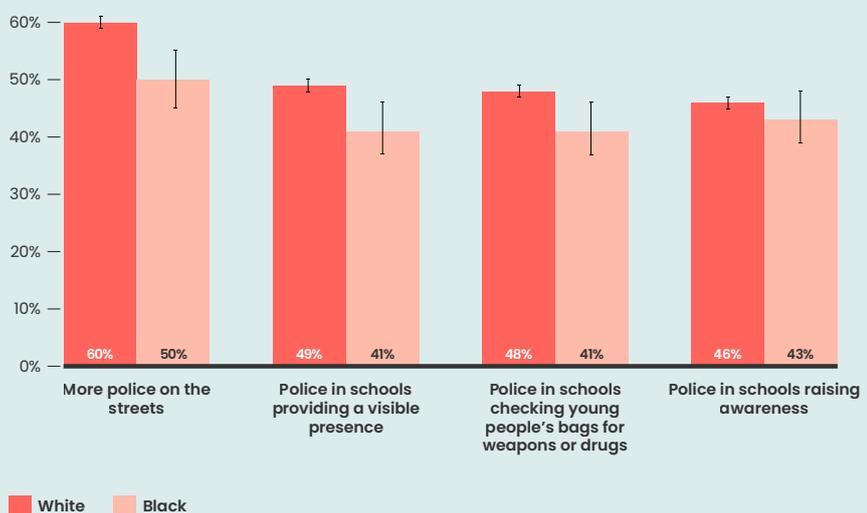


Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

We also compared views on the police for Black children in London with Black children outside of London. Black children in London were less likely to agree with the statement that the police kept them safe than White children in London and Black children in the rest of England and Wales. Black children in the rest of England and Wales were more likely to agree with the statement compared to White children outside of London.

Police in schools and the community...

Figure 6.9: Proportion of 13 to 17-year-olds that thought activity would help decrease violence – by ethnicity



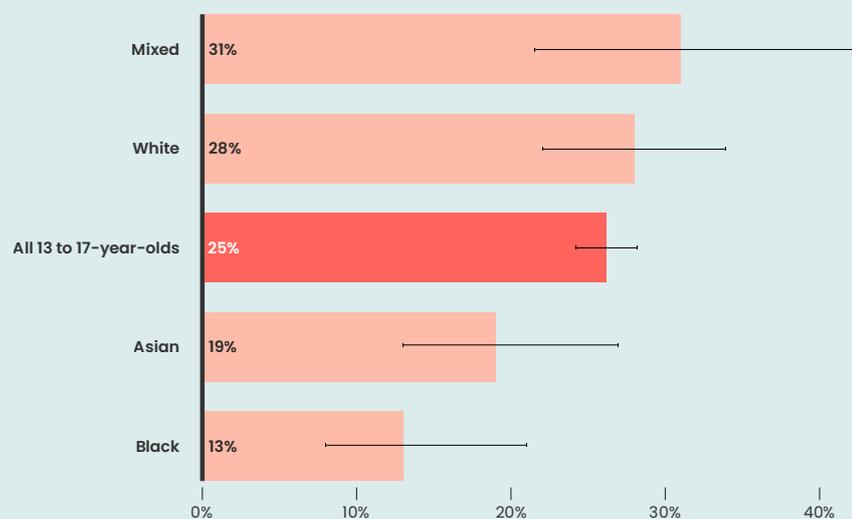
Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

In the next section, we discuss children’s views on the solutions to violence, including police in schools and more police on the streets. We asked whether they thought these would increase or decrease violence. Black children were less likely to think responses involving the police would lead to a decrease in violence. For example, 49% of White children thought that police in schools providing a visible presence would decrease violence, compared to 41% of Black children. Again, these questions didn’t explore whether teenage children thought police in schools were acceptable.

A report by the [Runnymede Trust](#) found that police are more likely to be situated in schools with high proportions of Black pupils and that previous surveys had raised concerns that “safer school officers” had acted in discriminatory ways towards Black pupils. We also note that while children ranked police in schools highly in terms of potential efficacy, the evidence base is inconclusive on their potential to decrease violence. The [YEF Toolkit](#) concludes that there is very little research and insufficient evidence to conclude on the overall effectiveness of this approach. We’re currently evaluating police in schools programmes to examine this.

Reporting violence to the police...

Figure 6.10: Proportion of victims that reported violence to the police – by ethnicity



Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

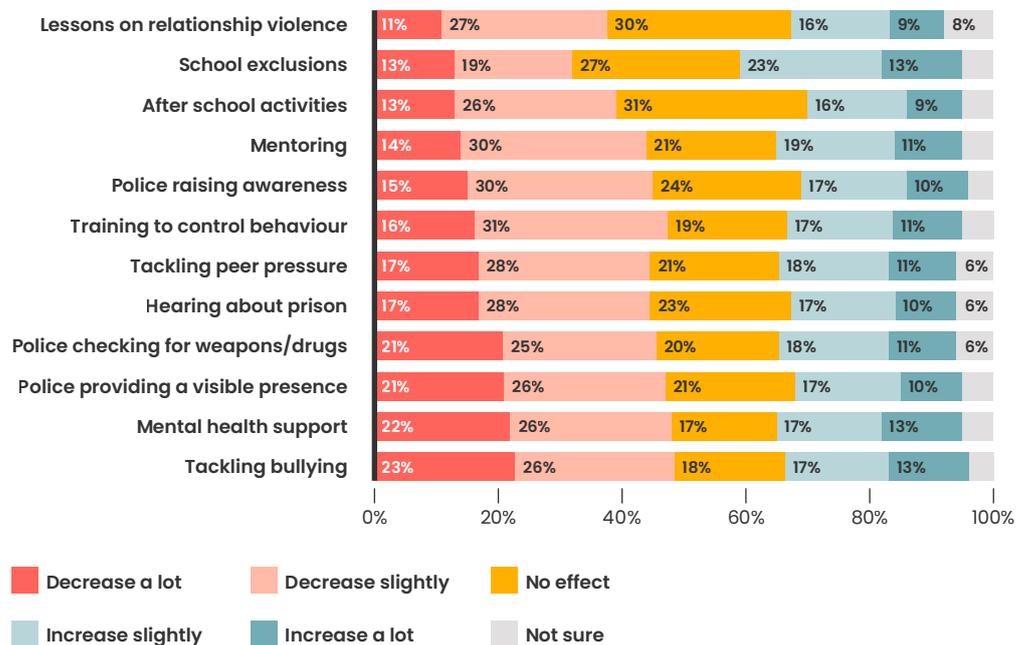
As discussed earlier in the report, we asked victims of violence who they'd told about it. 25% of all 13 to 17-year-olds and 28% of White children said they reported it to the police. Only 13% of Black children said they did this. We don't know why Black children were less likely to report the violence they experienced to the police. It could be due to differences in the types of violence they experienced. However, it may also be explained by a lack of trust between Black communities and the police.

What this all means...

Although specific findings from our report might indicate that Black children hold more positive views towards the police than some would expect, different survey questions elicited contrasting responses. The issue is highly nuanced, and it's important to exercise caution when attempting to arrive at a single conclusion.

What teenage children think about the solutions to violence

Figure 6.11: School based solutions – proportion of 13 to 17-year-olds that thought activity would increase or decrease violence



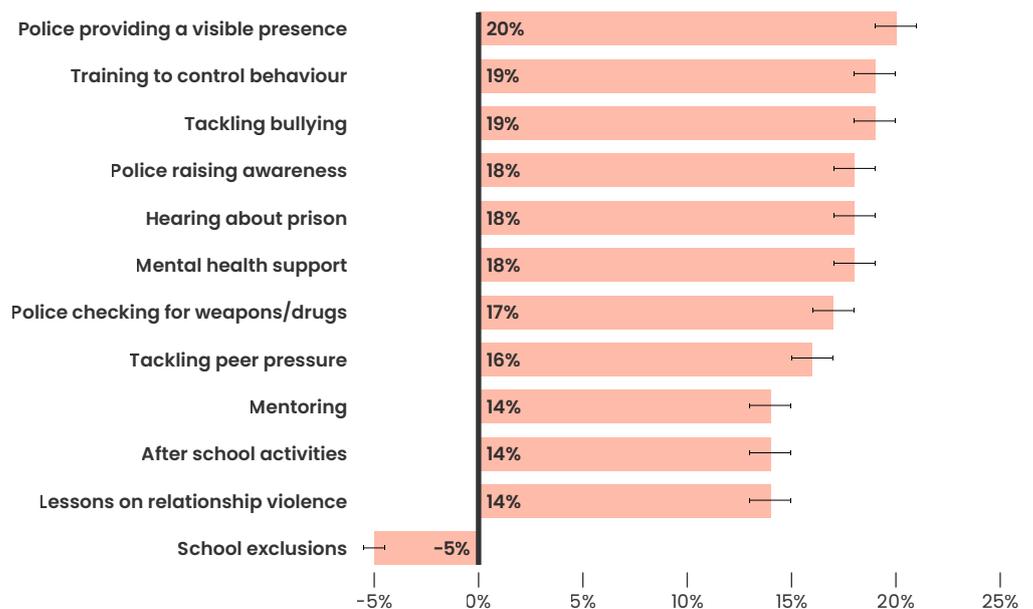
We asked respondents what they thought about alternative potential solutions to violence – whether each solution would increase or decrease it. We did this for activities that can be delivered in schools or in the community. The list of potential solutions was taken from the [YEF Toolkit](#) and what we learned through our [Peer Action Collective](#).

Children had mixed views on what school-based activity would have the biggest impact on violence, with no single activity rated significantly higher than others. In terms of keeping children safe in school, tackling bullying and mental health support were rated the highest in terms of what would decrease violence a lot – by 23% and 22% of respondents, respectively. There was also support for police in schools, providing a visible presence and checking bags for weapons and drugs. After-school programmes and school exclusions were rated among the least impactful in terms of reducing violence a lot – 13% of respondents each.

To explore young people’s views further, we created a net effectiveness score by subtracting the proportion of children who said the activity would increase violence from the proportion that said it would decrease violence (either a little or a lot). Children who said it would have no effect or they didn’t know were excluded.

Figure 6.12: Net effectiveness of school-based solutions to violence – 13 to 17-year-olds

More teenage children thought school exclusions would increase violence than decrease it



Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

School exclusion was the only activity where more teenage children thought it would increase violence rather than decrease it – with 5% more saying it would increase violence than decrease it. Police providing a visible presence in school and raising awareness were rated highly in terms of their perceived net effect on reducing violence, with 20% and 18% more children saying it would decrease violence than increase it. Tackling bullying and providing training to help children control their behaviour were also rated highly.

