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Towards a more effective violence prevention policy in Uruguay

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Contents

1 Introduction

While Latin American countries have experienced economic growth, financial stability, decrease in poverty and inequality, and consolidation of its democratic institutions in the last decades, they have also experienced an increase and dissemination of different forms of crime, including lethal and non lethal forms of violence and insecurity (UN, 2013). At present, Latin America is considered one of the most violent regions in the planet in terms of the high incidence of crime, the variety of forms of violence, and its persistence (Briceño-León, Villaveces, & Concha-Eastman, 2008; Imbusch, Misse, & Carrión, 2011; Unodc, 2011). In fact, violence in Latin America is considered an 'epidemic problem' according to World Health Organization standards. Particularly, youths have become a major issue in the social and political agenda of the region due to their central role, not only as perpetrators but also as victims (Imbusch et al., 2011; E. G. Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy, Zwi, & Lozano, 2002; Waiselfisz, 2008). Two additional problems aggravate this complex scenario: the scarcity of strong and reliable systems of information and the relatively lack of primary criminological data sets (Dammert, Salazar, Montt, & Gonzalez, 2010); and the underdeveloped and uneven state of research in academic institutions (Imbusch et al., 2011).

Although Uruguay is, together with Argentina and Chile, among the countries of Latin America where violence rates are relatively low (Imbusch et al., 2011; Lagos & Dammert, 2012), and despite the improvement in several socio economic indicators observed in the last years (CEPAL, 2013) Uruguay has experienced an increase in a variety of crimes and manifestations of interpersonal and every day violence (Ministerio del Interior, 2009; Munyo, 2014; OPP/MIDES, 2013; Paternain & Sanseviero, 2008). As well as in the rest of Latin America, youth violence is a pressing problem in Uruguay. In the last years there has been an increasing attention from the politicians, the media, the criminal justice system and academia. However, the incidence of youth in the recent increase of crime and violence as well as what type of prevention policies should be implemented constitute a disputed issue. While some studies based on police statistics argue that youth crime has tripled in the last ten years and has become a serious issue (Munyo, 2014) others have challenged the validity of this type of data due to its multiple biases and hence, question the relevance of youngsters in the overall levels of crime and violence in Uruguay (Arroyo, De Armas, Retamoso, & Vernazza, 2012; Bayce, 2011). In fact, official statistics from the youth criminal justice system shows that although it is true that youngsters' participation in crime has increased steadily in the last years, their

relative participation has remained constant and below 10% (Chouhy, Vigna, & Trajtenberg, 2010; Lopez & Palummo, 2013). Additionally, Uruguay also suffers the aforementioned problems of crime data, namely, a lack of adequate information data sets and scarce academic research in the topic (for more details, refer to chapter 3 of this report). Not only the scarce available data on youth violence and crime has weak validity but also there is scarcity of relevant information about key dimensions such as personality traits, social bonds, perception of authorities, moral beliefs, etc., to formulate scientific explanations and policy interventions. The application of large self-report school-based surveys constitutes a cost efficient way to obtain this type of information and has been successfully applied in many developed and developing societies including some Latin American countries such as Bolivia, Mexico, Venezuela, Surinam, Antillas, Aruba, Brazil and Guatemala (Enzmann et al., 2010; Junger-Tas, 1994). Uruguay has neither been part of these large international surveys nor conducted ad hoc school-based self-report studies on its own.[1] Hence, at present the information available and state of research existent in Uruguay is clearly insufficient. Specifically, there is lack of knowledge about the extent of youth involvement in crime and violence, and which are the most relevant risk and protective factors associated with perpetration and victimization.

This report aims to fill this gap. It presents results of the Montevideo Project on the Social Development of Children and Youths (henceforth m–proso) study, a large representative school-based survey of young people on deviance and violence conducted in Montevideo. The study was funded by the UBS Optimus Foundation and the data was collected by the University of Cambridge and Universidad de la Republica del Uruguay in coordination with the directorial council of the Uruguayan Ministry of Education (ANEP).

1.1 Relevance, Geographical Definition and Goals

This report provides, for the first time, high quality epidemiological data on violence amongst adolescents in Uruguay, relevant for suggesting preventive feasible policies that have shown success in other settings (Sherman et al., 1998; Welsh & Farrington, 2006). It will help authorities, policy makers and practitioners, to develop a

[1] There have been self-report school based studies on the use of legal and illegal drugs in the years 2003, 2006, 2007, 2009 and 2011 (Junta Nacional de Drogas, 2011; Junta Nacional de Drogas, 2011b; see http://www.infodrogas.gub.uy) and in sexual abuse and victimization in the years 2006 and 2012 (Ministerio de Salud Publica, 2012). Additionally, in 2010 a self report study on crime was conducted but it was a not a large sample (n = 427); it was not school based; it did not incorporate measures of violence in school, and although included some scales related with personality and socio economic dimensions, it lacked several risk and protective factors tested by the z-proso questionnaire decisive for policy intervention.

coherent evidence-based preventive strategy that optimize the use of the scarce resources to effectively reduce violence. One of the major issues for designing and applying preventive policies is to have in place adequate evaluation. This study provides reliable and valid epidemiological estimates of youth victimization and perpetration which will serve as a benchmark to evaluate the success of future policies. Finally, this study allows improving a cross-cultural comparative perspective. Most of the empirical research in criminology has been conducted in the United States and Europe. Therefore, there is little evidence of the empirical validity of risk and protective factors of victimization and perpetration of crime and violence in non developed societies (Akers, 2010; Karstedt, 2001). Accordingly, the design of the questionnaire, the sampling, the training of personnel, and the collection of the information in m–proso were conducted following the experience of the z–proso study in Zurich, Switzerland, to obtain the greatest possible standardization.

The decision to geographically limit the study to the capital city Montevideo was grounded on three reasons. First, the aforementioned importance of generating comparable estimates with z-proso study (and other similar international studies based on cities) required conducting the survey at the city level. Second, running a survey with a representative sample at the national level was unfeasible in terms of resources and would have meant a much more extended period of time. What is more, Montevideo is the main political, administrative and business hub, and the largest city of Uruguay with about 40% of the population (2012 Population Census, National Institute of Statistics). Additionally, most of the crimes are concentrated in Montevideo, particularly youth crime (refer to chapter 3 for more details). Therefore, the proposed study seemed the most cost effective strategy to provide the authorities with evidence-based recommendations for a violence and crime reduction strategy.

The main long-term *goal* of this study is to provide the government of Uruguay with the foundations to develop a policy framework to effectively address the different forms of youth violence. The recommendations that result from this report entail ideas for institutional change that will enhance the capacity of the education, public health and criminal justice agencies to develop a violence reduction strategy and specific interventions to tackle more effectively violence by and against young people. Therefore, this report involves three specific goals:

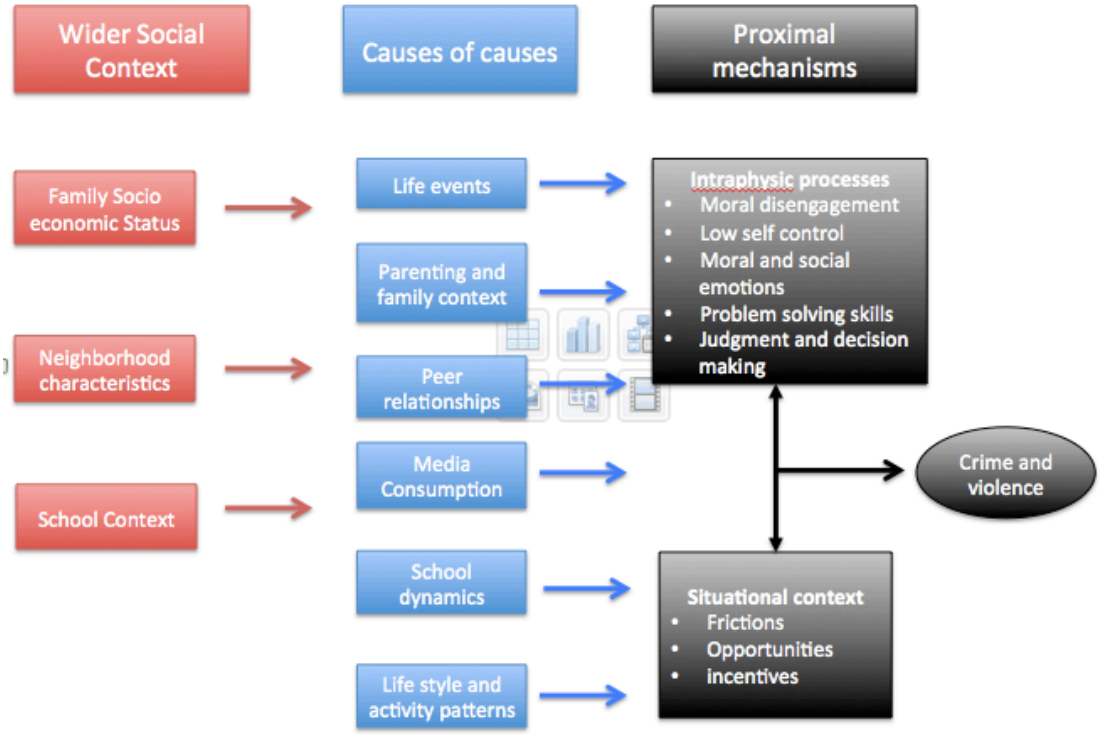
- An outline of epidemiological data on the prevalence and incidence of crime and violence amongst adolescents
- An overview of the main risk factors associated with victimization and perpetration in the domains of parenting, personality, moral development, peer association, school dynamics, use of legal and illegal substances, life-style, socio-economic background

- A set of comprehensive set of recommendations on an evidence – based prevention strategy based on the findings that is linked with guidelines developed by the World Health Organization but conveniently adapted to Uruguay

1.2 Conceptual and Methodological Bases

The z-proso project is based on a conceptual model of crime and violent behavior guided by the idea that explaining social phenomena involves more than merely associating or correlating variables. Rather, explanation entails opening black boxes to identify those theoretical unobservable causal processes which link observable events, variables and outcomes (Elster, 2007; Hedstrom & Swedberg, 1998; Hedstrom, 2005; in criminology see Wikström, 2007, 2011). Following this model there is a distinction of three different interconnected levels of influence of causal processes (see Figure 1 above). In the first level we find the *proximal mechanisms* that follow Wikström and colleagues insight (Wikström et. al. 2012) that crime and violence events a compound product of individual and situational/contextual causal processes. Among the individual processes, five specific mental mechanisms are distinguished: i) personality differences in terms of risk aversion, shortsightedness, impulsivity (*self control*); ii) cognitive strategies that neutralize and legitimize crime or violent behaviors (*moral disengagement*); iii) emotions such as guilt, shame, trust, empathy, etc. (*moral emotions*); iv) personal abilities to cope with conflicts and problems (*problem solving skills*); v) beliefs about advantages/benefits and disadvantages/costs (*judgment and decision making*). There are situational features that interact with these individual characteristics, namely: provocations, incentives and opportunities. There is a second intermediate level comprised by the *causes of causes* (Wikström, 2011) and involves those processes that are only causally relevant when they affect either individual features or the structure of the situation. This level includes: life events; family context and parenting style; relationship with peers; media consumption; school dynamics; and life style and routine activity patterns. Finally, the *wider social context* is the third and most distal level and refers to the family's socio economic status and neighborhood characteristics. These components directly influence the causes of causes. Their causal connection with crime and violence is very loose and mediated through the first two levels of causal processes.

Figure 1 *Conceptual Model of Explanation in Z-proso*



The m-proso study is based on a validated methodology that involves large scale representative school based survey and thoroughly tested psychometric instruments along 6 waves and more than 10 years of the largest longitudinal study on youth violence in Europe. The instrument includes measures of crime, violence, victimization and bullying in schools as well scales for a range of validated predictors of victimization and perpetration. The m–proso survey was designed in parallel to the 6th wave of the z-proso survey which included a sample of 1300 15 year old adolescents. Conducting a study with equivalent target population and with identical instruments in Montevideo allows a comparative assessment of levels of violence and the most salient risk factors, and hence, targeted recommendations for designing a prevention strategy.

1.3 Focus and Structure of the Report

This report aims to provide an overview of the key aspects of youth violence and crime in the city of Montevideo, Uruguay. Although this study does not seek to test empirically theoretical models of perpetration or victimization, the selection of items and scales is not fortuitous. It aims at providing a comprehensive description which allows to both evaluate the magnitude and extent of different variants of the youth crime and violence, and provide an international context to compare Montevideo's results.

The remainder of the report is structured as follows. The *first* chapter discusses the *methodology* of the study and targets several issues: target population and sampling strategy; ethical issues; data collection and participation rates; representativeness of the sample; the process of adaptation and development of the questionnaire and a description of its main thematic domains and scales; demographic and socio economic background characterization of participants; description of data analysis; and an account of the limitations of the m-proso study.

The *second* chapter will introduce a co*ntextualization of crime and violence in Uruguay*. We will focus in three main topics: a description of crime and violence trends in Uruguay according to existent bases of information and an evaluation of its limitations; a review of the scarce academic research on the youth violence/crime and bullying; and finally, an overview of the Juvenile Criminal Justice System in Uruguay and on going prevention policies on youth violence/crime and bullying.

The *third* chapter will focus on *victimization*. We first provide a description of experiences in youth violent victimization that touches on: last year victimization; multi victimization; some situational characteristics of victimization; victims' report to police; socio demographic characteristics of victims; the role of disabilities in victimization; and lifestyle risk factors. Then we provide an overview of a second domain of victimization, namely, experiences of physical punishment by parents. We describe four main issues: the prevalence rates of corporal punishment; victims' socio demographic characteristics; the association between corporal punishment and parental conflict; and the presence of depressive symptoms among victims. In the final section we explore bullying victimization as the third domain of youth victimization. Here we review the prevalence estimates of bullying victimization and its association with depressive symptoms and physical disabilities.

The *fourth* chapter provides a description of *youth self reported deviance and violence behaviour*. First, we provide results of general figures of violent behavior, its prevalence by gender, its concentration among a small group of the population, and some situational characteristics of violent events. Second, we examine the role of socio demographic characteristics in youth violence. Then, we explore the relationship between violence and other deviant behaviors. In the following sections we present findings related to different types of theoretically relevant risk factors of violence such as: personality characteristics; morality and police legitimacy; family and parenting; group membership; leisure activities; financial resources; media consumption; and school associated factors.

The *fifth* chapter is focused on *bullying*. First, we start with a overview of conceptual and methodological considerations relevant to research on bullying. Second, we provide an overview of the incidence of bullying perpetration and victimization

among youths in Montevideo. In the third and fourth sections we describe differences in bullying behaviour across gender and type of educative centre. We then analyse the association between bullying and more general forms of violence. Afterward we show associations between bullying behaviours and different factors from the family, school, peers and the individual.

The sixth chaper provides a cross cultura comparison between Montevideo and Zurich in terms of its violent behavior rates (both in victimization and perpetration), other deviant behaviors, and its correlates at different levels (individual, family, school, structural variables).

The final chapter integrates and relates the findings from all the previous chapters in order to produce starting points for feasible and effective policies to be developed in Uruguay.

2 Methodology

In this chapter we give an overview of the design, planning and implementation of the m–proso study. We focus on seven issues: the target population and the sampling procedure, ethical and data protection issues, the organization of the field work, the translation and development of the questionnaire, the demographic and socio-economic profile of the sample, the approach to data analysis and presentation, and a description of the limitations of the study .

2.1 Target Population and Sampling Strategy

The target population of the study were all adolescents in the 9th grade of public and private high schools in 2013 in Montevideo, Uruguay. Self-report studies of delinquency often choose pupils in the 9th grade as the target population, partly because serious delinquency and violence tend to peak at ages 14-18, partly for the pragmatic reason that in many societies grade nine is the final year of compulsory schooling.

We aimed to obtain a realized sample of approximately 2000 adolescents randomly selected from the target population using a cluster-randomized approach with classes as the randomization units. Randomization was conducted within three strata, which reflect the main school types in Montevideo. Stratification by school types was chosen primarily because class sizes differ between school types and because the socio-economic background of the pupils in each school type differs considerable. The three strata were: i) private high schools licensed by the State; ii) public high schools; iii) and technological schools that include a basic education cycle (Escuelas Técnicas del Consejo de Educacion Tecnico Profesional - C.E.T.P.). The sampling fraction of for each stratum was proportional to the number of students in the respective school type in the total population (proportional allocation).

The sampling frame were all classes in Montevideo, sorted by school, within each respective type of schools. A systematic sampling procedure was followed in each stratum. First, a sampling fraction was defined, which represented the proportion of classes needed to achive the targeted number of students within the stratum. The sampling fraction determines the sampling interval k, which defines the number of steps down the list until the next unit is selected for the sample. Next, a random number was chosen between 1 and the sampling interval k. Starting with this number for the first

class every kth class was selected classes across the ordered list of schools and classes until the targeted 'n' of classes was obtained in each stratum.

Table 1 shows the number of schools and students, as well as the estimated target sample size in the three types of schools in Montevideo for the year 2011.[2] The goal was to achieve an effective sample of approximately 2000 students, equal to about one out of every eight students in Montevideo. In order to take into account various forms of attrition (school rejections, parent rejection, youth rejection, absence to class due to truancy or sickness, etc.) we aimed at a raw target sample of approximately 2500 students. The estimated sample size by school type corresponds to the proportion of pupils.

Table 1 *Sampling Frame and scenarios for the definition of the simple size*

Stratum	**Schools (I)**	**Total 9th grade students (II)**	**Percentage of students (III)**	**Estimated total target sample by stratum (IV)**
Private high schools	99	5,225	32.7%	816
Public high schools	53	10,117	63.2%	1580
CETP	7	658	4.1%	102
Total	**159**	**16,000**	**100%**	**2,500**

Source: ANEP statistics.

According to ANEP statistics a total of 5225 students in 99 schools and 211 9th grade classes attended private high schools in 2013. To achieve a sample of private school students that represents 32% of the total sample we therefore have to select 816 students. Given that there are on average approximately 25 students per class a sample of 32 classes was required. To select the sample of classes the following procedure was conducted: First, we built a dataset of private schools where every row represented a 9th grade class so that every school has as many rows as 9th grade classes are included. Then we created a variable that numbered all class consecutively. In order to achieve the desired number of classes, using the sampling fraction, we selected one class every 6 rows generating a selection of 33 classes from 32 different schools.

The total of *public high school* students was 10,117. They attend 324 9th grade classes in 53 schools. To obtain a sample of public schools' students that represents 63% of the total sample we therefore need to select 1580 students. Since on average there are approximately 31 students by class we needed a sample of 50 classes. The selection of

[2] The sampling frame used is based in ANEP's most recent records and the National Institute of Statistics' '*Encuesta Continua de Hogares*'.

the sample followed the same procedure described for private high schools leading to generate a selection of 50 classes from 46 different public schools.

Finally, the total of *CETP's* students, schools, and 9th grade groups are respectively 658, 7 and 22. To obtain a sample of CEPT's students that represents a 4% of the total sample we need to select 102 students. As on average there are approximately 30 students by class a total of seven 9th classes need to be chosen.[3] Again, the selection of the sample followed the same procedure described for private and public high schools leading to generate a selection of 7 classes from 7 different schools.

2.2 Ethics

In Uruguay studies of populations under full age (less than 18 years old) conducted in high schools require the approval of the authorities of the National Administration of Public Education (ANEP) and youth's informed consent. Both aspects were fully respected in this study. Additionally, we obtained approval from the authorities of AUDEC (Association of Private Catholic High Schools) and from AIDEC (Association of Private Secular High Schools).[4] Furthermore, parental passive consent was obtained. A letter to parents was delivered to students some weeks before the survey. The letter informed parents about the nature of the study and asked for their permission for conducting the survey. Finally, we obtained ethical approval by the Ethics Committee of the Institute of Criminology, University of Cambridge.

Data protection guidance was followed by ensuring the anonymity of questionnaires completed by students. We eliminated any trace of individual identification in the questionnaires, which can only be identified at the class level. To ensure confidentiality the survey was arranged as an exam situation not allowing students to talk to each other or to see other's responses. Teachers and other authorities of the school were not given access to the completed questionnaires. The results are presented so that no conclusions can be drawn about specific classes or schools, let alone individual students.

Data protection laws in Uruguay cover this research study.[5] Therefore, all the information provided by students and teachers is included under these laws. All the people involved in the study (researchers, survey field manager, surveyors, data entry

[3] According to a qualified informant from ANEP lists of students in CETP are always oversized due to economic incentives. Therefore we were recommended to increase the number of groups to 7 in order to achieve the sample target (102 students).

[4] This was the protocol followed by the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) in previous waves in Uruguay (2003, 2006, 2009, 2012) and will be also used in the next wave in 2014.

[5] Specifically there are two laws: Law 16.616 of statistic secrecy *('Ley de secreto estadístico')* and Law 18.331 of protection of personal information *('Ley de resguardo de información personal')*.

type setters, etc.) signed a privacy agreement where they expressed their compliance with the requirements of the data protection laws.

2.3 Data Collection and Participation Rates

We adopted a three-step approach to contact the schools. First, we sent a letter on behalf of ANEP and the University of Cambridge to every selected school. Afterwards, we made a telephone contact to introduce the project. Finally, a personal meeting with the director of the educative center and the teacher responsible of the group was arranged, where the goals of the survey and the study protocol were explained and a date for the fieldwork was arranged.

A field leader and fourteen undergraduate students from the School of Social Sciences were hired to help with the fieldwork. Prior to the field work they were trained in a two day seminar were they were prepared to implement the survey and were given a detailed protocol document which included: general information about the study; a description of the questionnaire; privacy policy issues; rules for telephone and personal interviews with directors; rules for explaining the survey to sudents; rules to follow during the application of the survey; a set of templates letters; and finally the confidentiality agreement to be signed by surveyors. Weekly meetings with the interviewers assured that there was a constant feedback on the collection of data and any emerging problems.

The survey was carried out in the classroom and always involved the presence of two fieldworkers per class. Teachers were not present in the classroom during the implementation of the survey. Filedworkers first introduced the project and explained the questionnaire. Special attention was given to more difficult sections in order to minimize error. The voluntary character of participation was emphasized. Additionally students were explicitly told they must not leave any personal trace in the questionnaire. They were also informed that all the information they were providing was anonymous and was not going to be communicated to anyone, particularly their parents and teachers. Finally, students were advised that they could at any time refuse to respond to a question if they felt it touched on issues that they did not feel comfortable with. After the introduction the field workers distributed the questionnaire, being available for help in case there were questions during the completion. Once the students completed their survey questionnaire, the field workers checked that there were no personal traces (as well as no noticeable missing data in any section) before the student placed it in the '*survey ballot box*'.

Three issues related to the fieldwork are worth mentioning. First, school authorities demanded that students should not leave the class until the whole group had finished the survey. Therefore, field workers had to manage students that had finished earlier. Yet, no serious discipline problems were reported along the fieldwork. Second, in low socio-economic background schools some students experienced comprehension difficulties with some items. In such cases the field workers were available to help by clarifying item wordings. Finally, the initial plan was to conduct the survey between 15th July and 22nd August of 2013. However, an extended teacher strike in public schools during parts of the period meant that several scheduled visits had to be re-scheduled. As a result, the data collection took approximately 8 weeks from 15th July until 17th September 2013.

The total target sample was 90 classes in 85 schools. Three private schools refused to participate (4%). The survey was hence administered in 87 classrooms in 82 schools. According to the school records 2690 individuals were registered in these classrooms. No parents expressed that they did not want their sons/daughters to be part of the survey and there was no refusal by adolescents to take part in the survey. Questionnaires were obtained from 2204 students in 90 classes. Quality checks after the data entry revealed that 20 questionnaires (1%) had 20% or more missing values and had to be considered as problematic in terms of data quality. These questionnaires were not included in the final analysis. The final total sample therefore was 2184 students, equal to 82.6% of the targeted sample. After the survey was completed, four field-workers were hired to code the questionnaires and enter the data.

A comparison between the schools' pupil lists and the pupils present at the day of the survey revealed that 486 pupils (17.4% of the target sample) did not attend class on the day of the survey. The school non-attendance rate was lower in private schools (12.1%) than in public high schools (19.2%) and UTUs (24.0%). Unfortunately we have no data on the reasons for the absence, in particular whether the absence was authorized (e.g. for medical reasons) or unauthorized. The rate of pupils not in school on a given day is higher than that typically found in similar surveys in Europe or the United States.

It may be that classroom lists were not always up-to-date and that some fraction of the absent students had effectively ended regular schooling or had moved elsewhere. However, the rate of about 17% of students not being in school is similar to findings from other studies in Uruguay, which have estimated school drop-out amongst 15 year old youths to be around 25% in 2003 (Ravela, 2004), 20% in 2006 (Fernández, 2007) and 19.1% in 2009 (ANEP, 2010). This is relevant because adolescents who play truant on a specific day or who permantly don't attend school are likely to differ systematically from those who attend school regularly. In particular, they probably are less motivated to

attend school, have had more problems at school, are academically weaker than others, come from disadvantaged social backgrounds and more difficult family situations, and have more behavior difficulties. All these characteristics are associated with an increased risk for delinquency and violence. It is hence important to note that the present study could not include a substantial minority of adolescents, amongst whom there is likely to be a over-proportionate number of young people with high levels of antisocial and criminal behavior.

2.4 Representativeness of the sample

The realized sample slightly over-represents public high schools and CETP, and slighlty underrepresents private schools. The distribution across school types in the target population population was 32.7% in private schools, 63.2% in public high schools and 4.1% in CETP's. The corresponding figures in the sample were 34.3%, 58.4% and 7.2%. When it comes to sex distribution by type of school our sample slighlty over-estimated the proportion of males in public high schools (49.9%) and underestimated the proportion of males in CETP's (57.4%) in comparison to the population proportions (43% and 62.2% respectively).

In response to the slight deviations of the sample from the underlying population we considered the creation of weights to re-balance the data by sex and school type. However, given the small size of deviations it was decided to conduct all analyses reported here without applying post-hoc weightings.[6]

Table 2 Distribution across School Types in Target Population and Sample (in Brackets)

	Males	**Females**	**Total**
Private high schools	46.2% (***46.3%***)	53.8% (***53.7%***)	32.6% (***34.4%***)
Public high schools	43% (***49.9%***)	57% (***50.1%***)	63.2% (***58.4%***)
CETP	62.2% (***57.4%***)	37.8% (***42.6%***)	4.1% (***7.2%***)

[6] Nevertheless we constructed weight factors by type of school and gender that control these distortions and did some occasional checks in specific cases, particularly, when checking the association between type of educative center and victimization, bullying behavior or perpetration of violence.

2.5 Questionnaire Translation and Adaptation

This survey is based on the questionnaire used in wave 6 of the z–proso study in 2013, a questionnaire designed to measure violent perpetration and victimization amongst adolescents as well as core risk factors associated with violent behavior. The German original was sent to a qualified native Spanish-speaking translator who had experience in translations for social science projects. Before the translation began, the translator was introduced to the main goals that informed the scales of the questionnaire. In situations where the German questionnaire relied on scales that had originally been developed in English, the English version was also consulted to maintain equivalence to the original instruments. Furthermore, the final draft of the translated questionnaire was sent to another translator for consistency checks. Comments by the second translator were sent back to the initial translator for validation. Finally, two native German-speaking members of the z-proso research team examined the Spanish version against the German original.

We took additional measures to assure that the questionnaire was understandable for speakers of Uruguayan Spanish and to estimate the time needed to complete the questionnaire. First, a preliminary version of the questionnaire was discussed with three qualified informants (two directors and one teacher from schools of Montevideo). Also, the first draft and the final version of the questionnaire were sent for critical review to two sociologists in Uruguay who had experience in youth crime research and design of surveys. Two small initial pre-tests (with 3 and 8 adolescents) were primarly conducted to estimate the time needed to complete the questionnaire and to identify possible problems with the overall design. The final draft was tested in a larger pre-test conducted in a school setting with 121 boys and girls (58 belonging to two 9th groups of a private school and 63 belonging to two groups of a public school).

The pre-test suggested that the length of the survey should not be more than 80 - 90 minutes for the slowest adolescents. Some scales of the z–proso questionnaire were therefore removed completely or shortened. Also, a limited number of new items or scales were introduced. For example, the morality scale in the m–proso questionnaire includes 14 items rather than the five items used in Zurich. Also, the Montevideo survey included a new scale designed to measure school legitimacy. Overall, however, the majority of instruments administered in Montevideo is identical to instruments used in Zurich, allowing a range of cross-cultural comparisons.

The final version of the questionnaire had approximately 380 items. The main domains covered by the questionnaire are shown in Table 3.

Table 3 Main Thematic Domains Covered by the m-proso Questionnaire

	Thematic Domain
1.	Demographic and Socio-economic Characteristics: Age, number of siblings, adults living in household of target person, occupation of father/mother, employment situation of father/mother.
2.	Parenting and Family Dynamics: Parental involvement, supervision, authoritarianism, inconsequential parenting and physical punishment; conflict between parents.
3.	Morality: Moral beliefs about wrongfulness of delinquent acts; moral neutralization of violence.
4.	Bullying: Bullying victimization; bullying perpetration.
5.	Violent victimization: Victimization last year; number of victimizations reported to the police; situational characteristics of last victimization.
6.	Substance Use: Alcohol, cannabis, tobacco, and 6 other substances; frequency of consumption last year.
7.	Legitimacy of State Institutions: Legitimacy of the police; Legal cynicism.
8.	Self Control: Impulsivity, risk seeking, volatile temper, temper, egocentrism.
9.	Internalizing Problems
10.	School Relationship: Relationship with students and teachers; school commitment; perception of school legitimacy.
11.	Leisure Time Activities: Media Consuption; indoor/outdoors activities; pocket money.
12.	Delinquent Peers: Membership in delinquent gang/peer group; delinquency of best friends.
13.	Self Reported Delinquency: Last year prevalence and incidence of 20 different behaviors; contact with the police; situational characteristics of last assault.
14.	Aggressive Descision Making: Two scenarios with a situational trigger; measurement of perceived advantages/disadvantages of aggressive action, salience of aggressive ideations, and anticipated reactions by others.

2.6 Demographic, Socio-Economic and Family Background of Participants

Throughout the report we will use a number of indicators of the demographic, socio-economic and family background of the study participants. This section briefly describes these indicators. The information is summarized in Table 4.

The mean age of students is 15.15 (s.d. = .91). In terms of sex the sample includes 49.2% males and 51.8% females. Almost 60% of the students lived in a family with their two biological parents, 37.3% lived with one single biological parent only, either because the parents had separated or because the mother had never lived with the father of the child. 4.5% of the adolescents lived in arrangements without a biological parent.

8.6% of the students in Montevideo had three or more siblings (i.e. a total of four children). The relatively small proportion of adolecents living in 'large' families reflects the comparatively low overall birth rate in Uruguay, which had already fallen considerably in the first half of the 20th century. About 9% of the respondents reported that their mother was teenager when they were born.

The indicator for the education background of the adolescents' family was constructed by combining the information from both parents. The data suggest that slightly more than 31% of adolescents in Montevideo live in households where at least one parent has a university degree. On the other hand, around 10.5% of students live in households where neither of the parents have more than a completed primary school as the highest education level.

The SES was measured using the fourfold EGP4 (Erikson – Goldthorpe – Portocarero) class categorization scheme (Goldthorpe, 1997) based on youths' answers about their parents occupation and job tasks. This class categorization distinguishes the service class (e.g. professional, managers), the intermediate class (e.g. service and sales workers, administration, etc.), the skilled workers class (e.g. carpenters, bakers), and the working class (e.g. mining and construction labourers, manufacturing labourers). As we can see in **Error! Reference source not found.** 16.6% of the students came from a higher social class background, 35.6% belonged to the intermediate class, 21.3% to the skilled worker class and 26.5% to the working class.

We also included a variable that measured neighborhood disadvantage. Participants were asked to indicate in which of the 62 neighbourhoods (barrios) of Montevideo they lived. To classify neighbourhoods we relied on a classification system developed by the United Nations Development Programme, which classifies neighborhoods in four groups according to their levels of Human Development Index (A. Rodriguez, 2014).

Finally, we included two variables associated with the schools: 'type of educative institution' and 'school retention. Almost 60% of the sample are students in public high schools, followed by 34.3% students in private schools and 7.1% students of CTPS. School retention was defined as any student in the 9th grade who was born before before the 1 May 1997, and hence older than expected on the basis of the regular of entry into primary school. Almost 40% of the sample of students were coded as 'retained'.

Table 4 *Distribution of Social Background Variables*

Criterion	Value	Distribution %
Gender	Male	49.2%
	Female	50.8%
Age	14 years	22%
	15 years	52.3%
	16 years	16.1%
	17 years	7.6%
	18 years	1.9%
Biological parents	None	4.5%
	One biological parent	37.3%
	Both biological parents	58.1%
Large families (> 3 silbings)	No	86.7%
	Yes	8.6%
Teenage mother	No	91%
	Yes	9%
Parents' maxim level of education	Primary studies	10.5%
	Secondary studies	58.0%
	Universitary studies	31.4%
EGP4	Service (i/ii)	16.6%
	Intermediate (iii/iv)	35.6%
	Skilled workers (v/vi)	21.3%
	Working class (vii)	26.5%
Neighborhood Human development index (PNUD)	Highest	11.5%
	2	9.2%
	3	32.8%
	Lowest	46.5%
School Type	Public	58.6%
	CTPS	7.1%
	Private	34.3%
School retention	Normative	60.9%
	Retained	39.1%

2.7 Data Analysis

The primary goal of the present study was to describe levels of violent perpatration and victimization in Montevideo, and to show basic associations with selected socio-demographic, individual, family, school, and neighbourhood characteristics. We aimed to present the data in a way that doesn't require expert knowledge and is accessible to a wider public.

For all indicators of violent victimization and perpetration we present the one-year prevalence rates for all adolescents as well as for male and female respondents separately. One year prevalence rates are a widely used measure in epidemiological research. They represent the proportion of respondents that indicated that they had experienced a given event within the 12 months preceding the survey. Where meaningful, we also provide further information about how often an event occurred, for example how many adolescents were victimized only once and how many experienced several victimizations.

Throughout the book we adopted a standard approach to display findings about associations between violence and relevant risk factors. For each risk factor we first created distinct subgroups such as 'no', 'low', and 'high' parental corporal punishment. For each subgroup we then calculated the mean level of, for example, physical aggression. The findings are generally presented in tables or visualized with bar charts. In order to understand whether these differences are practically relevant and statistically robust we conducted either chi-square tests or F-tests. Both approaches provide information about how unlikely it is that the differences across levels of a risk factor are due to chance. This is conventionally expressed by a p-value. Lower p-values mean a higher significance, indicating that the differences are likely to be found in the general population of young people in Montevideo. We use the conventional cut-off of $p < .05$ (two sided) as the threshold for reporting and interpreting differences as significant. Differences with $p < .01$ are considered to be highly significant.

Often the 'risk factors' measured in the study are continuous variables based on several individual variables. In these cases we created distinct subgroups by creating so-called 'quartiles'. This means that the cases are split into four groups of equal size, with the first group comprising those 25% of respondents with the lowest scores on the variable, the next group comprising those with the next highest scores, and so on. We then present mean prevalence rates of, for example, bullying across each of the quartiles and report the associated test statistics to determine whether they should be considered significant.