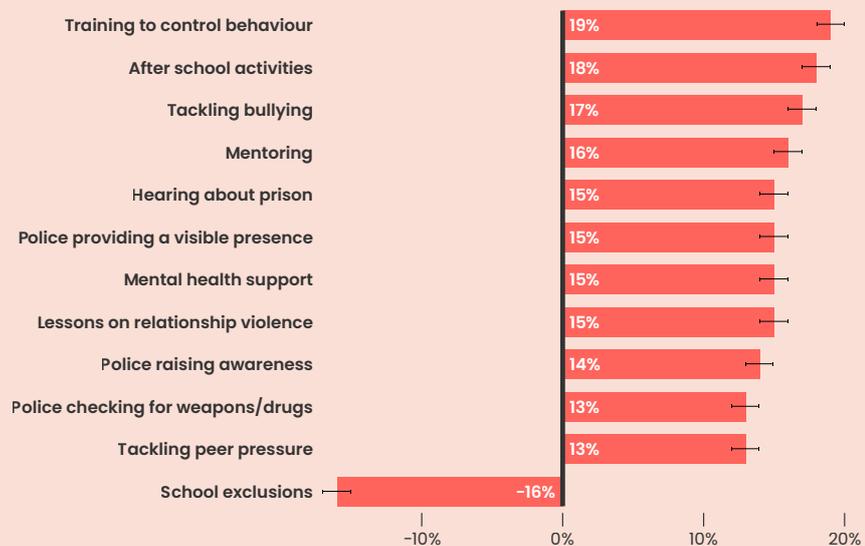
What adults thought

From our separate survey of 3,000 adults, we found that:

Adults held similar views on what school-based solutions are effective at reducing violence.

Like the teenage children surveyed, more adults thought that school exclusions would increase violence than decrease it (16%). Tackling bullying was also rated highly. Although the differences are small, adults were somewhat less supportive of police in schools, with only 13% more adults thinking police checking bags, 14% raising awareness and 15% providing a visible deterrence would decrease violence than increase it.

Figure 6.13: Net effectiveness of school-based solutions to violence – adults



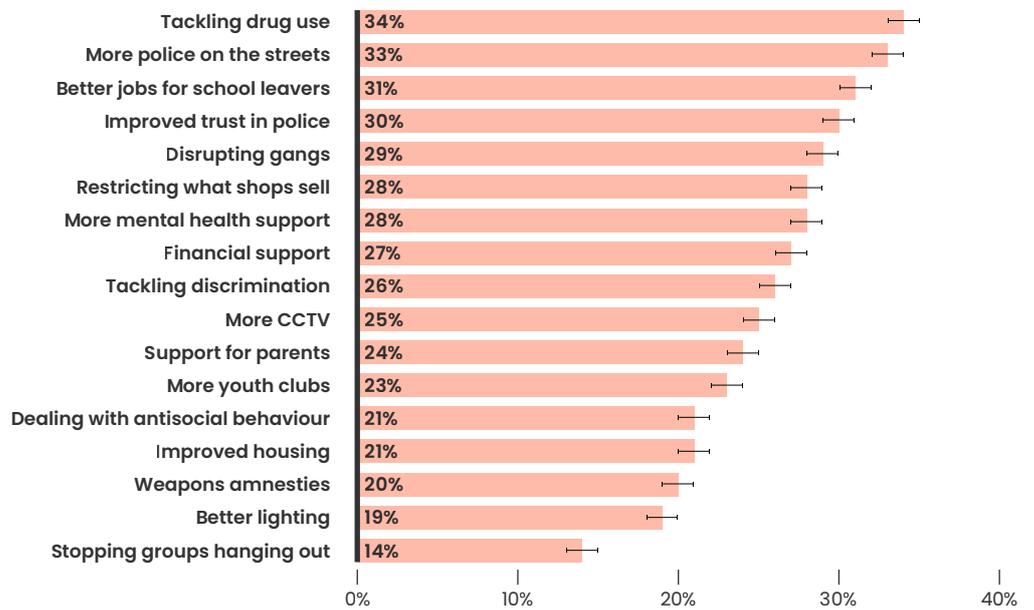
Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

We also asked respondents about their views on community-based solutions to reducing violence. Again, this was the extent they thought it would decrease or increase violence.

Children had mixed views on what community-based solutions are likely to be effective. Tackling drug use and more police on the street were rated highest – with 38% and 37% more children saying they would decrease violence than increase it. Stopping groups hanging around the streets were rated the lowest, with 14% more children saying it would decrease violence than increase it. Boys and girls rated most of the school-based solutions similarly, although boys were significantly less likely to think police in schools would be effective. They were also less likely to think many of the community-based measures would be effective in decreasing violence.

Looking at the net effectiveness ratings by ethnicity, Black and Asian children consistently rated almost all solutions as less effective compared to White and mixed ethnicity children. They were also even more likely to think that school exclusions would increase violence: 14% more Asian children and 13% more Black children thought exclusions would increase violence than decrease it compared to 7% of mixed ethnicity and 2% of White children. These differences were statistically significant.

Figure 6.14: Net effectiveness of community-based solutions to violence – 13 to 17-year-olds



Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

What adults thought

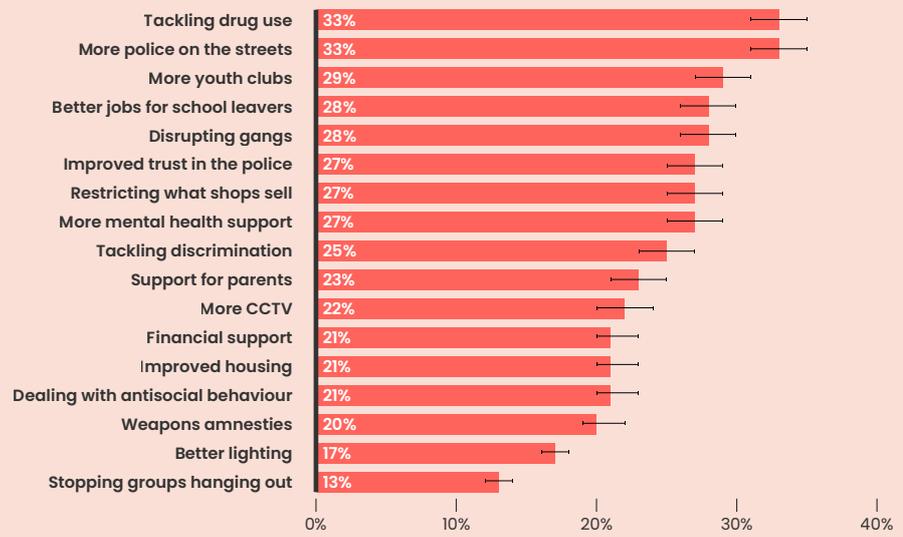
From our separate survey of 3,000, adults we found that:

Adults also held similar views on what community-based solutions are effective at reducing violence.

Like the teenage children that responded to the survey, adults rated tackling drug use and having more police on the street the highest in terms of their perceived impact on reducing violence. Stopping groups of children hanging around and better street lighting were rated the lowest.

Interestingly, provision of more youth clubs was rated as the third most likely solution to reduce violence, with 28% more adults saying it would decrease violence than increase it. However, for children, it was ranked relatively low in effectiveness, with 23% more children saying it was likely to decrease violence than increase it.

Figure 6.15: Net effectiveness of community-based solutions to violence – adults



Note: Error bars represent the 95% confidence intervals.

How do children and adult's views compare to the evidence

The [YEF Toolkit](#) provides an overview of existing research examining the impact of various interventions on reducing children and young people becoming involved in violence. We've looked at how children and adults have responded to the questions about what's effective and compared it to the evidence.

The evidence shows that mental health support, such as cognitive behavioural therapy and trauma-specific therapies, can have a high impact on reducing violence. It also shows that social skills training, including strategies for managing impulsiveness or aggression, can have a high impact on reducing involvement in violence. In line with the research evidence, around half of children and adults said that mental health support and training to control behaviour may decrease violence.

Children and adults rated visible police presence in schools and in the community highly as a way to reduce violence. Research evidence suggests that targeted police patrols for short periods of time in locations that experience high rates of violence can be effective in reducing violence.

However, there is limited research evidence about the role of police visibility in schools preventing violence. We're currently evaluating police in schools programmes to examine this.

Research evidence suggests that mentoring programmes can be moderately effective in reducing involvement in violence. Children rated mentoring less favourably than adults, and this may reflect their own experiences of mentoring programmes.

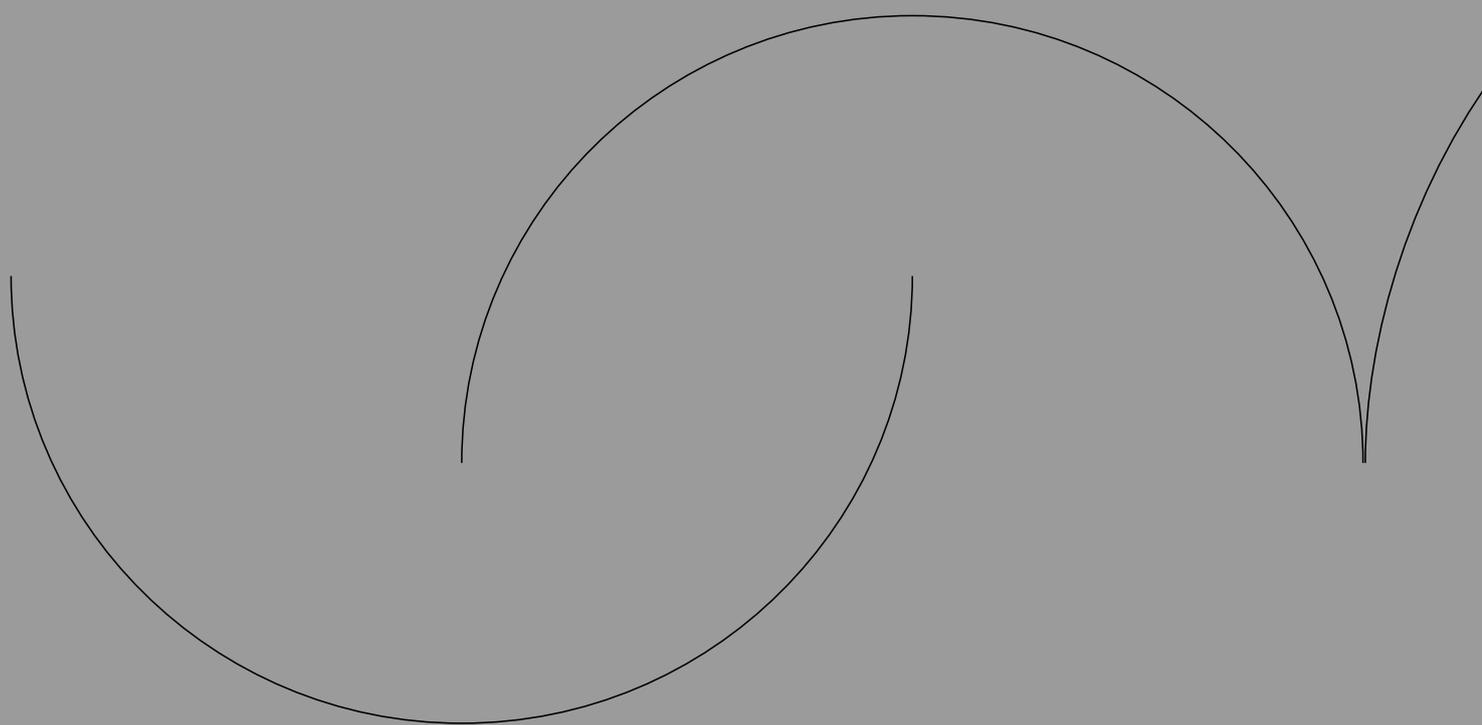
The YEF Toolkit also shows that relationship violence prevention in schools can be effective in reducing all types of violence within relationships, including physical, sexual and emotional violence and violence committed online. Both children and adults rated relationship violence prevention programmes as less effective compared to most other intervention types. This may reflect poor experiences of relationship and sex education in schools or a perception that it's less relevant to preventing violence outside of relationships.

Hearing about prison was rated quite favourably by children and adults. However, the evidence in the Toolkit demonstrates that prison awareness programmes can have a harmful impact on children and may increase their involvement in violence. There is a wide variety of approaches to prison awareness, and the evidence is largely based on programmes that involve taking children to visit prisons.

To see how effective the other approaches are in reducing violence, visit our [Toolkit](#).

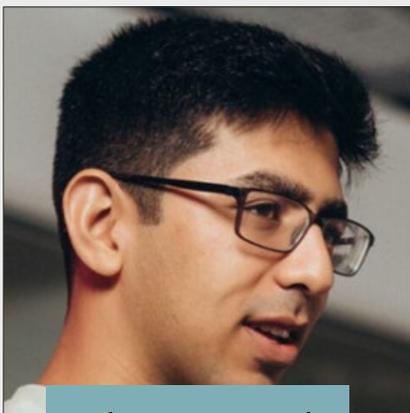
Part 4

Reflections from our
Youth Advisory Board



What our Youth Advisory Board thought

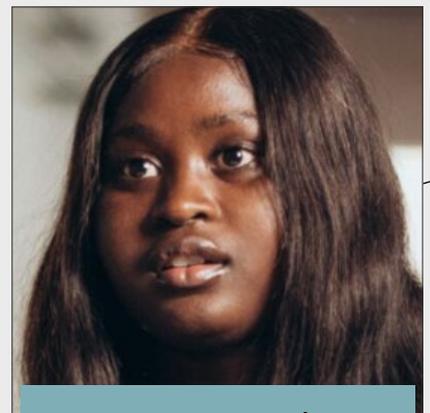
The YEF's Youth Advisory Board (YAB) is a group of young people from a range of backgrounds across England and Wales, many with lived experiences of the themes and issues explored in this report. The YAB help shape YEF's decisions, generate new ideas and provide a youth perspective on what we say and do. We invited six members of the YAB to provide their reflections on the findings in this year's report. We asked them what they agreed or disagreed with, what aspects of the findings most resonated with them and to share their own experiences. Here we summarise some of their views. Some quotes have been anonymised to protect the identities of individual YAB members.



Krishna Ramrakhani
18, from the South East



Lily Moreton
22, from the South West



Fatoumata Bayo Diba
20, from Yorkshire and the Humber



Georgia Toman
20, from Wales



Jibril Rose
19, from London



Shaquille Cooper
20, from the North West



Experiences of violence

YAB members shared a range of views and their own experiences about the prevalence of violence. Our finding that a large minority of children had direct experience of violence, as victims or perpetrators (24%), came as no surprise to some.

"I think it's become very normalised. A lot of us can name people off the top of our heads that we know have been a victim of violence or perpetrated violence. I have friends myself that have been stabbed." – **Shaquille**

"You're exposed to violence from a very young age. And you grow up in survival mode... You're ready at all times. So, I really resonate with that point a lot." – **Jibril**

Yet, they also acknowledged there is variation across the country and across different communities.

"I don't really have to worry about crime, but then it's kind of a reality check whenever I have to travel to a city or I'm staying overnight in London, for example." – **Krishna**

"If you were to say that it's the same across the [whole] country, that would be a bit of a wild statement. It's going to be different in different areas, depending on obviously different factors that are going on." – **Lily**



One area YAB members had particular concern was about knife crime.

*“It’s so normalised that even when you do normal activities like go in the shop... these people are walking around with [a knife], and they’re ready to do [a stabbing] even in broad daylight. It’s so normal that people are just doing it on main streets, midday after school, before school.” – **Shaquille***

*“How many times are you going to say this needs to stop before we actually do something about knife crime.” – **Krishna***

Social media

YAB members agreed that acts of real-world violence are commonplace on social media and hard to avoid, in line with our findings that 60% of teenage children had seen violence online.

*“You see a lot of videos on social media involving children that are involved in violence. It’s usually children chasing each other with knives or children jumping another child.” – **Shaquille***

*“Stabbings are normalised, and you’re like scrolling past it in the news on like social media and it’s just, ‘Oh, someone else has been stabbed,’ and that’s not right; you shouldn’t think that way, but it does come to that because you’re just seeing it every single day.” – **Lily***

Our survey of adults found that 62% had seen violent content in the past 12 months – a similar proportion to children. How common this was among adults wasn’t a surprise, either. One YAB member said it was often adults circulating videos or pictures of violence they’d seen.



The aim was sometimes to identify the culprits. However, as someone else pointed out, this could incite more violence, leading to a “domino effect of more stabbings and shootings”.

Another YAB member reflected that adults were also desensitised:

“...you get all sort of reactions [to posts showing violence] because now you can see people laughing, people you know surprised about it, and the comments [are] actually wild sometimes, even amongst older people.” – Fatoumata

Our survey of teenage children found that over a quarter (26%) had seen content that promotes violence against women and girls. YAB members agreed that content depicting and promoting violence against women and girls is commonplace online.

“The amount of times I’ve seen on social media, not necessarily someone beating up a woman or beating up a girl, but like rape threats... and in general being degrading towards women. It’s a bit like, ‘Where are you going to draw the line?!’” – Georgia



YAB members also discussed a series of disturbing memes that circulated on social media that incited direct acts of sexual violence.

“People were putting all over social media a sexual assault day... People were like we’re gonna go out and do this and everyone’s gonna do it. It was so scary. As a girl, not just young girls but any girl... you’ve got to make sure you look behind you and cross the road and all of these rules that you have in your head, and that that just adds on to it so much.” – Lily

Our survey found that 27% those that had seen content promoting violence against women and girls had this content suggested to them by the platform they used – only 9% of children viewing such content had searched for it. YAB members agreed with the sense of inescapability, created by the way social media makes content available.

*“It just takes you to watch two or three seconds of a video that might have some form of violence for the whole of your page in the next couple of days to be violence, violence and violence.” – **Fatoumata***

*“The crazy thing about TikTok is that you can’t hide from it. You can’t choose what you see because it comes up on your ‘For you’ page most of the time... You could be home, had a bad day and go on your phone, and the first thing you see is someone getting chased with a knife. How difficult is it to escape violence even in your own safe place like at home, in your bedroom? You can’t get away from it.” – **Jibril***

Some had deactivated social media accounts but were still being exposed to violent content via other platforms.

*“I don’t even have social media anymore because [of] the reasons you mentioned before, and it’s still always shared for me all the time because your iMessage or through WhatsApp.” – **Jibril***

The anonymity and ease of connecting with strangers was also discussed as an avenue for exploitation and exposure to criminal activity.

*“I used to think it was just some creepy old people that were trying to groom kids online, but you’d see quite commonly a lot of people my age, like the 20-year-old boys, usually low-level, mid-level drug dealers that sell drugs to kids, and will get them to do really horrible stuff. It’s something I couldn’t believe when I first heard about it being a thing, and also how vulnerable children are online.” – **Shaquille***



On discussing what should be done about online violence, YAB members underlined the importance of safeguarding and the role parents should play in ensuring children are kept safe.

“I’d say it’s best to inform parents as much as humanly possible, to let them understand that these things do happen, that this is something that is common; you need to make sure that your kids are safe at least if they’re going to use social media.” – Shaquille

Drivers and solutions to violence

YAB members discussed their views on the main drivers of violence. While collectively they agreed with the findings from our survey that gangs and drugs were a big part of the problem, they also felt this was rooted in a deeper problem: poverty and financial instability.



‘I would imagine that they’re [drugs and gangs] like the first layer of the drivers of violence and the deeper layer, so to say, would be something like poverty – that what’s causing people to go to gun violence and drugs.’ – Krishna

“If you ask someone that might be in gangs, or if you ask anyone why would you be involved in guns or why would you deal with drugs, it’s ‘to make money’. And why would you make money, ‘Well, because I don’t have money in my house; I come from a disadvantaged background.’ I think poverty is a huge, if not to say the main, cause of all these problems.” – Fatoumata

“I think the issue of poverty is it’s all the ripple effect it has... It starts when you’re young, and you might see the elders on your block making money, and they look like you, so you think if they can make money, so can I, and then you kind of go to them to learn how they make money, and they become a role model... your mentor in the streets.” – Jibril

They also discussed the family environment and the challenges of breaking the cycle of poverty and violence.

*“We all talk about breaking generational curses – I sometimes see certain people and ask myself, ‘If this is your family situation or if this is where your family comes from and this is your background, why would you not want to better your life?’ They can’t. They grow up in that environment, and they think that’s the only thing they can do, that’s the best they can do, and that’s a reality now, so it’s really hard for them to just live their life... It has deeper roots, especially if like especially if you’ve been brought up in that environment.” – **Fatoumata***

On the solutions to violence, YAB members discussed the survey finding that a majority thought that police in schools would help reduce violence. While some YAB members pointed out the potential positive impacts on feelings of safety, the overall impression was negative, with most raising concerns.

*“I don’t agree with it. I think that schools are a safe place, and to bring in someone that might not necessarily make that person feel safe, you’re taking that safe place away from that young person. From personal experience having a police officer... in my school didn’t reduce violence; it didn’t make it worse – the fights just carried on.” – **Lily***

Other YAB members agreed:

*“I think schools are meant to be a safe place – a place where you grow, where you learn, where you have fun. Police belong where criminals are or in prisons. Why are they in the playground where kids play? How do you think a child feels running up and down and they see a handcuff on the police officer’s hip, or they see a body camera on their shoulder. Why are there police in schools? I don’t understand.” – **Jibril***



Others suggested there could be a role for the police in schools, but this depended on what they did and how they conducted themselves.