2.8 Limitations

In interpreting the findings of the present study it is important to understand a number of limitations. First, the present study is based on self-repost by the participants of their victimization experiences and their own violent and aggressive behaviors. Self-report victimisation and delinquency surveys have long been a standard instrument in the social sciences. However, it is important to notice that incomplete recall of events and response tendencies such as social desirability (the tendency to choose responses that are believed to be favourable and more positive) can influence the data. Second, the present study was a cross-sectional study with all information collected at one point in time. It is therefore generally impossible to make any firm assumptions about cause and effect, since we don't usualy know whether a presumed risk factor preceded the outcome in time. Also, the descriptive goals in the present study mean that we did not conduct multivariate analyses, which take into consideration several risk factors at the same time. Finally, we wish to draw attention to the observation that 17% of the adolescents listed in the school records were not present in the classroom at the time of the study. While we don't have information about the reasons for the absence, we hypothesize that these absentees are more likely to show elevated levels of problems across a range of behaviors. To the extent that this assumption is correct the prevalence rates presented in this study may somewhat underestimate the true rates in the population.

3 Youth violence in Montevideo, Uruguay

This chapter offers an overview of youth violence in Montevideo, Uruguay. After putting forward some demographic and educational indicators for the youth population, we focus on three key issues. First, we examine the sources of data and the existing crime and violence indicators available in Uruguay and the existing estimates on youth crime and violence. We also refer to the few sources of data on school violence, bullying and the use of psycho-active substances. Second, we mention the most important academic studies on youth violence and bullying in Uruguay. Finally, we describe the legal and institutional system for juvenile justice and the most recent political initiatives on school violence and youth crime.

3.1 The social situation of adolescents

Uruguay is administratively divided into 19 provinces, with Montevideo as the capital. From a demographic point of view, the country's main features are its small size (3,286,314 people), its advanced demographic transition,[7] a high level of urbanization and the concentration of the population on a coastal strip (OPP/MIDES, 2013).

According to the data of the Encuesta Continua de Hogares (ECH) of 2013, the country's age structure says that elderly adults (aged over 65) are 13% of the population, people aged 30-64 make up 42%, young people aged 15-29 are 22% and people below the age of 15 are 23% of the total population. When we consider gender, we see that 52% of the population are women, although the masculinity rate varies by age group: up to age 21 there are more men than women, and then the proportion is reversed. In terms of racial make-up, 94% say that their predominant race is white, 4% say black, 1% identify themselves as indigenous and the remaining 1% belong to other races.

Montevideo holds 40% of the country's inhabitants, almost exclusively concentrated in urban areas (99%). Compared to the rest of Uruguay, the capital's population is older (14% above the age of 65), more female (53%) and less white (93%). Adolescents aged 13-17, in particular, represent just under 7% of the population of Montevideo, with a gender split of about half. Ethnic diversity in this group is bigger than elsewhere, with 91% whites, 7.5% blacks and 1.5% people of a different race. In

[7] That means that the gross birth and death rates have stabilised at low values which provide for small demographic growth.

terms of welfare, poverty[8] is overrepresented in this age group (29.2%), compared with totals for Montevideo (15.7%) and Uruguay (11.5%).

In terms of education, 79% of individuals aged 13-17 in Montevideo are in secondary school, 4% are in primary school, 3.5% are in UTU schools and almost 0.5% are in higher education. Among secondary school students, 68% are in state schools and 32% in private schools. Some 13% do not attend an educational institution at all, which is more often the case for males (14.2%) than for women (11.4%). Finally, approximately 11% of adolescents said they neither studied nor worked when they took part in the survey (ECH, 2013).

3.2 Data sources and characterization of violence and youth crime

Crime data for Uruguay basically come from two ***sources***: reports filed before police, as recorded by the Interior Ministry, and prosecutions by the judiciary. There are no annual self-reported victimization surveys, although isolated studies were carried out in the years 1999, 2000, 2001, 2006 and 2011.[9] Other available sources of information are the Public Health Ministry, with data referring to externally induced deaths (suicides, homicides and accidents), and the Fundapro Observatory[10], which uses media reports, crime victims' reports and specific data on indicators of victimization and insecurity put together by consultancy firms. In Uruguay, there is more than just a deficit in data volume and quality with relation to crime: the data available are not published periodically, systematically and in formats apt to be re-used.

The evolution of ***reports filed before police*** shows an increase in completed crimes in recent years: in 2000-2013, the homicide rate per 100,000 went from 6.5 to 7.7; the rate of injury went from 275.4 to 272.5, the shoplifting rate went from 1836 to 2873, and the robbery rate went from 205 to 492.3. Further, in 2005-13, the rate of domestic violence grew from 205.8 to 769, and rapes from 7.1 to 8.5. Finally, in terms of crime distribution, in 2013 Montevideo had 81% of all the robbery incidents (with a rate of 1019) and 63% of all homicides (with a rate of 12.2) in the country.

The results of a ***victimization*** survey that was carried out in Uruguay in 2011 show that 31% of respondents had been victims of some crime during the last year, with apparent differences between Montevideo (38%) and the rest of the country (22%).

[8] Poverty measured using the income or indirect method. ECH data, 2013.
[9] Some of these studies refer just to Montevideo and its metropolitan area. Micro-data are not generally available to the public.
[10] For more details, visit http://seguridad.observatoriofundapro.com/.

Further, the proportion of victims decreases with age.[11] It goes from 36% in the youngest age group (under 29 years of age) to 23% among people aged 60 and older. Gender differences are smaller: 33% of women and 28% of men said they had been victims of a crime over the last year (Interior Ministry-EQUIPOS/MORI, 2011). Other studies based on court statistics indicated that young males were more vulnerable to violent victimization in Uruguay, except in the case of rape, which mostly affected women (Paternain, 2008).

The overall percentage of unreported crimes in the year 2011 was 47%, although it varied by type of crime. The ***percentage of unreported crimes***[12] is relatively high for attempted burglary (65%) and for injury and threats (61%); it amounts to about half the cases of non-violent robbery (56%), violent robbery (53%), bicycle theft (53%) and theft of objects inside a car (45%); and it is relatively low in cases of burglary (40%) and vehicle theft (3%) (OPP-MIDES, 2013).

The ***profile of crime perpetrators*** is mostly male for all types of crime. Court statistics from 2012 show that the likelihood of being charged with a crime is 7.5 times higher for men than it is for women. Further, in terms of age group, the population with the greatest propensity to commit crimes is aged 18-25. This age group in itself contributes 43% of the total number of criminally charged adults for 2012. The relationship between age and crime perpetration is inverse, although in this case too there are variations by type of crime (INE, 2013). [13]

It is hard to tell the exact percentage of crimes that are committed by people under the age of 18. 'Public data on the phenomenon of ***youth crime*** are marked [more than general crime data] by isolation, lack of publicity, access problems, the impossibility of making comparisons and an absence of critical assessments. The latter in many cases also affects the very agencies in charge of detentions involving adolescents' (Lopez y Palummo, 2013: 10). Beyond specific studies that may be carried out on the issue, the official and continuous sources of data on crimes committed by children and adolescents are i) police detention figures published by the Interior Ministry, ii) cases opened and

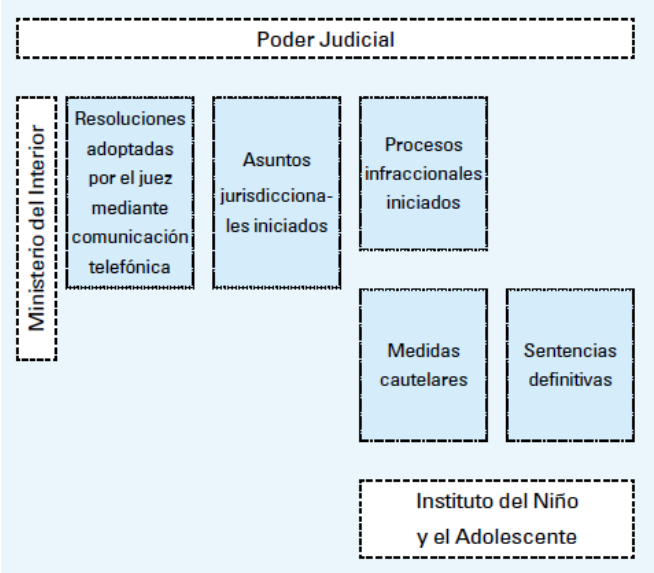
[11] The National Youth Survey (Encuesta Nacional de Juventud, ENAJ) of 2008 provides data on the victimization of people between the ages of 12 and 29. With the exception of rape, the victimization percentage is higher in Montevideo than in the provinces for all crimes. Among young people aged 15-19, 9.4% say they have experienced robbery or theft at home in the last 12 months; 8.4% have experienced violent robbery; 14.8% have experienced non-violent robbery; 6.7% suffered injury; and 0.1% suffered rape (ENAJ, 2008).

[12] The percentage of unreported crime depends on aspects like confidence in police, the cost of reporting the crime (time, travel, etc.), among others. Its effect not only distorts the total number of known crimes but also affects crime structure, victim profile, etc.

[13] While crimes like theft and robbery have huge participation by people in the 18-25 age group, with 56% and 66%, respectively, crimes like rape and fraud have a relative participation rate close to 18% and 19%, respectively.

legal proceedings launched by the judiciary, and iii) admissions into the juvenile detention system registered by SERPAJ-INAU.

Figure 2 *Outline of Juvenile Criminal Proceedings*

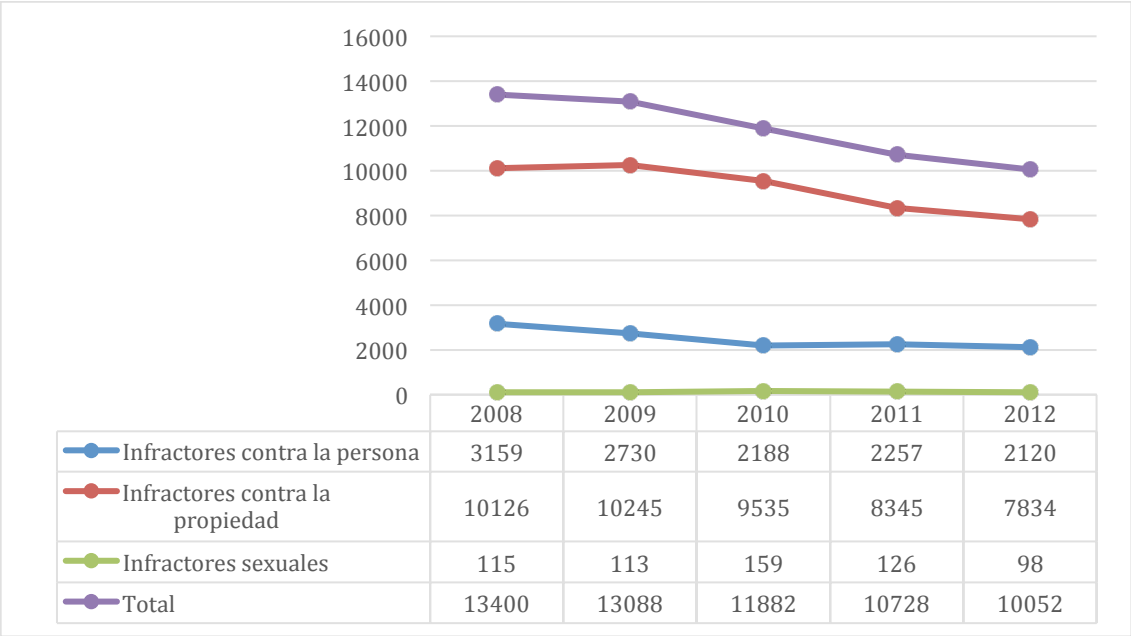


Source: (Arroyo, De Armas, Retamoso, & Vernazza, 2012: 92)

The lack of access to the data and the problem with unreported crimes affecting ***police data*** are joined by an added difficulty, which is that figures on police detentions affecting children and adolescents refer to individuals instead of crimes, and it is not possible to separate police data simply by age group. There is thus a problem with the overestimation of the number of perpetrators, since it includes children under the age of 13 who are criminally not responsible (Arroyo et al., 2012).

In Uruguay, police detentions affecting children and adolescents show evidence of a persistent, substantial 25% reduction 2008-2012. Property crimes lead to a majority of detentions affecting minors in every year under consideration, which to a great extent explains the overall reduction and represents approximately 78% of the total figure for 2012.

Figure 3 *Children and adolescents aged 11-17 detained by police, by type of crime Uruguay, 2008-2012.*



	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Infractores contra la persona	3159	2730	2188	2257	2120
Infractores contra la propiedad	10126	10245	9535	8345	7834
Infractores sexuales	115	113	159	126	98
Total	13400	13088	11882	10728	10052

Source: (Vernazza, 2013) Based on data from the Interior Ministry's National Observatory on Violence and Crime.

The quotient of adolescents detained by police over the total number of complaints is a methodologically weak indicator[14] of the weight of juvenile crime on total crime. Data for 2005-2011 show that this indicator is never above 8.4 detained adolescents per one hundred complaints, with its minimum in 2011 on 6.4 (Arroyo et al., 2012: 91). On the other hand, according to the Interior Ministry's National Observatory on Violence and Crime, participation by minors as homicide perpetrators increased from 9% to 17% of the total of solved cases 2006-2013.

An alternative to police data are those issued by the ***criminal justice system***. A better indicator of offences committed by adolescents and the proportion of total crime that these amount to is found by comparing criminal cases opened against adults and against adolescents.[15]

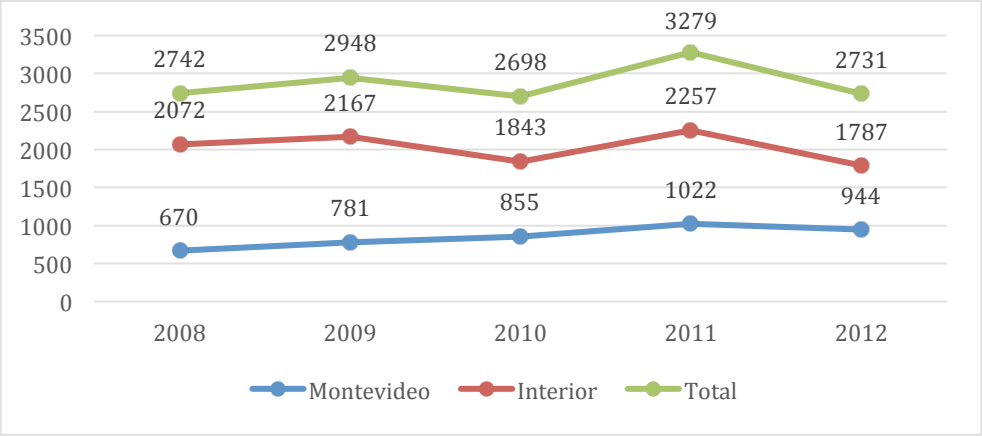
Figure 4 shows that, in cases involving adolescents in conflict with criminal law in 2008-2012, there is a 41% increase in Montevideo, while in the provinces there is a 14%

[14] This indicator is problematic since it links *crimes (events)* committed by people above the age of 13 (police complaints) and *people* aged 11-17 detained by police. Beyond the different units of analysis in the numerator and the denominator, a crime does not necessarily correspond to a single person, just like a police detention does not necessarily correspond to a crime.

[15] Cases opened correspond to the investigation stage, in which the judge brings together sufficient evidence to launch criminal proceedings. Cases opened do not necessarily lead to orders of committal to trial, and they can be closed for lack of probable cause. The indicator helps establish the volume of issues that reached the courts and for how many of those the judge thought it appropriate to launch proceedings (Arroyo et al., 2012: 92). This kind of comparison highlights the problem of looking exclusively at the cases that the criminal justice system takes on, and particularly the fact that the reasons why an individual is tried are different for adults and adolescents (Vernazza, 2013).

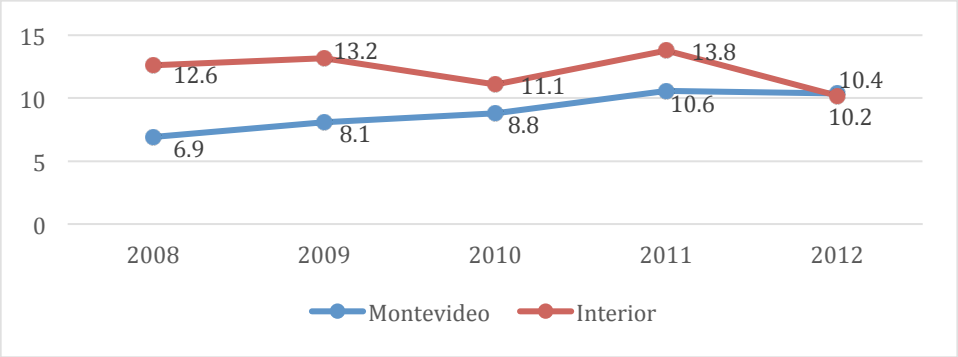
decrease. The comparison changes when we switch from absolute figures to rates, since the number of cases opened per 1,000 residents aged 13-17 in Montevideo (10.4) was higher than that in the provinces (10.2) in 2012 (Figure 5).

Figure 4 *Developments in cases launched against adolescents in conflict with criminal law Uruguay, 2008-2012*



Source: Drafted by ourselves based on data from (Judiciary, 2013b).
Note: We must bear in mind that the drop in this indicator for 2012 may have been caused by a change in criteria, with isolated actions not counted as opened cases (Judiciary, 2013b).

Figure 5 *Rate of cases opened that involved adolescents per 1,000 residents aged 13-17 Uruguay, 2008-2012*

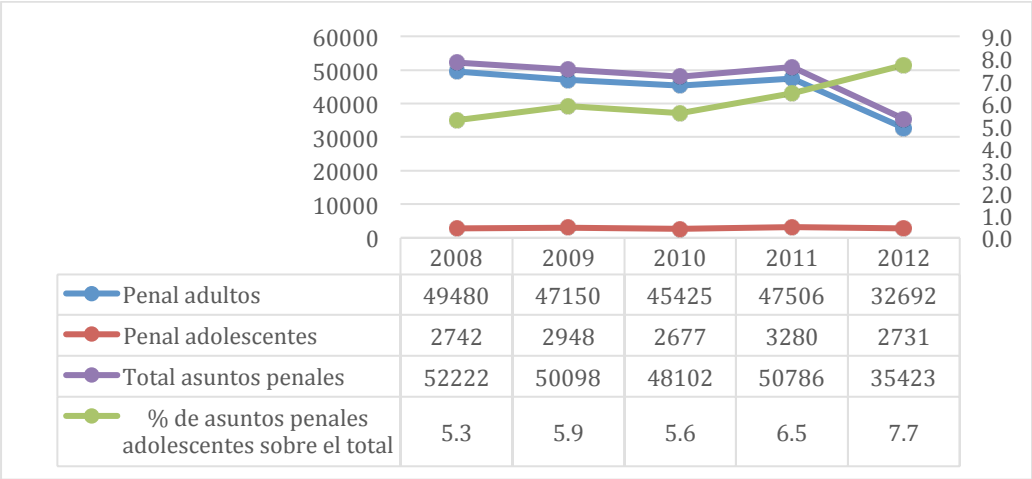


Source: Drafted by ourselves based on data from the Statistical Annual Directories of the (Judiciary, 2013a).

When comparing adolescent figures with those relative to adults, the percentage of cases opened against adolescents was marginal, below 8%, for every year we took into consideration (Figure 6).[16]

[16] The number of cases opened against adolescents and adults fell in 2012, so the increase in the relative participation of the former was due to the fact that cases opened against adolescents fell less than those involving adults, not due to an increase in adolescent criminal cases in absolute terms. Finally, it is

Figure 6 *Criminal cases opened against adults and adolescents (left axis) and percentage of adolescent criminal cases (right axis) Uruguay, 2009-2012*



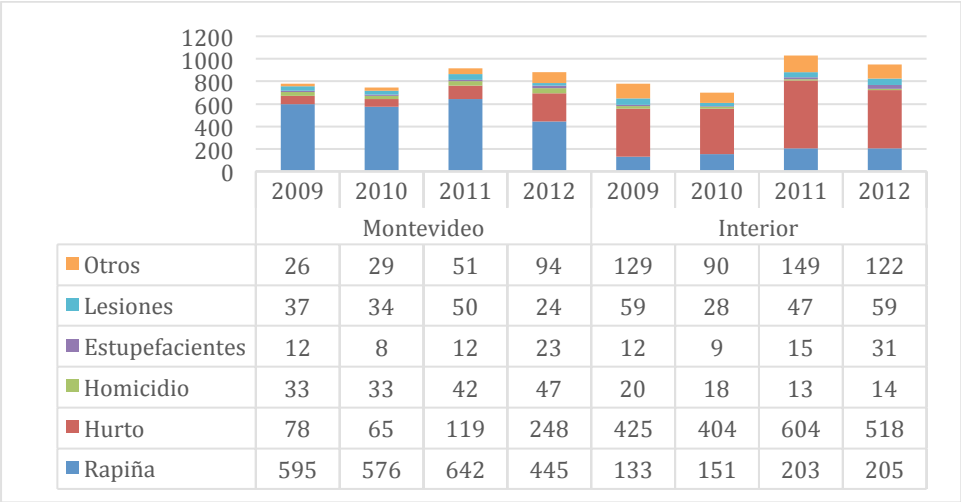
	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Penal adultos	49480	47150	45425	47506	32692
Penal adolescentes	2742	2948	2677	3280	2731
Total asuntos penales	52222	50098	48102	50786	35423
% de asuntos penales adolescentes sobre el total	5.3	5.9	5.6	6.5	7.7

Source: Drafted by ourselves based on data from the Statistical Annual Directories of the (Judiciary, 2013a).
Note: Cases opened in 2010 and 2011 involving minor offences in the Uruguayan capital are included in the Federal Criminal Courts. From 2012, isolated actions in criminal cases opened against adolescents are not taken into account.

Reinforcing what we saw regarding police detentions, Figure 7 shows how most of the closed cases involving adolescents corresponded to property crimes. We found differences between Montevideo and the provinces with relation to the most frequent type of crime, with robbery the most common in the capital and theft the most common in the rest of the country. Montevideo shows more violent property crimes as well as more homicides than the provinces. Finally, the number of adolescents charged with crimes involving narcotics has almost doubled in Montevideo and more than doubled in the provinces 2009-2012.

important to note that the interpretation of data for 2012 is affected by a change in the criteria followed by the judiciary.

Figure 7 *Structure of crimes in cases involving adolescents that were closed during the year Uruguay, 2009-2012*

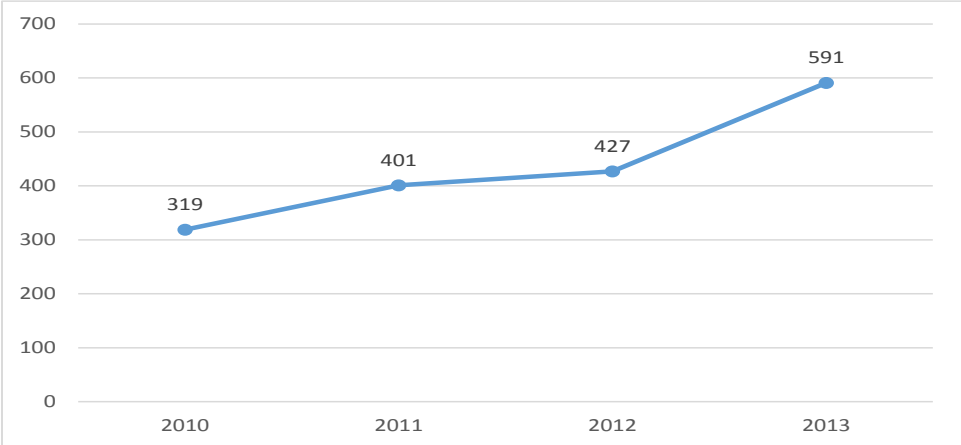


	Montevideo				Interior			
	2009	2010	2011	2012	2009	2010	2011	2012
Otros	26	29	51	94	129	90	149	122
Lesiones	37	34	50	24	59	28	47	59
Estupefacientes	12	8	12	23	12	9	15	31
Homicidio	33	33	42	47	20	18	13	14
Hurto	78	65	119	248	425	404	604	518
Rapiña	595	576	642	445	133	151	203	205

Source: Drafted by ourselves based on data from the Statistical Annual Directories of the (Judiciary, 2013a).
Note: Injury includes personal, intentional, serious and very serious injury.

A third source of data on youth crime are the ***adolescents detained in homes managed by SIRPA-INAU***. As we see in Figure 8, we find strong growth in 2010-2013 in the number of detainees, which went from 319 to 591. In the brief period in question, the number of people held at SIRPA rose by 85%.[17]

Figure 8 *Adolescents detained in SIRPA homes Uruguay, 2009-2014*



Source: Drafted by ourselves based on data from INAU's Information System for Children (AGEV - OPP, 2014).
Note: Annual average of young people detained in SIRPA homes, based on data for the 30th day of each month. This includes adults who were punished when they were minors and are still serving their time at SIRPA.

[17] For reference, Uruguay's population of adult detainees stood at 9,829 in February 2013, according to Interior Ministry figures that were published by the International Centre for Prison Studies.

Data from 2010 on the adolescents who were admitted into the juvenile detention system in Montevideo point to the following social profile: 92.7% males (vs. 7.3% females), 64.1% aged 16-17 (vs. 32.7% aged 14-15 and 3.2% aged 13), 68.9% had primary school, complete or incomplete, as their highest educational achievement; 65.3% were adolescents who neither studied nor worked (vs. 20.2% who were students, 12.7% who worked and 1.7% who both worked and studied), and 76.9% of adolescents who had been retained at school (vs. 23.1% without retention). Additionally, for Montevideo in 2010, the files on youth offenders mentioned drug addiction,[18] with freebase present in 67.7% of all cases and marijuana present in 17.7%. Theft and robbery are the crimes that are most frequently punished by the juvenile criminal justice system, with 11.5% and 75.5% of all cases, respectively. The trend in Montevideo in recent years points to a reduction in theft that comes with an increase in robbery (Lopez & Palummo, 2013).

Although all sources of information point to a marginal participation of adolescents in the total volume of crime, the National Victimization Survey of 2011 shows that many people think that most crimes are committed by minors (57%); one third of respondents think crimes are committed by adults and minors in equal measure; and barely 8% attribute most crimes to adults. In this context, 85% of the population agrees that the courts should be granted access to the criminal records of offending minors once they turn 18, while 69% support lowering the age for adult criminal responsibility[19] (Interior Ministry-EQUIPOS/MORI, 2011).

There are no official, continuous records on ***school-related violence or bullying***. Despite the growing interest that the phenomenon is prompting, there is no information system on violence in school environments in Uruguay. The data are partial, scarce and show no continuity, and most of the knowledge on the issue is qualitative in nature.

The National Census on Learning that was carried out in 1999 among students in the third year of secondary school offered for the first time a national overview on this phenomenon. Among its results, the most noteworthy is that perception of school-related violence is greater in Montevideo than in the provinces and that it is mainly associated with educational institutions with a medium socio-cultural level that are large and public. With relation to several variables, perception of violence appears to be greater among men, among people who are not happy with the educational institution, and to a lesser extent among people with lower grades in their learning tests. On the other hand, expectations about continued studies do not appear to be associated with a violent atmosphere in schools (Viscardi, 2003).

[18] That figure is below the figure for 2005-2006, with 43% of all cases, and for 2007-2008, with 33.5% (Lopez & Palummo, 2013).

[19] In fact, 40% would agree to lower the age of criminal responsibility to 14, with 29% who favour lowering it to 16.

The first National Survey on Coexistence in Educational Institutions was carried out by ANEP in 2010 to find out the impressions of headmasters, teachers and students of every subsystem within public education (primary, secondary and UTU institutions).[20] Data based on the opinion of secondary and UTU students shows that coexistence problems are more frequent among students, and not among students and teachers or school officials. Among secondary school students, 56% believe there are always or almost always verbal attacks between students, 33% report plundering of educational institutions and 30% report physical assault. Percentages corresponding to UTU students are a bit lower: 43% report that verbal attacks between students are very common, 31% report plundering of facilities and 17% report physical assault. Additionally, secondary school students perceive that conflict between peers is mostly due to issues related to looks, consumption, sexuality, school grades and social origin, while looks, sexuality and racial origin are the main causes at UTU (ANEP-OPP-UnaONU, 2010).

The most recent data hail from the Global School-Based Student Health Survey (GSHS)[21] that was carried out during 2012 in Uruguay. The survey was administered to secondary school students, but it has limitations in that it does not specify where the violence takes place (whether it is within the family, within certain institutions, etc.). Based on the results of this survey, we may note that 16.3% of students report having been victims of physical assault[22] at least once during the last 12 months. Victims of assault are mainly men (18.6%, vs. 14.4% women). About 2.3% of students report having been forced to have sexual encounters,[23] with no statistically significant gender differences. Incidence is higher (6.8%) when we take into account instances of sexual abuse,[24] a crime in which more women are victimized (8.6%) than men (4.8%). Finally, 27% of respondents took part in a fight or quarrel with peers during the last year, a figure that combines 38% of men and 17% of women. Further, 5.9% of adolescents report belonging to a group that regularly engages in violent activities (GSHS, 2012).

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[20] In 2012, ANEP also carried out the first Census on Coexistence and Participation, but its results are yet to be published.

[21] The GSHS collected the opinions of adolescents in school in the second, third and fourth years of secondary school in public and private educational institutions, in towns and cities around the country with a population of over 5,000. With a combined two-stage sample and using self-administered surveys, 50 educational institutions were surveyed, which amounted to 155 classes and 3,524 students, in June-July 2012.

[22] We understand by physical assault "when one person or several people beat up someone, or when one person or several people injure someone else with a weapon (like a stick, a knife or a firearm)."

[23] We understand by sexual abuse the abusive exercise of power for the sexual satisfaction of the person exercising that power, to the detriment of and ignoring the other person's will. Abuse can consist in flashing one's genitals or groping and go as far as rape.

[24] In this case, adolescents were asked: "Has anyone kissed or touched any part of your body and forced you to do sexual things you did not want to do? (excluding forced sexual relations in which sex is consummated)."

With relation to ***drug*** use among adolescents, the GSHS showed a life prevalence of 29.7% in smoking and of 70.5% in alcohol consumption, while prevalence over the last month stood at 13.1% for smoking and 48.6% for alcohol. Among adolescents who did not drink alcohol over the last month, only 17.6% reported they had been involved in a fight or quarrel during the last year, while the percentage rose to 32.8% among adolescents who had drunk alcohol and to 46.8% among adolescents who had abused alcohol.[25] It is also worth noting that students who drank alcohol reported that they belonged to a violent group to a greater extent (8.5%) than those who did not drink alcohol (3.6%). On the other hand, the survey showed a life prevalence of 13.3% in marijuana use (16.8% in Montevideo), 2.7% in cocaine use and 2.1% in the use of substances like freebase and ecstasy (GSHS, 2012).

The Fifth National Survey on Drug Use, which was administered in 2011 to secondary school students, is a further source of information.[26] According to this source, "almost 3 out of 4 students used a legal or illegal drug during the last 12 months, be they experimental, occasional or regular users. When we separate by substance, we observe that 70% of students used alcohol, 20% smoked and 12% used marijuana during the last year. Tranquilizers and sedatives (with and without medical prescription) come fourth, with a prevalence of 7.7% during the last year. In turn, 1.4% of students reported use of cocaine and inhalants during the last 12 months, with marginal use of freebase (0.4%) and ecstasy (0.3%) in this population." (National Board on Drugs, 2011b: 16) Data for Montevideo are similar to those for the rest of the country, although prevalence in marijuana use during the last year is practically double among adolescents in the capital. Distribution by gender shows that men use all drugs in greater proportions than women, with the exception of smoking and tranquilizers (National Board on Drugs, 2011b).

3.3 Recent studies on juvenile crime and violence in Uruguay

Segmentation and quality problems affecting official data are a hurdle when assessing juvenile crime in Uruguay. Further, the country lacks systematic surveys on the issue, and there are few studies that have generated alternative databases. In this context, the contribution of projects like m-proso takes on particular value and relevance.

[25] The threshold for abuse in alcohol consumption was set at 80 millimetres or more of pure alcohol on one single occasion. The survey uses a proxy indicator based on the number of alcoholic drinks students drank when they went out during the last 30 days.

[26] In 2011, the Uruguayan Observatory on Drugs (OUD) carried out the Fifth National Survey on Drug Use, which involved young people aged 13-17 who are in all three stages of secondary school (Ciclo Básico, Bachillerato and UTU). The sample included 5,834 surveys administered in 320 classes and 105 educational institutions in cities with more than 10,000 people across the country.

A substantial portion of the ***national literature on youth violence and crime*** consists in legal or social papers that do not make direct and specific use of the empirical evidence. Those kinds of studies hold theoretical or normative debates on specific bibliography and other types of academic or journalistic documents. Regarding academic data based on empirical investigation, we note that it is mostly descriptive, dominated by qualitative work, with a few quantitative studies and others that handle data of both sorts. The shortage of quantitative studies that aim to explain juvenile crime is linked not just to the aforementioned problem with scarce data but also to some writers explicitly giving up on the task of drawing up causal links on this issue (e.g. Cohen & Silva Balerio, 2003; Iglesias, 2000; Palummo, 2006; Pedernera & Silva Balerio, 2004; Uriarte, 1999).

In terms of content, a majority of empirical research reports tend to focus on defining the functioning of the adolescent criminal justice system (Aloisio, Chouhy, Trajtenberg, & Vigna, 2009; Arroyo et al., 2012; J. Cohen & Silva Balerio, 2003; De Martino & Gabin, 1998; Deus Viana & Gonzalez Perret, 2004; Dominguez & Silva Balerio, 2014; Fraiman & Rossal, 2011; Gonzalez & Leopold, 2013; Gonzalez, 2011; A. Lopez & Palummo, 2013; Lopez Gallego & Padilla, 2013; Martinez & Moyano, 2013; Martinis & Flous, 2013; Palummo, 2006, 2008, 2009, 2010; Trajtenberg, 2004; Vernazza, 2013; Viscardi & Barbero, 2010; Viscardi, 2006, 2011; VVAA, 2008), while approaches that seek to describe the historical development of the juvenile criminal justice system (Arbesun, 2010; De Martino & Gabin, 1998; Fessler, 2013; Gonzalez & Leopold, 2013; Moras, 1992; Tenenbaum, 2011) and that descriptively link the phenomenon of juvenile crime to social dimensions and variables are less frequent (Aloisio et al., 2009; Anfitti, Rios, & Menese, 2013; Arroyo et al., 2012; Cano, 2014; Castillo, 2013; Chouhy, Trajtenberg, & Vigna, 2010; Fraiman & Rossal, 2009; Kaztman, 1996; A. Lopez & Palummo, 2013; J. Palummo, 2008, 2010; UNODC, 2010; Viscardi, 2006, 2007, 2012).