“You imagine school to be a safe place, but what if your school isn’t a safe place and you actually want it to become a safe place?” – Krishna

“It depends how they conduct themselves. If they walk around like prison wardens, I feel like that had quite a negative impact. If the police officer talks with the kids, engages with them in certain activities, maybe football, stuff like that... I feel like that can have a positive impact.” – Shaquille

Involvement with violence

YAB members discussed what motivates individuals to commit acts of violence. They agreed with our survey finding that retaliation can be a significant factor – we found that 69% of teenage children who committed violence were provoked in some way – particularly for gang violence:

“[Where I’m from], we have a divide right now between the north and south... and a lot of our friends who’ve died or who are in jail now it’s because of retaliation. Something might happen to one of your friends, and then because it happened to your friend, you feel angry and you direct that anger after he did it, and then this is a constant back and forth.” – Jibril

They also agreed that there was a large overlap between victims and perpetrators of violence (our survey found that nearly 48% of perpetrators were also victims), with victimisation often leading to a cycle of violence. In particular, they discussed the relationship between being bullied and later retaliation:

“In terms of being bullied, I feel like if you’re being bullied and then maybe they might think that because this happened to them is okay, so it’s okay if they do it to someone else.” – Lily

“Being bullied creates a domino effect, where you pick someone smaller than you or weaker than you to bully to make yourself feel better, then they become a bully, and then someone else becomes a bully.” – Jibril

“Also going back to bullying, when it comes to the younger kids, I think bullying is something that affects them even more... I think kids actually internalise a lot of these things. Like I’ve talked to kids that they get bullied, you ask them how they feel about it, and I’m not kidding this one kid told me he wants to be a gang member just to retaliate.” – Fatoumata

Others talked about lack of control and not being able to regulate emotions as a reason some commit acts of violence:

“Some young people aren’t going to know how to regulate their emotions yet, so they’re not going to know what to do with those feelings.” – Lily



On the issue of what support young people who commit, or are vulnerable to being involved in, violence receive, there was recognition that it was lacking. Some felt this contributed to the cycle of violence and that we don't intervene early enough:

"It says a lot about the support that we give – well, lack of support that we give – to people at a victim level because they're just going on and perpetrating. They obviously didn't get the right support they needed, and it just goes around in a circle." – Lily

One YAB member shared their experiences of being supported by a youth worker. While they did receive some support, they felt this wasn't enough:

"When I had a youth worker, I only seen him once a week for about an hour or so. The support that you do get is very limited, I believe, and I feel like they're overworked and underpaid and they're so understaffed... I feel like the support isn't there. Or it's there, but it's just not enough because nothing really changes going to see the youth worker for an hour... You come back home, you come back to the problems." – Anonymous

Others agreed:

"I had like someone who would take me out like once a week as well and then but like suddenly after a few weeks they just disappeared because there's no funding for it – they can't carry on." – Anonymous

Impacts of violence

YAB members discussed the finding that 20% of children said they'd skipped school due to feeling unsafe. There was a mixture of views, with some thinking the figure would be a lot higher than that:

"I thought it'd be higher, to be fair... because if you're counting like bullying as violence, then I thought it would be way higher than 20%." – Lily

While others were surprised and thought it'd be a lot lower:

"I would have thought well lower [than 20%]. I mean to skip it for violence... It's crazy to think they're literally fleeing the school. It shows how much safety they feel they have in school." – Shaquille

This finding that a sizeable proportion of children skipped school due to feeling unsafe seems at odds with the separate finding from the survey that the significant majority of 13 to 17-year-olds also felt safe or very safe at school (85%) or before or after school (74%). This polarised position was reflected in some of the YAB members own experiences. For one, school was their safe space:

"I literally was living in my school. I would sign up for extracurricular stuff. I did drama... and because my head of school introduced me to that one club she was running, I was reading after school. I was getting involved in so many activities after school. My neighbourhood was very problematic and outside wasn't a safe place – she created a safe space in school." – Fatoumata



For others, school is where they were exposed to violence, but they recognised this wasn't the experience for everyone:

"For me, it's the opposite. That was normal for me, as in like going to school and seeing violence. I wanted to go to school because I was very extroverted. My friends were all there and I will be seeing knives in the playground or selling weed in in the toilets... But as you said, outside of London that's not normal." – **Jibril**

In discussing the other places where they felt safe growing up, there was a range of views.

"I generally feel like I didn't have a single safe place growing up other than [the] football pitch – I think football, having something to do, a hobby, finding something where you can escape reality for a bit, even it's [if] 90 minutes, that for me was that safe place." – **Jibril**

Others said that while they agreed with the survey's finding that the streets are not typically where children are safe from violence, it can sometimes feel like they are:

"I did sometimes felt like safer outside on the streets with my friends, and I feel like that's a perspective that a lot of people ignore because the streets aren't really safe, but I feel like sometimes you can make [that] your safe space because you're so used to it, there's the only normal thing around you." – **Fatoumata**

We asked YAB members what their views were on our finding that many young people feel unsafe at or around youth clubs. Several of their own experiences reflected this finding.

"I couldn't really go to youth clubs because anyone could go to a youth club. If the youth club is in the middle of the area where most of the crime is, then you're going to see a lot of gang members in the youth clubs, you're going to see elders in the youth club, and they're going to get up to no good." – Jibril

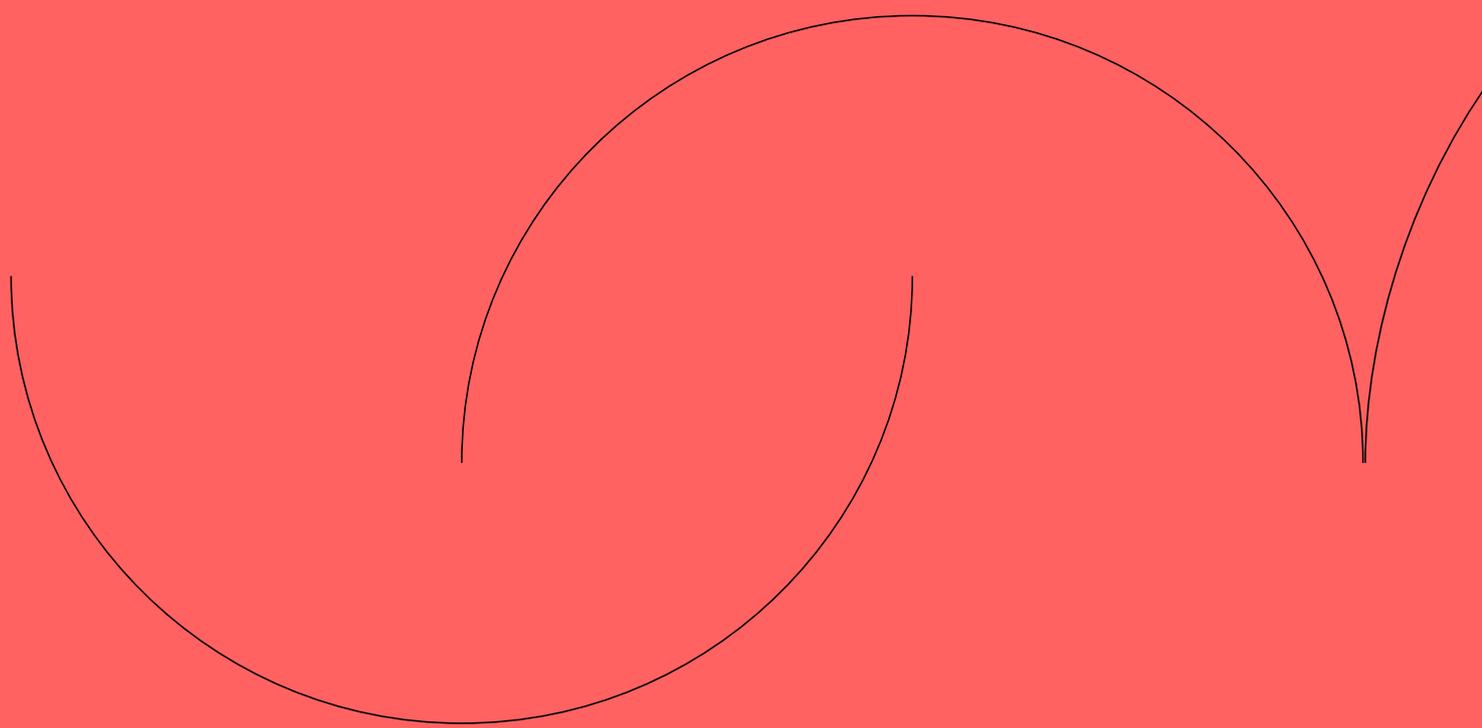
"There were so many gang members when I was working [in a youth club]. The kids were all from different areas, and sometimes these areas... even if you were a kid that didn't do anything, and you were from there, these kids didn't like it – they just batter you afterwards." – Anonymous

Sharing their experience of the youth club where they work, one YAB member said:

"We don't have the funding or the resources to be able to protect the young people like we would want to. Some weeks, we cannot open because it's not safe enough for the young people and we don't know what's going to happen." – Lily

Part 5

Annexes



Annex 1

How we recruited participants for the child survey

To recruit this year's sample, we partnered with Walr, the same survey panel provider we used last year. Walr work with a selection of partners who have existing pools of adult participants. The survey was advertised widely to these pools of participants. Financial compensation for participation was offered. Any parent who had a child interested in participating followed a link to complete the survey online, where they were asked whether they fit eligibility criteria. Parents then answered some questions themselves before passing the survey to their child for completion. Participants were eligible if:

- They had a child aged 13 to 17-years-old
- Who was willing and able to take part, and
- They lived in England and Wales.

During recruitment, gender, age, region and ethnicity were all monitored. In order to maximise recruitment across all groups, no hard quotas were set, but we had a minimum target sample size for all groups and particularly for Black, Asian, mixed and other ethnicity children to make sure we recruited enough children from each group. Children from the older age groups (particularly 17-year-olds) and Asian backgrounds were slightly underrepresented. After data collection was completed, the data were cleaned to remove responses with implausibly fast response times ("speeders") and unrealistic patterns of responding (e.g. "straight-liners").

As those that responded were self-selecting, this may have led to some bias in the results. It's unclear in what direction those biases may affect the results.

Questions asked in the child survey

Experiences of violence

As with last year's report, we asked about experiences of violence in two ways. First, we asked whether children had experienced violent crime as a victim, witness and/or perpetrator, based on the following definition.

"By violent crime, we mean the use of force or threat of force against another person or people, for example punching someone, threatening someone with a weapon or mugging someone. This also includes sexual assault, which is when somebody intentionally touches someone in a sexual way without their consent."

Second, we asked children whether they'd experienced (separately for victims, witnesses or perpetrators of violence) any of the following:

Robbery:

"Someone used force or threats to steal or take something from another person."

Physical assault:

"Someone kicked, hit, pushed/shoved or was physically violent in some way towards another person."

Sexual assault:

"Someone intentionally touched another person in a sexual way, e.g. touching, grabbing or kissing, without their consent (permission). Both girls/women and boys/men can be sexually assaulted by either boys/ men or girls/women."

Weapons offences:

"Someone used or threatened to use a weapon on another person."

Any child who said they were a victim, witness or perpetrator (either in response to the first, broad question or the more specific questions about certain acts of violence) was counted as a victim, witness or perpetrator of violence.

We recognise that this definition is potentially broad, including everything from playground fights or bullying through to robbery, weapon use and sexual assault. Experiences like "pushing, kicking and shoving" may be seen as less serious forms of violence. However, we believe

it's important to include them. Even minor acts of violence can have lasting impacts on victims.

In order to distinguish between more and less serious acts of violence, this year we have additionally asked whether the violence experienced (as victims, witnesses or perpetrators of violence) led to physical harm.

"Were you [they] bruised, scratched, cut, physically hurt or injured in any way? If this happened more than once, please think about all occasions where you [they] were physically harmed."¹⁰

Asking this allowed us to look at those who experienced acts of more serious violence. The wording is consistent with how the Crime Survey of England and Wales asks about the severity of violence experienced.

As with last year, we also asked about the specific acts of violence seen online, specifically on social media. We wanted to find out about acts of real-world violence only and not content seen in movies, on TV or the news or in video games.

¹⁰ Note that this question was not put to victims of sexual assault.

“Have you seen content on social media in the form of messages or posts (text, audio or video) that included the following? Don’t include anything you have heard about on the news or seen in films or TV shows – we’re interested in things involving people you know, friends of friends or people in your local area.