Beyond isolated differences, there is consensus in the literature around a few issues: i) most adolescents who have been committed to institutions for offences are male, older than 14, with weak educational and employment ties, who come from low socio-economic strata and conflict-ridden unstructured families; ii) most offences that are found out refer to property crimes (theft and robbery); iii) police detains these adolescents in selective procedures with weak legal underpinnings; iv) the judiciary operates based on punitive principles, casting aside the principle of proportionality and with procedural shortcomings; and v) institutions charged with executing socio-educational measures (currently SIRPA) have found deficiencies in its functioning that sometimes lead to degrading treatment and human rights violations against children and adolescents.

The only *quantitative study* with explanatory/predictive ambitions is (Munyo, 2014), which analyses from an economic perspective which is the role of incentives in adolescent offences. A dynamic economic model is put forward that considers making present decisions a condition for future decisions. The model suggests that four factors can account for 85% of the variance observed in juvenile crime 1997-2010: i) the drop in the financial yield of wages (an aspect associated with the educational failure of vulnerable sub-populations) with relation to the gains from crime explains 35% of the variance; ii) approval of the Code on Childhood and Adolescence (CNA) in 2004, which reduced sentences and the probability that adolescents are tried at all, explains 30% of the variance; iii) the increase in the number of escapes from correctional facilities explains 10% of the variance; and iv) the cocaine freebase epidemic, which reduces the time horizon of decisions and increases propensity to adopt risky behaviour, explains 10% of the observed variance. In a nutshell, the study concludes that juvenile crime has increased not just because crime-associated gains grew more than the yield of legal activity, but also because the cost associated with criminal activities has dropped substantially.

If we turn to the study of ***violence in the school context***, the first work that was carried out in Uruguay emerged in the 1990s, based on ANEP technical reports (Viscardi, 2003). Public visibility of the problem and academic production have grown since then, although it remains a budding research field. As was the case before, the availability and the quality of official data limit knowledge on the issue. Empirical research, be it qualitative or quantitative, corresponds to isolated case studies and does not allow for a generalization of results. It is to be expected, however, that projects like m-proso and the first Census on Coexistence and Participation that was carried out by ANEP in 2012 allow for the emergence of future provincial and national projects.

Qualitative studies have contributed most to reflecting on school sociability and coexistence (Barcelo, 2005; Baridon, 2010; Giorgi, Kaplun, & Moras, 2012; Rodriguez, 2002, 2014; Viscardi & Alonso, 2013; Viscardi, 2003, 2008a, 2008b). Some studies have addressed the role of key actors in the phenomenon of bullying, eg. the primary care doctor (Lozano, 2010). Finally, some studies combine qualitative analysis with the descriptive presentation of data on violence, drug use and the coexistence environment in educational institutions (Viscardi & Alonso, 2013; Viscardi, 2003, 2008b).

In recent years, a few *quantitative studies* have been done on the phenomenon of bullying and school-related violence. Perez Algorta (2004) has examined the link between bullying and several psychological alterations at an educational institution. To do that, 67 people aged 15-19 with some involvement in bullying dynamics (perpetrator, victim, perpetrator-victim) were selected out of a population of 630 adolescents. From a

methodological point of view, we implemented the Spanish version of Youth Self-Report (YSR), by Achenbach and Edelbrock. Statistical processing was carried out through a comparison of means, hypothesis testing and factor analysis. The results we obtained are consistent with reference studies, since adolescents who took part in bullying dynamics (particularly 'perpetrators-victims') showed a higher level of psychopathology than 'neutral' adolescents.

The work of Cajigas et al. (Cajigas de Segredo et al., 2006; Cajigas de Segredo, Khan, Luzardo, Najson, & Zamalvide, 2004) is relevant for its empirical results and its methodological contribution. The goal of that study was to adapt the Aggression Among Peers Scale and to validate it for a sample of 607 students at a secondary school in Montevideo. The scale, based on Boswell's self-reported questionnaire on Bullying, Fighting and Victimization (Espelage and Simon), is made up of four sub-scales: i) external influences, ii) personal attitude to violence, iii) prosocial behaviour, and iv) aggressive behaviour. The scales' psychometric properties were satisfactory, and the data that were obtained were processed through hypothesis testing and factor analysis. The results show a greater tendency to aggressive behaviour and lower impulse control among men than among women, which is consistent with the literature. Further, several dimensions associated with violence appear to increase with age within the age group that was being studied. In a more recent book, Cajigas, Luzardo, Mungay, & Kahan (2013) revisit this and other research findings and offer a psycho-epidemiological overview of youth in public secondary education in Montevideo.

Mazur (2010) addresses the relationship between bullying and academic performance based on a sample of 308 adolescents aged 11-17 in the Ciclo Básico at a public secondary school in the Colonia Province. Two self-reported questionnaires were administered to assess behaviours associated with bullying. The first was an adaptation of the Aggression Among Peers Scale for adolescents done by Cajigas de Segredo et al., (2006) y (2004), and the second was a measure of aggressiveness among school students (Cerezo's Test Bull-s). The data were processed with hypothesis testing and ANOVA variance analysis. Results showed that 3.6% of respondents played the role of 'victim,' 4.2% played the role of 'perpetrator,' and 0.6% were 'victims-perpetrators.' Further, all participants in bullying dynamics showed school performances below the level of youths not involved with bullying, with 'perpetrators' and 'victims-perpetrators' in a significantly worse position.

Lozano et al. (Lozano et al., 2010) studied youths (aged 11-20) in the Casavalle neighbourhood of Montevideo, analysing individual, family, community and social factors related to violence and other risk behaviours. A total of 943 cases were surveyed, from 3 public and 1 private institutions. Of these adolescent respondents, 44% reported

having suffered physical assault, 4% reported having suffered sexual violence, 59% reported psychological violence and 6% reported violence through technological media. Regarding perpetrating violence, 47.6% reported having perpetrated physical violence, 1.8% reported having perpetrated sexual violence, 50.5% reported psychological violence and 6% reported violence through technological media. Further, a few key variables were selected, such as gender, age, cohabitation with parents, wealth, school retention and unhappiness, to build regression models that explain suffered and perpetrated violence of the four kinds that were listed earlier.

Finally, a study by Roman & Murillo (2011) on violence and academic performance systematizes some data from the Second Regional Comparative and Explanatory Study (SERCE), carried out by UNESCO 2005-2009 in 16 Latin American countries.[27] This work shows that violence among students in the sixth grade of primary school is a regional problem and negatively affects school performances. However, Uruguay appears to be at a relative advantage for Latin America, particularly with reference to the prevalence of serious mistreatment, like 'theft' and 'physical mistreatment.'

3.4 Justice system and recent policy regarding youth violence and crime

For Uruguay, the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) in 1990 meant going from a notion based on disability to another that regards children and adolescents as subjects with rights. In the field of ***criminal justice***, the CRC implied acknowledging special responsibilities from a certain age and drawing a set of guarantees that guide the state's actions regarding juvenile crime[28] (Arroyo et al., 2012; Vernazza, 2013). In Uruguay, children below 13 years of age have no criminal responsibility, while youth aged 13-17 have a specific juvenile criminal responsibility system.[29] The Code on Childhood and Adolescence (CNA)[30] made progress towards adapting national norms to the CRC,

[27] The data for Uruguay can be found in ANEP - CODICEN (2009).

[28] According to the CRC, the principles that must guide the juvenile criminal justice system are legality, prison exceptionality and brevity, specialization within the youth criminal justice system, protection and guarantees for the adolescent's development, and non-regressive internal rules relative to the international treaty.

[29] In Latin America, the juvenile criminal justice system refers to people aged 12-18 in Bolivia, Brazil, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico, Panama, Peru and Venezuela; 13-18 in Guatemala, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic and Uruguay; 14-18 in Chile, Colombia and Paraguay; 16-20 in Cuba, while there is no criminal responsibility system in Argentina until the age of 16 (Arroyo et al., 2012; Vernazza, 2013).

[30] Law 17,823 of 2004, which establishes obligations, rights and guarantees for individuals under 18 years of age and revokes the Law 9,342 of 1934 (Children's Code). The INAU was created in 2005 in order to abide by the law, to replace the prior National Institute for Minors (INAME). To find out more on the issue, visit: http://www.parlamento.gub.uy/htmlstat/pl/codigos/codigonino/2004/cod_nino.htm. However, rights-based progress was weakened by later changes on criminal proceedings. Law 18,777 of 2012 created criminal records for adolescents who committed serious crimes, it postponed the deadline to issue a ruling in some situations, it created the legal entity of attempted theft and it increased (from 60 to

and it designated the Institute for Children and Adolescents in Uruguay (INAU) as the leading institution on this issue. Further, regarding violence, the Law on the Prohibition of Physical Punishment and Respect for the Personal Integrity of Children and Adolescents was passed in 2007.

The ***institutional framework*** to deal with adolescents who are in conflict with criminal law has undergone changes in recent years. The Technical Institute for Youth Rehabilitation (INTERJ) was created in 1995, and it was succeeded in 2009 by the System for the Implementation of Measures on Juvenile Offenders (SEMEJI) and then, in 2011, by the current System of Adolescent Criminal Responsibility (SIRPA)[31]. Law 18,771 created SIRPA as a specific, decentralized body to manage measures regarding adolescents who are in conflict with the law, in the sphere of influence of INAU.

Beyond successive rounds of institutional reform, ***policies for the prevention of youth violence*** show heterogeneity both in their theoretical scope (regarding risk factors, citizen security, conflict management, rights, etc.) and in the institutional framework from which they operate. On the other hand, weaknesses in information systems and study features in terms of content make it difficult to design policies based on empirical evidence and its subsequent evaluation. A usual way to classify initiatives refers to the type of population they seek to address. In this sense, primary prevention refers to the population in general, secondary prevention refers to particularly vulnerable groups, and tertiary prevention refers to individuals and groups who have ties to violence, be it as victims or as actual perpetrators. While primary and secondary prevention programmes seek to reduce initial involvement in criminal behaviour, tertiary prevention seeks to prevent recidivism.

Among ***programmes for primary and secondary prevention*** of youth violence, we can mention:[32]

- 'Ni ahí con la violencia' (Definitely Not Through Violence), which was launched in 2011 by the city government of Canelones to raise awareness through various forms of expression (posters, videos, songs) and serve as an incentive for young people

90 days) the temporal margin for the application of precautionary measures in cases of detention pending trial.

[31] To find out more on the issue, visit: http://www.inau.gub.uy/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=59&Itemid=66:

[32] The list of programmes was drawn up using information published by the MIDES Social Observatory, the website Hecho para jóvenes, and various reports published by institutions that are active in this field. Beyond initiatives that seek to prevent youth violence, there are others that might contribute indirectly to such ends by promoting the exercise of rights, catering to situations of social vulnerability, re-inserting adolescents in the workplace and the classroom, etc. In this sense, the National Institute for Youth recently launched the Plan of Action for Youth 2015-2025, which formulates public policy on various relevant issues.

aged 12-17 who attend secondary education to get information on domestic violence and think about it.

- 'Pelota al medio a la esperanza' (Relaunch Hope), which was launched in 2010 by the Interior Ministry to raise awareness, decrease secondary school drop-out rates and prevent violence in sport, promoting the values of healthy competition, respect and friendship through sporting events and talks from well-known sportspeople, targeting a population of youths aged 12-18 with a vulnerable socio-economic background and who attend the second stage in secondary school education.
- 'Knock Out a las Drogas' (Knock Out Drugs) and 'Revés a las Drogas' (Give Drugs a Backhand) were respectively launched in 2005 and 2011 by the Ministry for Tourism and Sports to promote sports (boxing and tennis) as a tool to develop healthy lifestyles that push young people aged 10-20 in deprived areas away from drug use and risky behaviour.
- 'Plan 7 zonas' (7-Area Plan). 'Programa de territorialización de la estrategia por la vida y la convivencia' (Programme for the Territorialization of the Strategy to Promote Life and Coexistence) was launched by the Social Development Ministry, the Interior Ministry and other public bodies in 2012 to deal with the situation in seven high-vulnerability neighbourhoods in Montevideo and Canelones, which combines community policing with social projects like articulating existing programmes aimed at youths; training and development in work-related skills for youths and women, coupled with a childcare system for them; measures to improve housing; promotion of a safe, democratic use of public spaces; investment in infrastructure and equipment for public spaces.

With reference to ***tertiary prevention***, we can highlight the following programmes:

- 'Estudio, Ingreso y Derivación' (Study, Admissions and Referrals), which was launched in 2012 by SIRPA-INAU to organize the initial diagnosis of all adolescents entering the system in a precautionary situation and establish referrals to the institution's various existing programmes and projects.
- 'Medidas Socioeducativas de Base Comunitaria' (Community-Based Socio-Educational Measures), which was launched in 2002 by INAU (and is currently managed by SIRPA) to promote adolescent responsibility and reinforce adolescents' respect for human rights and the rights of others. It is guided by the integral protection principle and is a way to control adolescents with a definitive sentence issued by a court. Through professional help and by offering

materials/contributions in kind, the goal is to promote family involvement to reduce risk behaviour by adolescents.

- 'Medidas Privativas de Libertad y de Semi-libertad' (Detention and Partial Freedom Measures), which was launched in 1994 by INAU (currently managed by SIRPA) to implement and manage the enforcement of detention, precautionary, socio-educational and curative measures established by the relevant courts for youths who violate criminal law. The goal is to prepare adolescents for their release by training them in trades, study and documentation.
- 'Medidas Curativas' (Curative Measures), which was launched in 2012 by SIRPA-INAU to contribute, through actions in the fields of health (prevention, medical, odontological, nutritional, mental assistance, prevention and treatment for psycho-active substance abuse, etc.), to the development and improvement of the biopsychosocial abilities of adolescents treated by SIRPA.
- 'Inserción Social y Comunitaria' (Social and Community Integration), which was launched by SIRPA-INAU in 2011 and which seeks the social re-integration of adolescents in conflict with criminal law (in terms of training, work experience and access to housing) through professional help, internships and other assistance.
- 'Proyectos culturales y tutorías para jóvenes privados de libertad' (Cultural Projects and Tutoring for Detained Youths), which was launched in 2000 by INAU to contribute to granting socio-educational proposals within detention centres managed by SIRPA and entails artistic, sporting and cultural activities.
- 'Medidas alternativas a la privación de libertad' (Alternatives to Detention), which was launched by INAU in 1998 to give adolescents under the supervision of the juvenile criminal justice system tools that contribute to their social integration and prevent recidivism in crime by applying the socio-educational measures that were prescribed by the judge rather than detention (ej. unpaid tasks in public services, mediation/reparations for the victim, etc.).
- 'Sistema Integral de Protección a la Infancia y a la Adolescencia contra la Violencia' (Integral System for the Protection of Children and Adolescents from Violence), which was launched by INAU in 2007 to build a national system to deal, using an inter-agency approach, with the problem of violence and abuse of children and adolescents (0-18 years of age).

- 'Centro de atención a niños y niñas víctimas de maltrato, violencia infantil y abuso sexual' (Support Centre for Child Victims of Abuse, Violence and Sexual Abuse), which was launched by INAU in 2005 to improve the quality of life of children and adolescents and their families who are victims of domestic violence, abuse or sexual abuse and provides specialized care with an integral scope.
- 'Centro de Asistencia a Víctimas del Delito y la Violencia' (Support Centre for Victims of Crime and Violence), which was launched by the Interior Ministry in 2005 to provide advice for people (of every age) who are victims of crime and violence and provides: coordination and referrals to a psycho-social support and treatment network to reduce the effects of primary and secondary victimization; awareness-raising campaigns on the consequences of violence and crime
- 'Programa de albergues para niños, niñas y sus referentes adultos víctimas de violencia' (Shelter Programme for Children and their Adult Caretakers who are Victims of Violence), which was launched by the Social Development Ministry and the Ministry for Transport and the Environment in 2007 to provide a fostering space (accommodation, food, clothing, health, education, safety and recreation) for mothers and/or female caretakers above the age of 18 and their children who are involved in a crisis involving domestic violence.
- Several support programmes for victims of domestic violence which are run by town authorities, such as those in Salto, Canelones, Durazno, Tacuarembó and Montevideo, which involve shelter, support, technical advice and referrals.

Currently, a ***constitutional reform proposal*** is being debated in Uruguay to lower the age for adult criminal responsibility from 18 to 16 years of age. The initiative, which entails replacing Article 43 and temporary special regulation B in the country's constitution, is set to be the object of a referendum in October 2014.[33] The United Nations' Sub-Committee on the Prevention of Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment recently asked Uruguay to ensure that the age threshold for criminal responsibility remains in line with international regulations. The

[33] The proposed text says: "People above the age of sixteen and below eighteen will be held responsible according to criminal law and will be punished in accordance with the dispositions of the Criminal Code (Law 9,155 of 4 December, 1933 and its amendments) for the intentional perpetration of the crimes homicide, aggravated homicide, seriously aggravated homicide, serious bodily harm, very serious bodily harm, robbery, robbery with unlawful detention, extortion, kidnapping and rape, as well as any other crimes stipulated by the law."

Sub-Committee also expressed serious concerns with relation to the situation of SIRPA and abuse against detained adolescents.[34]

Regarding the rules that regulate ***coexistence in the context of secondary education***, the Student's Statute went into force in 2005, to replace the prior Rules on Student Behaviour. The change meant switching from a punitive approach to an approach that focuses more on the student's rights and responsibilities. Specifically on regulating the student's behaviour, the Statute draws up responsibilities (regarding peers, teachers, school authorities, public property and symbols, etc.), it describes disciplinary proceedings and lists punishments that are to be prescribed in case of violations (ANEP - CODICEN, 2005).

With relation to policies for the prevention of violence in an educational context, Uruguay developed experiences like 'Convivencia Saludable' (Healthy Coexistence), '+ Centro' (+ Centre) and other isolated initiatives to promote inclusion and coexistence in schools.[35] 'Healthy Coexistence' (ANEP), which was launched in 2010 to strengthen social integration in educational institutions and within the community, replacing an approach that focused on violence with another that focused on processes based on participation and on building democratic coexistence. On the other hand, the 'Programa + Centro: Centros Educativos Abiertos' (+ Centre Programme: Open Educational Institutions, launched by MIDES, ANEP, MEC, UNICEF) started out in 2011 to promote environments that boost education, improve coexistence and strengthen the ties between the student body, the educational institution and the community. We can also highlight projects such as 'Campamentos Educativos' (Educational Camps, by the Ministry for Education and Culture) and 'Escuelas Disfrutables' (Enjoyable Schools, by ANEP), which intervene in urban schools across the country to tackle factors that generate institutional uneasiness and violent situations (UNICEF, 2013).

3.5 Summary

The goal of this chapter was to provide an overview of statistics on youth violence and crime in Uruguay, the studies that are available on the issue and the policies that have been implemented in recent years. One of the keys to be able to put into practice a more appropriate strategy to prevent youth violence is to have a set of reliable, valid indicators.

[34] For more information on the comments and recommendations of the United Nations, please visit: http://bit.ly/1iQza85. The National Institute for Human Rights and social organizations like the Committee on the Rights of the Child Uruguay and the Institute of Legal and Social Studies in Uruguay generally agree with the aforementioned criticism.

[35] For more information on policies that were implemented in Uruguay in the late 1990s and early 2000s, see Viscardi (2003).

In Uruguay, ***the data*** on crime come from reports to police as recorded by the Interior Ministry and prosecutions by the judiciary. There are no continuous victimization and self-reporting surveys. Although great efforts have been made in recent years to improve information systems, there continue to be problems with some of the indicators that are relevant for diagnosis and decision-making regarding violence and juvenile crime: many of the data lack quality, they are not consistent with each other and they are not reported in a systematic way and in appropriate formats.

These information problems complicate the task of estimating the incidence of juvenile crime relative to the total volume of crime. Although a majority of public opinion believes that young people are the main actors responsible for crime, the data suggest that for every year 2008-2012 they never amounted to more than 9% of the total number of cases opened. In absolute terms, police figures show a sustained reduction in juvenile crime, court figures show that the annual total number of criminal cases opened against adolescents is stable and the number of detained adolescents shows substantial growth. Adolescent crimes in Uruguay are mainly property crimes and show greater levels of violence in Montevideo, compared to the rest of the country. Adolescents detained by the juvenile responsibility system have profiles with ties to vulnerable conditions: they are mostly males who have only reached a low educational level, have problems with educational and work-related inclusion, and are mainly aged 16-17.

Data on school violence in Uruguay are limited, insofar as there is no official and continuous information system and records. In recent years, a few concrete studies have been carried out that generated the first estimates on victimization, perpetration and associated factors. Overall, school violence appears to be associated with large, public institutions with a medium socio-cultural level, and with male students who are unsatisfied with their secondary school and get low grades. Recent studies such as the present one and the first Census on Coexistence and Participation that was carried out by ANEP in 2012 set out to provide detailed, good-quality information on the issue.

The lack of valid, reliable and systematic data is a hurdle for the development of sophisticated quantitative ***research*** on crime and youth violence. Almost all studies are qualitative or are quantitative with a descriptive nature. As regards bullying and school violence, we have seen in recent years a development in quantitative studies which assess, based on international scales adapted to Uruguay, young people's involvement in bullying dynamics, be it as victims, perpetrators or both.

In terms of ***public policy***, Uruguay has a specific criminal responsibility system for individuals aged 13-17, based on a conception of adolescents as subjects with rights. The institutional prison framework is SIRPA (INAU), a specific, decentralized body to

manage socio-educational measures regarding adolescents who are in conflict with the law.

In Uruguay, several policies are in place to prevent youth violence in primary, secondary and tertiary schools. Initiatives show heterogeneity both in terms of their programmes and their institutional grounding. Regarding school violence, Uruguay has switched from a punitive system to one that focuses more on the student's rights and responsibilities. Ongoing programmes seek to strengthen social integration, participation and coexistence among the various actors in the school environment. Overall, weaknesses in information systems and the features of studies on the issue make it difficult to design policies based on empirical evidence and its subsequent evaluation.

4 Violent Victimization

Violence inflicts harm on the victims – and it is their suffering that contributes most to the moral wrongfulness of acts of violence against other humans. Our analysis of violence therefore begins with the victims: their demographic characteristics, the circumstances in which they become victimized, and the consequences of their experiences. This is particularly important because young people at ages 15-24 are more likely than any other age group to be victims of serious violence such as homicide, robbery, assault, and rape (Hindelang et al, 1978). Moreover, violent victimisation has widespread consequences and social costs beyond the immediate physical harm. They include, for example, a reduction in mental well-being, increased fear, lower educational achievements, and a desire for revenge, which may trigger retaliatory violence (Finkelhor, Ormrod, Turner, & Hamby, 2005; Turner, Finkelhor, & Ormrod, 2010; Turner, 2012).

But an understanding of victimization patterns is also important for prevention policy: Good knowledge about which subgroups are victimized in which situations can help to provide victim support where it is needed most. Similarly, if we know where, in what circumstances and when violence occurs we are in a better position to direct the preventive efforts of schools, the police, community leaders, and parents to those situations where the greatest effects can be achieved.

We will focus on three domains of victimization: The first relates to experiences of serious violent crime (assault, robbery and sexual assault); the second covers experiences of exposure to parental use of force; and the third domain addresses experiences linked to bullying victimization - the exposure to repeated use of physical and psychological strategies aimed at dominating and socially excluding others, usually in the context of schools.

4.1 Serious Violent Victimization

A first domain of victimization measured in the m-proso study relates to serious violent victimization. The wording of the questions is shown in Table 5. Similar items have been used in various previous surveys in Germany and Switzerland (Ribeaud & Eisner, 2009; Wetzels, Enzmann, & Pfeiffer, 1998). They are worded so that they correspond to the criminal offenses of robbery, physical assault and sexual assault.

Youths were informed that these questions did not refer to consensual fights for fun. Also, in order to make the questions unambiguous the item wordings did not include attempts. However, one may note that the instrument used here is much shorter than specialized surveys of violent or sexual victimization, which often comprise large numbers of specific questions, meaning that they yield a more comprehensive picture than what can be presented here.

Table 5 *Questionnaire Wording and Type of Offenses*

Item Wording	Offense
Alguien te quitó algo, por ejemplo, un bolso, tu bicicleta o dinero, con violencia o amenazándote con usar la violencia	Robbery
Alguien te golpeó tan fuerte que te causó lesiones (ej. heridas sangrantes o un ojo morado).	Assault
Alguien te obligó con violencia o con una amenaza de utilizar la violencia a realizar actos sexuales o soportar actos sexuales que vos no querías.	Sexual violence

For each type of victimization the respondents were asked to indicate whether and how often they had experienced this kind of violence at any time of their life and in the past 12 months. They were also asked about whether they had reported the events to the police. Finally, for the last event they were asked about further characteristics including where it had happened, whether the perpetrator had been alone or in a group, and what the sex of the main perpetrator had been.

Last Year Victimization Prevalence

We first describe the extent of victimization in terms of the proportion of students that were victims in the last year before the survey ('*last year prevalence*'). Table 6 shows the respective prevalence rates for the three aforementioned offenses. It also shows the total violent victimization rate i.e. the proportion of youths that were victims of at least one of the three offenses. The findings suggest that almost one fourth of the surveyed youths (24.6%) had been victims of one of the three types of violence in the 12 months before the survey. The most common offense is robbery (17.9%) followed by assault (11.0%) and violent sexual assault with 1.4%. Boys were considerably more likely to be victims of robbery and assault than girls. For example, 13.3% of boys and 8.6% of girls reported to have experienced an assault that led to physical injuries. This is in line with many other studies on youth victimization internationally which find that young men are more likely to be victims of physical violence than girls (e.g., Snyder & Sickmund, 1999). The most widely accepted explanation is that young men more often engage in behaviours such as being gang-members, hanging out late at night, and engaging in delinquent and violent activities, which put them at greater risk of violent victimization (e.g., Maxfield, 1987).

No sex difference was found for serious sexual assault, where 1.5% of boys and 1.4% of girls reported to have been coerced by the use or threat of violence to endure a sexual act at least once in the past 12 months. This contradicts findings in Europe and the United States, which generally show that females are at a higher risk of sexual victimization than males (Finkelhor, 2013; M. Gottfredson, 1986; Zaykowski & Gunter, 2013). However, studies on sexual victimisation in some Asian societies similarly found no differences in the victimization risk between male and female adolescents (e.g. Ji, Finkelhor & Dunne, 2013). In the case of the present study only one item of the serious violence victimization questionnaire related to sexual violence, and a more definitive assessment would require a more detailed measurement with multiple items. However, one may note that the result reported here is corroborated by a similar finding, reported below, on sexual harassment as an aspect of bullying victimization (see Table 13, page 59). There, too, no sex difference in victimization risk was found.

Table 6 *Last Year Violent Victimization Rates by Sex*

	Past 12 Months		
Victimization	Male	Female	Total
Robbery	22.4%	13.4%	17.9%
Assault	13.3%	8.6%	11.0%
Sexual assault	1.5%	1.4%	1.4%
Any serious violence	30.3%	19.2%	24.6%

Multiple Victimization

Prevalence rates do not take into consideration differences in how often a person was victimized (known as *incidence rates*). Individuals who repeatedly experience the same kind of victimization (i.e. "*repeat victims*") and individuals who experience different kinds of victimizations within a given time-period (i.e. "*poly victims*") differ qualitatively from those who are victimized only once (Holt, Finkelhor, & Kantor, 2007; Turner et al., 2010). In particular, multiple victimization increases the likelihood that individuals change their lifestyle as a response to victimization, and they tend to experience greater levels of maladjustments, difficulties, and social and psychological problems (Finkelhor, Ormrod, & Turner, 2007; Averdijk, Müller-Johnson, & Eisner, 2012; Tseloni & Pease, 2003). Multiple victims are therefore often in particular need of victim support services.

Table 7 shows the distribution of multiple victimizations. The analysis is based on all three types of victimization, and is therefore a combined measure of poly-victimization and repeated victimization.

The analysis shows that about half of all victims had experienced only one incident during the past twelve months (11.7% of all adolescents versus 12.2% who were multiple victims). Every second victim had experienced at least two incidents and about 3 % of all adolescents in Montevideo reported that they had been victims of serious violence at least *five* times over the past 12 months. Considerably more boys than girls reported chronic repeat victimization, namely 4.0 % of boys and 2.1% of girls. This may result from the greater involvement of young males in high-risk delinquent lifestyles, which specifically expose them to an increased risk of repeated robbery and assault. Overall, far more adolescents experience repeat victimizations than one would expect if violent victimization occurred at random, meaning that after each victimization the risk of a next victimisation increases. This may be because victims have a life-style or friendships that expose them to increased risk, because offenders may find it easier to target the same victim again if they have been successful once, or because they have individual characteristics that may make them easier targets (Farrell & Pease, 2001).

Table 7 *Frequency of Violent Victimization, past 12 Months*

	Male	Female	Total
Never	72.1%	81.9%	77.1%
Once	14.7%	8.9%	11.7%
2-4 times	9.1%	7.1%	8.1%
5+ times	4.0%	2.1%	3.1%

Situational Characteristics of Last Victimization

Victim surveys can provide useful information about the circumstances in which violent events happen. This includes, for example, the location where the event happened, the relationship between perpetrator and victim, and whether the perpetrator was alone or in a group. In the present study the victims of serious violence were asked about some main characteristics of their last victimization. Table 8 presents an overview of the results for assault and robbery. Data on serious sexual assault are not reported because the number of events (n = 15 for boys and girls, separately) is too small to draw solid conclusions.

Robberies are most likely to happen in schools or in public space. In most cases the adolescent or adult perpetrator who is not personally known to the victim (86% of cases for male victims, 81% of cases for female victims). About half of the cases involve situations where the perpetrator acted in a group, suggesting that robbery is often committed by gangs of delinquent youth, who may use their advantage over a single

individual to extort money or valuables. Also, male perpetrators, irrespective of whether the victim was male or female, committed most robberies.

While the situational structure of robberies is highly similar, we find more systematic differences between male and female victims for assault. If male adolescents become victims of an assault the event is more likely to happen in public space, to involve adolescents who are unknown to the victim, and to involve several perpetrators: Fights triggered by a hot-tempered reaction to quick words on a weekend night in a park, at the corner of the street or outside a bar are probably what we should imagine. Furthermore, the perpetrators are almost exclusively also male.

For female victims, in contrast, assaults are somewhat more likely to happen at home (25.5% versus 10.1%) and to involve either parents or adolescent known to the victim. Also, 64% of assaults against girls were committed by girls, suggesting that assault often occurs within same-sex interactions.

Table 8 *Situational Characteristics of Robbery and Assault, Last Victimization*

	Robbery		Assault	
	M	F	M	F
A) Location of Victimization				
At home	8.1%	11.0%	10.1%	25.5%
Home of a friend	1.7%	2.1%	5.0%	3.2%
At school	20.3%	24.7%	23.7%	29.8%
Public space	66.1%	56.1%	49.6%	30.9%
other	3.8%	6.2%	11.5%	10.6%
B) Relationship to Perpetrator				
Parents/adult family member	4.3%	2.1%	5.0%	17.9%
Other known adult	2.6%	6.3%	5.0%	3.2%
Unknown adult	26.8%	22.9%	2.9%	3.2%
School colleague	10.6%	12.5%	19.3%	17.9%
Other known adolescent	9.8%	14.6%	31.4%	37.9%
Unknown adolescent	43.4%	41.0%	31.4%	17.9%
C) Group Membership of Perpetrator				
Perpetrator in a group	53.4%	47.6%	33.8%	17.1%
D) Sex of Perpetrator				
Male perpetrator	97.9%	83.3%	95.7%	35.9%

N	236	146	139	94

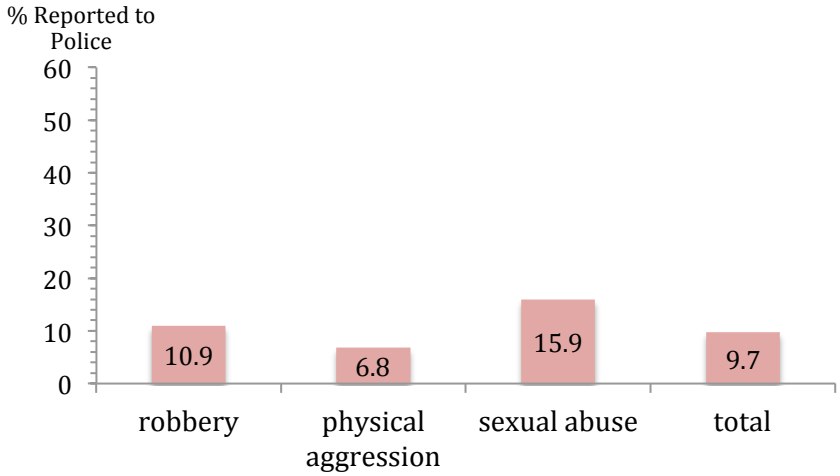
Reporting to the Police

As part of the questions on serious victimization the respondents were also asked to estimate how many events they had reported to the police. Dividing the number of incidents reported to the police by the total number of incidents remembered by the respondents yields an estimate of the reporting-to-the-police rate in Montevideo. Figure 9 shows the results. The data suggest that fewer than 10% of all experiences of serious violent victimization amongst young people in Montevideo are reported to the police. There are also differences among types of offenses: while 16% of the sexual victimization events are reported to police, 11% of the robbery events, and 7% of physical aggressions are reported. In respect of sexual victimization the small number of cases probably precludes any firm conclusions for this type of victimization.

It is widely known that only a small fraction of all victimisations are reported to the police across the world (e.g. Mayhew and van Dijk, 1997). Reasons for not reporting an incident to the police include, for example, that the event was not perceived as serious enough, that the police would not be able to do anything about it, or that the victim felt partly responsible for the incident.

In respect of policy implications it would be useful to know whether the reporting rates found in Montevideo differ from those in other places. Unfortunately, it is difficult to compare data on reporting rates across victimization surveys, because methodologies and target groups vary widely. However, a similar methodology was used in a large cross-sectional youth survey in the canton of Zurich in Switzerland in 2007 (Ribeaud and Eisner, 2009). For a similar range of victimizations and using a comparable methodology that study found that about 17% of all serious violent victimizations had been reported to the police. This would suggest that the likelihood that adolescent victims in Montevideo contact the police less often than in a highly affluent European society.

Figure 9 *Proportion of Victimization Events Reported to the Police*



Victimization Risk by Socio-Demographic Characteristics

In a next step we explored the extent to which the risk of victimization differed by socio-demographic background. We examined all socio-demographic characteristics described in chapter 2.

The analyses first suggest that family background characteristics such as a young mother, a large family, or living in a single parent household were not associated with differences in the victimization risk. Overall, this suggests that the family background does not significantly influence the risk of serious violent victimisation.

We also examined whether adolescents' victimization risk is associated with their social class background. The findings of the study suggest that there was a tendency for the overall victimization risk to be somewhat lower for high social class backgrounds, but the differences were very small. Support for the notion that there is some tendency towards a slightly higher victimization rate amongst less privileged groups also comes from findings related to victimization rates by school type. For example, violence victimization rates in schools for professional education are somewhat higher (30%) than those in public high schools (26%) and in private high schools (21%).