- Threats to beat up another child or a group of children or young people*
- Fights involving children or young people*
- Sexually violent content or threats (e.g. images or threats of sexual assault)*
- Children or young people carrying, promoting or using weapons (e.g. a knife, screwdriver or club)*
- Children or young people being part of or promoting gang¹¹*
- Children or young people using illegal drugs¹¹*
- Children or young people promoting illegal drugs¹¹*
- Glorifying previous attacks (e.g. assaults, murders) of other young people¹¹*
- Any other violent content.”*

In recognition of increasing concerns about content on social media that promotes violence against women and girls, we introduced a new question to explore this issue. The definition we used was adapted from the definition of the United Nations General Assembly for violence against women and girls.

¹¹ While we asked about these types of content, they weren’t included in our definition of violent content seen online as they are not specifically depictions of violence, in and of themselves.

“In the last 12 months, have you seen material on social media that encourages violence against women or girls? This includes videos or posts that encourage or show any act of violence that might lead to physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women or girls. For example, this could be assault or harassment (such as staring, name-calling or touching without someone’s permission), controlling behaviour (such as telling someone where they can go or who they can speak to) or holding someone without letting them go.”

We also ask how this content was reached – whether it was searched for, sent to them or found on other people’s profiles or streams, or whether it was promoted to them by the platforms they used.

Respondents’ backgrounds

In addition to questions about children’s experiences of violence, we also asked several questions about respondents’ backgrounds, home and school lives, risk-taking behaviour, and interactions with the criminal justice system.

Below, we set out some of the key questions and definitions.

Parental mental health concerns	Parents were asked: “In the last 12 months, have you had any concerns about [the child completing the survey’s] mental health or emotional, behavioural or concentration problems?” This is consistent with wording used in the NHS’s Mental Health of Children and Young People survey.
Had police contact	All children were asked: “Have you ever been arrested by the police or been spoken to by the police for a crime they suspected you did?”. In our analysis, we include all those that said, “Yes, in the last 12 months”.
Supported by a social worker	All children were asked: “Do you now interact, or have you ever interacted, with a care worker or social worker?”
Received free school meals	All children were asked: “Have you received free school meals this year at your school?”

Attends Pupil Referral Unit	All children were asked: "What type of school are you currently at or education are you undertaking?" The options were: "A state-funded secondary school college or sixth-form" or "An independent/private secondary school or sixth-form" or "Apprenticeship" or "A Pupil Referral Unit or other form of alternative education provision" or "Home schooled" or "Not currently in education".
Regularly misses education	All children who didn't select "not currently in education" to the question above were asked: "Which of the following best describes your school or college attendance on the average week?" They were categorised as regularly missing education if they selected "I often miss classes" or "I don't attend classes regularly", or if they were not currently in education.
Non-two-parent household	All children were asked who they lived with most of the time. A non-two-parent household includes anyone who selected either: "split custody between both your parents" or "one of your parents" or "a grandparent or grandparents" or "other relative" or "carer/guardian not related to you".
Lives in a deprived area	All parents were asked to provide the postcode sector where they lived (e.g. "S6 2" for the postcode "S6 2NA"). To this, we matched the IDACI (Income Deprivation Affecting Children) score based on the Lower Super Output Area (LSOA) in which they lived. "Lives in a deprived area" was defined as the 20% most deprived LSOAs based on IDACI.
Been in a gang	All children were asked: "In the last 12 months, have you been in a gang? By 'gang', we mean a group of young people who think of themselves as a gang, probably with a name, and are involved in violence or other crime". This definition is based Home Office guidelines for a definition of a "street gang".
Carried a weapon	All children were asked: "In the last 12 months, have you carried a weapon (such as a knife, screwdriver or bat)?"
Supported by a youth offending team	All children were asked: "Are you currently being supported by a youth offending team?"
Has used drugs	Our approach to asking about drug use was based on NHS Digital's Smoking, Drinking and Drug Use among Young People in England survey. All children were asked: "In the last 12 months, have you used the following (not prescribed to you by a doctor)?" Anyone who said yes to one of the list drugs was counted as someone who used drugs. The list of drugs included "Semeron/Sem", which is a fictional drug. Anyone who said yes to this was excluded from the analysis about drug use. This is consistent with the approach used by the NHS in their survey.

Annex 2

Weighting and sample composition

All results were adjusted using non-response weighting to reflect the underlying make-up of the population of children aged 13 to 17 in England and Wales, based on [Census 2021 data](#). The weighting took account of ethnicity, age, gender and regional distribution. We did not do household weighting. This was in line with the approach taken last year.

This year, we additionally weighted to take account of the economic and household backgrounds of the respondents, in particular free school meal rates and the proportion of children supported by a social worker. Following the initial weighting, these both appeared higher than what we'd expect for the average rates across England and Wales – 26% saying they were supported by a social worker, and 38% saying they received free school meals. The additional weighting factors were derived as follows:

- Free school meal rates: We estimated the average proportion of children eligible for free school meals across England and Wales at 23.8%, based on the latest [Department for Education \(DfE\) data](#) for England and [StatsWales data](#) for Wales.
- Children supported by a social worker: There's no single estimate of the proportion of children that have ever been supported by a social worker. We've used two figures. The [DfE 2019 review of children in need](#) found that 10% of children had needed a social worker at some point between 2012 and 2013 and 2017 and 2018. DfE have also separately estimated that [around 20% of children](#) will have had support from a social worker by their 16th birthday. We took the average of these two figures – 15%.

To compare what impact the weighting had, we re-ran the main analyses with and without the weighting applied. The overall prevalence rates for victimisation (21% unweighted and 16% weighted) and perpetration (20% unweighted and 15% weighted) were lower with the weighting.

However, when we compared the underlying breakdowns of the results (e.g. by region, ethnicity and vulnerability to violence), the pattern of results remains broadly the same. This makes us confident that the weighting successfully adjusted the sample to be more nationally representative in terms of vulnerability and had done so equally across groups.

The tables below provide a breakdown of the sample composition before and after weighting.

Table A2.1: Weighted and unweighted sample composition – gender

	Unweighted	Weighted
Boys	3,780 (50%)	3,850 (51%)
Girls	3,714 (49%)	3,645 (48%)
Other	64 (1%)	64 (1%)
Prefer not to say	16 (0.2%)	16 (0.2%)

Table A2.2: Weighted and unweighted sample composition – age

	Unweighted	Weighted
13	1,867 (25%)	1,576 (21%)
14	1,841 (24%)	1,530 (20%)
15	1,791 (24%)	1,486 (20%)
16	1,213 (16%)	1,500 (20%)
17	862 (11%)	1,482 (20%)

Table A2.3: Weighted and unweighted sample composition – region

	Unweighted	Weighted
East Midlands	663 (9%)	611 (8%)
East of England	592 (8%)	803 (11%)
London	1,276 (17%)	1,124 (15%)
North East	442 (6%)	322 (4%)

North West	976 (13%)	956 (13%)
South East	1,045 (14%)	1,197 (16%)
South West	607 (8%)	677 (9%)
Wales	398 (5%)	386 (5%)
West Midlands	820 (11%)	795 (11%)
Yorkshire and the Humber	755 (10%)	704 (9%)

Table A2.4: Weighted and unweighted sample composition – ethnicity*

	Unweighted	Weighted
Asian	634 (8%)	888 (12%)
Black	479 (6%)	454 (6%)
Mixed	590 (8%)	423 (6%)
White	5,785 (76%)	5,581 (74%)
Other	50 (1%)	192 (3%)
Prefer not to say	36 (0.5%)	36 (0.5%)

*Ethnicity was asked based on Census 2021 definitions, for the 19 individual groups specified and aggregated to broader categories.

Table A2.5: Weighted and unweighted sample composition – vulnerabilities

	Unweighted	Weighted
Non-two-parent household	2,554 (34%)	2,357 (31%)
Received free school meals	2,992 (40%)	1,781 (24%)
Ever supported by a social worker	2,030 (27%)	1,103 (15%)
Lives in deprived area*	1,174 (16%)	1,063 (14%)
Regularly misses education	704 (9%)	591 (8%)
Attends Pupil Referral Unit	136 (2%)	88 (1%)
Parental mental health concerns	4,567 (60%)	4,161 (55%)
Has used drugs	1,186 (16%)	1,013 (13%)

Been in a gang	574 (8%)	359 (5%)
Carried a weapon	489 (6%)	313 (4%)
Supported by a youth offending team	760 (10%)	404 (5%)
Had contact with the police**	420 (6%)	233 (3%)

*Parents only provided sufficient postcode information for 53% of children. **Contact with the police where they were suspected of an offence.

Annex 3

Breakdown of headline results

Table A3.1: 13 to 17-year-olds who'd been victims of different types of violence in the past 12 months, by characteristics – weighted counts and proportion of respondents

	Number of respondents		Victim of any violence	Violence with physical injury	Robbery*	Physical assault*	Sexual assault*	Weapons offences*
	Total	Detailed questions						
Total	7574	5139	1244 (16%) [16-17%]	780 (10%) [10-11%]	303 (6%) [5-7%]	642 (12%) [12-13%]	296 (6%) [5-6%]	294 (6%) [5-6%]
Gender								
Boys	3850	2644	687 (18%) [17-19%]	463 (12%) [11-13%]	191 (7%) [6-8%]	393 (15%) [14-16%]	120 (5%) [4-5%]	191 (7%) [6-8%]
Girls	3645	2445	537 (15%) [14-16%]	309 (8%) [8-9%]	112 (5%) [4-5%]	241 (10%) [9-11%]	165 (7%) [6-8%]	99 (4%) [3-5%]
Age								
13	1576	1044	271 (17%) [15-19%]	161 (10%) [9-12%]	65 (6%) [5-8%]	152 (15%) [13-17%]	[s]	[s]
14	1530	1011	280 (18%) [16-20%]	177 (12%) [10-13%]	70 (7%) [5-9%]	143 (14%) [12-16%]	66 (7%) [5-8%]	69 (7%) [5-9%]
15	1486	1005	252 (17%) [15-19%]	169 (11%) [10-13%]	75 (7%) [6-9%]	120 (12%) [10-14%]	61 (6%) [5-8%]	73 (7%) [6-9%]
16	1500	1065	232 (15%) [14-17%]	136 (9%) [8-11%]	55 (5%) [4-7%]	124 (12%) [10-14%]	60 (6%) [4-7%]	54 (5%) [4-7%]
17	1482	1013	209 (14%) [12-16%]	138 (9%) [8-11%]	[s]	103 (10%) [8-12%]	63 (6%) [5-8%]	[s]
Region								
East Midlands	611	406	90 (15%) [12-18%]	58 (10%) [7-12%]	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]
East of England	803	568	118 (15%) [12-17%]	64 (8%) [6-10%]	[s]	61 (11%) [8-14%]	[s]	[s]
London	1124	751	283 (25%) [23-28%]	205 (18%) [16-21%]	84 (11%) [9-14%]	125 (17%) [14-19%]	91 (12%) [10-15%]	80 (11%) [9-13%]
North East	322	227	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]

	Number of respondents		Victim of any violence	Violence with physical injury	Robbery*	Physical assault*	Sexual assault*	Weapons offences*
	Total	Detailed questions						
North West	956	660	165 (17%) [15-20%]	97 (10%) [8-12%]	[s]	88 (13%) [11-16%]	[s]	[s]
South East	1197	819	144 (12%) [10-14%]	87 (7%) [6-9%]	[s]	79 (10%) [8-12%]	[s]	[s]
South West	677	439	86 (13%) [10-15%]	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]
Wales	386	268	66 (17%) [14-21%]	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]
West Midlands	795	512	111 (14%) [12-17%]	64 (8%) [6-10%]	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]
Yorkshire and the Humber	704	489	135 (19%) [16-22%]	92 (13%) [11-16%]	[s]	79 (16%) [13-20%]	[s]	[s]
Ethnicity								
Asian	888	518	126 (14%) [12-17%]	66 (7%) [6-9%]	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]
Black	454	290	97 (21%) [18-25%]	52 (11%) [9-15%]	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]
Mixed	423	280	78 (18%) [15-22%]	53 (13%) [10-16%]	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]
White	5581	3914	899 (16%) [15-17%]	585 (10%) [10-11%]	214 (5%) [5-6%]	496 (13%) [12-14%]	204 (5%) [5-6%]	216 (6%) [5-6%]
Other	192	124	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]
Experiences of violence								
Victims of violence	1244	1127	1244 (100%) [100-100%]	780 (63%) [60-65%]	303 (27%) [24-30%]	642 (57%) [54-60%]	296 (26%) [24-29%]	294 (26%) [24-29%]
Perpetrators of violence	1148	969	555 (48%) [45-51%]	414 (36%) [33-39%]	176 (18%) [16-21%]	275 (28%) [26-31%]	168 (17%) [15-20%]	158 (16%) [14-19%]
Victims or perpetrators	1837	1577	1244 (68%) [66-70%]	780 (42%) [40-45%]	303 (19%) [17-21%]	642 (41%) [38-43%]	296 (19%) [17-21%]	294 (19%) [17-21%]
Not victims or perpetrators	5737	3561	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Vulnerabilities to violence								
Non-two-parent household	2357	1609	405 (17%) [16-19%]	251 (11%) [9-12%]	88 (5%) [4-7%]	219 (14%) [12-15%]	91 (6%) [5-7%]	88 (5%) [4-7%]

	Number of respondents		Victim of any violence	Violence with physical injury	Robbery*	Physical assault*	Sexual assault*	Weapons offences*
	Total	Detailed questions						
Received free school meals	1781	1283	524 (29%) [27-32%]	381 (21%) [20-23%]	170 (13%) [12-15%]	259 (20%) [18-22%]	150 (12%) [10-14%]	151 (12%) [10-14%]
Ever supported by social worker	1103	837	413 (37%) [35-40%]	301 (27%) [25-30%]	120 (14%) [12-17%]	194 (23%) [20-26%]	136 (16%) [14-19%]	118 (14%) [12-17%]
Lives in deprived area	1063	770	210 (20%) [17-22%]	137 (13%) [11-15%]	69 (9%) [7-11%]	100 (13%) [11-16%]	54 (7%) [5-9%]	[s]
Regularly misses education	591	391	189 (32%) [28-36%]	130 (22%) [19-26%]	[s]	106 (27%) [23-32%]	52 (13%) [10-17%]	[s]
Attends Pupil Referral Unit	88	57	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]
Parental mental health concern	4161	2861	957 (23%) [22-24%]	634 (15%) [14-16%]	230 (8%) [7-9%]	502 (18%) [16-19%]	250 (9%) [8-10%]	249 (9%) [8-10%]
Has used drugs	1013	708	364 (36%) [33-39%]	235 (23%) [21-26%]	88 (12%) [10-15%]	166 (23%) [21-27%]	100 (14%) [12-17%]	95 (13%) [11-16%]
Been in a gang	359	277	226 (63%) [58-68%]	188 (52%) [47-57%]	91 (33%) [28-39%]	107 (39%) [33-45%]	100 (36%) [31-42%]	92 (33%) [28-39%]
Carried a weapon	313	249	204 (65%) [60-70%]	176 (56%) [51-62%]	84 (34%) [28-40%]	104 (42%) [36-48%]	76 (31%) [25-37%]	77 (31%) [26-37%]
Supported by a youth offending team	404	330	238 (59%) [54-64%]	194 (48%) [43-53%]	98 (30%) [25-35%]	101 (31%) [26-36%]	103 (31%) [27-37%]	85 (26%) [21-31%]
Had contact with police**	233	205	178 (76%) [71-81%]	157 (67%) [61-73%]	84 (41%) [34-48%]	87 (43%) [36-49%]	78 (38%) [32-45%]	80 (39%) [33-46%]

*Proportion out of 13-17-year-olds that answered detailed questions about victimisation (“Detailed questions” column). Any violence and violence with physical injury are proportions out of the total number of respondents. **Contact with the police where they were suspected of an offence. [s] Suppressed due to count less than 50; [] 95% confidence interval.

Table A3.2: 13 to 17-year-olds who'd perpetrated different types of violence in the past 12 months, by characteristics – weighted counts and proportion of respondents

	Number of respondents		Perpetrator of any violence	Violence with physical injury	Robbery*	Physical assault*	Sexual assault*	Weapons offences*
	Total	Detailed questions						
Total	7574	5421	1148 (15%) [14-16%]	568 (7%) [7-8%]	420 (8%) [7-8%]	921 (17%) [16-18%]	348 (6%) [6-7%]	370 (7%) [6-8%]
Gender								
Boys	3850	2757	663 (17%) [16-18%]	354 (9%) [8-10%]	267 (10%) [9-11%]	530 (19%) [18-21%]	226 (8%) [7-9%]	234 (9%) [8-10%]
Girls	3645	2607	472 (13%) [12-14%]	209 (6%) [5-7%]	150 (6%) [5-7%]	380 (15%) [13-16%]	120 (5%) [4-5%]	132 (5%) [4-6%]
Age								
13	1576	1108	244 (15%) [14-17%]	109 (7%) [6-8%]	74 (7%) [5-8%]	201 (18%) [16-21%]	53 (5%) [4-6%]	64 (6%) [5-7%]
14	1530	1048	284 (19%) [17-21%]	139 (9%) [8-11%]	110 (11%) [9-13%]	219 (21%) [19-23%]	89 (9%) [7-10%]	99 (9%) [8-11%]
15	1486	1052	243 (16%) [15-18%]	122 (8%) [7-10%]	96 (9%) [8-11%]	199 (19%) [17-21%]	81 (8%) [6-9%]	81 (8%) [6-10%]
16	1500	1110	214 (14%) [13-16%]	110 (7%) [6-9%]	68 (6%) [5-8%]	172 (16%) [14-18%]	61 (5%) [4-7%]	55 (5%) [4-6%]
17	1482	1104	163 (11%) [9-13%]	88 (6%) [5-7%]	71 (6%) [5-8%]	130 (12%) [10-14%]	64 (6%) [5-7%]	70 (6%) [5-8%]
Region								
East Midlands	611	423	85 (14%) [11-17%]	[s]	[s]	57 (14%) [11-17%]	[s]	[s]
East of England	803	582	111 (14%) [12-16%]	[s]	[s]	98 (17%) [14-20%]	[s]	[s]
London	1124	790	295 (26%) [24-29%]	190 (17%) [15-19%]	169 (21%) [19-24%]	235 (30%) [27-33%]	160 (20%) [18-23%]	159 (20%) [17-23%]
North East	322	237	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]
North West	956	686	129 (13%) [11-16%]	62 (6%) [5-8%]	[s]	105 (15%) [13-18%]	[s]	[s]
South East	1197	896	166 (14%) [12-16%]	64 (5%) [4-7%]	[s]	139 (16%) [13-18%]	[s]	[s]
South West	677	459	74 (11%) [9-14%]	[s]	[s]	62 (14%) [11-17%]	[s]	[s]
Wales	386	291	58 (15%) [12-19%]	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]
West Midlands	795	558	97 (12%) [10-15%]	[s]	[s]	71 (13%) [10-16%]	[s]	[s]
Yorkshire and the Humber	704	499	96 (14%) [11-16%]	[s]	[s]	79 (16%) [13-19%]	[s]	[s]
Ethnicity								

	Number of respondents		Perpetrator of any violence	Violence with physical injury	Robbery*	Physical assault*	Sexual assault*	Weapons offences*
	Total	Detailed questions						
Asian	888	560	121 (14%) [11-16%]	[s]	[s]	77 (14%) [11-17%]	[s]	[s]
Black	454	331	100 (22%) [18-26%]	[s]	[s]	80 (24%) [20-29%]	[s]	[s]
Mixed	423	286	74 (17%) [14-21%]	[s]	[s]	62 (22%) [17-27%]	[s]	[s]
White	5581	4104	799 (14%) [13-15%]	408 (7%) [7-8%]	301 (7%) [7-8%]	669 (16%) [15-17%]	254 (6%) [5-7%]	274 (7%) [6-7%]
Other	192	122	52 (27%) [21-34%]	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]
Experiences of violence								
Victims of violence	1244	1054	555 (45%) [42-47%]	373 (30%) [28-33%]	284 (27%) [24-30%]	454 (43%) [40-46%]	261 (25%) [22-27%]	269 (26%) [23-28%]
Perpetrators of violence	1148	1059	1148 (100%) [100-100%]	568 (49%) [47-52%]	420 (40%) [37-43%]	921 (87%) [85-89%]	348 (33%) [30-36%]	370 (35%) [32-38%]
Victims or perpetrators	1837	1601	1148 (62%) [60-65%]	568 (31%) [29-33%]	420 (26%) [24-28%]	921 (58%) [55-60%]	348 (22%) [20-24%]	370 (23%) [21-25%]
Not victims or perpetrators	5737	3820	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Vulnerabilities to violence								
Non-two-parent household	2357	1745	351 (15%) [13-16%]	155 (7%) [6-8%]	102 (6%) [5-7%]	291 (17%) [15-19%]	69 (4%) [3-5%]	84 (5%) [4-6%]
Received free school meals	1781	1320	485 (27%) [25-29%]	301 (17%) [15-19%]	258 (20%) [17-22%]	391 (30%) [27-32%]	227 (17%) [15-19%]	235 (18%) [16-20%]
Ever supported by social worker	1103	858	416 (38%) [35-41%]	266 (24%) [22-27%]	227 (26%) [24-30%]	339 (39%) [36-43%]	196 (23%) [20-26%]	214 (25%) [22-28%]
Lives in deprived area	1063	809	200 (19%) [17-21%]	105 (10%) [8-12%]	89 (11%) [9-13%]	150 (19%) [16-21%]	81 (10%) [8-12%]	78 (10%) [8-12%]
Regularly misses education	591	417	144 (24%) [21-28%]	88 (15%) [12-18%]	56 (14%) [11-17%]	123 (30%) [25-34%]	[s]	54 (13%) [10-17%]
Attends Pupil Referral Unit	88	66	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]
Parental mental health concern	4161	2959	864 (21%) [20-22%]	469 (11%) [10-12%]	346 (12%) [11-13%]	691 (23%) [22-25%]	286 (10%) [9-11%]	306 (10%) [9-11%]
Has used drugs	1013	719	330 (33%) [30-36%]	196 (19%) [17-22%]	165 (23%) [20-26%]	261 (36%) [33-40%]	142 (20%) [17-23%]	157 (22%) [19-25%]
Been in a gang	359	268	249 (69%) [64-74%]	213 (59%) [54-64%]	198 (74%) [68-79%]	216 (80%) [75-85%]	190 (71%) [65-76%]	198 (74%) [68-79%]

	Number of respondents		Perpetrator of any violence	Violence with physical injury	Robbery*	Physical assault*	Sexual assault*	Weapons offences*
	Total	Detailed questions						
Carried a weapon	313	229	221 (71%) [65-75%]	181 (58%) [52-63%]	168 (73%) [67-79%]	182 (80%) [74-84%]	147 (64%) [58-70%]	159 (70%) [63-75%]
Supported by a youth offending team	404	331	252 (63%) [58-67%]	201 (50%) [45-55%]	189 (57%) [52-62%]	209 (63%) [58-68%]	183 (55%) [50-60%]	179 (54%) [49-59%]
Had contact with police**	233	199	177 (76%) [70-81%]	154 (66%) [60-72%]	140 (70%) [64-76%]	162 (82%) [76-86%]	126 (63%) [56-70%]	133 (67%) [60-73%]

*Proportion out of 13–17-year-olds that answered detailed questions about perpetration (“Detailed questions” column). Any violence and violence with physical injury are proportions out of the total number of respondents. **Contact with the police where they were suspected of an offence. [s] Suppressed due to count less than 50. [] 95% confidence interval.