The only factor amongst the structural variables that was associated with a substantial difference in victimization risk is school retention. We defined school retention as those who were in 9th grade and were 16 years old or older. By this definition 39% of students have been retained in the present sample. Youths who were retained at some stage of the educational career tend to have complications in school, i.e., bad grades, problematic relationship with classmates and teachers, early drop out from school, etc. (see in Uruguay Cardozo, 2010; Fernandez, Cardozo, & Pereda, 2010). The analyses suggest that youths who were retained are substantially more likely to be

victimized than other students (31.1% vs. 20.5%, $\chi 2$ (1) = 30.79, p <.01). This pattern is also found for specific offenses: Retained students show significantly higher levels of victimization in robbery (21.5% vs. average students' 15.5%, $\chi 2$ (1) = 15.25, p <.01) and physical aggression (16.2% vs. average students' 7.4%, $\chi 2$ (1) = 43.76, p <.01). For sexual victimization (1.8% vs. average students' 1.2%, n.s.) the difference proved to be statistically non significant.

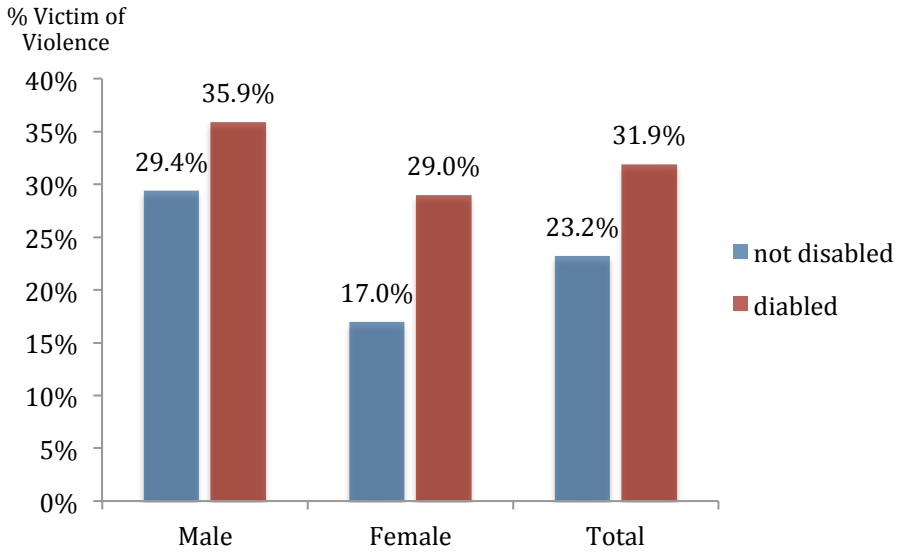
Disabilities and Victimisation Risk

Emerging research suggests that young people with physical or mental disabilities are more likely to be victimized than their peers without disabilities (Fekkes, Pijpers, Fredriks, Vogels, & Verloove-Vanhorick, 2006, Mueller-Johnson, Eisner and Obsuth, 2014). The causal mechanisms are poorly understood. One hypothesis assumes that young people with disabilities are more often victimized because they are more likely to be excluded and less able to defend themselves, which makes them easier targets than non-disabled children. A different possibility is that especially children with cognitive impairments are less able to assess risks and to communicate effectively, meaning that they are more likely to be in situations with an increased risk of violence.

In the m-proso survey a short screen for disabilities was used. Youths were asked in a dichotomous item (yes/no) if they regularly suffered from health problems that impeded him/her do what other teenagers of his/her age do. Examples were poor eyesight, hearing difficulties, walking, learning, memory, and concentration problems. 15.4% of adolescents in Montevideo indicated that they suffered from a health condition that impedes them from doing what other teenagers do. This prevalence estimate is broadly in line with estimates found in other studies (Mikton, Maguire and Shakespeare, 2014).

We examined whether boys and girls with disabilities differ in their victimization risk during the past year. The results are shown in Figure 10. The findings show that 31.9% of adolescents with a disability experienced one or more violent victimizations last year. This is significantly higher than the victimization rate for non-disabled peers, which was 23.2%. Examining male and female adolescents separately we found that the difference is only statistically significant for female victims, where the risk of victimisation is about 70% higher amongst disabled girls (29% victims) than for non-disabled girls (17% victims). Disabled boys are also slightly more at risk of victimisation than non-disabled boys, but the difference is not statistically significant.

Figure 10 *Last Year Victimization by Disability*



Note: All respondents: χ^2 (1) = 11.78, $p < .001$; Females: χ^2 (1) = 15.20, $p < .001$.

Generally, these findings suggest that in Montevideo especially girls with disabilities are at an elevated risk for violent victimization. They correspond with findings from other studies internationally suggesting that disabled children and adolescents are at a greater risk of child abuse, bullying, and general violent victimization including sexual victimization (e.g. Mueller-Johnson et al. 2014, Hershkowitz, et al., 2007). They underline the importance of protecting particularly vulnerable groups of adolescents from attacks by others.

Lifestyle Risk Factors for Violent Victimization

The way young people use their leisure time is a key indicator used by life style theories of criminal victimization. These theories expect that spending more time in outside activities in bars, clubs, the street, parks, parties, etc., involves more exposure to potential victimization due to the lack of controls/guardianship and the presence of offenders in these contexts. Especially outside activities during the night increase the opportunity of frictions and conflicts with other youths that might end up as victimization episodes (Lauritsen et al., 1991; Jensen & Brownfield, 1986).

We asked youths a series of questions related to their life-style and use of leisure time outside home, namely, how frequently do they: go out in the night/afternoon to hang out with friends; go in a date; go to parties late at night; go with friends to pubs/discos; go with friends to do something forbidden/rob something, among other activities.

To examine the link between lifestyle and victimisation risk we present findings for five selected lifestyle indicators, namely 'going out', 'consuming marihuana', 'consuming alcohol', 'being a member of a delinquent group of young people', and 'committing delinquent acts oneself'. The variable 'going out' was formed on the basis of 12 items that included questions about the frequency of going out in the night to hang out with friends, going on a date, going to parties late at night, and going with friends to pubs/discos. A sum scale was constructed and then dichotomized into 'low' and 'high' frequency of going out. The variable 'own delinquency' was formed using an index of 28 different self-reported delinquent acts, which was dichotomized at the median to form groups of 'low' and 'high' own delinquency. All indicators of lifestyle risk are correlated with each other, suggesting that they represent different aspects of a more extrovert, risk-seeking and gregarious life-style.

Table 9 displays the differences in victimization risk by five lifestyle indicators. The findings show the following: Young people are at a higher risk of violent victimization if they go out frequently, consume substances such as alcohol or marihuana, spend a lot of time with friends who commit delinquent acts and if they are themselves involved in committing delinquent acts. These results support the findings from international research that the risk of violent victimization among young people is strongly associated with lifestyle characteristics. Furthermore, the results also suggest that the association between lifestyle and victimization risk holds similarly for male and female victims.

Table 9 *Victimisation Risk by Lifestyle Risk Factors, Percentages*

Lifestyle Characteristic		% Victimized			
		Male	Female	Total	
Going Out Frequently	Low	25.3%	14.8%	19.2%	$\chi^2_{Total} = 36.56$, $p < .001$
	High	34.5%	25.1%	30.4%	$\chi^2_{Male} = 10.37$, $p < 0.01$
					$\chi^2_{Female} = 18.46$, $p < 0.001$
Marihuana Use	No	27.6%	16.7%	21.9%	$\chi^2_{Total} = 53.09$, $p < .001$
	Yes	44.6%	36.6%	41.6%	$\chi^2_{Male} = 20.15$, $p < .001$
					$\chi^2_{Female} = 29.99$, $p < .001$
Alcohol Monthly or more	No	27.8%	18.1%	22.7%	$\chi^2_{Total} = 25.04$, $p < .001$
	Yes	41.0%	26.6%	34.4%	$\chi^2_{Male} = 14.84$, $p < .001$
					$\chi^2_{Female} = 7.44$, $p < .01$
In Delinquent Gang	No	26.2%	17.6%	21.7%	$\chi^2_{Total} = 80.19$, $p < .001$
	Yes	53.2%	35.6%	47.3%	$\chi^2_{Male} = 49.15$, $p < .001$
					$\chi^2_{Female} = 16.84$, $p < .001$
Own Serious Delinquency	Low	23.7%	14.2%	18.3%	$\chi^2_{Total} = 65.21$, $p < .001$
	High	37.5%	28.3%	33.5%	$\chi^2_{Male} = 24.0$, $p < .001$
					$\chi^2_{Female} = 32.7$, $p < .001$

Several causal mechanisms may account for this association. First, young people who go out often are more likely to be in situations where there are many motivated offenders, where opportunities for frictions that may lead to open aggressive conflict, and where a lack of social control provides opportunities for violent or property crimes. An outgoing lifestyle may hence increase the victimization risk because adolescents spend more time in situational environments such as Friday or Saturday nights in entertainment areas where violence is more likely. Second, some lifestyle components may directly increase the vulnerability to victimization. Consider the strong association between substance use and victimization risk: For example, 41.6% of the young people who consume marihuana had been victims of serious violence in the preceding year as compared to 21.9% amongst those who don't consume marihuana. A similar association can be found for alcohol use. A part of this association may be due to the fact that psychoactive substances increase levels of vulnerability because intoxication reduces self-control and the ability to recognize and avoid situational risks. Intoxicated adolescents may therefore be particularly attractive targets for acts such as robbery or sexual assault. Third, some lifestyle aspects may actively trigger the risk of victimization. For example, people under the influence of alcohol or drugs may be more likely to initiate escalations

of conflicts by harassing others or uttering insults, which eventually lead to a victimisation event. Similarly, adolescents who are themselves involved in delinquent acts such as drug dealing, theft or vandalism increase the chances that those who are directly affected by their behaviour react aggressively (Jensen & Brownfield, 1986; Lauritsen & Laub, 2007; Lauritsen et al., 1991; Sampson & Lauritsen, 1990; Woodward & Fergusson, 2000), Finally, own delinquency and victimization are probably strongly correlated because some underlying personality traits such as risk-seeking or impulsivity are associated with antisocial behaviour tendencies as well as with behaviours that result in increased exposure to victimization risk (Stewart, Elifson, & Sterk, 2004).

4.2 Corporal Punishment

A second domain of victimization experiences measured in the m-proso study relates to experiences of physical punishment by parents. Such experiences can range from a single slap to repeated and severe hitting with objects such as a belt or a stick. Corporal punishment and physical abuse are important here because they are associated with a range of short and long-term negative consequences for child development, especially if harsh and abusive discipline is combined with emotional and physical neglect. Such consequences include a higher risk of addictive behaviours such as substance abuse or obesity, mental health problems, unstable relationships, a higher risk of exposure to violent victimisation as an adult, and a shorter life expectancy (e.g. Felitti et al, 1998). Also, corporal punishment in the home is illegal in Uruguay since 2007, meaning that the state recognizes the problem of parental use of force and its harmful effects on the young person (Proyecto de Ley Sustitutivo – Prohibición del Castigo Físico", Law 18.214).

In the present study participants were asked three questions that relate to corporal punishment. The items were translated to be identical to those used in the Swiss version of the questionnaire. The items are part of a longer instrument that taps on various sub dimensions of parenting and that is modelled on the Alabama Parenting Questionnaire (Frick, 1991). Respondents were asked to indicate for each behaviour whether the behaviour occurs 'never', 'rarely', 'sometimes' or 'often'.

Table 10 *Item Wordings for Exposure to Parental Use of Force*

Spanish	English
Tus padres te golpean con un cinturon u otro objeto	Your parents hit you with a belt or another object
Tus padres te tiran de las orejas o del pelo	Your parents pull your ears or hair
Tus padres te dan una cachetada	Your parents slap you

The Prevalence of Corporal Punishment

Table 10 shows the prevalence rates of corporal punishment amongst all adolescents and for boys and girls separately. Findings show that slapping is the most widespread form of physical punishment, experienced by about 21% of adolescents in Montevideo. 17% of adolescents have their hair or ears pulled by their parents. And the proportion of adolescents whose parents hit them with an object such as a belt or a stick is 7.3% - meaning that about one out of fifteen adolescents is exposed to a severe form of corporal punishment that involves an increased risk of severe physical harm. Only this form of parental use of force differs between boys and girls: Boys are more likely to be hit with an object than girls are. Finally, considering all forms of corporal punishment the findings suggest that about 28% of young people in Montevideo experience some kind of disciplinary measure that entails physical force. Boys and girls are similarly affected, with rates slightly higher for boys.

Table 11 *Prevalence of Corporal Punishment by Gender*

Item	Male	Female	Total	Sig. Diff. (Male-Female)
Slapping	21.1%	20.4%	20.8%	n.s.
Pulling ear/hair	16.9%	17.0%	17.0%	n.s.
Hit with object	9.4%	5.2%	7.3%	$p < 0.01$
Any	29.7%	26.4%	28.0%	$p < .05$

We also examined the frequency of exposure to corporal punishment, combining all three items and using the highest reported incidence as an indicator. The findings show that for most concerned adolescents corporal punishment is a rare experience. Thus, 68% of those who experienced any type of corporal punishment said that it happened 'rarely' (i.e. 19.1% of total sample). 24.3% said that it happened 'sometimes'

(6.8% of total sample), and 7.7% said that it happened 'often' or 'very often' (2.2% of total sample).

Overall, the data provide an estimate of the proportion of adolescents in Montevideo who not only to experience an occasional slap, but who are exposed to parental abuse in the sense of frequent or severe parental use of violence. Depending on what criteria are used they suggest that repeated and severe physical punishment is experienced by between 2% (any parental violence 'often') and 7% (having been hit with an object at least 'rarely') of adolescents.

Socio-demographic Characteristics

Studies tend to find that corporal punishment and especially the experience of serious physical abuse by parents varies between socio-demographic groups. In particular, various studies conducted in the United States and in Europe find that children in families with low education and poor socio-economic background are more likely to be exposed to corporal punishment than children in middle-class and educated families (e.g., Straus and Steward, 1999). Also, longitudinal studies in the United States found that being born to a young mother, living in a disadvantaged neighbourhood, and instable family arrangements (e.g. new partners) were associated with a higher risk of child maltreatment (Thornbery et al, 2014).

In the context of Montevideo we found few systematic differences in the likelihood of corporal punishment between socio-demographic groups. In particular, growing up in a large family, having been born to a teenage mother, living with a single parent, or school type were not statistically associated with differences in the likelihood of experiencing corporal punishment at home. Also, contrary to findings in the US-American literature, corporal punishment in Montevideo was not systematically related to social class background, parental education, or neighbourhood disadvantage (e.g., Straus and Steward, 1999). This may suggest that in the context of Uruguay corporal punishment is more widely culturally accepted. In particular, corporal punishment does not seem to be associated with the difference between a middle class culture where corporal punishment is widely seen as inadequate and the culture of more disadvantaged groups, where corporal punishment is more widely accepted.

Parenting and Parental Conflict

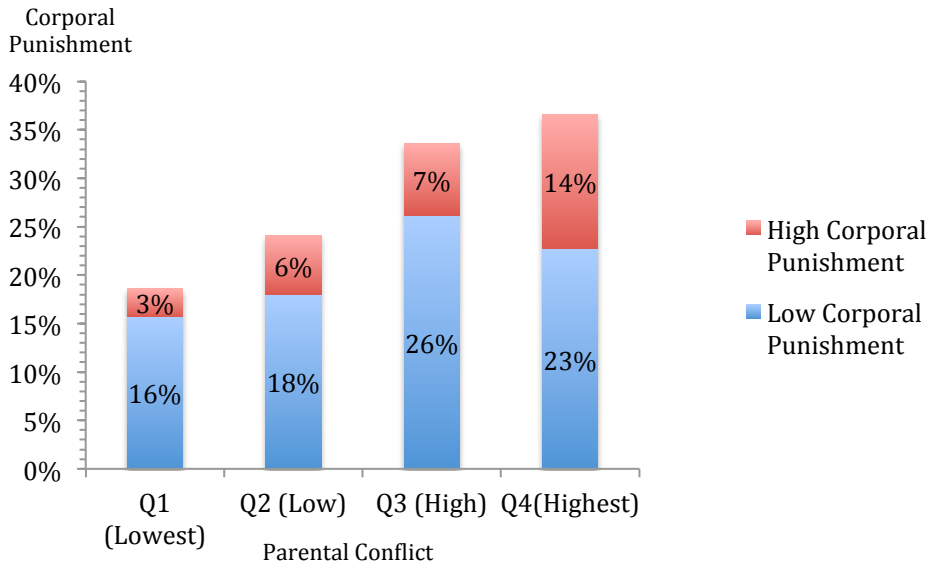
The risk of exposure to parental corporal punishment in the Montevideo sample is associated with other aspects of parenting practices. Generally, corporal punishment is more likely to be used by harsh and authoritarian parents who show little affection to their children and rarely praise them if they do something well. This finding confirms

results from other studies that corporal punishment tends to be a component of wider parenting deficits which include general harsh and abusive discipline, lacking emotional warmth and attachment between parents and their children, and little support and parental involvement in positive activities (Loeber & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1986).

Also, the likelihood of corporal punishment was found to be associated with conflict amongst the parents. Based on the adolescents' reports the relationship between the parents was classified into four groups from 'no parental conflict' to 'very high' parental conflict, meaning that parents often fight or shout at each other.

Results show that adolescents who grow up in families with a high level of parental conflict are significantly more likely to experience corporal punishment than others (see Figure 11). This is especially the case for repeated and more severe corporal punishment. In families where parents get along well with each other about 3% of adolescents experience repeated corporal punishment. In families with frequent conflict between the parents the proportion of young people exposed to repeat corporal punishment rises almost 5-fold, to about 14%. Overall, this suggests that abuse parenting practices are strongly associated with a wider syndrome of family malfunctioning, which includes violence and abuse amongst the parents.

Figure 11 *Percent Experiencing Corporal Punishment by Level of Parental Conflict*

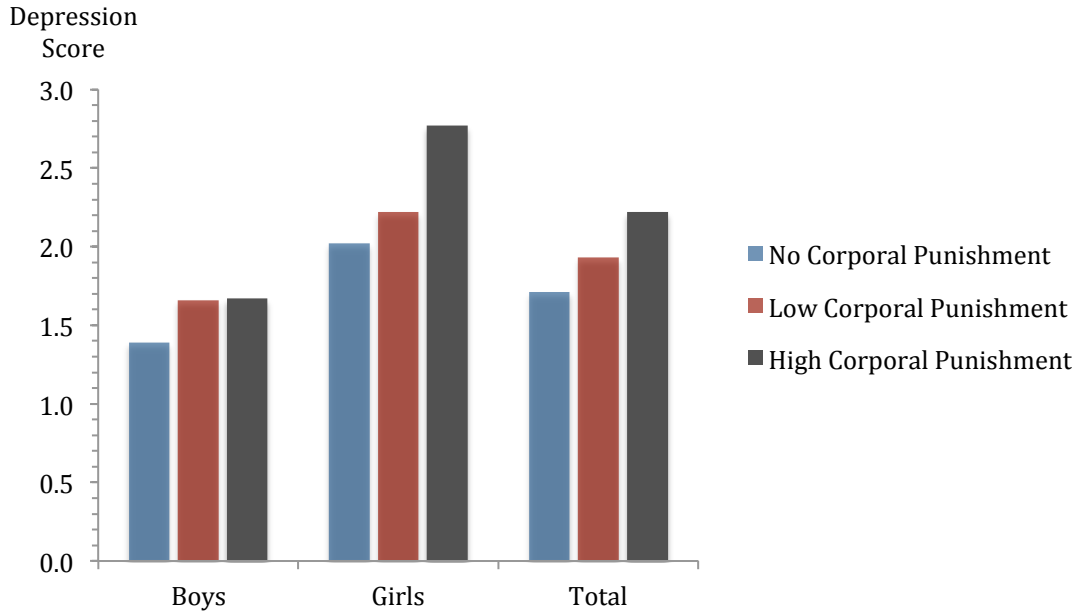


Note: 'High corporal punishment' was defined as any type of corporal punishment at least happening 'sometimes' or more often. χ^2 (6) = 75.04, $p < .001$.

Depressive Symptoms

Especially repeated and serious experiences of physical abuse over many years and starting early in life have been found to be associated with an increased risk for a range of mental health problems. The present study is limited in the extent to which consequences of corporal punishment can be identified. However, it is possible to examine the association between experiences of corporal punishment and the intensity of depressive symptoms. Depressive symptoms were measured with a 4-item scale that comprised questions on how often the respondent 'had to cry' or 'felt unhappy', 'felt lonely' or 'were worried' (Cronbach's $\alpha = .832$). Findings suggest that both male and female adolescents who experience corporal punishment at home are more likely to suffer from depressive symptoms such as feeling lonely, sad and anxious than this who don't. Furthermore, for girls we find a dose-response relationship: the more frequent corporal punishment occurs at home, the more likely they are to have a poor emotional wellbeing.

Figure 12 *Level of Depressive Symptoms by Exposure to Parental Corporal Punishment*



Note: 'High corporal punishment' was defined as any type of corporal punishment at least happening 'sometimes' or more often. All respondents: $F(1) = 44.1$, $p < .001$; Males: $F(1) = 14.5$, $p < .001$; Females: $F(1) = 47.9$, $p < .001$.

4.3 Bullying Victimization

The third domain measured in the m-proso survey relates to experiences of bullying victimization. A broader range of aspects related to bullying perpetration and

victimization will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. Here we only present basic descriptive findings on the prevalence of bullying victimization and their association with two selected issues, namely whether victims of bullying are more likely to have depressive symptoms and whether young people with disabilities are more likely to become bullying victims.

Table 12 Item Wording to Measure Bullying Victimisation

Spanish	English
Te ignoraron o te excluyeron a propósito?	Intentionally ignored or excluded you.
Se rieron de vos, te insultaron o se burlaron de vos?	Laughed at you, insulted you or ridiculed you
Te golpearon, mordieron, patearon o tiraron del pelo?	Hit, bit, kicked, or pulled your hair
Te quitaron, rompieron o escondieron cosas a propósito?	Intentionally took away, damaged or hid your belongings
Te acosaron sexualmente (ej. piropos sexuales ofensivos, te manosearon)?	Sexually harassed you (e.g. verbally molested you, fondled you)

Bullying victimization was measured with five items modelled on the Olweus Bullying Questionnaire (Olweus, 1993). The question wordings are shown in Table 12. For each item the adolescents were asked to indicate the frequency of their experiences in the past year. Responses were given on a 6-point Likert Scale that ranged from 'never' and '1 or 2 times' to 'more than once a week' and 'almost daily'. For the following overview we limit to an analysis of the proportion of adolescents who experienced bullying 'at least monthly', which is the most commonly used cut-off for bullying used in the research literature.

Table 13 shows the prevalence of at least monthly bullying victimization amongst 15-year olds in Montevideo. The data suggest that between 3.4% (being physically attacked) and 12.9% (being ridiculed) of adolescents report that they experience at least one type of bullying monthly or more often. Overall, about one out five adolescents report experiences of some kind of bullying. Being physically attacked and having ones' belongings stolen or damaged is experienced more often by boys than by girls. In contrast, the frequency of experiences of sexual harassment, social exclusion, and verbal bullying did not differ between male and female respondents.

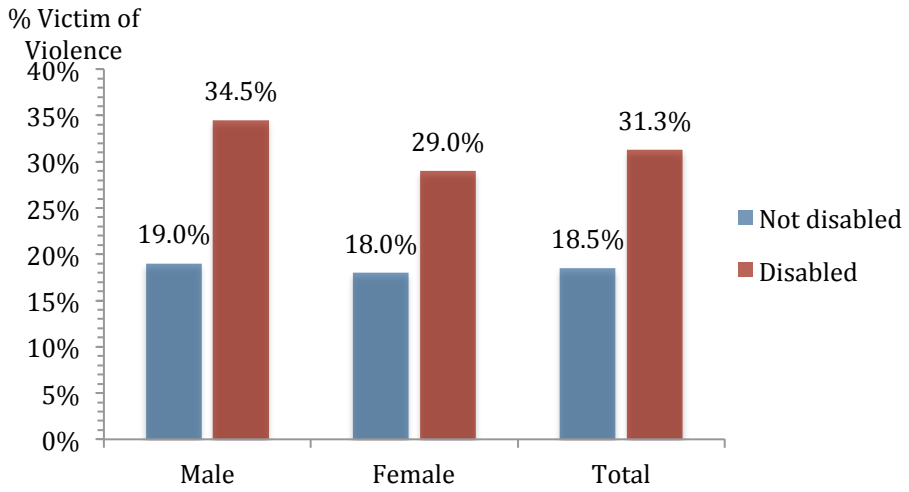
Table 13 *Prevalence of Bullying Victimization, Last Year*

Item	Male	Female	Total	Sig. Diff. (Male-Female)
You were ignored	7.1%	7.7%	7.4%	n.s.
Made fun of you	13.6%	12.2%	12.9%	n.s.
Hit you	4.3%	2.5%	3.4%	$p < .05$
Damaged your things	7.7%	3.3%	5.4%	$p < .001$
Sexually harassed you	3.5%	3.8%	3.7%	n.s.
Any Bullying	20.9%	19.9%	20.4%	n.s.

Disability and Bullying Victimisation

The international literature suggests that children and adolescents with a disability or a chronic illness (Sentenac et al., 2011), learning difficulties (Hong & Espelage, 2012), or with obesity (Janssen et al., 2004) are more likely to be victims of bullying. We therefore examined whether adolescents with a disability are also more likely to be victims of bullying in Montevideo. The findings are shown in Figure 13. They show that overall 31.3% of adolescents with a disability have been victims of bullying as compared to 18.5% of the non-disabled adolescents. A similar highly significant difference is observed for male and female adolescents, although the additional risk is even slightly higher for male than for female adolescents.

Figure 13 *Proportion of Adolescents Bullied 'at least once per month' by Disability*



Note: All respondents: χ^2 (1) = 29.40, $p < .001$; Males: χ^2 (1) = 18.26, $p < .001$; Females: χ^2 (1) = 12.39, $p < .001$.

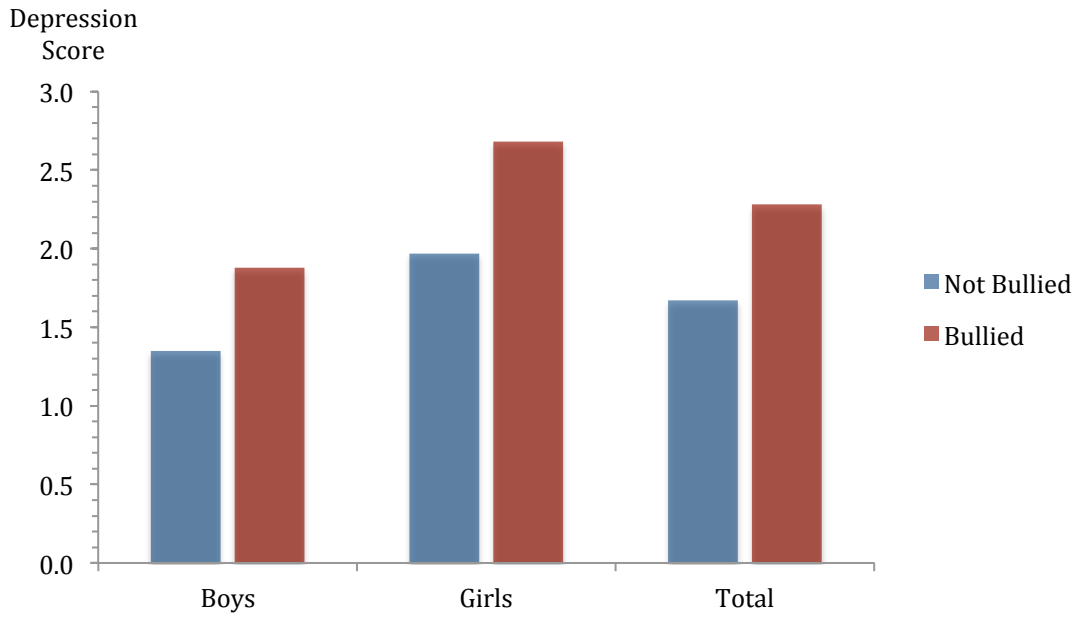
In further analyses we examined the types of bullying that disabled young people in Montevideo are particularly exposed to. The findings suggest that the largest additional

victimisation risk of disabled adolescents can be found for being teased and ridiculed by others as well as for being excluded by other young people in the school, although disabled adolescents are somewhat more likely to be bullied in all subcategories with the exception of sexual harassment.

Consequences of Bullying Victimization

Bullying victimisation has been linked to a range of negative outcomes for the victims. One negative effect that has been documented particularly well relates to depressive symptoms such as withdrawal, anxiety and hopelessness (Ttofi, Farrington & Losel, 2012). We therefore explored the extent to which experiences of bullying among adolescents in Montevideo are associated with depressive symptoms. More specifically, we examined overall mean levels of depressive symptoms comparing those who had experienced at least one form of bullying to those who had not been victims of bullying. The analyses were conducted separately for boys and girls. Findings are shown in Figure 14. They show that bullying victimization is strongly associated with the likelihood of depressive symptoms. Boys and girls in Montevideo who have been victims of bullying have significantly higher levels of feeling sad, lonely and sorrowed than those who had not been bullied.

Figure 14 *Level of Depressive Symptoms by Bullying Victimisation*



Note: Total: $F(1) = 123.4$, $p < .001$; Males: $F(1) = 47.62$, $p < .001$; Females: $F(1) = 85.28$, $p < .001$.

Since the present data are cross-sectional it is impossible to say whether bullying victimization was the cause of emotional problems, or whether adolescents with emotional problems are more likely to be targeted by school bullies. However, longitudinal data strongly suggest that at least part of the association is due to a causal effect of experiences of being excluded, teased, harassed and physically assaulted in the school context (e.g. Averdijk et al, 2011).

4.4 Conclusions

Across all stages of the life-course from infancy to old age the experience of exposure to violence and neglect in any form is now recognized as a major source of suffering for the victims: For example, young children who experience parental maltreatment have a much greater risk of later mental health problems; adolescents bullied at school lose confidence in their academic abilities and become socially isolated; and victims of domestic abuse are more likely to develop depressive disorders and drug dependencies. Reducing the risk of violent victimization therefore is a major public health goal.

In line with findings from international research we have demonstrated in this chapter that adolescents in Montevideo who are exposed to various kinds of violence are significantly more likely to experience anxiety and depression. Furthermore, we showed that adolescents with disabilities are at a significantly increased risk of violent victimization. This was especially the case for the risk of being bullied, where more dominant adolescents may specifically target those with mental or physical weaknesses. This suggests that vulnerable children and adolescents should be particularly considered in measures that aim to improve support for victims.

The findings presented in this chapter show that a substantial proportion of adolescents in Montevideo experiences harm related to victimization in the forms of parental use of force, being bullied at school, or serious assault, robbery or sexual assault as part of daily life. Victimization in one domain tends to be associated with a higher risk of victimization in other domains. For example, victims of parental abuse also have a higher risk of being bullied at school or experiencing assaults in public space.

Contrary to expectations the findings also suggest that socio-demographic background plays no or a very small role in explaining differences in the victimization risk. In particular, the findings presented here do not suggest that violent victimization of adolescents is particularly concentrated among adolescents from disadvantaged family or neighbourhood contexts.

Victimization due to assault, robbery and sexual assault was found to be strongly associated with lifestyle characteristics such as spending much time in unsupervised public space, going out often, consuming alcohol and marihuana, and spending time with delinquent peers. For prevention strategies these findings suggest that approaches likely to be effective should focus on reducing the exposure of young people to these situations and alerting them to the risks associated with such activities.

A substantial proportion of young people was exposed to corporal punishment by their parents. The likelihood of experiencing parental use of force at home was associated with a range of other parenting practices such as generally harsh and authoritarian discipline as well as a lack of warm and involved parenting. Furthermore, adolescents were more likely to be exposed to corporal punishment in families where there was serious conflict amongst the adult partners in the household. These findings suggest that strategies to reduce violence against adolescents and strategies to reduce domestic violence should be seen as partly overlapping prevention approaches.

Furthermore, we found that bullying victimization in the sense of repeated exposure to exclusion, teasing, sexual harassment, physical violence, and damage to personal belongings is a substantial problem in schools in Montevideo. This suggests that initiatives aimed at reducing school bullying should be an important part of a violence prevention strategy.

5 Self-reported Violence

In the present study we distinguish two main groups of aggressive behaviors that young people commit. The first relates to serious violence irrespective of the context or setting. The second relates to dominant aggressive and harmful behavior against peers in the school context (e.g. insulting, breaking/stealing others' belongings, sexual harassment, etc.), a phenomenon also known as school bullying. In this chapter we will focus on serious violence only. School bullying will be discussed in the next chapter.

In this chapter we address the following issues. First, we explore the main patterns of youth violent behavior and some situational features of violent episodes experienced by youths. Second, we analyze socio-economic characteristics of youths involved in violence. Then, we explore the connections between violence and other deviant behaviors such as use of legal and illegal drugs, truancy, vandalism, and different forms of theft, among others. The rest of the chapter focuses on evaluating the association between youth violence and different relevant risk factors that include personality traits, beliefs about moral values and police legitimacy, family and parenting dynamics, peer group membership, use of leisure time, media consumption and the school-related variables.

5.1 The Extent of Violent Behavior

In the self-report section of the questionnaire students were asked to respond to questions regarding 20 different delinquent and deviant behaviors. For each behavior youths were asked whether they have ever done this in the last 12 months; how often it had occurred; and whether they had had problems with the police due to the behavior. Four behaviors relate to physical violence: carrying a weapon, threat/extortion, robbery and assault. The other items relate to non-violent types of norm-breaking and delinquent behavior such as truancy, cheating at school, fare dodging, stealing at home, and vehicle theft. Table 14 shows the wording of the violence items and the proportions of youths that had committed at least one of the four forms of physical violence by gender.

Table 14 *Last-year Prevalence of Violence, by Gender*

		Last 12 months prevalence		
Since July 2012, have you ever…	Crime	Total	Males	Females
…carried a weapon or dangerous object to protect yourself or to threaten or attack others?	Carrying a weapon	8.9 %	14.3 %	3.8 %
…threatened to use violence to obtain his/her money or belongings	Threat / extortion	1.2 %	2.1 %	0.4 %
…taken someone's money or belongings using violence	Robbery	1.5 %	2.5 %	0.5 %
…purposely kicked, hit, or cut someone causing him/her injuries	Assault	9.5 %	12.9 %	6.2 %
	Total	16.5 %	23.6 %	9.7 %

The data show that 16.5% of youths remembered at least one violent act during the past 12 months. Carrying a weapon and assaulting another person are most frequent, with 8.9% and 9.5% of the respondents saying that they have done those behaviors at least once. The other two behaviors are less frequent: 1.5% of the respondents admitted a robbery and 1.2% admitted having been involved in threat/extortion.

In line with studies across the world the results show that physical violence is more prevalent among males than females. The sex ratio for the prevalence rate is close to 3:1 (23.6% for male vs. 9.7% for female adolescents). But it is even larger if we also consider the *number* of violent acts: The 360 perpetrators admitted to 7267 acts of violence, equal to about 20 events per person. 84.1% of these were perpetrated by males and only 15.9% by females, meaning that the sex ratio for this indicator is about 5:1. Thus, males are not only more likely to perpetrate violence than girls, but if they do, they are also involved in a larger number of violent acts than females.