Table A3.3: 13 to 17-year-olds who'd seen violent content on social media and who'd turn off social media, by characteristics – weighted counts and proportion of respondents

	Number of respondents	Viewed any violence on social media	Viewed content promoting violence against women and girls	Would turn off social media forever
Total	7574	4567 (60%) [59-61%]	1947 (26%) [25-27%]	2630 (35%) [34-36%]
Gender				
Boys	3850	2330 (61%) [59-62%]	879 (23%) [22-24%]	1337 (35%) [33-36%]
Girls	3645	2182 (60%) [58-61%]	1041 (29%) [27-30%]	1274 (35%) [33-37%]
Age				
13	1576	863 (55%) [52-57%]	333 (21%) [19-23%]	519 (33%) [31-35%]
14	1530	982 (64%) [62-67%]	439 (29%) [26-31%]	543 (35%) [33-38%]
15	1486	896 (60%) [58-63%]	364 (24%) [22-27%]	511 (34%) [32-37%]
16	1500	926 (62%) [59-64%]	440 (29%) [27-32%]	541 (36%) [34-39%]
17	1482	900 (61%) [58-63%]	372 (25%) [23-27%]	515 (35%) [32-37%]
Region				
East Midlands	611	359 (59%) [55-63%]	152 (25%) [22-28%]	196 (32%) [29-36%]
East of England	803	483 (60%) [57-64%]	186 (23%) [20-26%]	252 (31%) [28-35%]
London	1124	754 (67%) [64-70%]	424 (38%) [35-41%]	435 (39%) [36-42%]
North East	322	179 (56%) [50-61%]	77 (24%) [19-29%]	95 (29%) [25-35%]
North West	956	583 (61%) [58-64%]	249 (26%) [23-29%]	360 (38%) [35-41%]
South East	1197	699 (58%) [56-61%]	243 (20%) [18-23%]	406 (34%) [31-37%]
South West	677	382 (56%) [53-60%]	145 (21%) [19-25%]	209 (31%) [27-34%]
Wales	386	234 (61%) [56-65%]	90 (23%) [19-28%]	148 (38%) [34-43%]
West Midlands	795	464 (58%) [55-62%]	208 (26%) [23-29%]	295 (37%) [34-41%]
Yorkshire and the Humber	704	429 (61%) [57-65%]	174 (25%) [22-28%]	234 (33%) [30-37%]
Ethnicity				
Asian	888	521 (59%) [55-62%]	235 (26%) [24-29%]	319 (36%) [33-39%]

	Number of respondents	Viewed any violence on social media	Viewed content promoting violence against women and girls	Would turn off social media forever
Black	454	301 (66%) [62-71%]	155 (34%) [30-39%]	147 (32%) [28-37%]
Mixed	423	283 (67%) [62-71%]	127 (30%) [26-34%]	160 (38%) [33-43%]
White	5581	3316 (59%) [58-61%]	1370 (25%) [23-26%]	1897 (34%) [33-35%]
Other	192	127 (66%) [59-72%]	53 (28%) [22-35%]	90 (47%) [40-54%]
Experiences of violence				
Victims of violence	1244	1071 (86%) [84-88%]	672 (54%) [51-57%]	611 (49%) [46-52%]
Perpetrators of violence	1148	978 (85%) [83-87%]	677 (59%) [56-62%]	556 (48%) [46-51%]
Victims or perpetrators	1837	1528 (83%) [81-85%]	935 (51%) [49-53%]	825 (45%) [43-47%]
Not victims or perpetrators	5737	3039 (53%) [52-54%]	1012 (18%) [17-19%]	1804 (31%) [30-33%]
Vulnerabilities to violence				
Non-two-parent household	2357	1490 (63%) [61-65%]	645 (27%) [26-29%]	747 (32%) [30-34%]
Received free school meals	1781	1241 (70%) [68-72%]	680 (38%) [36-40%]	794 (45%) [42-47%]
Ever supported by social worker	1103	847 (77%) [74-79%]	523 (47%) [44-50%]	493 (45%) [42-48%]
Lives in deprived area	1063	647 (61%) [58-64%]	288 (27%) [24-30%]	447 (42%) [39-45%]
Regularly misses education	591	429 (73%) [69-76%]	229 (39%) [35-43%]	211 (36%) [32-40%]
Attends Pupil Referral Unit	88	69 (79%) [69-86%]	[s]	[s]
Parental mental health concern	4161	2828 (68%) [67-69%]	1383 (33%) [32-35%]	1620 (39%) [37-40%]
Has used drugs	1013	835 (82%) [80-85%]	477 (47%) [44-50%]	408 (40%) [37-43%]
Been in a gang	359	312 (87%) [83-90%]	264 (73%) [69-78%]	232 (65%) [60-69%]
Carried a weapon	313	295 (94%) [91-96%]	230 (74%) [69-78%]	196 (63%) [57-68%]
Supported by a youth offending team	404	333 (82%) [78-86%]	260 (64%) [60-69%]	242 (60%) [55-65%]
Had contact with police*	233	221 (95%) [91-97%]	177 (76%) [70-81%]	155 (67%) [60-72%]

*Contact with the police where they were suspected of an offence. [s] Suppressed due to count less than 50. [] 95% confidence interval.

Table A3.4: 13 to 17-year-olds who reported impacts of violence and fears of violence on their day-to-day lives, by characteristics – weighted counts and proportion of respondents

	Number of respondents	Any impact*	Trouble sleeping	Kept to themselves more	Loss of concentration at school	Worse relationship with parents	Loss of appetite	Spending more time online	School absence
Total	7574	3570 (47%) [46-48%]	1429 (19%) [18-20%]	1945 (26%) [25-27%]	1390 (18%) [17-19%]	504 (7%) [6-7%]	722 (10%) [9-10%]	1482 (20%) [19-20%]	1533 (20%) [19-21%]
Gender									
Boys	3850	1772 (46%) [44-48%]	647 (17%) [16-18%]	930 (24%) [23-26%]	653 (17%) [16-18%]	255 (7%) [6-7%]	298 (8%) [7-9%]	769 (20%) [19-21%]	749 (19%) [18-21%]
Girls	3645	1755 (48%) [47-50%]	761 (21%) [20-22%]	987 (27%) [26-29%]	717 (20%) [18-21%]	246 (7%) [6-8%]	413 (11%) [10-12%]	699 (19%) [18-20%]	756 (21%) [19-22%]
Age									
13	1576	750 (48%) [45-50%]	290 (18%) [17-20%]	385 (24%) [22-27%]	313 (20%) [18-22%]	110 (7%) [6-8%]	135 (9%) [7-10%]	321 (20%) [18-22%]	333 (21%) [19-23%]
14	1530	789 (52%) [49-54%]	300 (20%) [18-22%]	412 (27%) [25-29%]	312 (20%) [18-23%]	112 (7%) [6-9%]	161 (11%) [9-12%]	329 (22%) [20-24%]	362 (24%) [22-26%]
15	1486	726 (49%) [46-51%]	279 (19%) [17-21%]	396 (27%) [24-29%]	301 (20%) [18-22%]	105 (7%) [6-8%]	140 (9%) [8-11%]	300 (20%) [18-22%]	318 (21%) [19-24%]
16	1500	668 (45%) [42-47%]	282 (19%) [17-21%]	388 (26%) [24-28%]	243 (16%) [14-18%]	100 (7%) [5-8%]	150 (10%) [9-12%]	281 (19%) [17-21%]	298 (20%) [18-22%]
17	1482	638 (43%) [41-46%]	278 (19%) [17-21%]	364 (25%) [22-27%]	220 (15%) [13-17%]	78 (5%) [4-7%]	136 (9%) [8-11%]	251 (17%) [15-19%]	222 (15%) [13-17%]
Region									
East Midlands	611	283 (46%) [42-50%]	118 (19%) [16-23%]	167 (27%) [24-31%]	107 (18%) [15-21%]	[s]	62 (10%) [8-13%]	115 (19%) [16-22%]	117 (19%) [16-23%]
East of England	803	336 (42%) [38-45%]	131 (16%) [14-19%]	165 (21%) [18-24%]	126 (16%) [13-18%]	[s]	62 (8%) [6-10%]	130 (16%) [14-19%]	130 (16%) [14-19%]
London	1124	675 (60%) [57-63%]	266 (24%) [21-26%]	325 (29%) [26-32%]	265 (24%) [21-26%]	132 (12%) [10-14%]	149 (13%) [11-15%]	341 (30%) [28-33%]	336 (30%) [27-33%]
North East	322	145 (45%) [40-50%]	58 (18%) [14-23%]	77 (24%) [20-29%]	69 (21%) [17-26%]	[s]	[s]	[s]	61 (19%) [15-24%]
North West	956	457 (48%) [45-51%]	184 (19%) [17-22%]	267 (28%) [25-31%]	178 (19%) [16-21%]	61 (6%) [5-8%]	84 (9%) [7-11%]	168 (18%) [15-20%]	174 (18%) [16-21%]
South East	1197	484 (40%) [38-43%]	207 (17%) [15-20%]	250 (21%) [19-23%]	207 (17%) [15-20%]	59 (5%) [4-6%]	104 (9%) [7-10%]	206 (17%) [15-19%]	205 (17%) [15-19%]