We also draw attention to the extent to which repeated and serious violence is concentrated among a small fraction of the adolescent population. As we could see from Table 14 above, more than 83% of adolescents at age 15 do not perpetrate serious violence. Most of the other young people may have had one or two serious fights, but the behavior is not regular part of a violent life-style. However, this is not true for a small minority of adolescents. More specifically, a mere 2% of all adolescents in Montevideo are responsible for some 70% of violent acts. The finding of a high concentration of repeated and serious violence amongst a small minority is similar to findings reported by other studies (e.g. Averdijk et al. 2014). It sends out a strong signal to prevention policy as it implies that most resources should be targeted to reach this group of most problematic young people.

Situational Characteristics of Assault

We asked those respondents who had committed at least one assault in the past year to provide more information about the last incident. Adolescents were asked about the sex and age of the victim, where the incidence had occurred, and whether the perpetrator or the victim had been in a group. Results are shown in Table 15. They suggest that male and female adolescents commit assaults in somewhat different situations: Young men were more likely to pick a fight on sports grounds, while young women were more likely to be involved in an assault at home. Also, males were more likely to physically attack a person when the perpetrator or the victim are in a group, and almost all cases were committed against another male of roughly the same age. Girls were less likely to use physical aggression in a group context. Also, most assaults by girls, namely 60%, were committed against another girl that was usually of a similar age as the perpetrator. It is noteworthy that the findings shown here from the perpetrator perspective almost perfectly match the findings on situational characteristics of assaults from the victim perspective that we reported above in section 4.1.

Table 15 *Situational Characteristics of Last Assault (location, presence of group, sex of victim, age of victim)*

Characteristic	Male (N = 120)	Female (N= 61)
a) Location		
At home	7.5%	27.9%
At school	18.3%	23.0%
Sports ground	25.8%	8.2%
Street, square	25.8%	23.0%
b) Group Membership		
Perpetrator in group	18.7%	4.9%
Victim in group	49.6%	30.6%
c) Sex of Victim		
Victim male	95.9%	40.4%
d) Age of Victim		
Victim age 13-17	74.8%	75.4%

5.2 Socio-Demographic Differences

We first examine the extent to which aggressive behaviors are concentrated amongst adolescents with certain socio-demographic backgrounds. In particular, we look at the association with the educational and occupational situation of the parents, aspects of the family structure (single parent, large family, teenage mother), the school situation of the adolescent, and the neighborhood characteristics. The selected indicators reflect main structural characteristics examined in other studies of serious youth delinquency and violence (e.g. Loeber & Farrington, 2001). The results are shown in Table **16**.

Table 16 Self-Reported Violence by Socio-Demographic Background

Criterion	Value	% self report violence	Significant Differences
Parental Class (EGP4)	Service (i/ii)	11.5%	χ^2_{total} = n.s.
	Intermediate (iii/iv)	16.6%	$\chi^2_{male} = 8.86, p < .05$
	Skilled workers (v/vi)	15.7%	χ^2_{female} = n.s.
	Working class (vii)	18.2%	
Parental education	Primary studies	15.5%	χ^2_{total} = n.s.
	Secondary studies	18.0%	χ^2_{male} = n.s.
	University studies	14.1%	χ^2_{female} = n.s.
Biological Parents	None	26.3%	$\chi^2_{total} = 8.97, p < .05$
	One biologial parent	17.3%	χ^2_{male} = n.s.
	Both biological parents	15.1%	$\chi^2_{female} = 7.70, p < .05$
Large Families (> 3 silblings)	No	15.7%	χ^2_{total} = n.s.
	Yes	20.7%	χ^2_{male} = n.s.
			χ^2_{female} = n.s.
Teenage Mother	No	15.8%	χ^2_{total} = n.s.
	Yes	19.7%	χ^2_{male} = n.s.
			χ^2_{female} = n.s.
School Type	CETP	25.2%	$\chi^2_{total} = 14.96, p < .01$
	Public	17.4%	χ^2_{male} = n.s.
	Private	13.2%	$\chi^2_{female} = 11.34, p < .01$
School Retention	Normative	13.6%	$\chi^2_{total} = 19.56, p < .01$

	Lagged	20.9%	$\chi^2_{male} = 14.20, p < .01$ $\chi^2_{female} =$ n.s.
Neighborhood Human Development Index (PNUD)	Highest	13.1%	$\chi^2_{total} =$ n.s.
	2	16.4%	$\chi^2_{male} =$ n.s.
	3	16.3%	$\chi^2_{female} =$ n.s.
	Lowest	17.4%	

The results regarding the link between parental social class and adolescent aggression reveal that differences are small and statistically non significant. The socio-economic situation of the parents does not correlate with the risk of serious youth violence. However, we find a statistically significant difference for male adolescents in that only 14.5% of the male adolescents from service class backgrounds were involved in violent behavior, a smaller proportion than for intermediate class youths (26.3%), working class youths (22.1%), and the skilled workers class (24.1%). The general finding on class background is corroborated by the association between parental education and youth violence. Here, too, we find no statistically significant differences, although we note a tendency for violence rates to be slightly smaller if adolescents have a parent with a university degree.

Three variables relate to characteristics of the family structure, namely the number of biological parents that live with the young person, the family size, and whether the adolescent had been born to a teenage (i.e. below age 18) mother. Findings first suggest that 15.1% of the adolescents who live with both biological parents had committed at least one act of violence in the past year. This is slightly lower than the rate for young people growing up with only one biological parent (17.3%). However, the highest rates are found amongst the small group of adolescents (4.5% of the sample) who live without either parent, where 26.1% admitted to at least one violent act.

Being born to a teenage mother or living in a family with 4 or more siblings was not associated with significant differences in violent behavior. This is noteworthy because Farrington & Loeber (1999) had found that both variables are significant risk factors for serious delinquency in London and in Pittsburgh.

We also examined whether school retention and school type were associated with the probability of perpetrating violence. We find that pupils who had been retained at school had a significantly higher level of violence than pupils who were in their regular school year. It is possible that school retention itself is a negative experience that increases the probability of aggressive behavior. However, it is more likely that school retention is a marker for a range of academic problems. They include serious difficulties

at school, low academic motivation, and frequent truancy – all of which have been shown to be associated more antisocial behavior.

Findings also suggest that school types differ in levels of violence. The proportion of violent adolescents is lowest in private schools (13.2%), close to the overall average in regular state secondary schools (17.4%), and highest in professional training schools (25.2%). In interpreting these findings one needs to bear in mind that pupils in the three types of schools differ significantly in their personal and socio-economic backgrounds. For example, 56% of adolescents attending a private school have a parent with a university degree, as compared to 14% in secondary schools and 6% in professional training schools. Also, a far lower proportion of adolescents in private schools have repeated class due to academic problems. Pupils in private schools are hence socio-economically more privileged and less likely to have school difficulties than pupils in state schools. This may account for their lower lever of aggressive problem behaviors.

Many people believe that violent behavior is strongly concentrated among young people from disadvantaged backgrounds. Overall, our findings contradict this notion. Surely there is a tendency: Young people in privileged neighbourhoods who have parents with an academic background and in advantaged socio-economic positions are somewhat less likely than others to carry weapons, commit robberies, or get involved in fights. But differences are small. And more specifically, they cannot justify a violence prevention policy that mainly focusses on social disadvantage and poverty as main risk factors.

5.3 Association with other Deviant Behaviors

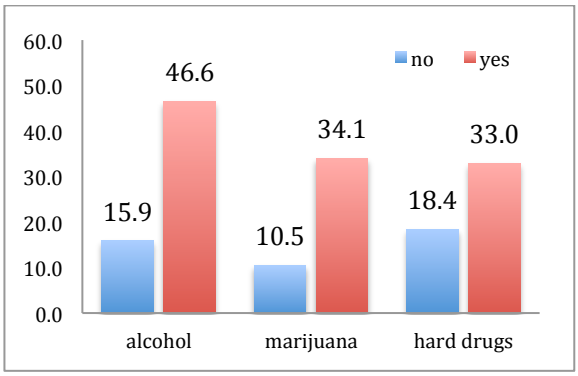
Is violent behavior highly specific or is it part of a more general syndrome? Are violent teenagers just violent, or are they also involved in the use of substances and non-violent delinquent behaviors? The question is relevant for two reasons: First, the answer has an influence on whether explanations should be developed for violence specifically, or whether they should account for a broad syndrome of antisocial behaviors. Second, the answer has implications on whether prevention policies should mainly target violence and aggression, or whether they should more broadly aim to promote a healthy development of children and adolescents.

Over the past 30 years research in criminology has shown convincingly that youth violence tends to come together with other forms of deviant behaviors, including substance use, non-violent delinquency, risky sexual behaviors, and dangerous driving (Farrington, 1994; Huizinga & Jakob-Chien, 1998; Eisner & Malti, 2014). This overlap probably results from two different processes: On the one hand, a range of different antisocial and deviant behaviors are *similarly associated* with general personality

characteristics and social influences such as impulsivity, risk-seeking, or exposure to parental maltreatment and neglect. This means that different behaviors are correlated because they have the same underlying causes. On the other hand, some behaviors are partly a *consequence* of other behaviors. For example, alcohol use can lead to situations where conflict and an escalation to violence are more likely or membership in a delinquent gang can lead to group pressure to consume illicit drugs.

The strong association between violence and other problematic behaviors, found in previous studies in the United States and Europe, is clearly confirmed in the m-proso survey. We divided respondents into two groups: those that committed at least one violent behavior in the last twelve months (16.5%) and those that didn't (83.5%). Subsequently we examined the involvement of these two groups in substance use, minor devant acts, and different deviant and antisocial behaviors in the last 12 months. Figure 15 reveals that violent youths have on average used more alcohol than non-violent youths (46.6% vs. 15.9%), more marijuana (34.1% vs. 10.5%) and more hard drugs (33% vs. 18.4%). The strongest statistical association was found between violence and alcohol consumption.

Figure 15 *Self-Reported Violence by Substance Use*



Note: Alcohol: χ^2 (1) = 161.18, p < .001; Marijuana: χ^2 (1) = 132.91, p < .001; Hard drugs: χ^2 (1) = 37.38, p <.001. For marijuana and hard drugs we used last 12 months prevalence measure. For alcohol we used a prevalence measure that included all youths who had consumed alcohol at least 6 to 12 times in the last year.

Additionally, Figure 16 and Figure 17 show that violent youths are signifcantly more likely to engage in all non-violent antisocial and deviant behaviors. For example, they skip class more often than their non-violent peers (59.9% vs. 38.2%), drive without having a license (62.1% vs. 34.2%), commit acts of vandalism (30.1% vs. 5.0%) or run away from home (21.5% vs. 5.9%). The findings in Figure 17 also show that violent youths are much more involved in criminal activities than non-violent youth: This includes, for example, minor shoplifting (19.8% vs. 5.5%), burglary of a car or house

(3.4% vs. 0.8%) or drug dealing (9.9% vs. 1.3%). Overall, the overrepresentation of violent youths is the greatest for the most serious non-violent delinquent behaviors such as burglary, vehicle theft, drug dealing and sexual abuse.

Figure 16 *Minor Delinquency and Deviance amongst Violent and Non-Violent Youths*

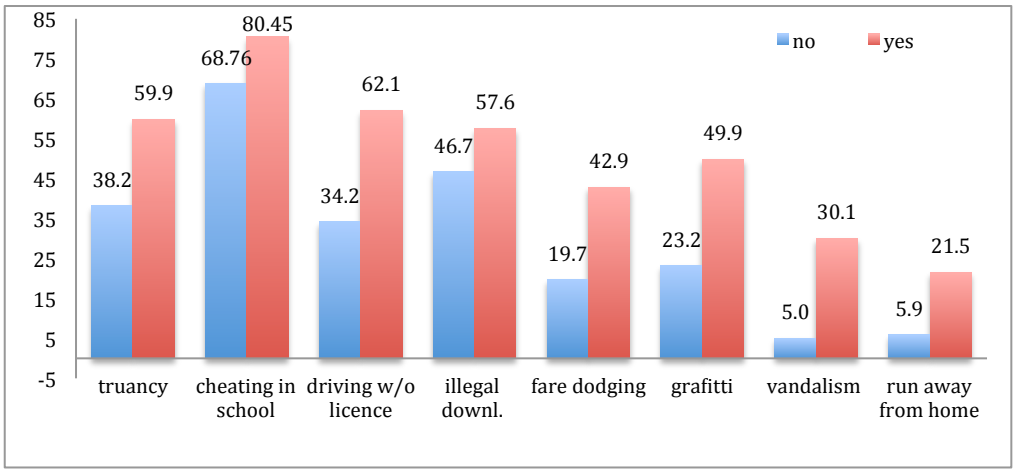
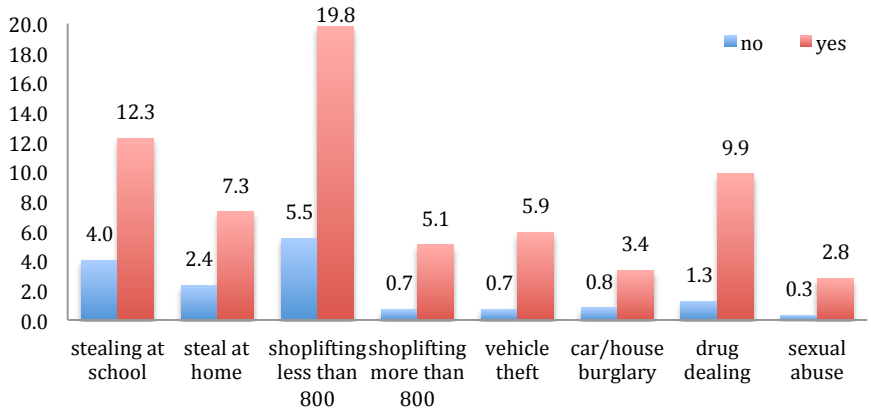


Figure 17 *Serious Delinquency amongst Violent and Non-Violent Youths*



Overall, the data suggest that young people who engage in violence usually also show a pattern of related problematic behaviors. This includes a higher likelihood of consuming alcohol, cannabis, and hard drugs; a higher likelihood of behaviors that indicate conflict with authorities such as running away from home or playing truant at school; a higher likelihood of delinquent acts such as not paying fares on public transport or cheating at school; and a much increased probability of being engaged in serious acts of crime such as drug dealing, burglary, or vehicle theft. This finding suggests that serious violence is primarily one manifestation of a general tendency towards serious criminal behavior. Any policy against violence should therefore be strongly embedded in

a wider policy that aims to reduce adolescents' consumption of alcohol and illegal drugs and to control a range of problematic behaviors that range from school truancy and fare dodging to serious criminal acts such as burglary and drug dealing.

5.4 Personality Characteristics

Psychological research shows conclusively that several individual characteristics are associated with the likelihood of violent beahvior. This includes traits like being more risk-seeking and impulsive, psychological disorders such as attention-deficit and hyperactivity, and cognitive processes such as a tendency to perceive others' behaviors as threatening or to access aggressive cognitive scripts more easily (Eisner & Malti, 2014). In this section we examine two individual characteristics, namely low self-control as a broadband personality trait linked to a variety of delinquent behaviors, and high perceived fighting abilities as a specific cognition that may increase the likelihood of engaging in violence.

Self Control

During the last 20 years the concept of self-control has emerged as one of the most relevant theoretical constructs for explaining crime, with a lack of self-control seen as the main driving force behind crime and a range of analogous behaviors (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). Self control is composed of several sub-dimensions: Low self control youths tend to be 'impulsive' and 'short-sighted', they lack 'diligence' and 'tenacity' in working towards goals and prefer simple tasks to complex ones, they are more 'adventuresome', 'active', and 'risk taking', more 'self-centred' and 'insensitive' to others' problems, and they have a more volatile temperament and little tolerance for frustration (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990; Grasmick, Tittle, Bursik, & Arneklev, 1993). In general, the empirical support for the connection between self control and crime is strong (Pratt & Cullen, 2000). However, there is no agreement about the origins of differences in self-control: Some researchers assume that low self-control originates in exposure to inadequate parenting in the early years, while others assume that genetic and neurological differences play an important role (Eisner & Malti, 2014).

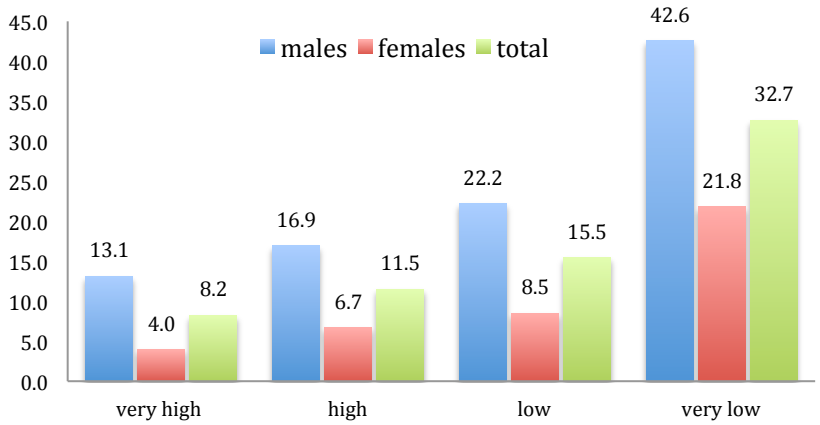
To examine the link between self-control and violence in the m-proso survey we included a validated instrument that comprises 24 items which assess different aspects of self-control (Grasmick et al., 1993; Longshore, Turner, & Stein, 1996). Although several sub-dimensions can be distinguished (Delisi, Hochstetler, & Murphy, 2003; Vazsonyi, Wittekind, Belliston, & Loh, 2004) we used an overall measure based on all 24 items (Cronbach's $\alpha = .87$). The mean score for each respondent was first calculated and then

four equally sized groups (quartiles) were formed. Interestingly, and in contrast to findings with the same instrument in other societies, overall levels of self-control hardly differed between male and female respondents in Montevideo (M_{males} = 2.51, $M_{females}$ = 2.40, F (1,2173) = 5.12, p = .024).

Figure 18 shows highly significant differences in violence across the levels of self control. Youths with the lowest level of self control were four times more likely to perpetrate acts of violence than individuals in the highest self control category. It is also clear that the relationship is valid for both males and females: while almost 42.6% of low self control males have been involved in a violent behavior, less than 13.1% of high self control males have been so; among females, 21.8% of the low self control group have been involved in violence compared to only 4.0% of the high self control group. Note that at every level of self control females report less violence than males. This findings suggests that differences in self-control cannot account for the observed sex differences in violence, since females are significantly less likely to engage in physical aggression even if they are comparable on levels of self-control.

Overall, the present findings show that low self-control is a personality characteristic which is stongly implicated in differences of aggressive behaviors, but also a broad range of non-aggressive problem behaviors. It has therefore been argued that one core goal of prevention policies should be the promotion of self-control throughout the development of children and adolescents (Moffitt et al. 2011).

Figure 18 *Self-reported Violence by Levels of Self Control*



Note: All respondents: χ^2 (3) = 131.49, p <.01; Males: χ^2 (3) = 73.89, p <.01); Females: χ^2 (3) = 54.41, p <.01.

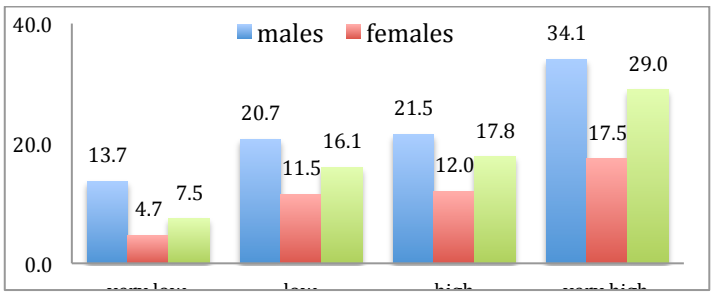
Perceived Fighting Ability

Physical violence often takes the form of fights that result from conflicts over atractive goods, reputation, or power (Eisner, 2009). Similarly, robbery can be seen as the strategic use of superior physical force to steal valuables from another individual. Such behaviors are not an attractive option for individual who think they are feeble and unskilled fighters who would be unlikely to win against an opponent. In contrast, we may expect that individuals who perveive a high fighting ability are more likely to engage in physical violence (Sell, Cosmides, Tooby, Sznycer, von Rueden & Gurven, 2009).

In the m-proso study we assessed this idea by measuring adolescents' perception of their fighting ability. We asked them to estimate their fighting ability on a scale from 0 to 100: A score of zero meant that out of one hundred males they would beat no one in a fight; if they chose a score of 100 they indicated that they expected to beat all of them. Female respondents were asked the same question for female opponents. Responses were divided into four equally sized groups (quartiles) from very low (lowest 25%) to very high (highest 25%). Then the proportion of adolescents engaged in physical violence in each group was assessed.

Figure 19 shows that youth that thought they would win a fight against most other students were four times more likely to have committed violent acts. We observe a similar pattern for male and female adolescents, although differences are larger in males than in females. Overall, these findings suggest that young men and women are more likely to use violence if they believe to have a high fighting ability, i.e. to be likely to win if they engage in a physical confrontation with a same-sex opponent.

Figure 19 *Self-reported Violence by Levels of Perceived Fighting Abilities*



Note: All respondents: $\chi^2(3) = 90.01$, $p < .001$; Males: $\chi^2(3) = 32.42$, $p < .001$; Females: $\chi^2(3) = 24.34$, $p < .001$).

5.5 Morality and Police Legitimacy

How wrong is it to lie? How wrong is it to ride on a bus without paying the fare? How important is it to comply with the law and the police? Does the law and police only

help the powerful while the poor must help themselves? Questions such as these relate to the moral bases of social order, the beliefs that make it meaningful for people to cooperate within a social institution such as a school or a state rather than to steal and fight. Such moral beliefs are to some extent related to personality characteristics such as impulsivity and self-centredness, but they also reflect the way in which a person relates to the normative order of a society. Neglected as a research topic for many decades, the question of how morality influences delinquent and violent behavior has come to the centre of criminological thinking over the past 10 years or so. In this section we examine two aspects: the moral beliefs that a person has and the extent to which a person believes that the state is legitimate and that laws should be obeyed.

Morality

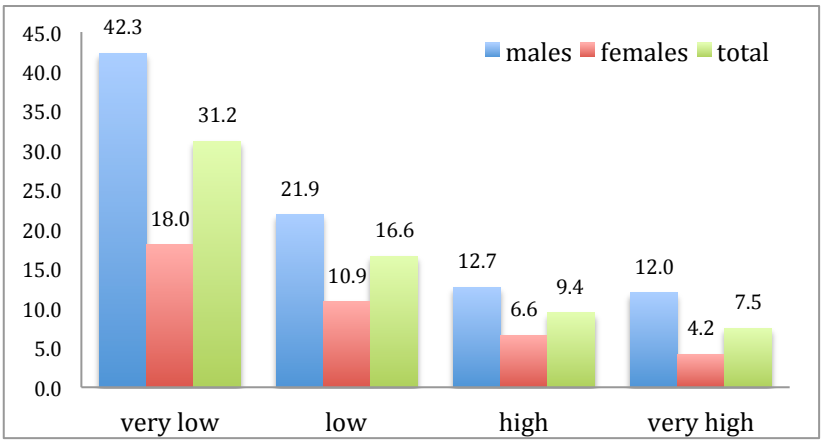
In recent years morality or moral beliefs have been increasingly integrated in criminological explanations of crime and violence (Wikström, 2007). The central idea is that individuals comply with the law not just because they fear the negative consequences of breaking it, but because they believe that crimes are morally 'wrong' and that breaking the law contradicts who they want to be. Recent research has shown that individuals with strong moral beliefs are less likely to get involved in deviant and violent behaviour, and that they are less responsive to instrumental considerations or costs of punishment since these incentives are only relevant for those with weak moral commitment (Bachman, Paternoster, & Ward, 1992; Paternoster & Simpson, 2009; Tittle, Antonaccio, Botchkovar, & Kranidioti, 2010; Wikstrom, Tseloni, & Karlis, 2011).

Fourteen items in the questionnaire asked youths about their opinion regarding the wrongfulness of deviant and delinquent behaviors (e.g. how wrong do you think it is to '*lie to adults*', '*come back to home latter than it was agreed*', '*steal money*', '*assault another person*', etc.).[36] Young people who believe that all or most things are morally 'wrong' or 'very wrong' can be said to have a high morality. Young people who believe that breaking a rule is right are assumed to have a low morality. The items were combined into an overall scale (Cronbach's $\alpha = .89$) and then the scores were split into four groups (quartiles) from very low to very high morality. Figure 20 shows large and statistically significant differences in violent behaviour between young people with different levels of morality: 31.2% of the youths that have weaker moral beliefs have been involved in at least one violent behaviour last year. In contrast, only 7.5% of youths with strong moral values were involved in violent behaviour. We can see a similar pattern for male and female respondents: 42.3% of males with weak moral beliefs were involved in violence

[36] This instrument is based on an adaptation of Rolf Loeber's construct from the Pittsburgh Youth Study by Wikström's and colleagues (Wikström et al., 2012).

compared with 12% of males with strong moral beliefs; similarly, 18% of females with weak moral beliefs were involved in violence compared with only a 4.2% of those females with strong moral beliefs.[37]

Figure 20 *Self-reported Violence by Levels of Morality*



Note: All respondents: $\chi^2(3) = 136.12$, $p < .01$; Males: $\chi^2(3) = 91.64$, $p < .01$; Females: $\chi^2(3) = 91.64$, $p < .01$.

Police Legitimacy

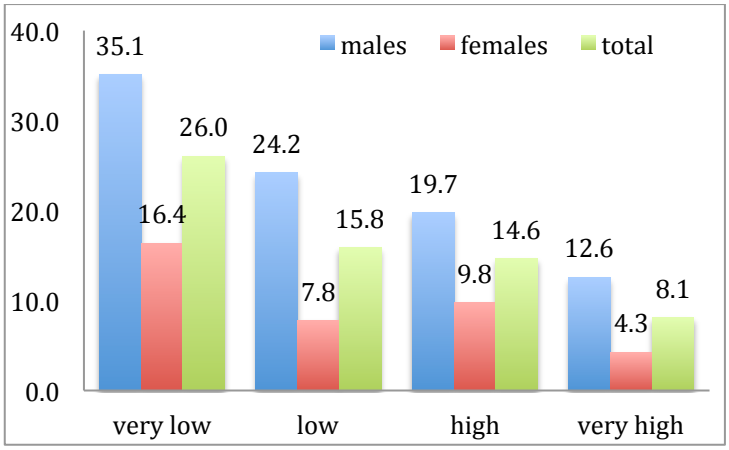
The perceived legitimacy of institutions is another causal mechanism that has been recently used to explain crime and violence. The assumption is that individuals comply with the law not because they fear punishment or expect some reward, but rather because it is 'what should be done' or 'the right thing to do': they perceive the law and the ruling authorities as legitimate and therefore, entitled to be accepted and obeyed (Tyler 1990; Tyler & Fagan, 2006; Tyler, 2008). In situations where the authorities lack legitimacy, individuals become cynical about complying with the law as they assume that deviance and violence are inevitable owing to the weakness and irrelevance of conventional values, social control agencies and more generally institutions (Sampson & Bartusch, 1998). In the present study we included twelve items to measure police legitimacy. Youths were asked how much they agree with statements such as '*Police treats people respectfully*', '*One can trust in police work*', '*police applies law equally*', etc. For the analyses a mean score of the twelve items was first computed (Cronbach's $\alpha = .82$), and then the scale was subdivided into quartiles of respondents with similar levels of police legitimacy.

Figure 21 shows that differences in perception of police legitimacy are strongly associated with variation in levels of self-reported violence. Youths with very low police

[37] Additionally, the survey also included fourteen measures of moral justification and neutralization of violence. This global index of moral justifications showed also strong and statistically significant differences in terms of violence in total population of youths and across sexes (results not shown).

legitimacy are more than three times more likely to be involved in violent behavior than youths with very high perception of police legitimacy. Similar differences can be observed for male and female adolescents. Males with very low perception of police legitimacy are almost three times more likely to be involved in violent behavior as compared to males with very low police legitimacy; amongst female youths the pattern is slightly stronger. Those with the lowest levels in police legtimacy are almost four times more likely to be involved in violent behavior in relation to those with higher levels of police legitimacy.

Figure 21 *Self-reported Violence by Levels of Police Legitimacy*



Note: All respondents: $\chi^2(3) = 64.62$, $p < .001$; Males: $\chi^2(3) = 39.59$, $p < .001$; Females: $\chi^2(3) = 24.16$, $p < .001$.

5.6 Parenting and Parental Conflict

Parenting is probably the most researched aspect of family functioning associated with the development of antisocial tendencies. A recent review of the literature suggests that poor parental monitoring, harsh/hostile parenting, parental neglect, lack of emotional support, chaotic discipline, and excessive emphasis on harsh discipline are among the parenting behaviors that are most consistently associated with child and adolescent aggressive behavior (Eisner & Malti, 2014).

In the m-proso study we included 16 questions referring to parenting styles. They measure five sub-dimensions: Positive parenting (e.g. "*your parents give you rewards when you do something well*") (Cronbach's $\alpha = .66$), parental involvement (e.g. "*when you are sad your parents hug you and make you feel better*") (Cronbach's $\alpha = .75$), authoritarianism ("*your parents are very strict when you do not do exactly what they say*") (Cronbach's $\alpha = .63$), poor supervision ("*when you go out you got to tell your parents at what time you will be back*") (Cronbach's $\alpha = .67$), and erratic parenting ("*you persuade your parents not to punish you*") (Cronbach's $\alpha = .62$).

Table 17 summarizes the results. It shows that except for authoritarian parenting all parenting sub-dimensions are associated with differences in violent behavior. High *positive parenting* and *parental involvement* are associated with less violence, but the association is weak and differences are statistically non significant for youth males. *Erratic parenting* is associated with more violent behavior, but differences are statistically non significant among youth females. The only parenting variable that was significantly associated with violent offending for both male and female respondents was lacking parental supervision. Amongst adolescents whose parents score very high in monitoring the behavior of their children only 9.9% had committed at least one violent act in the past year. Amongst those that were poorly supervised the rate was 22.3%.

Overall, the results confirm that both positive aspects of parenting such as involvement or warmth and negative ones such as harsh parenting or parents' violent behavior are associated with youth violence. However, the findings also suggest that at the age of 15 years the association between parenting and aggressive behavior is relatively small (Eisner & Malti, 2014; Farrington, 1998). Moreover, one needs to bear in mind that various aspects of parenting such as joint activities of the child and the parent or parents not knowing what their child is doing are influenced by children's own behavior. One should therefore be cautious about drawing conclusions about causal effects of parenting on child behavior from the findings presented here.

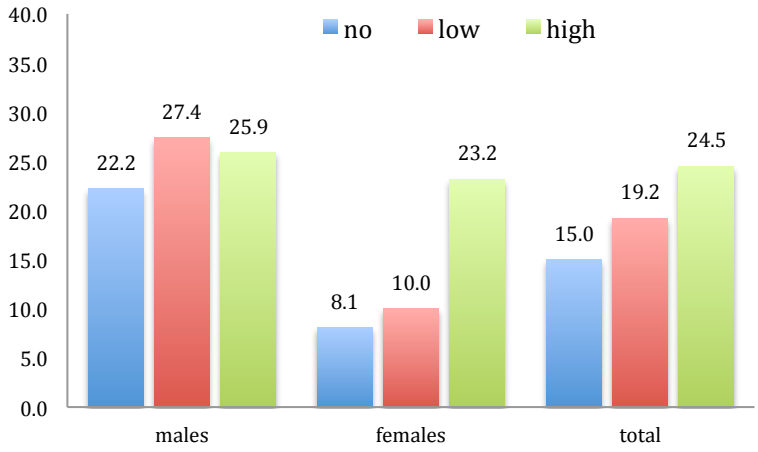
Table 17 *Self-Reported Violence by Levels of Parenting Practices*

Criterion	Value	% self report violence	Significant Differences
Positive Parenting	Lowest	21.9%	$\chi^2_{Total} = 17.83, p < .001$
	2	14.9%	χ^2_{Males} = n.s.
	3	13.3%	$\chi^2_{Females} = 12.17, p < .05$
	Highest	15.7%	
Parental Involvement	Lowest	22.7%	$\chi^2_{Total} = 33.92, p < .001$
	2	17.0%	χ^2_{Males} = n.s.
	3	12.7%	$\chi^2_{Females} = 18.10, p < .001$
	Highest	9.9%	
Authoritanism	Lowest	17.1%	χ^2_{Total} = n.s.
	2	15.1%	χ^2_{Males} = n.s.
	3	16.8%	$\chi^2_{Females}$ = n.s.
	Highest	17.0%	
Supervision	Lowest	22.3%	$\chi^2_{Total} = 37.25, p < .001$
	2	16.7%	$\chi^2_{Males} = 7.99, p < .05$
	3	13.1%	$\chi^2_{Females} = 13.99, p < .05$
	Highest	9.9%	
Erratic Parenting	Lowest	12.0%	$\chi^2_{Total} = 9.96, p < .05$
	2	14.3%	$\chi^2_{Males} = 8.85, p < .05$
	3	17.0%	n.s.
	Highest	18.8%	

Corporal Punishment

In the previous chapter we saw that about 28% of adolescents experienced corporal punishment such as being slapped, having hair pulled, or being hit with an object. Corporal punishment, and especially serious parental physical abuse, has variously been found to be associated with higher levels of aggressive and antisocial behavior. We therefore extend the previous analyses and examine whether exposure to corporal punishment is related to youth violence in Montevideo. To examine this link we subdivided adolescents into three groups, namely no (72% of adolescents), low (20%) and high (8%) exposure to parental physical punishment.

Figure 22 *Self-reported Violence by Levels of Corporal Punishment, by Gender*



Note: All respondents: $\chi^2(2) = 12.89$, $p < .001$; Females: $\chi^2(2) = 19.50$, $p < .001$.

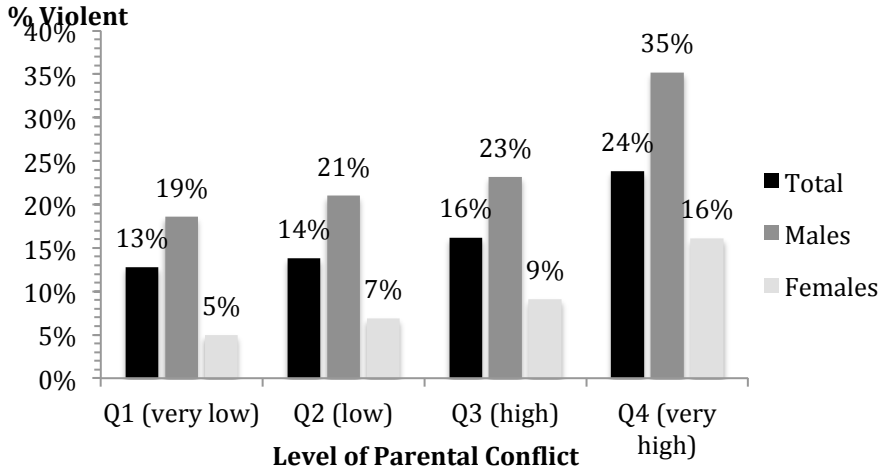
For all respondents combined the results suggest a consistent and linear relationship between exposure to corporal punishment and own violent behavior. Differences emerge when the analyses are conducted separately for boys and girls. For boys, there is no statistically significant association between corporal punishment and own violence, while the data suggest a highly significant association for girls. Only 8% of girls who are never physically punished report own involvement in physical aggression. In contrast, among those who experience severe physical punishment, 23% were involved in aggressive acts. In conjunction with the findings shown above this may suggest that girls' aggressive behavior is more strongly correlated with a range of parenting characteristics than boys' behavior.

Parental Conflict

Three items measured the extent to which parents had conflicts among each other (insult each other, don't talk to each other, have fights). There exist big differences in the extent to which young people in Montevideo experience parental conflict. The majority perceive that their parents live in a harmonious relationship. However, 8% said that their parents 'often or always' insult each other; similarly, 12% of adolescents said that their parents often have fights and 11% said that their parents often or always no longer speak to each other. All three items are strongly correlated. We therefore constructed an overall measure of parental conflict, which was subdivided into four equally sized groups (quartiles).

Figure 23 shows the percentage of adolescents involved in serious violence by levels of parental conflict. It suggests that for male and female young people in Montevideo the probability of violence is the greater, the more the family environment is characterized by frequent conflict amongst their parents.

Figure 23 *Self-Reported Violence by Level of Parental Conflict*



Note: All respondents: χ^2 (3) = 28.29, $p < .001$; Males: χ^2 (3) = 20.75, $p < .001$; Females: χ^2 (3) = 23.05, $p < .001$.

5.7 Group Membership, Leisure Activities and Financial Resources

Research in the United States and Europe shows that involvement in youth violence is related to differences in daily routine activities. More specifically, young people who have an outgoing life-style, spend a lot of time in bars or on the streets, have friends who engage in substance use or delinquency, or who are members of a delinquent gang, have been found to be more likely to engage in violence than others. In this section we analyze three pertinent topics: First we analyze how membership in a delinquent group is associated with youths' own violence. Second we examine whether youths' leisure activities play a role in the occurrence of violent behavior among teenagers. Finally, we study if the amount of pocket money that a young person has for leisure-time activities is related to the likelihood of violence.

Group Membership

Adolescent delinquency and violence are mainly group phenomena. Thus, we expect that being a member of a delinquent group reinforces antisocial tendencies and makes it more likely that a young person becomes involved in fights or robberies. Of course, not all young people are equally likely to join a deviant peer group. Rather, young people with prior antisocial tendencies and risk factors will be much more attracted by groups who have similar interests and personality characteristics, and with whom they may engage in substance use, vandalism, or violence (Dishion & Piehler, 2009; Hirschi, 1969).

In two sections of the questionnaire adolescents were asked not about their own perpetration of violent acts, but about the extent to which they were part of a group of people that committed violent acts. This is important information because throughout adolescence a very large proportion of youth violence happens within group contexts, such as fights between groups of young men, robbery attacks by a group of young men on a single individual, or a member of a group threatening an isolated individual, benefiting from the added superiority of having friends with a high fighting ability in their support. Deviant peer groups are also the place where youths learn delinquent norms, find deviant role models suitable for imitation, and experience admiration for breaking the moral norms of adults (Akers, 2009; Akers & Warr, 2003; Eisner & Malti, 2014; Pratt et al., 2010).

Table 18 shows the proportion of male and female respondents who reported that they participated in groups of adolescents who perpetrated violent activities. Criteria measured in the survey include whether the respondent meets with friends to fight against other adolescents, and whether he/she is a member of a group that threats and assaults other people, robs other people, extorts protection money, or carries weapons. The findings suggest that a considerable minority of adolescents, namely 18.8%, is involved in youth group activities that include violent acts. Boys (26.1%) are much more likely to take part in such groups than girls (11.7%). These sex differences of involvement in group violence are particularly high for extortion (male 4.2% versus female 0.6%) and meeting friends to fight against other adolescents (male 18.8% versus female 4.9%).

Table 18 Prevalence of Participation in Group Violence, by Gender

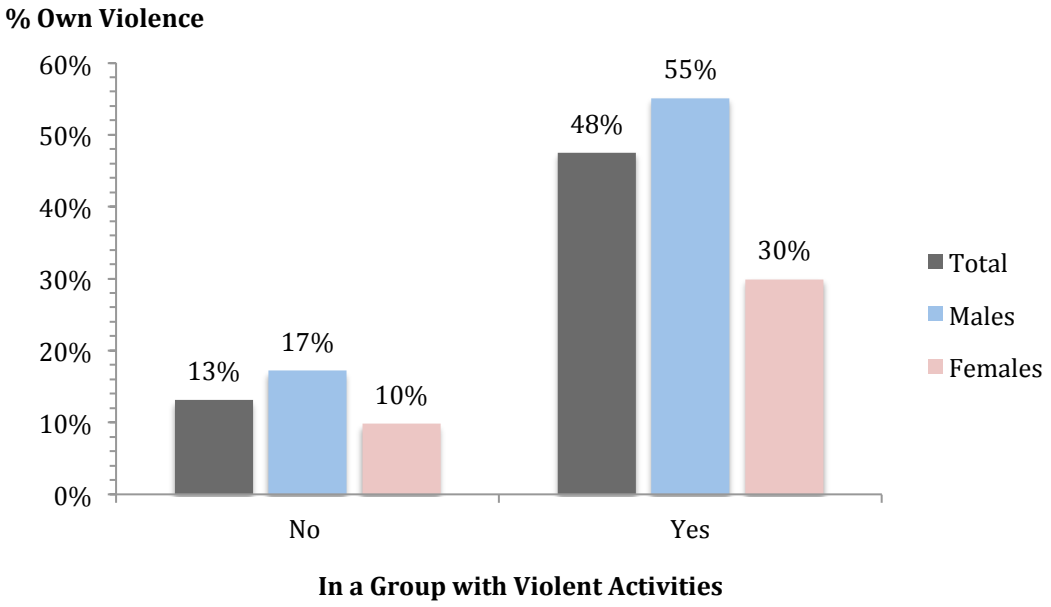
Activity	Total	Males	Females	M-F Difference sig
Meet with friends to fight against other adolescents	11.6%	18.8%	4.9%	$p < .001$
Be a member of a group, which				
… threatens and assaults other people	8.7%	11.9%	5.7%	$p < .001$
… robs other people	3.4%	5.0%	1.8%	$p < .001$
… extorts protection money	2.4%	4.2%	0.6%	$p < .001$
… carries weapons	6.2%	9.1%	3.5%	$p < .001$
Any group violence	18.8%	26.1%	11.7%	$p < .001$

Figure 24 shows that involvement in violence differs greatly between adolescents who belong to to a violent gang and those who don't. We examined the level of reported

violent acts during the past 12 months comparing those who were in a group that perpetrates violence and those that were in no such group. Findings show that the probability of own involvement in violence is much higher amongst those who are part of a violent group. For example, amongst male non-members of violent groups the likelihood of own violence was 17%, while is was 55% amongst those associated with a violent gang. There is another way of looking at the problem: Those 18.8% of adolescents who spend their time in a group of peers whose activities include violence were responsible for fully two thirds of all serious violent acts reported in the study.

We find a similar association between gang membership and violence amongst male and female respondents, although statistical tests show that the association is stronger amongst males han amongst females. This finding confirms results reported in section 5.1, namely that adolescent male violence is more strongly a group phenomenon than female violence.

Figure 24 *Self-reported Violence by Membership in a Delinquent Group*



Note: All respondents: $\chi^2(2) = 229.86$, $p < .001$; Males: $\chi^2(2) = 141.15$, $p < .001$; Females: $\chi^2(2) = 37.84$, $p < .001$.

These results are relevant in terms of intervention and prevention measures. If serious violence has a an important group dimension, measures that focus excessively on the individual and neglects this collective dimension run the risk of falling short and lacking efficacy.

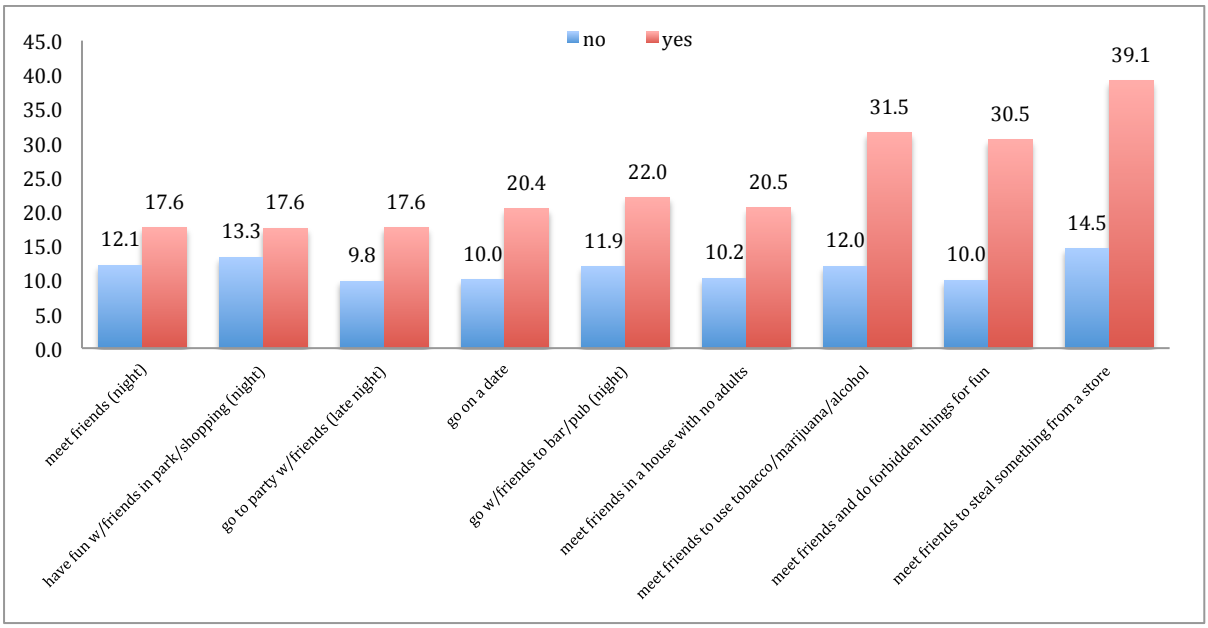
Leisure Activities

Activities during leisure time are another dimension to understand how violent behavior is embedded in youth lifestyle. Undoubtedly personality characteristics such as extroversion and sociability influence the leisure activities that young people prefer. But leisure activities are also linked to the situational component of violence: the kinds of situations and activities where violence is most likely to erupt. Generally, the hypothesis is that young people who go out often and expose themselves to environments that are crime-prone, will be more likely to be involved in violence.

To analyze the relationship between leisure activities and violence we used the same series of fourteen questions used in the victimization chapter but instead of making a global index we took each item separately and analyzed the differences in violent behavior between two groups: youths that never did that specific leisure activity and those that did it at least once last year. In Figure **25** we show all the leisure activities that revealed statistical significant differences in youths violent behavior last year. The leisure activities items that showed no significant differences were those that were done either in the afternoon or involved less harmful places such as gathering with friends in restaurants or McDonalds. Additionally, those leisure activities that involved deviant or delinquent behavior showed the largest differences: for example, youths that '*meet with friends to smoke tobacco/marijuana or drink alcohol*', that '*gather to do forbidden things for fun*', or '*encounter to steal something from a store*', are three times more likely to be involved in violent behavior than those youths that have not been involved in those activities. Although other leisure activities not so directly associated to deviance (e.g. '*go in the night to a party or a pub with friends*', or '*go on a date*') show relevant violence differences between youths, they nevertheless tend to be smaller.

These results confirm the notion that routines and events that involve the presence of youths in risky environments increase their chances of being involved in violent incidents. Additionally, and in more indirect way, the connection between violence and risky leisure activities might be associated both with: a) the presence of non conformist peer groups were some of these activities are more appreciated and valued, and even define membership and identity; b) the lack of adequate family attachment and supervision which allow or do not hinder the development of this risky pattern of youths routines.

Figure 25 *Self-reported Violence by Selected Leisure Time Activities*

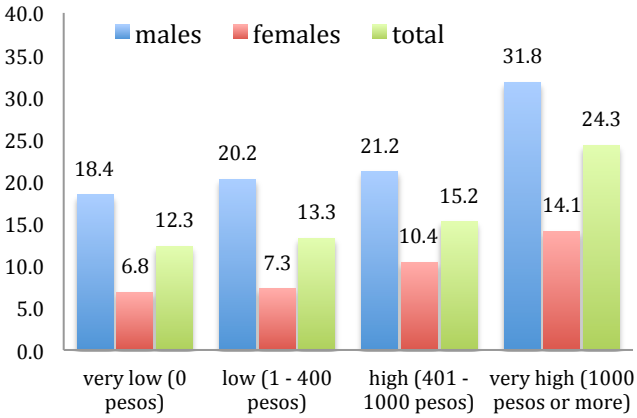


Financial Resources

Because members of lower social classes are overrepresented in prisons and juvenile centers, there is a widespread belief that youth violence is associated with material deprivation, poverty and frustrated aspirations. In the present study we directly assessed this strain hypothesis (Agnew, 1992): We asked the participants to indicate how much money they have available each month that they don't use to pay for food, books, or other school costs. The idea was that a lack of personal financial resources indicates deprivation and a lack of access to activities and goods that are valued highly among adolescents. We included two items, namely i) what monthly allowance they received from parents; ii) how much money they obtained from other sources. The information was used to construct a global measure of financial resources, which formed the basis to divide respondents in quartiles of youths with similar levels of 'pocket money'.

Figure 26 shows the relationship between involvement in violence and disposable money. The findings contradict the deprivation hypothesis: Youths with the least financial resources have not the highest, but the lowest involvement in violent acts. In contrast, youths that have most pocket money (i.e. 1000 pesos or more) are two times more likely to be involved in violent behavior than youths that have the lowest level of pocket money. These differences are statistically robust for the whole sample, but also for girls and boys separately.

Figure 26 *Self-reported Violence by Available Financial Resources*



Note: All respondents: $\chi^2(3) = 32.84$, $p < .001$; Males: $\chi^2(3) = 16.32$, $p < .001$; Females: $\chi^2(3) = 9.18$, $p < .05$.

Similar results have been obtained in other studies (Eisner, Manzoni, & Ribeaud, 2000). They make it unlikely that absolute or relative material deprivation plays an important role in explanations of violence. Rather, previous studies have interpreted the association between financial resources and violence in two ways: a *situational argument* holds that adolescents with more money find it easier to go to risky environments, buy alcohol and drugs, and spend time without parental supervision, all of which increase the chances of being involved in violent incidents; a complementary *family bond argument* holds that parents with a weak emotional attachment to their children may be more likely to give them more pocket money rather than investing time and emotions in joint family activities (Eisner, Manzoni, & Ribeaud, 2000).

5.8 Media Consumption

In the last decades there has been a strong increase in youths' exposure to violence through movies, video games, and internet. Yet, despite an extensive body of empirical studies there is an ongoing debate about the nature of the relationship between media and youth violence.

Many studies argue that the consumption of aggressive media contents has causal effects on later aggressive behavior (Anderson, Gentile, & Buckley, 2007; Funk, Baldacci, Pasold, & Baumgardner, 2004; Hopf, Huber, & Weib, 2008; Huesmann & Taylor, 2006). Theoretically, these studies are commonly based on a *social learning model*, which assumes that children and adolescents who are exposed to violent media contents internalize violent scripts and models which increase the likelihood of desensitization, imitation and violent reaction in real life scenarios (Ferguson, 2007). In contrast, other scholars have questioned the social learning model and doubt whether there is a causal relationship

between exposure to violent media contents and violence, claiming that results are weak or inconsistent, that measures lack validity, and that most studies lack adequate controls of cofounders of violence and media such as personality traits, family bonds, etc. (Ferguson & Kilburn, 2009; Savage, 2004). On the other hand, there is the *catharsis model* which argues for an inverse relationship between both phenomena. The basic idea is that violence has other causal origins (mainly biological ones) and exposure to violent media help to release or discharge violent motivations, and ultimately to behave less violently (Ferguson, 2007). Complementarily, is also at play the *time displacement hypothesis*, that is, time spent with violent media is not spent in interactions with other youths that might lead to violent conflicts (Espinosa & Clemente, 2013; Mössle, Kleimann & Rehbein, 2007). These alternative models have also been criticized, particularly the catharsis model which not only has weak empirical support but also there are contradictory results from several media studies (Gentile, 2013). Finally, other studies have argued that the connection between both phenomena is spurious and is due to a third factor, namely personality traits, sex, socio economic status, peer group pressure, etc. (Christakis, Zimmerman, DiGiuseppe, & McCarty, 2004; Ferguson, 2011).

As part of the present survey youths in Montevideo were asked, for the first time in Uruguay, about their habits of consuming violent and pornographic media contents. For eight different types of media consumption, including movies, web/internet, cellular phones and video games, they were asked how often they engage in these behaviors. Table 19 shows the percentage of young people who consume either violent or pornographic contents 'at least several times a month'.

Table 19 *Consumption of Violent and Pornographic Media Contents, at Least Monthly*

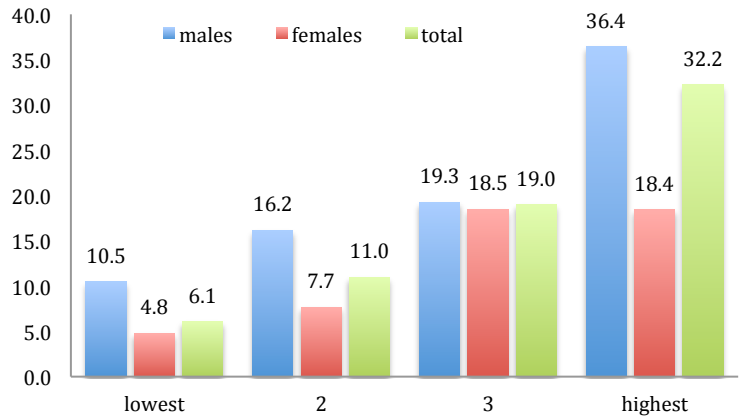
Type of Media Consumption	Total	Male	Female
a) Violent contents			
Seek violent contents in the internet	45.6%	58.2%	33.7%
Play violent (above age 18) computer games	44.1%	68.5%	20.8%
Watch horror movies for adults	43.9%	52.6%	35.6%
Watch/share violent contents on mobile telephones	6.7%	11.3%	2.3%
Record violent scenes with your mobile telephone	3.8%	6.2%	1.5%
b) Pornographic and other 'adult' contents			
Watch porno movies	13.2%	24.6%	2.5%
Seek pornographic contents on the internet	13.6%	25.0%	2.7%
Watch other movies for adults	12.5%	20.6%	4.6%

The results show that about 45% of 15-year olds youths in Montevideo seek violent contents on the internet, play violent computer games such as 'Mortal Combat' or 'Call of Duty', or watch horror movies that are restricted to viewers above age 18. A smaller proportion of 6.7% of adolescents shares violent contents at least monthly on their mobile telephones, and almost 4% admit to having taken video-clips with their mobile telephone of somebody being beaten up. All behaviors are much more frequent among male respondents than among females. For example, 69% of male but only 21% of female adolescents play realistic violent computer games which are restricted to adults above age 18.

Overall, lower proportions of adolescents admit to consuming pornographic material. About 13% of adolescents admit to watching pornographic movies or downloading pornographic material from the web at least a few times per month. However, the breakdown by gender suggest very large sex differences. Young males are about 10 times more likely to consume adult pornographic material than females.

In a next step we constructed a general measure of exposure to violent media content with the five items that involved violent contents in movies, internet, cell phones and video games (Cronbach's α = .81). We then divided respondents into four equally sized groups with similar levels of problematic media consumption. Figure 27 shows a strong association between exposure to aggressive media contents and the perpetration of violent acts. Youths in the highest group are five times more likely to have acted violently last year than youths that have the lowest levels of consumption of violent contents. These statistical significant differences are also present for both sexes.

Figure 27 *Self-reported Violence by Levels of Exposure to Violent Media Contents*



Note: All respondents: $\chi^2(3) = 148.02$, $p < .001$; Males: $\chi^2(3) = 56.57$, $p < .001$; Females: $\chi^2(3) = 41.70$, $p < .001$.

These results confirm what has been observed in many similar surveys across the world, namely that the consumption of adult, especially violent media contents is strongly associated with own violence behavior even when a range of personality characteristics such as self control are taken into account (Anderson, 2004). They add to the evidence which suggests that it is important to better understand the nature of this statistical association, which would require longitudinal data on the dynamic relationship between the consumption of adult media contents and antisocial behavior.

5.9 School Environment and School-related Individual Factors

The school context plays an important role in explanations of youth delinquent and violent behavior. Some authors have argued that negative experiences and feelings of rejection in the school can lead to frustration, stress, distancing with teachers and other students, and finally to violent and delinquent behaviors (Agnew, 1992; Cohen, 1955). Social control theory, in contrast, claims that weak social bonds, particularly with the school are important to understand delinquency and deviance (Hirschi, 1969). One of the key dimensions is *attachment* or emotional connection with other students, teachers and the institution, which is reflected in youths' positive attitude and interest for others opinions, his/her acceptance of school authority, and also in his/her academic performance. Another dimension is *commitment* or youths' valuation or assessment of educative conventional goals which in turn is reflected in youths beliefs about how useful school is going to be for his/her future or if they like going to school or doing homework. Some studies have found a significant relationship between crime and violent behavior and student's academic achievement, school attachment and school commitment (Brookmeyer, Fanti, & Henrich, 2006; R. Felson & Staff, 2006; Hoffmann, Erickson, & Spence, 2013; Junger-Tas, 1992; Resnick, Ireland, & Borowsky, 2004; Ribeaud & Eisner, 2010; Rosenbaum & Lasley, 1990).

However the influence of the school on crime and violence has been interpreted in different ways (Eisner & Ribeaud, 2003; Ribeaud & Eisner, 2008). One possibility is that problems at school have a causal influence on crime and violence. A second possibility is that both problems at school and delinquency result from a common third factor. This could be personality traits, family problems, or being a member of a criminal gang, etc. Finally, there may also exist bidirectional causal relationships between both phenomena whereby school problems and delinquency mutually reinforce each other. Some studies that have investigated such bi-directional relationships found more support for the idea that school problems lead to deviance than the other way round (Hoffmann et al., 2013; Shoemaker, 2009).

We included 24 questions that touched upon many of these dimensions and built several indexes that included both individual and school/climate related aspects (Gottfredson, 2001) which focused on six dimensions: school commitment (e.g. '*I like to go to school*') (Cronbach's α = .45); relationship to teachers (e.g. '*I have a good relationship with my teacher*') (Cronbach's α = .65); relationship to peers (e.g. '*Other students are nice with me*') (Cronbach's α = .72); academic difficulty (e.g. '*I have bad grades in school*') (Cronbach's α = .64); future benefits of learning (e.g. '*It is important for me that I do well in school*') (Cronbach's α = .69); and perception of legitimacy of the school (e.g. '*In my school or students are treated in a fair way*') (Cronbach's α = .75).

Table 20 shows the results. It confirms findings from other studies, namely that various school-related characteristics are related to youths involvement in violent behavior. We can see that all the indexes reveal statistically significant differences in youth's violent behavior both at a general level and in many cases also across genders. Yet, some dimensions such as *relationship to teachers*, *relationship to peers* as well as *future benefits of learning* show a weaker link to violence since they have less clear patterns, show smaller differences, and reveal statistically non-significant differences among female students.

It is worth noticing that together with traditional social bonding measures we also included a measure of *school legitimacy*. School legitimacy was assessed with a measure developed for this study that includes 10 items (e.g. 'In my school students are treated fairly', 'teachers and school authorities should be obeyed even if one disagrees', 'In my school punishments are delivered in a fair way') (Cronbach's α = .75). The findings confirms that youth's crime and violence is associated with their perception of institutions and how they exert authority, and the importance including measures of legitimacy of institutions different from the traditional and most used ones such focused on the police.

Table 20 Violence Rates by School Related Variables

Criterion	Value	% self report violence	Significant Differences
School Committment	Lowest	22.3%	$\chi 2_{Total} = 41.15, p < .001$
	2	15.4%	$\chi 2_{Male} = 20.58, p < .001$
	3	12.5%	$\chi 2_{Female} = 16.21, p < .001$
	Highest	8.9%	
Relationship to Teachers	Lowest	21.0%	$\chi 2_{Total} = 24.80, p < .001$
	2	12.5%	$\chi 2_{Male} = 25.59, p < .001$
	Highest	13.8%	$\chi 2_{Female}$ = n.s.
Relationship to Peers	Lowest	20.9%	$\chi 2_{Total} = 13.47, p < .001$
	2	14.2%	$\chi 2_{Male} = 9.86, p < .05$
	3	14.1%	$\chi 2_{Female}$ = n.s.
	Highest	15.6%	
Academic Difficulties	Lowest	12.4%	$\chi 2_{Total} = 30.51, p < .001$
	2	16.3%	$\chi 2_{Male} = 23.39, p < .001$
	3	18.7%	$\chi 2_{Female} = 10.92, p < .05$
	Highest	24.5%	
Future Benefits of Learning	Lowest	19.6%	$\chi 2_{Total} = 18.04, p < .001$
	3	12.8%	$\chi 2_{Male} = 13.48, p < .001$
	Highest	12.6%	$\chi 2_{Female}$ = n.s.
School Legitimacy	Lowest	25.3%	$\chi 2_{Total} = 49.59, p < .001$
	2	16.6%	$\chi 2_{Male} = 22.69, p < .001$
	3	11%	$\chi 2_{Female} = 27.91, p < .001$
	Highest	11.5%	

5.10 Conclusions

First, we find that amongst young people in Montevideo the active perpetration of violence is highly concentrated. The vast majority of young people, namely 84%, did not commit any acts of violence in the past year. 16% had committed at least one act of violence. However, for most of these young people this was a single event. However, a

small minority of adolescents was responsible for the vast majority of violent acts. More specifically, the self-report data suggest that just 2% of all young people who participated in the survey were responsible for about 60% of all violent incidents. This finding has important implications for prevention policy. In particular, it suggests that for this age group a significant of violence reduction efforts should specifically target those with the highest risk of aggressive problem behavior.

Second, we found that violent behavior amongst young people is strongly associated with a range of non-violent problem behaviors. These behaviors include non-delinquent manifestations of authority conflicts such as running away from home and playing truant, minor property offenses such as shoplifting, fare dodging, of theft at home and at school, serious property offenses such as vehicle theft and burglary, damage of property such as spraying graffiti and vandalism, and drug-related offenses including drug dealing. Moreover, violent youth are significantly more likely to consume substances at the age of 15. Notably, both cannabis consumption and alcohol consumption were strongly associated with levels of violence. Taken together these findings imply that violence is best seen as part of a broader syndrome of antisocial and delinquent behavior. One implication of this finding for prevention strategies is that they should focus on the full range of problem behaviours.

Third, we found little evidence in support of the idea that violence and aggression is concentrated amongst adolescents from disadvantaged backgrounds. More specifically, we found no evidence in the survey data that young people whose parents are less educated or young people who grow up in less prosperous neighbourhoods are generally more violent. We believe that this adds to the international evidence that social class is generally a poor predictor of antisocial behavior during childhood and adolescence, and that prevention and intervention activities should focus on those individual, family, school and life-style variables that are strongly associated with the risk of violent behavior. It important to add here that adolescents with high levels of problem behavior are much more likely to fail in school, to have low academic marks, to be unemployed and to work in unqualified and insecure positions. But we believe that these outcomes are at least as much consequences of poor behavior regulation as they are predictors of antisocial behavior.

Fourth, and consistent with international findings, the results suggest that a range of individual characteristics are strongly associated with the probability of involvement in violence. Three of the most important correlates were a lack of self-control, a lack of constructive and prosocial problem-solving abilities, and a low morality in the sense of endorsing delinquent norms, and cynical attitude towards the law. This has important implications for prevention strategies. More specifically, they suggest that prevention

strategies are more likely to be successful if they try to promote self-control, social adequate and cooperative problem solving, and moral beliefs that support respect for others physical integrity and property.

Fifth, the findings for parenting-related covariates suggest that young people who are involved in violence tend to experience less parental involvement and less parental monitoring of their behavior. They also experience more corporal punishment and parental conflict at home. Overall, this suggests that the provision of parenting skills training and support for families with domestic violence should be an important element of effective strategies who reduce youth violence.

Sixth, youth violence is strongly associated with a pattern of lifestyle characteristics. Young people involved in delinquency and violence are more likely to hang out together with other delinquent youth, they tend so spend a lot more time hanging out in public places where they consume alcohol or drugs. For prevention policy these findings suggest that interventions targeting high-risk adolescents in public spaces are a promising strategy to reduce violence. This may include policing strategies aimed at crime hot spots.

Seventh, youth violence is strongly associated with the consumption of violent and pornographic media contents. While the nature of this association remains debated in the international literature, the findings of this study suggest that strategies aimed at controlling access to violent media should be considered a meaningful option for prevention strategies.

Finally, the results confirm that young people with aggressive tendencies differ systematically from others as regards school-related characteristics. In particular, they are more likely not to attend school, they have more difficulties at school, are less committed to engage in school, have a poor relationship with teachers, and feel treated unfairly by their teacher and school authorities. These findings are partly indicative of individual characteristics of young people. However, they also suggest that preventive strategies that promote a coherent classroom and school management are an important pillar of successful prevention strategies.

6 Bullying at School

While bullying at schools had long been considered a normal feature of school-related behaviors, research conducted over the past three decades has increasingly highlighted the ways in which bullying can seriously harm children and adolescents in their psycho-social development. There is some disagreement about the exact definition of bullying (Swearer, Espelage, Vaillancourt, & Hymel, 2010). However, it is usually meant to describe a form of behavior that has three characteristics: *repeated* negative behavior with the *intention to harm* and with *power asymmetry*, either physical or psychological, between perpetrator and victim (Olweus, 1993; Olweus & Limber, 2010). Bullying includes not only manifest and physical forms of aggression like hitting or sexually harassing but also more subtle forms such as insulting, name-calling or ignoring and excluding (Demaray, Malecki, Jenkins, & Westermann, 2012). At the same time, bullying can be directly accomplished by the perpetrator when he/she hits or insults the victim, but also indirectly or covertly by spreading rumors or ostracism (Olweus, 1993; Rigby, 2012).

Bullying can have a serious negative impact on youths life. Victims of bullying are more likely to experience health problems such as headache, stomach pains, sleeping problems, bad temper, depression, low self-esteem, nervousness, tension, poor appetite (Due et al., 2005; Ttofi & Farrington, 2008). There is also evidence that victims are more likely to experience problems in school such as low academic achievement, absenteeism, truancy, dropping out, etc. (Buhs, Ladd, & Herald, 2006; Olweus, 1993; Smith, Talamelli, Cowie, Naylor, & Chauhan, 2004). Harmful outcomes are not limited to victims. Bullies also are more likely to experience problems in school (Ma, Phelps, Lerner, & Lerner, 2009) and commit deviant and violent behaviors (Baldry & Farrington, 2000; Tonja R Nansel, Overpeck, Haynie, Ruan, & Scheidt, 2003; Ttofi, Farrington, & Losel, 2012).

Given the complexity of the concept it is difficult to measure bullying in a reliable way. There is the risk of underestimation if we only take into consideration direct and physical forms of behaviors. But we can also overestimate the phenomenon if we don't distinguish playful conducts or aggressive behaviors that do not take place recurrently, with intention to harm and as a result of power imbalance (Cornell & Cole, 2012). However, power imbalance is usually not included in bullying measures due to the difficulty of identifying clearly who is the more powerful party. Power differences might be subtle and more a matter of popularity, self-confidence, verbal abilities, rather than physical size/strength (Cornell & Cole, 2012; Rigby, 2012). Another problem is the

different understanding that youths might have of a global term such as bullying and how it can affect the prevalence rates, and particularly how it can undermine cross-cultural comparisons where there are no clear equivalent terms (Ttofi, Farrington, & Baldry, 2008). In order to cope with this variability, most studies have avoided general terms and used self-report questionnaires focused on specific types of behaviors such insulting, destroying properties, etc. (Benbenishty & Astor, 2012).

Following the z-proso study, the m-proso questionnaire included a modified version of the Olweus Scale, which has been validated in several studies in Europe. In short, students were presented with five types of of behaviors: to ignore and exclude another adolescent, to insult or ridicule somebody, to hit, bite, or kick somebody, to steal or damage another pupil's belongings, and sexually harassing another pupil. Questions relating to these experiences were asked twice, first whether the respondent had suffered such experiences as a victim, and then whether the respondent had committed such acts. Response options were presented on a six point scale that went from 'never' to '(almost) daily'.

This chapter has two main parts. First we will describe the incidence of bullying among youths in Montevideo, its sex differences, the overlap between victimization and perpetration, and its relationship with the type of school, and with other problematic behaviours. In the remain of the chapter we will focus on analysing the association between bullying perpetration and victimization and risk factors referred to the family, to the school, and to individual related variables such as personality traits, moral beliefs, perception of legitimacy of the school institution, etc.

6.1 The Incidence of Bullying

We start the analysis by showing the percentage of youths in m-proso that were involved in bullying as victims or perpetrators in the last 12 months. Results are shown in Table 21. Most youths in the survey have not been *victims* of serious forms of bullying. 78% of youths reported they have never been physically attacked and 87.5% reported they have never been sexually harassed. However, 38.1% of the students experienced robbery or destruction of properties. What is more, when it comes to less serious types of bullying, almost half of the students (46.3%) were ignored or excluded at least once in the last year, and 61.9% were insulted. If we focus on youths that suffered bullying at least once a month we see again that the most prevalent bullying victimization episodes are 'being ignored' (12.9%), 'being insulted' (7.4%), and 'having your properties stolen or vandalized' (5.4%). However, the less prevalent type of bullying is no longer sexual harassment (3.6%) but physical attack (3.4%). Additionally, when it comes to generalized

forms of school violence (at least once a week) except for insults, all other types of bullying victimization affect less than 5% of youths surveyed. Table 21 also shows that there is a fairly good convergence in the prevalence rates of bullying events in victims and in perpetrators for the first three categories (being ignored, insulted and being physically attacked). However, there are noteworthy differences in terms of robbery/destruction of properties and sexual harassment. These differences might be due to the fact that few students perpetrate most of robberies and sexual harassments; that a significant number of perpetrators are from outside the school; or that either perpetrators or victims have not responded honestly (Eisner et al., 2000). Finally we note that all forms of bullying perpetration and victimization are strongly correlated amongst each other. For example, adolescents who are being excluded and ignored are also much more likely to experience verbal and physical aggression.

Table 21 *Incidence of Bullying Victimization and Perpetration*

	Bullying victimization					
	Never	1-2 Times	3-10 Times	Once a Month	Once a Week	Almost Every Day
Ignored	53.7%	31.2%	7.7	3.3	1.7	2.4
Insulted	38.1%	37.8%	11.2	4.9	4.1	3.9
Physical attack	78.0%	15.8%	2.8	1.4	1.0	1.0
Steal/damage property	62.0%	26.1%	6.5	2.6	1.3	1.5
Sexual harassment	87.5%	6.5%	2.4	1.2	0.9	1.5
	Bullying Perpetration					
	Never	1-2 Times	3-10 Times	Once a Month	Once a Week	Almost Every Day
Ignored	57.7%	31.2%	6.9	2.4	0.8	1.0
Insulted	40.3%	39.5%	12.1	3.6	2.5	1.9
Physical attack	76.8%	14.7%	4.8	1.8	1.2	0.8
Steal/damage property	76.3%	15.7%	4.3	1.8	0.8	1.0
Sexual harassment	95.8%	2.0%	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.7

In the following analyses we use an indicator of chronic bullying victimization and perpetration that combines the five types of bullying into one dichotomous indicator. In line with the research literature we operationalize chronic bullying as behavior or victimizations that occur at least once a month for any subcategory (Furlong, Sharkey, Felix, Tanigawa, & Greif-Green, 2010). Using this definition we find that almost 20% of students were victims of regular bullying, and that 13% of adolescents admit to regularly

bullying others (see Table 22). Like for violence in general these results suggest that especially bullying perpetration is highly concentrated amongst a small minority of young people, who are responsible for the vast majority of acts of bullying.