	Number of respondents	Any impact*	Trouble sleeping	Kept to themselves more	Loss of concentration at school	Worse relationship with parents	Loss of appetite	Spending more time online	
South West	677	302 (45%) [41-48%]	115 (17%) [14-20%]	190 (28%) [25-32%]	105 (15%) [13-18%]	[s]	56 (8%) [6-11%]	122 (18%) [15-21%]	120 (18%) [15-21%]
Wales	386	169 (44%) [39-49%]	66 (17%) [14-21%]	95 (25%) [21-29%]	67 (17%) [14-21%]	[s]	[s]	73 (19%) [15-23%]	75 (20%) [16-24%]
West Midlands	795	397 (50%) [46-53%]	163 (20%) [18-23%]	224 (28%) [25-31%]	132 (17%) [14-19%]	[s]	76 (10%) [8-12%]	161 (20%) [18-23%]	162 (20%) [18-23%]
Yorkshire and the Humber	704	323 (46%) [42-50%]	120 (17%) [15-20%]	184 (26%) [23-30%]	134 (19%) [16-22%]	[s]	67 (10%) [8-12%]	118 (17%) [14-20%]	151 (22%) [19-25%]
Ethnicity									
Asian	888	489 (55%) [52-58%]	187 (21%) [18-24%]	231 (26%) [23-29%]	175 (20%) [17-22%]	71 (8%) [6-10%]	105 (12%) [10-14%]	218 (25%) [22-28%]	194 (22%) [19-25%]
Black	454	244 (54%) [49-58%]	80 (18%) [14-21%]	127 (28%) [24-32%]	89 (20%) [16-23%]	[s]	55 (12%) [9-15%]	115 (25%) [21-29%]	109 (24%) [20-28%]
Mixed	423	222 (53%) [48-57%]	97 (23%) [19-27%]	115 (27%) [23-32%]	85 (20%) [17-24%]	[s]	[s]	96 (23%) [19-27%]	106 (25%) [21-29%]
White	5581	2511 (45%) [44-46%]	1022 (18%) [17-19%]	1424 (26%) [24-27%]	998 (18%) [17-19%]	357 (6%) [6-7%]	489 (9%) [8-10%]	1004 (18%) [17-19%]	1072 (19%) [18-20%]
Other	192	88 (46%) [39-53%]	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]
Experiences of violence									
Victims of violence	1244	1014 (82%) [79-84%]	494 (40%) [37-42%]	574 (46%) [43-49%]	512 (41%) [38-44%]	260 (21%) [19-23%]	297 (24%) [22-26%]	421 (34%) [31-37%]	692 (56%) [53-58%]
Perpetrators of violence	1148	900 (78%) [76-81%]	390 (34%) [31-37%]	468 (41%) [38-44%]	414 (36%) [33-39%]	228 (20%) [18-22%]	237 (21%) [18-23%]	416 (36%) [34-39%]	558 (49%) [46-52%]
Victims or perpetrators	1837	1411 (77%) [75-79%]	660 (36%) [34-38%]	782 (43%) [40-45%]	674 (37%) [34-39%]	325 (18%) [16-19%]	380 (21%) [19-23%]	615 (33%) [31-36%]	859 (47%) [44-49%]
Not victims or perpetrators	5737	2159 (38%) [36-39%]	769 (13%) [13-14%]	1162 (20%) [19-21%]	716 (12%) [12-13%]	180 (3%) [3-4%]	341 (6%) [5-7%]	867 (15%) [14-16%]	674 (12%) [11-13%]
Vulnerabilities to violence									
Non-two-parent household	2357	1165 (49%) [47-51%]	518 (22%) [20-24%]	687 (29%) [27-31%]	506 (21%) [20-23%]	174 (7%) [6-9%]	259 (11%) [10-12%]	470 (20%) [18-22%]	488 (21%) [19-22%]
Received free school meals	1781	1191 (67%) [65-69%]	497 (28%) [26-30%]	635 (36%) [33-38%]	504 (28%) [26-30%]	214 (12%) [11-14%]	269 (15%) [14-17%]	508 (29%) [27-31%]	662 (37%) [35-39%]
Ever supported by social worker	1103	824 (75%) [72-77%]	376 (34%) [31-37%]	433 (39%) [36-42%]	378 (34%) [32-37%]	201 (18%) [16-21%]	213 (19%) [17-22%]	354 (32%) [29-35%]	506 (46%) [43-49%]

	Number of respondents	Any impact*	Trouble sleeping	Kept to themselves more	Loss of concentration at school	Worse relationship with parents	Loss of appetite	Spending more time online	
Lives in deprived area	1063	549 (52%) [49-55%]	202 (19%) [17-21%]	293 (28%) [25-30%]	219 (21%) [18-23%]	73 (7%) [5-9%]	110 (10%) [9-12%]	202 (19%) [17-22%]	266 (25%) [23-28%]
Regularly misses education	591	402 (68%) [64-72%]	236 (40%) [36-44%]	233 (40%) [36-44%]	199 (34%) [30-38%]	78 (13%) [11-16%]	120 (20%) [17-24%]	170 (29%) [25-33%]	242 (41%) [37-45%]
Attends Pupil Referral Unit	88	73 (83%) [74-90%]	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s]
Parental mental health concern	4161	2616 (63%) [61-64%]	1135 (27%) [26-29%]	1478 (36%) [34-37%]	1100 (26%) [25-28%]	439 (11%) [10-12%]	594 (14%) [13-15%]	1100 (26%) [25-28%]	1220 (29%) [28-31%]
Has used drugs	1013	697 (69%) [66-72%]	321 (32%) [29-35%]	366 (36%) [33-39%]	322 (32%) [29-35%]	154 (15%) [13-18%]	181 (18%) [16-20%]	307 (30%) [28-33%]	394 (39%) [36-42%]
Been in a gang	359	322 (89%) [86-92%]	133 (37%) [32-42%]	151 (42%) [37-47%]	142 (40%) [35-45%]	117 (33%) [28-38%]	93 (26%) [22-31%]	146 (41%) [36-46%]	242 (67%) [62-72%]
Carried a weapon	313	279 (89%) [85-92%]	124 (40%) [34-45%]	124 (40%) [34-45%]	138 (44%) [39-50%]	103 (33%) [28-38%]	87 (28%) [23-33%]	133 (43%) [37-48%]	215 (69%) [64-74%]
Supported by a youth offending team	404	357 (88%) [85-91%]	148 (37%) [32-42%]	145 (36%) [31-41%]	146 (36%) [32-41%]	119 (29%) [25-34%]	95 (23%) [20-28%]	172 (43%) [38-48%]	269 (67%) [62-71%]
Had contact with police**	233	205 (88%) [83-91%]	80 (34%) [28-40%]	99 (42%) [36-49%]	106 (46%) [39-52%]	90 (38%) [32-45%]	64 (27%) [22-33%]	90 (38%) [32-45%]	174 (75%) [69-80%]

*Not including school absence. **Contact with the police where they were suspected of an offence. [s] Suppressed due to count less than 50. [] 95% confidence interval.

Table A3.5: 13 to 17-year-olds who agreed with the statement “They keep me safe from violence”, by characteristics – weighted counts and proportion of respondents

	Number of respondents	Parents	Teachers	Police
Total	7574	6791 (90%) [89–90%]	4652 (61%) [60–63%]	3751 (50%) [48–51%]
Gender				
Boys	3850	3437 (89%) [88–90%]	2350 (61%) [59–63%]	1908 (50%) [48–51%]
Girls	3645	3281 (90%) [89–91%]	2262 (62%) [60–64%]	1813 (50%) [48–51%]
Age				
13	1576	1415 (90%) [88–91%]	999 (63%) [61–66%]	847 (54%) [51–56%]
14	1530	1374 (90%) [88–91%]	920 (60%) [58–63%]	782 (51%) [49–54%]
15	1486	1331 (90%) [88–91%]	925 (62%) [60–65%]	743 (50%) [47–53%]
16	1500	1350 (90%) [88–91%]	929 (62%) [59–64%]	698 (47%) [44–49%]
17	1482	1321 (89%) [87–91%]	879 (59%) [57–62%]	681 (46%) [43–49%]
Region				
East Midlands	611	546 (90%) [87–92%]	376 (62%) [58–65%]	292 (48%) [44–52%]
East of England	803	736 (92%) [90–93%]	541 (67%) [64–71%]	441 (55%) [51–58%]
London	1124	944 (84%) [82–86%]	661 (59%) [56–62%]	552 (49%) [46–52%]
North East	322	296 (92%) [89–94%]	200 (62%) [57–67%]	155 (48%) [43–54%]
North West	956	878 (92%) [90–93%]	595 (62%) [59–65%]	464 (49%) [45–52%]
South East	1197	1073 (90%) [88–91%]	706 (59%) [56–62%]	601 (50%) [47–53%]
South West	677	626 (92%) [90–94%]	406 (60%) [56–64%]	330 (49%) [45–53%]
Wales	386	353 (92%) [88–94%]	235 (61%) [56–66%]	179 (46%) [42–51%]
West Midlands	795	703 (88%) [86–90%]	495 (62%) [59–66%]	402 (51%) [47–54%]
Yorkshire and the Humber	704	634 (90%) [88–92%]	437 (62%) [58–66%]	335 (48%) [44–51%]
Ethnicity				
Asian	888	742 (84%) [81–86%]	566 (64%) [61–67%]	444 (50%) [47–53%]
Black	454	399 (88%) [85–91%]	284 (63%) [58–67%]	259 (57%) [53–62%]

	Number of respondents	Parents	Teachers	Police
Mixed	423	375 (89%) [85-91%]	236 (56%) [51-60%]	190 (45%) [40-50%]
White	5581	5087 (91%) [90-92%]	3453 (62%) [61-63%]	2751 (49%) [48-51%]
Other	192	155 (81%) [74-86%]	93 (48%) [41-55%]	95 (49%) [42-56%]
Experiences of violence				
Victims of violence	1244	1056 (85%) [83-87%]	577 (46%) [44-49%]	485 (39%) [36-42%]
Perpetrators of violence	1148	949 (83%) [80-85%]	583 (51%) [48-54%]	515 (45%) [42-48%]
Victims or perpetrators	1837	1568 (85%) [84-87%]	906 (49%) [47-52%]	769 (42%) [40-44%]
Not victims or perpetrators	5737	5223 (91%) [90-92%]	3746 (65%) [64-67%]	2982 (52%) [51-53%]
Vulnerabilities to violence				
Non-two-parent household	2357	2127 (90%) [89-91%]	1317 (56%) [54-58%]	1021 (43%) [41-45%]
Received free school meals	1781	1538 (86%) [85-88%]	1001 (56%) [54-59%]	870 (49%) [47-51%]
Ever supported by social worker	1103	917 (83%) [81-85%]	565 (51%) [48-54%]	501 (45%) [43-48%]
Lives in deprived area	1063	947 (89%) [87-91%]	652 (61%) [58-64%]	497 (47%) [44-50%]
Regularly misses education	591	494 (84%) [80-86%]	217 (37%) [33-41%]	193 (33%) [29-37%]
Attends Pupil Referral Unit	88	67 (76%) [66-84%]	[s]	[s]
Parental mental health concern	4161	3613 (87%) [86-88%]	2335 (55%) [58-45%]	1866 (46%) [14-13%]
Has used drugs	1013	826 (82%) [79-84%]	498 (46%) [52-38%]	388 (41%) [22-19%]
Been in a gang	359	238 (66%) [61-71%]	170 (47%) [42-53%]	153 (43%) [38-48%]
Carried a weapon	313	222 (71%) [66-76%]	151 (48%) [43-54%]	151 (48%) [43-54%]
Supported by a youth offending team	404	308 (76%) [72-80%]	220 (55%) [50-59%]	212 (52%) [48-57%]
Had contact with police*	233	192 (82%) [77-87%]	101 (43%) [37-50%]	97 (42%) [36-48%]

*Contact with the police where they were suspected of an offence. [s] Suppressed due to count less than 50. [] 95% confidence interval.