Table 22 *Frequency of bullying victimization and perpetration with and without including categories 'ignored' and 'insulted'*

	Victimization		Perpetration	
	With '*ignored*' and '*insulted*'	Without '*ignored*' and '*insulted*'	With '*ignored*' and '*insulted*'	Without '*ignored*' and '*insulted*'
No	79.6%	90.1%	87%	93%
Yes	20.4%	9.9%	13%	7%
Total	*100 %*	*100 %*	*100 %*	*100 %*

Sex Differences

Previous research suggests that males are more likely to be involved in bullying both as perpetrators and victims than females (Baldry & Farrington, 2000; Frisén, Jonsson, & Persson, 2007). However, differences are less clear when it comes to more indirect and psychological types of bullying victimization (Nansel et al., 2001; Tapper & Boulton, 2004), and some studies have found no gender differences in bullying victimization more generally (Owusu, Hoag, Weatherby, & Kang, 2012).

The analysis of m-proso survey reveals few gender differences in bullying victimization. Among students that suffered at least once one of the five types of bullying *victimization* there are no statistical significant differences between male (20.9%) and female students (19.9%). However, boys are more likely to experience physical attacks (4.3% vs. 2.6%, (χ2 (1) = 4.81, p <.05) as well as theft and damage to their property (7.7% vs. 3.3%, (c2 (1) = 20.07, p <.01).

In contrast, boys are much more likely than girls to be perpetrators of bullying (17.8% vs. 8.3%, χ2 (1) = 43.39, p <.01). The overrepresentation of boys can be found for all subtypes of bullying, including physical attack (5.6% vs. 2.1%, (χ2 (1) = 17.92, p <.01), theft and damage of property (6% vs. 1.4%, (χ2 (1) = 31.88, p <.01), sexual harassment (3.1% vs. 0.4%, (χ2 (1) = 24.20, p <.01), ignoring (5.3% vs. 3.3%, (χ2 (1) = 5.35, p <.05) or insulting (11.6% vs. 4.7%, (χ2 (1) = 34.56, p <.01).

The Overlap between Perpetration and Victimization

Bullying researchers have long noted that there is a considerable overlap between bullying perpetration and victimization, meaning that bullying perpetrators are much more likely to also become victims of bullying and vice versa. This pattern is also evident

in Montevideo. Almost half of the chronic bullying perpetrators (48.2%) reported that they were also victims of chronic bullying. In contrast, only 16.2% of the non-bullies were victims. This means that the likelihood of victimization amongst bullies was almost 5 times higher than amongst non-bullies (OR = 4.8, p < .001). Different explanations may account for this overlap. For one, frequent bullies are likely to interact more frequently in networks with more problematic classmates, amongst whom aggressive behavior is more frequent. More specifically, there is empirical evidence of within group similarity and it has been found that bullying perpetration is associated with belonging to a bullying group of peers (Espelage, Holt, & Henkel, 2003; Faris & Ennett, 2012) and more generally to have friends that have been involved in deviated activities (Espelage, Bosworth, & Simon, 2000a). The group nature of bullying and the *influence of peers* is repeatedly mentioned in the literature (Salmivalli, 2010; Swearer et al., 2012a) and it has been shown that bullying might be considered by many adolescents as a strategic way of obtaining social status, respect and popularity among peers (Pellegrini & Long, 2004; Sijtsema, Veenstra, Lindenberg, & Salmivalli, 2009). Second, victims of bullying may feel resentment against their attackers and retaliate when they have been insulted or when their property has been intentionally damaged. Finally, perpetrators and victims may share some individual characteristics such as low self-control, which is associated both with a higher risk of aggressive behavior and of victimization.

Bullying by Type of School

We also examined whether levels of bullying vary between school types. However, we found little association between the type of school and the prevalence of bullying. Overall levels of bullying victimization were 23.8% in private schools, 22.2% in CETP's students and 18.2% in public schools ($\chi 2$ (2) = 9.71, p <.01). In respect to bullying *perpetration* there is also a small but statistical significant difference. In this case CETP students show a greater proportion of bullies (17.5%) in relation to private school students (14.5%) and public school students (11.5%) ($\chi 2$ (2) = 6.65, p <.05). However, the higher rate in CETP's partly reflects the fact that a larger proportion of males attends these professional training schools.

Bullying and Other Problem Behaviors

Although bullying mostly happens in and around schools, youths involved in bullying perpetration are generally also involved in a range of problem behaviors that are unrelated to the situation at school. To illustrate this pattern Table 23 shows the prevalence of selected problem behaviors amongst adolescents who were chronic bullies

and those who were not. The findings show that chronic school bullies are more likely to run away from home, to play truant o to steal at school, and to carry a weapon with them. Also, they are significantly more likely to consume licit and illicit drugs including alcohol, cannabis, and cocaine – and they are more likely to be involved in drug dealing and to belong to a gang whose members are involved in violence. This finding confirms and extends findings from previous studies (Shetgiri, Lin, & Flores, 2012; Swearer et al., 2012). In the context of Montevideo all these associations are characteristic for bullying perpetration, but not for victimization, which is not or only very marginally associated with problem behaviors.

Table 23 *Prevalence of Selected Problem Behaviors amongst Bullies and non-Bullies*

	Non-Bullies	Bullies	sig
Run away from home	5.7%	14.7%	OR = 2.1, $p < .001$
Steal something at school	4.3%	12.9%	OR = 3.3, $p < .001$
Play truant	39.8%	54.5%	OR = 1.8, $p < .001$
Carrying a weapon	7.1%	21.2%	OR = 3.5, $p < .001$
Smoke Cigarettes	23.0%	37.0%	OR = 2.0, $p < .001$
Consume Cocaine	1.4%	5.0%	OR = 3.8, $p < .001$
Consume Alcohol	18.8%	35.4%	OR = 2.4, $p < .001$
Consume Marijuana	12.7%]=	26.1%	OR = 2.4, $p < .001$
Sell Drugs	1.9%	8.3%	OR = 4.8, $p < .001$
Member of a violent gang	16.0%	36.7%	OR = 3.0, $p < .001$

Note: Alcohol consumption measured 'at least monthly'. All other substance use variables at least once last year.

These results suggest that bullying and aggression in school should not be seen in isolation. Rather, it is part of a wider behaviour syndrome that includes substance use, property offenses, as well as violence outside the school context. This also means that measures that are effective in reducing bullying at school and improving the quality of behavior in the classroom and on the schoolyard may also have positive effects on behavior outside school.

6.2 Bullying and Related Factors

In this section we use the dichotomous measure of chronic bullying victimization and perpetration to explore the associations with three groups of variables. First, we will consider selected *school variables* such as the relationship with teacher and classmates, and

school commitment. Then we consider aspects of *family* dynamics, particularly aspects of parenting such as supervision, commitment, conflict among parents, and harsh parental discipline. Finally, we examine associations with four *individual* chracteristics, namely conflict resolution skills, morality, legal cynicism, and lacking self-control.

Bullying and the School

In line with social control theory (Hirschi, 1969, 2004) studies have found that feelings of alienation and unfairness with school norms are associated with victimization in schools (Schreck, Miller, & Gibson, 2003) and with bullying perpetration (Welsh, 2001).

Results from Montevideo survey show that some dimensions of schools dynamics are relevant to understand bullying, altough associations are stronger for perpetration than victimization.

Table 24 shows that bullying victimization is not related to levels of *commitment with the school*, *perception of school legitimacy*, and *school retention*. However, students' *relationship to peers* proves to be significantly associated with their victimization rates: students with weaker ties with their class mates are two times more likely to suffer bullying in relation to those that have stronger ties. This finding is in line with the evidence suggesting that bullying victims are often more marginalized and have poorer peer networks. Also, *academic difficulties* are significantly associated with bullying victimisation: Adolescents who struggle academically at school are more likely to be bullied than others. A similar pattern is observed in the *Future benefits of learning* index: 25% of students that think school lacks relevance for their future have been bullied last year in relation to 19% of those who think school will be useful. Both findings may reflect some of the negative consequences of repeat bullying victimization, which can undermine school engagement and academic achievement (Ma et al., 2009; Skues, Cunningham, & Pokharel, 2005).

Bullying perpetration is associated with most school dimensions except for *relationship to peers*, *academic difficulties* (except for females), and *school retention*. Table 25 shows that students less *committed with school* were almost two times more likely to have bullied other students than more committed students. Survey respondents that perceive that school and its authorities have little *legitimacy* are also two times more likely to be bullies than peers that perceive educative institutions as legitimate. Finally, having a poor *relationship to teachers* and the perception that *school* has little use for youths' *future* are also significantly associated with bullying behavior. These findings are in line with studies internationally, which show that bullies perceive less support from teachers than non-bullying students and that they have a less positive relationship with teachers, quite possibly as a result of disruptive and antogonistic behavior in the classroom (Barboza et

al., 2009; Hanish, Kochenderfer-Ladd, Fabes, Martin, & Denning, 2004; You et al., 2008).

Table 24 *Bullying Victimization Rates by School Related Variables*

Criterion	Value	% self report violence	Significant Differences
School Committment	Lowest	21.2%	χ^2_{total} = n.s. χ^2_{male} = n.s. χ^2_{female} = n.s.
	2	17.9%	
	3	20.2%	
	Highest	24.0%	
Relationship to Teachers	Lowest	22.8%	χ^2_{total} = 13.37, p < .01 χ^2_{male} = 16.09, p < .01 χ^2_{female} = n.s.
	2	16.4%	
	Highest	23.4%	
Relationship to peers	Lowest	29.3%	χ^2_{total} = 46.63, p < .01 χ^2_{male} = 26.06, p < .01 χ^2_{female} = 20.78, p < .01
	2	16.0%	
	3	18.1%	
	Highest	15.7%	
Academic Difficulties	Lowest	18.3%	χ^2_{total} = 12.2, p < .01 χ^2_{male} = 9.73, p < .05 χ^2_{female} = 13.81, p < .01
	2	19.3%	
	3	21.0%	
	Highest	26.7%	
Future Benefits of Learning	Lowest	18.9%	χ^2_{total} = 6.42, p < .05 χ^2_{male} = n.s. χ^2_{female} = 12.16, p < .01
	3	20.2%	
	Highest	24.9%	
School Legitimacy	Lowest	22.2%	χ^2_{total} = n.s. χ^2_{male} = n.s. χ^2_{female} = n.s.
	2	20.5%	
	3	19.5%	
	Highest	18.1%	
School Retention	Normative	20.9%	χ^2_{total} = n.s. χ^2_{male} = n.s. χ^2_{female} = n.s.
	Lagged	19.2%	

Table 25 *Bullying Perpetration Rates by School Related Variables*

Criterion	Value	% self report violence	Significant Differences
School Committment	Lowest	16.5%	$\chi^2_{total} = 17.58, p < .01$ $\chi^2_{male} = 9.44, p < .05$ χ^2_{female} = n.s.
	2	11.9%	
	3	10.4%	
	Highest	9%	
Relationship to Teachers	Lowest	16.9%	$\chi^2_{total} = 23.35, p < .01$ $\chi^2_{male} = 14.35, p < .01$ χ^2_{female} = n.s.
	2	9.4%	
	Highest	10.7%	
Relationship to Classmates	Lowest	15.7%	χ^2_{total} = n.s. χ^2_{male} = n.s. χ^2_{female} = n.s.
	2	12.0%	
	3	12.6%	
	Highest	11.3%	
Academic Difficulties	Lowest	12.5%	χ^2_{total} = n.s. χ^2_{male} = n.s. $\chi^2_{female} = 8.16, p < .01$
	2	11.5%	
	3	12.0%	
	Highest	14.9%	
Future benefits of Learning	Lowest	15.2%	$\chi^2_{total} = 13.97, p < .01$ χ^2_{male} = n.s. $\chi^2_{female} = 5.94, p < .05$
	3	9.1%	
	Highest	11.3%	
School Legitimacy	Lowest	18.7%	$\chi^2_{total} = 23.08, p < .01$ $\chi^2_{male} = 10.68, p < .05$ $\chi^2_{female} = 13.92, p < .01$
	2	11.5%	
	3	11.6%	
	Highest	9.3%	
School Retention	Normative	12.3%	χ^2_{total} = n.s. χ^2_{male} = n.s. χ^2_{female} = n.s.
	Lagged	15.2%	

Bullying and Family Characteristics

Research in bullying has also shown consistent associations between bullying and family structure and dynamics.

Parental weak supervision and lack of emotional attachment are strongly connected with youths' greater risk of being involved in bullying behavior. Also, bullying behavior is more likely to take place in families which provide not only lack of adequate negative reinforcement to aggressive behavior, but also role models to be learned and imitated as acceptable and efficient ways of solving problems (Swearer et al., 2012). Some studies have found that bullying behavior is associated with: living in single parent families (Bowers, Smith, & Binney, 1994); low parental/maternal involvement (Flouri & Buchanan, 2003); weak parental and maternal support (Barboza et al., 2009; Rubin et al., 2004), and lack parental skills and adequate conflict resolution strategies (Duncan, 2004).

Results from m – proso suggest that the risk of bullying victimization is associated with a number of family characteristics.

Table 26 shows how respondents whose parents lack *positive parenting* skills and those whose *parents* are scarcely *involved* and interested in their children are two times more likely to be bullying victims in relation to youths who live in families were positive parenting and involvement are strongly enforced and applied. Similarly, victims of bullying are also more likely to live in households where they experience: more conflict between the parents; excess of discipline and authoritarian parenting styles (although differences were statistically non significant for males); or weak and erratic family discipline. The only family characteristic that shows no statistically significant assocaition with victimization is *supervision*.

Taken together these results confirm research findings in the bullying literature that lacking parental support, a disfunctional home environment, and victimization at home are associated with an increased vulnerability to bullying at school (Barboza et al., 2009; Haynie et al., 2001; Rubin et al., 2004; Baldry & Farrington, 2005). This statistical association may result from different mechanisms: For one, there may exst child characteristics that are associated with an increased victimization risk in both contexts. For example, adolescents with a disability may be more likely to be exposed to harsh and abuse parenting and to bullying in schools. On the other hand, exposure to a disfunctional home environment and poor parenting may result in low levels of self-esteem, anxiety and poor social skills, which in turn increase the risk to be socially excluded and teased at school.

Table 27 shows a different picture when it comes to *bullying perpetration* since a number of family dimensions show a statistically non significant association with bullying (e.g. *positive parenting*, *authoritarian parenting* and *parental conflict*). However, youths with parents with weak *involvement* were two times more likely to become bullies in relation to youths that live in families with high parental involvement. Also, bullies were more likely to belong to families where youths were scarcely *supervised* and were parents had *erratic*

parenting (except for males where differences were statistically non significant). These findings are in line with international studies that have shown that bullies are more likely to live in families characterized by low attachment, weak monitoring, and erratic parenting practices (Bowers et al., 1994).

Table 26 *Bullying Victimization by Family Variables*

Criterion	Value	% self report violence	Significant Differences
Positive Parenting	Lowest	26.3%	$\chi^2_{total} = 19.9, p < .01$
	2	18.6%	$\chi^2_{male} = 10.37, p < .05$
	3	18.7%	$\chi^2_{female} = 10.39, p < .05$
	Highest	12.8%	
Parental Involvement	Lowest	26.3%	$\chi^2_{total} = 27.18, p < .01$
	2	20.6%	$\chi^2_{male} = 13.72, p < .01$
	3	17.3%	$\chi^2_{female} = 16.29, p < .01$
	Highest	12.6%	
Authoritarian Parenting	Lowest	17.3%	$\chi^2_{total} = 22.99, p < .01$
	2	17.9%	$\chi^2_{male} =$ n.s.
	3	18.8%	$\chi^2_{female} = 24.74, p < .01$
	Highest	27.5%	
Supervision	Lowest	19.7%	$\chi^2_{total} =$ n.s.
	2	19.4%	$\chi^2_{male} =$ n.s.
	3	21.4%	$\chi^2_{female} =$ n.s.
	Highest	22.2%	
Parental Conflict	Lowest	16%	$\chi^2_{total} = 22.94, p < .01$
	2	20.3%	$\chi^2_{male} = 15.71, p < .01$
	3	21%	$\chi^2_{female} = 9.48, p < .05$
	Highest	27%	
Erratic Parenting	Lowest	16.8%	$\chi^2_{total} = 32.63, p < .01$
	2	17.3%	$\chi^2_{male} = 21.26, p < .01$
	3	21%	$\chi^2_{female} = 13.87, p < .01$
	Highest	28.9%	

Table 27 *Bullying Perpetration by Family Variables*

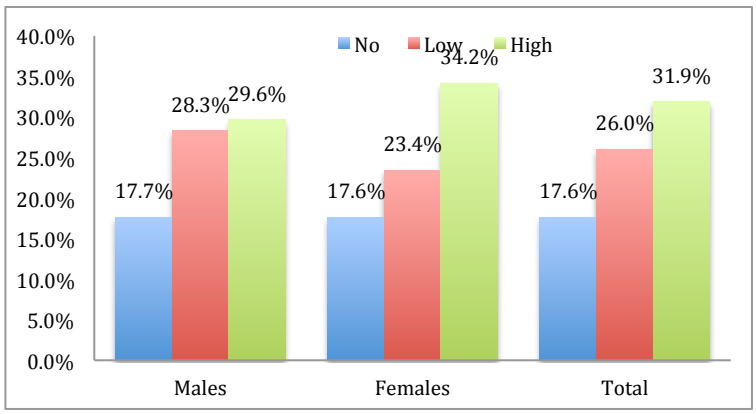
Criterion	Value	% self report violence	Significant Differences
Positive Parenting	Lowest	14.5%	χ^2_{total} = n.s. χ^2_{male} = n.s. χ^2_{female} = n.s.
	2	12.7%	
	3	10.9%	
	Highest	13.4%	
Parental Involvement	Lowest	17.5%	χ^2_{total} = 19.44, $p < .01$ χ^2_{male} = 8.24, $p < .05$ χ^2_{female} = 10.71, $p < .05$
	2	12.2%	
	3	10.5%	
	Highest	9%	
Authoritarian Parenting	Lowest	12%	χ^2_{total} = n.s. χ^2_{male} = n.s. χ^2_{female} = n.s.
	2	13.6%	
	3	11.7%	
	Highest	14.7%	
Poor Supervision	Lowest	15.5%	χ^2_{total} = 8.67, $p < .05$ χ^2_{male} = n.s. χ^2_{female} = n.s.
	2	12.1%	
	3	12.5%	
	Highest	10.1%	
Parental Conflict	Lowest	12.1%	χ^2_{total} = n.s. χ^2_{male} = n.s. χ^2_{female} = n.s.
	2	14.9%	
	3	13.8%	
	Highest	12.8%	
Erratic Parenting	Lowest	11.7%	χ^2_{total} = 14.34, $p < .01$ χ^2_{male} = n.s. χ^2_{female} = 9.22, $p < .05$
	2	10.2%	
	3	12%	
	Highest	17.6%	

Corporal Punishment

In previous chapters we saw how corporal punishment was associated with higher levels of victimization and with violent behavior. Here we extend the analysis and consider if youths exposed to corporal punishment in their homes have also more chances of being involved in aggressive behavior in schools. We subdivided adolescents in the same three

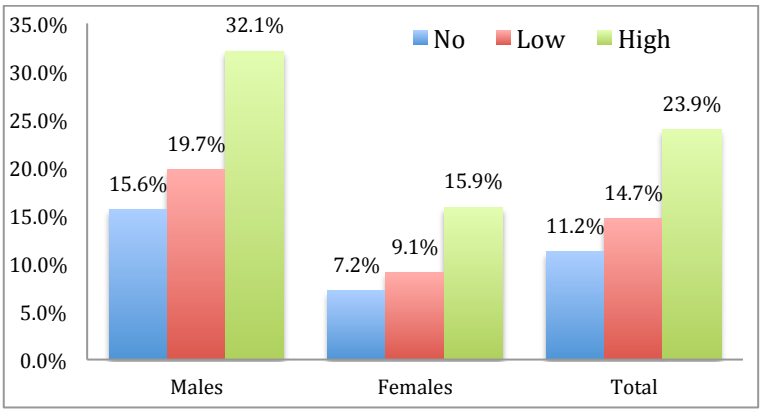
groups (no, low, high) to analyze the link with bullying victimization and perpetration. **Error! Reference source not found.** show that there is a statistically significant association between corporal punishment and bullying victimization. Youths that suffer corporal punishment are aproximately twice times more likely to be bullied in school last year than youths that do not suffer corporal punishment. Figure 29 shows that we obtained similar results with bullying perpetration. 32.1 % of respondents that suffered corporal punishment at home reported bullying other students last year. In contrast, among those youths who did not suffer corporal punishment only 15.6% bullied other adolescents. These statistical significant differences in bullying victimization and perpetration are present for both sexes. These findings are consistent with other international studies that show that youths that have suffered maltreatment are more likely to become involved in bullying behaviors both as perpetrators or victims (Bowes et al., 2009). Additionally, these findings reinforece the idea that policies to reduce violence in different domains such as the family or the school should be framed as part of a more general prevention strategy.

Figure 28 *Bullying Victimization by Corporal Punishment, by Gender*



Note: All respondents: $\chi^2(2) = 29.16$, $p < .001$; Males: $\chi^2(2) = 16.29$, $p < .001$; Females: $\chi^2(2) = 14.67$, $p < .001$.

Figure 29 *Bullying Perpetration by Corporal Punishment, by Gender*



Note: All respondents: $\chi^2(2) = 22.88$, $p < .001$; Males: $\chi^2(2) = 14.42$, $p < .001$; Females: $\chi^2(2) = 7.80$, $p < .05$.

Bullying and Individual Characteristics

Involvement in bullying has also been associated with a number of individual factors in the literature. Here we consider four aspects, namely conflict resultion skills, moral beliefs, legal cynicism, and low self-control.

Low self-control is a personal trait that has been associated with bullying behavior. Given the large bulk of empirical evidence of this personal trait as a risk factor of deviance and violence it is expected that studies find that bullying behavior is associated with low self control (Haynie et al., 2001; Unnever & Cornell, 2003) or more generally with impulsiveness (Farrington & Baldry, 2010). How youths *cope with conflicts* is another individual trait that has been associated with bullying behavior. Studies have shown that there is an association between solving conflicts constructively and cooperatively without using anger or retaliation and not getting involved in bullying victimization and perpetration (Baldry & Farrington, 2005; Bryant, 1992; LaRusso & Selman, 2011). There is also evidence that bullies tend to have weak *moral beliefs/sensibility*. Some studies have shown that while youth's attitudes towards bullying are generally of rejection, bullies do not perceive bullying as something wrong, do not empathize with victims' emotional feelings and do not think they should intervene in a bullying episode (Fonzi et al., 1999; Ortega & Merchan, 1999). Additionally, some studies have shown how bullying behavior and pro bully behavior (passive and reinforcer bystanders) are positively associated with a weak moral sensitivity and moral disengagement which helps them to perceive it as acceptable (Pozzoli, Gini, & Vieno, 2012; Thornberg & Jungert, 2013).

Individual dimensions turned out to be of little relevance to understand bullying victimization in the m – proso survey. Table 28 shows that little association was found

between being bullied and perception of *ability to fight*,[38] *dealing with conflict strategies*, *moral beliefs*, and *police legitimacy*. However, we observed that victims of bullies were more likely to have lower *self-control* than students that have not been bullied last year (24.9% vs. 17.6% respectively).

School bullies differ in various ways from the individual characteristics of their peers: Table 29 shows that personality traits plays a relevant role: youths with lowest levels of *self control* are four times more likely to have been involved in perpetration of bullying in comparison with youths that have high self control. Additionally, 24.8% of youths that have lowest scores in non violent *strategies to deal with conflicts* index were involved in bullying behavior last year. In contrast, only 5.8% youths with highest scores in non violent strategies to deal with conflict bullied other students. Very similar patterns are observed in youths beliefs about the wrongfulness of norm-breaking behavior. Finally, young people that perceive police as ilegitimate and unfair are two times more likely to bully other youths in comparison with other youths that perceive police as a legitimate institution.

Overall, bullies are low on self-control, have poor conflict resolution skills, reject conventional norms and don't believe in legitimacy of police. These results are in line with findings form aforementioned international studies. What is more, these characteristics are very similar to the characteristics of violent adolescents more generally.

[38] Although perception of strength showed statistically significant differences in terms of bullying victimization among youths ($\chi 2(3) = 10.8512$, $p < .05$), differences were very small.

Table 28 *Bullying Victimization by Individual Variables*

Criterion	Value	% self report violence	Significant Differences
Conflict Resolution Skills	Lowest	20.9%	χ^2_{total} = n.s. χ^2_{male} = n.s. χ^2_{female} = n.s.
	2	17.6%	
	3	21.1%	
	Highest	22.8%	
Morality	Lowest	23.1%	χ^2_{total} = n.s. χ^2_{male} = n.s. χ^2_{female} = n.s.
	2	19.9%	
	3	18.0%	
	Highest	20.9%	
Police Legitimacy	Lowest	23.8%	χ^2_{total} = 8.38, $p < .05$ χ^2_{male} = n.s. χ^2_{female} = n.s.
	2	18.4%	
	3	21.2%	
	Highest	17.3%	
Self-control	Highest	17.6%	χ^2_{total} = 9.0, $p < .05$ χ^2_{male} = n.s. χ^2_{female} = n.s.
	2	20.4%	
	3	19.7%	
	Lowest	24.9%	

Table 29 Bullying Perpetration by Individual Variables

Criterion	Value	% self report violence	Significant Differences
Conflict Resolution Skills	Lowest	5.8%	$\chi^2_{total} = 82.64, p < .01$
	2	10.6%	$\chi^2_{male} = 38.02, p < .01$
	3	15.4%	$\chi^2_{female} = 33.84, p < .01$
	Highest	24.8%	
Morality	Lowest	20.9%	$\chi^2_{total} = 61.93, p < .01$
	2	14.1%	$\chi^2_{male} = 44.65, p < .01$
	3	11.1%	$\chi^2_{female} = 13.29, p < .01$
	Highest	4.9%	
Police Legitimacy	Lowest	17.2%	$\chi^2_{total} = 17.57, p < .01$
	2	13.2%	$\chi^2_{male} = 8.01, p < .05$
	3	11.9%	$\chi^2_{female} = 9.33, p < .05$
	Highest	8.8%	
Self-control	Lowest	6.0%	$\chi^2_{total} = 87.53, p < .01$
	2	10.9%	$\chi^2_{male} = 56.69, p < .01$
	3	11.5%	$\chi^2_{female} = 28.19, p < .01$
	Highest	24.6%	

6.3 Conclusions

Over the past two decades bullying has increasingly become seen as a serious manifestation of dominant harmful and aggressive behavior that can cause a lot of suffering to children and adolescents at all ages. Bullying and its consequences have been described at kindergarten, in primary school, and in secondary schools. At all ages measures that reduce bullying perpetration and victimization have been found to increase the psychological well-being of children and to positively affect their ability to concentrate on academic progress.

In the present study we found that almost 20% of students in Montevideo report having been the victims of any form of chronic bullying last year. A similar picture is observed in perpetration. Although serious forms of bullying are unusual, 13% of students admitted having perpetrated at least one type of any type of bullying behavior.

Second, we found there are significant *gender differences* in bullying perpetration across al bullying categories. Bullying victimization, instead, shows weaker gender

differences (only physical attacks and damage/robbery of property show statistically significant differences between males and females).

Third, there is a clear overlapp between bullying perpetration and victimization among youths in Montevideo. Bullies were almost five times more likely to be victims of bullying than non bullies.

Fourth, we found little evidence that bullying behavior is associated with the *type of school*. Bullying victimization and perpetration reveals small significant differences across public schools, private schools and CETPs.

Fifth, we also found that bullying perpetration does not seem to be an *isolated behavior*. Youths that are cronic bullies are also more likely to be involved in problem behaviors such as truancy, steal at the school, use and sell drugs, be part of a violent gang, etc. These findings reinforce the idea that bullying should be seen as part of a wider syndrome of antisocial and violent behavior., and that prevention strategies should focus on these broader set of problem behaviors.

Sixth, *school-related characteristics* are strongly associated with bullying behavior, particularly with perpetration. Findings suggests that youths victims of bullying tend to have a weaker relationship with their classmates. Additionally, they perceive school as more difficult and scarcely relevant for their future goals. Bullying perpetrators also perceive that school has little relevance for their future goals. Bullies are also more likely to: have a worse relationship with teachers; perceive the school as an unfair and illegitimate; and to feel less commitment with the school. Overall, this suggests that an effective strategy of reduction of violence in Montevideo should include school based prevention policies that aims at school management, and particulary, the improvement of bonds between students, and between students and teachers. Additionally, these policies should also provide programs that change youths' negative perception about educative institutions' legitimacy and their relevance for their life.

Seventh, *family characteristics and parenting dynamics* are associated with youth bullying in Montevideo, particularly with victimization. Bullying victimization is correlated with all family characteristics except for supervision. Particularly, the stronger correlates are low parental involvement, erratic parenting styles, parental conflictive relations, and corporal punishment. Bullying perpetration is less associated with family characteristics. Yet, the few characteristics relevant for perpetration are also those strongly associated with victimization. Bullies are more likely to experience more weak parental involvement, parental conflict and corporal punishment. These findings reinforce the importance of parenting skills and support for families that aim at both promoting a stronger parent involvement with their childrens' activities, and helping parents to have more fair and consistent system of punishments and rewards with their children.

Finally, we found that a group of individual characteristics were strongly associated with bullying behavior. Particularly, bullying perpetration and victimization were associated with: lack of self-control; weak moral beliefs; perception that institutions and norms are unfair and illegitimate, and poor abilities to solve conflicts in non – violent and less emotional ways. Overall, these findings tell us that succesful prevention policies should focus on promoting self control, problems solving skills, beliefs about moral values and legitimacy of social institutions.

7 A Cross-Cultural Comparison: Montevideo and Zurich

Sometimes policy-makers ask questions such as: Is youth violence in our country worse than elsewhere? What kinds of violence are higher? And what should we do to change the situation: Should we focus on improving parenting skills? Is there a problem in school discipline that needs to be addressed? Or should the police change its tactics? Answers to such questions can benefit from a comparative perspective where one tries to better understand one's own situation by examining how it differs from that in another society. In what follows we propose such a comparison. It's not with a neighbouring city in Latin America. It is with a sample of 1400 adolescents who live over 10,000 kilometres away in Zurich, the largest city of Switzerland.

At first sight such a comparison may look odd, possibly even unfair: What should one learn from comparing young people in Montevideo with young people who grow up in Switzerland, one of the wealthiest countries in the world, a place that has long had a reputation for being a low-crime society and that continues to be seen by many as a haven of stability, cleanliness, and social cohesion. As we will show, the similarities are bigger than one might expect. And we find differences that some may find surprising.

The Data

As mentioned in the introduction, the Montevideo study was modelled on the latest wave of the Zurich Project on the Social Development of Children, z-proso, a longitudinal study of 1621 children who entered primary school in 2005. The most recent data collection took place in 2012 when the participants were in the last year of compulsory school and on average 15.4 years of age. 1447 adolescents participated, corresponding to 86.4% of all individuals selected for participation in the study in 2005.

In the Montevideo study much of the questionnaire used in Zurich in 2012 was translated, so that a comparative analysis would be possible. In both cities the studies were administered as paper-and-pencil questionnaires in a classroom setting, with trained support staff present to help with the data collection. However, one should note that the Zurich target sample was defined as all children who had entered year one of primary school in 2005. They are therefore within a narrow age range, but not necessarily in the same school year by the age of 15. In Montevideo, in contrast, the target sample were all adolescents who were in a year nine class in 2013 in one of 85 schools. They were in the same school year, but their biological age varies more. Also, the data collection in Zurich

was conducted outside regular school hours, while in Montevideo the data were collected during regular school hours.

Structural Background

The two cities have both similarities and differences. They are of a comparable size: The city of Zurich was a population of 366,000 inhabitants, while Greater Zurich has a population of 1.19 Million. Montevideo has a population of about 1.3 Million. Both cities are important national and international economic centres and the largest cities of their countries. Their economic structure is dominated by the service sector, and in both cities the banking sector plays an important role. Unemployment rates are also low in both cities. In Montevideo, unemployment has decreased over the past 10 years and is estimated to be around 5.5% in 2013. In Zurich, the unemployment rate in 2012 was 3.5%. However, the two cities differ significantly in average levels of wealth. National data of per capita GDP at purchasing power parity (i.e. taking into account different price levels) collected by the World Bank show that GDP per capita in 2012 was USD 53,000 in Switzerland and USD 18,000 in Uruguay.

One important difference between the two places is immigration: Zurich is a city with a large and varied immigrant population. Amongst the participants in the z-proso study, 60% had at least one parent who was not born in Switzerland. Important countries of origin include Turkey, Portugal, Kosovo, Serbia, Sri Lanka, Spain, Macedonia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Italy. As a result, too, young people in Zurich come from a variety of religious, linguistic and cultural backgrounds. For example, similar proportions of adolescents are Protestant (20.2%), Roman-catholic (25.5%), and Muslim (20.6%), while smaller groups have no religious denomination (18.1%), are Hindu (4.8%) or Christian Orthodox (8.6%). Montevideo, in contrast, has experienced very little immigration over the past 30 years and its population is culturally and linguistically much more homogenous. It is noteworthy, however, that 59% of adolescents in Montevideo say that they have no religious orientation. 21% describe themselves as Christian Evangelical and only 14% describe themselves as Roman Catholic.

The mean age of respondents in Zurich in wave 6 was 15.4 years, while the mean age in Montevideo was 15.1 years. In Zurich, 70.4% of all adolescents lived together with both parents. In Montevideo 58.8% of adolescents lived with both parents, meaning that a larger proportion had experienced a parental separation. The number of siblings also differed somewhat between the two cities. In Zurich, an adolescent had an average of 1.32 siblings living in the same household. Adolescents in Montevideo had on average 1.67 siblings.

Police-Recorded Rates of Violent Crime

In Table 30**Error! Reference source not found.** we show comparative data on police-recorded violent crime in Montevideo and Zurich for four major categories, namely *completed homicide*, *assault*, *robbery and bag snatching*, and *rape*. Police statistics can be biased as measures of real levels of crime: They are influenced by factors such as whether the public reports incidents to the police and whether the police record all reported incidents in their information systems. Also, comparisons are often difficult because the definitions of certain types of crime may vary between jurisdictions. However, police data still provide valuable information about approximate levels of visible crime and can serve as a starting point for further investigation.

The respective crime rates reveal, first, that homicide rates are considerably higher in Montevideo (12.5 per 100,000 versus 0.8 per 100,000). This is in line with the robust finding that homicide is much higher across most of Latin America than in Europe (Nivette & Eisner, 2012). But although homicide is higher, the rates of police recorded assault and rape are effectively lower in Montevideo than in Zurich. Different levels of reporting by the victims and recording by the police may influence these figures somewhat. But they certainly contradict the notion of a generally higher level of violence in Montevideo than in Zurich. Finally, we find that street robbery and bag-snatchings are much more frequently reported in Montevideo than in Zurich. In fact, rates of street robbery in Montevideo are at least five times higher (1044 per 100,000) than those in Zurich (192 per 100,000).

Table 30 Police Recorded Violent Crime in Montevideo and Zurich, 2013

	Zurich		Montevideo	
	Number	Rate	Number	Rate
Homicide (completed)	3	0.8	163	12.5
Assault	2007	542.4	3783	291.0
Robbery & bag snatching	711	192.2	13572	1044.0
Rape	65	17.6	102	7.9

Note: Zürich: (Kantonspolizei Zürich (ed.) (2014). Montevideo: (Ministerio del Interior (2014). The figure for assault in Zurich combines 'assault with bodily harm' ("Körperverletzung") and assault without serious harm ("Tätlichkeit").

7.1 Levels of Youth Violence in Zurich and Montevideo

The police data show city-wide levels of recorded violent crime. But how about the experiences with aggression and violence amongst 15-year old adolescents according to the surveys? Do the survey data also reveal differences in violent perpetration or victimization between the two cities? Are there any differences in experiences with corporal punishment by parents or bullying victimzation? And if there are differences, what factors might explain them?

Violent Victimization Rates

Table 31 shows the victimization rates in Montevideo and in Zurich for all eleven types of harm where a comparison can be made. Considering *serious criminal violence* first the findings show that the proportion of male and female adolescents that experienced a serious assault was almost identical in both cities. The data also suggest that the rate of victimizations due to robbery is 3-5 times higher in Montevideo than in Zurich. For serious sexual assault no difference in victimization could be found amongst females. Yet more males in Montevideo than in Zurich reported an incident where they had been coerced to a sexual act. However, absolute numbers are quite small for this type of victimization.

In the domain of *corporal punishment* we found no differences between adolescents in the two cities in respect of being slapped by a parent, and as regards being hit with a belt or a stick by the father or the mother. However, almost twice as many adolescents in Montevideo experienced having ears or hair pulled by one of their parents.

For *bullying victimization* the findings suggest higher levels in Montevideo than in Zurich. This is especially true for male respondents. Thus, larger proportions of male adolescents in Montevideo report chronic victimization in every category of bullying, including being 'ignored or excluded', 'physically attacked', or that their property was destroyed or taken away than adolescents in Zurich. In interpreting these findings it is worth noting that Switzerland does not have particularly low levels of bullying. For example, the 2009/10 Health Behaviour of School-Aged Children (HSBC) study included questions on bullying victimization in 43 countries of Europe and Northern America. Swiss children at ages 11,13 and 15 reported levels of victimization that were above the average of all participating countries (Candace et al., 2012).

Also, the data on sexual bullying show a similar picture as the finding for serious sexual assault mentioned above: Girls in Montevideo experience sexual harassment *less* often than girls in Zurich, while the opposite is true for boys, who report such experiences more often in Montevideo than in Zurich.

Table 31 *Violent Victimization Rates in Montevideo and Zurich, past 12 months*

	Montevideo		Zurich	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
a) Serious Violence				
Robbery	**22.4%**	**13.4%**	6.2%	2.6%
Assault	13.3%	8.6%	11.7%	9.3%
Sexual Assault	**1.5%**	1.4%	0.1%	1.7%
b) Corporal Punishment				
Slapping	21.1%	20.4%	20.0%	17.6%
Pull ears or hair	**16.9%**	**17.0%**	9.2%	10.0%
Hit with an object	9.4%	*5.2%*	8.9%	7.8%
c) Bullying Victimization (at least monthly)				
Ignored or excluded	**7.2%**	7.7%	4.5%	7.3%
Insulted or taunted	**13.7%**	**12.1%**	10.1%	8.6%
Physically attacked	**4.3%**	**2.5%**	2.8%	1.3%
Took or destroyed things	**7.6%**	3.3%	4.7%	3.2%
Sexually harassed	**3.6%**	*3.8%*	2.3%	6.2%
Any victimization	**60.1%**	50.4%	43.1%	39.5%
Mean Variety[1]	**1.32**	1.01	0.80	0.76
N	1060	1101	750	697

Note: Significantly higher rates in Montevideo printed in **bold**, significantly lower rates in Montevideo printed in *italic*.
1 Average number of different victimizations.

Overall, the findings can be summarized in three main points: First, all in all the exposure of young people to different types of violence is surprisingly similar in the two societies. Thus, overall levels of experiencing abusive parental punishment at home, being assaulted and injured by peers, or being chronically bullied are quite comparable. Second, there is a tendency in some indicators towards somewhat higher levels of victimization in Montevideo, primarily for young men. We especially note somewhat higher levels of bullying victimization for boys and a higher rate of exposure to one of the three corporal punishment items for both sexes. Third, we note one area of victimization with a very large difference, namely robbery, where the rate of victimization in Montevideo is about four times higher than in Zurich (17.9% v 4.4%). This difference according to the victimization data is mirrored in the police data on street robberies. It is this single type of violence that distinguishes violent victimization experiences of young people in the two cities most.

Violent Perpetration Rates

Bullying victimization, especially amongst men, is somewhat higher and robbery victimization is several times higher in Montevideo than in Zurich. One would hence expect a similar pattern of self-reported perpetration, with more adolescents in Montevideo admitting to bullying behavior and robberies. However, this is not the case. Table 32 shows the prevalence rates for all 14 items that measure adolescents' active involvement in violent and aggressive behaviour in Montevideo and Zurich.

The first group of items refers to *serious violence*. Here no significant differences were found for either girls or boys between the two cities. In fact, it is remarkable how similar the prevalence rates of self-reported violence are in both cities, given that they are 11,000 kilometres apart, have different economic, social and political structures, and a very different ethnic and cultural mix of their young populations.

The second group refers to items that measure chronic (i.e. at least once a month) *bullying perpetration*. Here we find some significant differences for ignoring and excluding and well as for insulting and taunting, but they go in the opposite direction than victimization: It is the adolescents in Zurich who admit these behaviors significantly more often than their peers in Montevideo. This is especially true for males, whose perpetration rates in Zurich are almost twice as high as those in Montevideo. The finding is in startling contrast to the victimization data, where male Uruguayans reported substantially more bullying victimization than male Swiss. We don't currently have a good explanation for this inconsistency.

The third group of violence indicators measures the membership in groups that engage in serious violence. Here indicators suggest somewhat higher prevalence rates in Montevideo, mainly for men. This is particularly true for being in a group that 'threatens and assaults people' (8.8% in Montevideo vs. 5.6% in Zurich), 'robs other people' (3.4% vs. 1.9%) or that 'extorts protection money or goods' (2.4% vs. 1.1%) from other young people, all of which are substantially more frequent in Montevideo than in Zurich. These findings suggest that somewhat more young people in Montevideo take part in group activities that entail the use of violence. However, in both cities the overwhelming majority of adolescents is not involved in any violent group activities.

Table 32 Violent Perpetration Rates in Montevideo and Zurich, past 12 months

	Montevideo		Zurich	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
a) Serious Violence				
Assault	12.9%	6.2%	13.5%	6.2%
Robbery	2.5%	0.5%	3.0%	0.0%
Threat	2.1%	0.4%	2.9%	0.4%
Carrying Weapons	14.3%	3.8%	14.6%	3.3%
b) Bullying Perpetration (at least monthly)				
Ignored or excluded	*5.2%*	3.2%	11.5%	4.9%
Insulted or taunted	*11.5%*	*4.7%*	20.2%	6.9%
Physically attacked	5.5%	2.1%	5.5%	2.0%
Took or destroyed things	6.0%	1.4%	5.8%	1.4%
Sexually harassed	**3.1%**	0.4%	1.5%	0.4%
c) Membership in Violent Group				
Meet with friends to fight against other adolescents	**18.8%**	**4.9%**	16.4%	3.0%
In a group that …				
… Threatens and assaults people	**11.9%**	**5.7%**	8.3%	2.9%
… robs other people	**5.0%**	1.8%	3.2%	0.7%
… extorts protection money	**4.2%**	0.6%	1.6%	0.6%
… carries weapons	9.1%	**3.5%**	9.9%	1.6%

Note: *Italic* figures: Significantly higher levels in Zurich than in Montevideo. **Bold** figures: Significantly higher values in Montevideo than in Zurich.

Overall, three main conclusions emerge from the comparison of self-reported violent perpetration rates. First, like for victimization rates the prevailing impression is one of broad similarities in the levels and the distribution of violent behavior in both societies. For example, we noted earlier that a good approximation of the distribution of violent perpetrators amongst adolescents in Montevideo is the 70-25-5 rule: 70% are not involved in serious violence and account for about 2% of all violent acts, 25% of adolescents are occasionally involved in violence and account for about a fourth of all violent acts. 5% of adolescents are regularly involved in violence and account for about 70% of all violent acts. This distribution is identical to the distribution found in Zurich and in many other societies. Importantly, nothing in the data suggests that the far higher homicide rates in Montevideo as compared to Zurich have their roots in a more general increased propensity towards violent behavior amongst young people in Montevideo.

Second, we find some evidence for higher levels of group activities related to violence in Montevideo, where a higher proportion of adolescents admit to being in a group that threatens, robs, or extorts protection money. These data are consistent with the higher prevalence of robbery victimisation in Montevideo and the higher rates of police-recorded robbery in Montevideo, but we note that we don't find the same pattern in the responses that asked the adolescents whether they themselves had committed a robbery or a threat.

Third, we note some inconsistencies between the data from the victim and the perpetrator perspective, especially for bullying. It is not clear where the partial mismatch comes from. One possibility is that an important subgroup of the perpetrators was not present in the classrooms at the time of the data collection, either because they belong to an older age group or because they never or rarely attend school.

7.2 Correlates of Violence in Zurich and Montevideo

Throughout this study we have argued that factors strongly correlated with violence constitute the most promising targets for an effective prevention strategy. But are the risk factors found in Montevideo specific to that city or do they reflect more universal mechanisms that are associated with youth violence in many human societies?

We examine this question by comparing the risk factors for youth violence in Montevideo with those found in Zurich. To do this we constructed an overall index of youth violence that is based on the same 14 questions in both cities. It combines all variables of self-reported violence presented in Table 32 above by creating a so-called *violence variety index*, a measure of how many different types of violence an adolescent was involved in.

We use Pearson correlation coefficients as standardized measures of association. Larger coefficients mean a stronger association between a risk factor and youth violence. In delinquency research correlations larger than +/- .3 are usually considered quite large associations; correlations of between .1 and .3 are often called 'small' effects. One should note that bivariate correlations only indicate an association, but not necessarily causation.

For each risk factor we then tested whether the size of the association differed between the two cities or whether it can be assumed to be the same in both contexts (Preacher, 2002). Statistical associations that are the same in both societies can be seen as an indication the mechanisms associated with violence are more likely to be similar in the two cultural contexts.

Table 33 Correlation between 'Risk Factors' and Overall Violence Score in Montevideo and Zurich

	Montevideo	Zurich	Significant Difference[1]
Gender	-.248	-.273	=
Single Parent	.034	.086	=
Large Family	.087	.037	=
Low Parental Education	-.030		=
A) Individual Characteristics			
Morality	-.320	-.362	=
Lacking self control	.345	.381	=
Legal cynicism	.294	.346	=
Conflict coping abilities	.327	.314	=
Police legitimacy	-.162	-.291	MV < ZH
B) School-Related Characteristics			
Commitment to school	-.230	-.272	=
Relationship to teacher	-.205	-.188	=
Relationship to peers	-.096	-.086	=
Academic difficulties	.117	.131	=
Future benefits of learning	-.215	-.193	=
Truancy	.208	.167	=
C) Parenting and Family Characteristics			
Parental involvement	-.146	-.167	=
Positive parenting	-.125	-.086	=
Poor supervision	-.193	-.191	=
Harsh discipline	.119	.162	=
Erratic parenting	.097	.062	=
Parental conflict	.056	.104	=
D) Routine Activities			
Violent media exposure	.395	.497	MV < ZH
Unsupervised night-time with peers	.312	.319	=
Time with delinquent peers	.538	.532	=
E) Non-Violent Problem Behaviors			
Alcohol consumption	.337	.264	MV > ZH
Cannabis consumption	.365	.201	MV > ZH
Theft	.363	.327	=
Vandalism and graffiti	.378	.382	=

Note:
1 Result of a two-sided test that the correlation coefficients obtained from two independent samples are equal, $p < .05$.

Table 33 presents 25 correlates of self-reported violence, ordered in five major groups. These results lead to three main conclusions relevant for prevention policy: First,

Zurich and Montevideo may differ economically, socially and culturally. But most risk factors associated with youth violence are the same in both cities. In fact, for 21 of the 25 risk factors the size of the statistical association is undistinguishable in both contexts. Those that are highly associated with youth violence in one context are also highly correlated in the other.

In the domain of individual characteristics *lacking self-control*, a *rejection of conventional rules and norms*, being *cynical about the law* and low *conflict resolution abilities* are similarly associated with high violence in Zurich and in Montevideo. In both cities similar school-related variables are associated with violence: A *low commitment to school* has the highest correlation with youth violence in both cities, followed a *poor relationship to teachers*, a *low perceived future benefit of learning* and a *high truancy* rate. In the domain of parenting all associations in both cities are below $r < .2$, suggesting that at this age parenting may no longer have such an important influence on a young person's behaviour. The strongest associations with violence in both cities are *poor parental supervision* and a *lack of parental involvement* in shared activities.

Very high associations can be seen between violent behaviour and routine activities. In both cities adolescents who spend much *time with delinquent peers*, who engage a lot with *violent media contents*, and who spend a lot of *unstructured time at night* with peers are much more likely to aggress against others. Finally, in both cities we find that violence is strongly associated non-violent kinds of problem behavior including *theft*, *vandalism*, *alcohol consumption* and *drug consumption*.

Third, we find cultural differences for four variables --- although they are differences in degree rather complete reversals of the patterns: Lacking police legitimacy is more strongly associated with violence in Zurich than in Montevideo, the consumption of violent media contents is more strongly associated with violence in Zurich than in Montevideo; and both the consumption of cannabis and of alcohol is more strongly associated with violence in Montevideo than in Zurich.

We don't know the reasons for these differences, but the findings on the association between substance use and violence are worth a comment: What they suggest is this: In Montevideo adolescents who consume alcohol or cannabis are much more likely to *also* be involved in violent acts than is the case with their peers in Zurich. The tendency is particularly strong for Cannabis, where the association is almost twice as strong in Montevideo as in Zurich. One can interpret this finding as a measure of the overlap between two subcultures: In Montevideo the subculture of marihuana smokers seems to overlap quite strongly with a subculture of violent youth. In Zurich this overlap seems to be much weaker, meaning that youths may see the hedonistic subculture of cannabis smokers and the more violent subculture somewhat more as opposites.

7.3 Exposure to Risk Factors

A third question that is relevant for prevention and intervention policy refers to the 'salience' of risk factors. The notion of 'salience' relates to the issue of how widespread a risk factor is in a given context. For example, very few adolescents in a traditional Muslim society may even consider drinking alcohol, while getting drunk in the company of other adolescents is a very common experience amongst adolescents in the Western World.

Knowing about salience is important for good prevention: Policy makers want to focus scarce resources on those causes that are the most urgent and important, because targeting those risk factors promises the biggest effects.

To explore this issue we compared the mean levels of 25 risk factors in Montevideo and Zurich and calculated whether they were higher or lower in either city. This approach yields answers to questions such as: Do young people in Montevideo believe less strongly in the moral norms of conventional society than adolescents in Zurich, meaning that their morality should be improved as a strategy to reduce violence? Are larger proportions of young people in Montevideo exposed to parental abuse, meaning that parenting interventions should be a priority in a prevention policy?

In computing these differences we calculated so-called standardized scores. This is a statistical trick that allows us to compare the size of the difference across the risk factors, and to get a sense of how big the difference is.[39] For example, if differences are smaller than +/- 0.2 we can say that Montevideo and Zurich have equal exposure to the risk factor. If they are between about +/- 0.2 and 0.5 the difference may be called 'small'; between +/- 0.5 and 0.8 it is usually called 'medium', and for standardized differences larger than 0.8 the convention is to call them 'large'.

Based on these criteria we made a decision to classify all risk factors into three groups: Those that are equally present in both cities, those that are 'worse' or more salient in Zurich and those that are more salient in Montevideo. Table 34 reveals some important findings:

[39] More technically we computed z-standardized difference scores between Montevideo and Zurich where the difference between the two cities is divided by the pooled standard deviation of the variable.

Table 34 *Salience of Risk Factors in Zurich and Montevideo*

These Risk Factors are more common in …	
Zurich	Montevideo
• Acceptability of norm-breaking behavior (Morality) (0.60) • Cannabis Consumption (0.81) • Non-violent delinquency (theft) () • Spending time with delinquent friends (0.30)	• Lacking police legitimacy (-1.07) • Erratic parental discipline (-0.56), parental conflict (-0.24) • Poor teacher-child relationship (-0.43), poor relationship amongst classmates (-0.49), academic difficulties (-0.54) • Self control (-0.31), conflict resolution skills (-0.32). • Violent media exposure (-0.33)

Note: Values in brackets are standardized differences in mean scores between the two cities, equivalent to Cohen's d effect sizes.

Which Risk Factors are More Salient in Zurich?

We identified four risk factors associated with the likelihood of violence that are more common in Zurich than in Montevideo: The first relates to the following question: In which society do more adolescents believe that it is acceptable to steal something, to lie to adults, to play truant or to hit somebody who has insulted you? The answer from the two surveys is clear: Adolescents in Montevideo morally reject norm-breaking behavior much more strongly than young people in Zurich. For example, 36% of Uruguayan respondents thought that *lying to adults* was rather or very seriously wrong, while in Zurich only 25% held this view. From this we conclude that the belief in moral norms is *stronger* in Montevideo than in Zurich.

Second adolescents in Montevideo have considerably lower scores on almost every non-violent problem behavior than adolescents in Zurich. For example, they are significantly less likely to *steal in shops* (7.9% in Montevideo vs. 12% in Zurich, $p < .001$), *at home* (3.2% vs. 8.8%, $p < .001$), *at school* (5.4% vs. 13.7%, $p < .001$) or *to steal a vehicle* (1.6% vs. 6.9%, $p < .001$). Moreover, they are less likely to *consume cannabis* (14.4% vs. 33.8, $p < .001$), to be involved in *drug dealing* (2.7% vs. 8.0%, $p < .001$), or to use *public transport without paying* (23.6% vs. 70.6%, $p < .001$). In fact, the only three behaviors where Montevideo is higher than Zurich on non-violent behaviors are illegal downloading, driving without a licence, and spraying graffiti.

For some of these differences there are plausible situational explanations: The system of public transport is very highly developed in Zurich and the temptation to ride a bus or tram without a ticket is high as the risk of getting caught and paying a fine is relatively small. Also, Zurich has many more bicycles and a higher density of

supermarkets than Montevideo, where smaller grocery shops are still more common. It is therefore likely that Zurich provides more opportunities for theft.

Finally, adolescents in Montevideo are somewhat less exposed to life-style and routine activity risks. For example, they are somewhat less likely to spend time at night unsupervised by their parents and somewhat less likely to spend time with delinquent friends. To some extent this may reflect the somewhat lower levels of affluence: Over the past 20 years the possibilities in Zurich for night-time entertainment have greatly expanded

Which risk factors are more salient in Montevideo

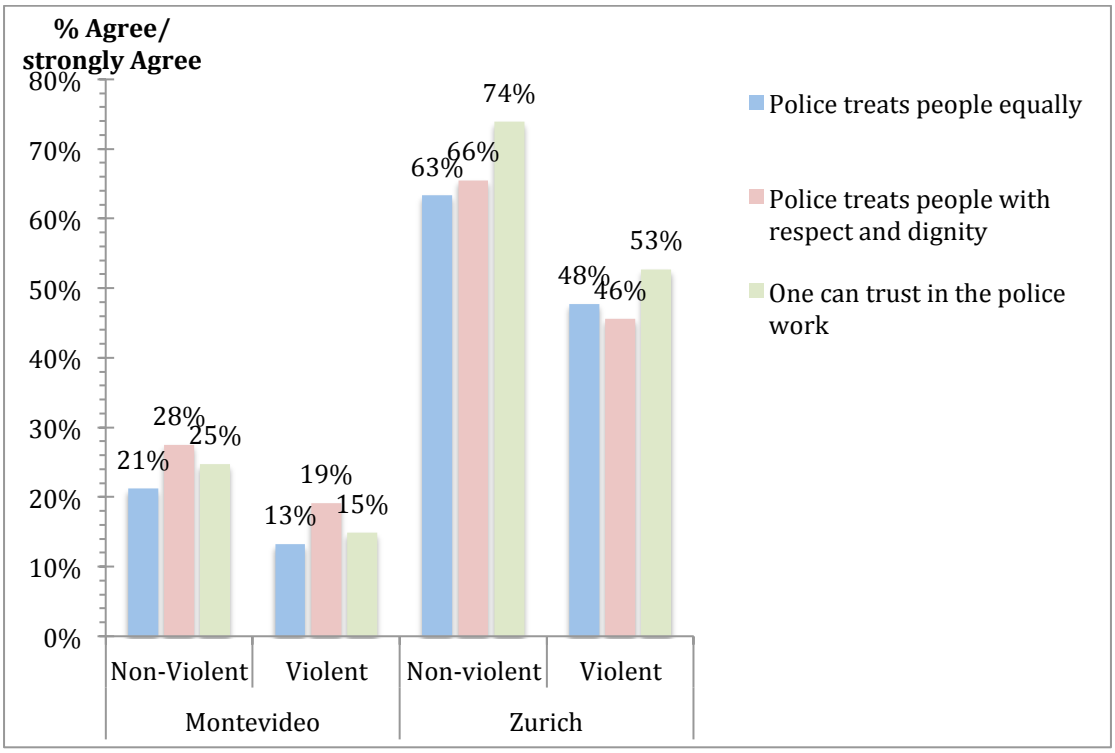
Several other risk factors and correlates of violence are more common among adolescents in Montevideo. They can be clustered into four groups:

A first group relates to interpersonal skills. Here we find that on average young people in Montevideo report somewhat lower levels of self-control and conflict-resolution skills than youngsters in Zurich. For example, respondents were asked how often they try to control their anger when provoked. In Zurich 66% of adolescents said they used this strategy as compared to 45% in Montevideo.

Second, we find that three variables associated with the school-related risks have higher means in Montevideo than in Zurich, namely the *relationship to the teacher*, the *relationship between pupils* and the sense to be *struggling academically*. For example, pupils in both cities were asked whether they feel that their teachers treat them fairly. This is an important question because a sense that the school is a legitimate, supportive and just institution is widely considered to be an important requirement for cooperative behavior in schools. In Zurich 79.8% of pupils reported that they are being treated fairly by their teachers, while the same was true for only 65.7% of pupils in Montevideo.

A third area reinforces the impression that adolescents in Montevideo distrust the adult institutions that are designed to enforce rules of cooperation. Adolescents were asked how much they trust the police, feel that the police treats people with dignity, or feel that the police treats people fairly and equally. On all three questions adolescents in Montevideo are far more distrustful of the police than in Zurich. In Montevideo, only small minorities of between 20 and 30% of adolescents indicate that the police can be trusted, while in Zurich the police is trusted by clear majorities of adolescents overall. In fact, trust in the police is far higher amongst delinquent and violent adolescents in Zurich than amongst law-abiding adolescents in Montevideo.

Table 35 *Levels of Police Legitimacy in Zurich and Montevideo, Non-Violent and Violent Adolescents*



Finally, it is worth pointing out that within the domain of routine activities outside school adolescents in Montevideo are more likely than their peers in Zurich to spend a lot of time playing violent computer games. For example, adolescents were asked about how often they played violent ego-shooter games that are recommended for ages 18 and above on their computers or game consoles. In Zurich, 8% of adolescents said that they played ego-shooter games on a daily basis. In Montevideo the proportion was three times higher, namely 24%. We note here that the bi-variate association between own violence and the consumption of violent media contents is strong in both countries, but that the question of causal effects remains controversial.

7.4 Conclusion

The comparative perspective adopted in this chapter adds important aspects to our understanding of youth violence in Montevideo. It helps to better see the specific strengths and challenges in Montevideo, although the comparison with just one urban context in a very wealthy European society limites the extent to which conclusions can be drawn. A comparison with a different place would put different findings into relief. Overall, however, the findings show that experiences of adolescents with violence are not dramatically different in Montevideo than in Zurich: Levels of bullying victimization were somewhat higher, especially for men, but the only area where we noted a much

higher risk in Montevideo was related to robbery, a finding that is also supprted by official data in the two cities.

Secondly we examined a range of individual, family, school, routine activities and problem behavior correlates and risk factors both in Montevideo and in Zurich. The purpose was to examine whether adolescent violent behavior in a city in South America is associated with similar patterns of characteristics as it is in a highly affluent city in Western Europe. This is important for prevention policy because prevention programmes aim to target well-known risk factors, most of which have been identified in high income societies. Insufficient knowledge currently exists on whether these risk factors also generalize to other contexts where less research has been conducted (Murray et al 2014). The present findings suggest that almost all risk factors are similarly associated with violent behavior in both cities. We note, however, that in Montevideo the link between alcohol and violence as well as the link between cannabis consumption and violence is somewhat stronger than in Zurich. The available data do not permit any conclusions about whether this link reflects a causal relationship. It may simply indicate that in Montevideo there is a stronger overlap between a hedonistic culture of substance use and involvment in violent group activities.

Finally, we showed that the profile of salient risk factors in Montevideo differs from those in Zurich. Overall, adolescents in Montevideo show more beliefs in conventional norms, spend less time unsupervised by adults, spend less time with other deliquent kids, and are less likely to consume cannabis. On the other hand, adolescents in Montevideo are more likely than their peers in Zurich to distrust the police, to have poor conflict resulution skills and lose self-control. They are also more exposed to a number of school-related risk factors, including a difficult relationship to teachers and peers. Futhermore, they consume significantly more violent computer games, they experience more parental conflict, and they are more often involved in vandalism and praying graffiti.

8 Conclusions and recommendations

The present report is rooted in the public health framework of violence prevention that the World Health Organization has laid out in the 'World Report on Violence and Health' (Krug, Mercy, Dahlberg, & Zwi, 2002) and the 'Plan of Action for the Global Campaign for Violence Prevention for the period 2012-2020', and which also guides the framework of the United Nations "World Report on Violence Against Children" (Pinheiro, 2006). Amongst others, these documents outline principles that can help national and local governments to develop a more effective and coherent policy for addressing interpersonal violence. Core principles of this approach include …

- Giving priority to *evidence-based approaches*, where preventive effects have been demonstrated in high-quality outcome evaluations of prevention programmes;
- a prevention approach that includes *different layers of intensity* and that targets both high-risk groups and the population at large;
- an orientation towards *protecting human rights*, in particular those of children, women, vulnerable groups such as individuals with disabilities, and victims in general;
- a *life-course perspective* that recognizes the need for prevention and intervention at all stages of development
- a prevention approach that recognizes the *need for intersectoral collaboration* including the public health, child protection, education, policing and criminal justice sectors.

Within this framework the present report hopes to contribute to the resources that can support an effective violence reduction policy by providing information about the epidemiology of different types of violence amongst adolescents in Uruguay, as well as information regarding core risk-factors that may be considered for prevention strategies. In this final chapter we first summarize the main findings and then outline recommendations, based on the study results.

8.1 The Main Findings

The main empirical goal of this study was to describe levels of violent victimization and violent behavior among adolescents in Montevideo. It also aimed to identify major individual, family, school and life-style risk factors associated with victimization and perpetration that can inform the development of a national policy for the prevention of youth violence. To achieve this goal a large representative survey of over 2000

adolescents in grade 9 (i.e. approximately age 15) was conducted. The following main results were found:

Victimization

Three areas of victimization were examined in this study, namely experiences of *criminal physical threat and violence*, experiences of *corporal punishment by parents*, and experiences of *bullying victimization* at school.

- In respect of criminal physical threat and violence the study suggests that about 25% of adolescents in Montevideo have been victims of one of the three types of violence in the past year. Robbery victimizations are most frequent, followed by assault and sexual assault. Most victimizations occur in public space or at school, and are committed by peers roughly of the same age. This holds for boys and girls, although the proportion of victimizations at home and by family members is higher for girls. Only about one out of ten incidents are reported to the police.
- The risk of victimization was found to be associated with a number of lifestyle characteristics. Adolescents who go out frequently, consume legal or illegal psychoactive substances, and who engage in delinquent activities are at a greater risk of violent victimization. Also, adolescents with a disability were at a higher risk of victimization, while socio-demographic characteristics such as social class background and family structure were not found to be predictive of victimization.
- About 28% of adolescents reported experiences of corporal punishment by their parents. Socio-demographic characteristics were not found to predict the likelihood of corporal punishment. However, the likelihood of corporal punishment was more likely if there was more parental conflict in the child's family. The experience of corporal punishment was associated with more depressive symptoms, underlining the range of negative psychological consequences of child maltreatment.
- About 20% of male and female adolescents experienced chronic bullying victimization, meaning that they experience bullying at least once per month. Bullying victims differed from non-victims in several ways: they were more likely to have a poor relationship with classmates and more likely to have academic difficulties. At home they were more likely to experience erratic discipline and parental conflict. Also, adolescents with a disability were found to be more likely to be victimized.
- The results of the present study supported findings from international research that different types of victimization tend to be correlated. For example, victims of corporal punishment by their parents were significantly ore likely to also experience bullying and violent victimization.

- Overall, a substantial minority of adolescents in Montevideo is exposed to some manifestation of violence and aggression. Extensive research has documented the negative short and long-term effects of victimization experiences. They include poor mental health including depression, lower self-confidence, stress-related symptoms, poor academic functioning, social isolation, fear, and externalizing behaviors. We therefore believe that it a better protection of victims of violence is an important public health goal that requires the collaboration of social services, schools, social workers, medical services, and the police.

Perpetration

The survey included questions on three domains of violent and coercive behavior by adolescents, namely *self-reported violent acts*, the *membership in youth groups that commit violent and coercive acts*, and *bullying* in the sense of insulting, harassing, socially ostracizing, or hitting peers, usually in the school context.

- Results show that 17% of adolescents admitted to having committed at least one act of violence in the past year. 19% of adolescents reported to be involved in a group that threatens, robs or assaults other people. And 13 % of adolescents reported that they chronically (i.e. at least once per month) bullied other adolescents.
- Different types of violence are strongly correlated in that, for examples, adolescents who verbally bully others also tend to be involved in physical fights or robberies committed within a group of other adolescents. Male adolescents are overrepresented for all types of direct aggression, but their predominance is larger for aggression that entails physical force, is more serious, and committed in groups.
- Involvement in violence is part of a wider syndrome of adolescent problem behaviors: Violent adolescents are much more likely to also be involvement in non-violent delinquent acts including theft in school, at home or in shops, vandalism and burglary, or drug dealing. They are also more likely to run away from home and to play truant at school. Finally, adolescents involved in violence are much more likely to use psychoactive substances. This includes the regular consumption of alcohol and cannabis as well as the consumption of hard drugs.
- We identified a number of correlates of youth violence and bullying. In respect of socio-demographic background we found very limited evidence that low social class of the parents predicts a higher probability of youth violence.
- Adolescents with a higher involvement in violent acts differed in their personality characteristics from other youth. They were more risk-seeking, impulsive, self-centred and short-sighted than non-violent youth; they were more likely to internalize delinquent norms and to reject conventional moral principles; they had lower conflict resolution skills in that they were more likely to react with anger and less likely to

understand different sides of an argument; and they tend to believe that they are stronger and better fighters than others.

- We found adolescents involved in physical violence and bullying also to differ on school-related characteristics: They were significantly more likely to have been retained at school, to play truant, to have a poor relationship to the teacher and to have a low commitment to do well at school. They were also less likely to believe that the school and its representatives were 'legitimate', meaning that they less likely to accept the authority of teachers and directors to enforce school rules.
- In respect of experiences at home we found a tendency that parents of aggressive adolescents were less likely to be involved in joint activities with the young person, that they were less able to effectively supervise the activities of their child, and that they were more likely to use physical punishment as a disciplining strategy.
- Furthermore, the current study confirmed findings from other studies that the daily routine activities of violent adolescents differ systematically from those of non-violent youth. They spend a lot more time playing violent computer games, they are out on the streets more often during night-time and weekends, and they spend this unsupervised time more often in the company of peers who are themselves involved in delinquent behavior.

8.2 Four core principles of youth violence prevention

When considering the implications of the present study for an evidence-based violence prevention it is important to interpret them in a broader context of general principles that can guide an evidence-informed violence prevention policy. Four such principles are particularly important.

Prevention across all phases of the life-course

Longitudinal studies on the development of aggression and non-aggressive antisocial behavior suggest that youth violence very rarely emerges spontaneously during adolescence. Individual aggressive tendencies are highly stable over the life-course and symptoms of increased aggressive behavior can often already be identified in early childhood. Also, developmental studies show that physical aggression is not limited to adolescence. Thus, while the growth of body strength during puberty proliferates the danger of serious consequences, physical aggression such as hitting, biting and kicking is most widespread in early childhood and decreases as children grow older. Under most conditions children increasingly learn to control aggressive tendencies as they acquire social and emotional skills in interactions with parents and other adults, peers and siblings. Only a small fraction of any cohort shows continued aggression into

adolescence, but this group is much more likely to persist with behavior problems into adulthood. Also, adolescents with serious and persistent violence have usually been exposed to a multiplicity of risk factors during different phases of their life-course at the biological, individual, family, school and neighbourhood levels.

These findings mean that violence prevention policy needs to address all stages of the life course. Measures aimed at reducing violence need to be adapted to different stages of the life course, support the successful solution of developmental tasks, and strengthen resilience and protective factors.

Integration into a Public Health Policy Agenda

One of the most robust results of developmental violence research is that at every stage of human development aggression is part of a wider behavior syndrome. Behaviors associated with violence during adolescence include property crimes, vandalism, truancy, promiscuity, and alcohol- and substance abuse. Phenomena associated with aggression or bullying during primary school years include attention problems, impulsivity, oppositional behavior, and temper tantrums. At all ages aggressive individuals also seem to have an increased tendency of suffering from internalizing problems and other symptoms of poor mental health. Furtermore, there is good evidence that many environmental risk factors for poor behavioral, mental and academic outcomes are shared. For example, child abuse has been found to have detrimental effects on a wide range of outcomes rather than one specific area.

For these reasons we believe that violence prevention should be seen as part of a wider public health policy that aims to broadly support the psycho-social well-being of young people and to reduce a range of manifestations of behavior problems.

Address Multiple Risk Factors

The results of over 70 years of empirical research into the causes of aggression and violence suggest that no single cause of youth violence exists. Rather it seems to result from the confluence and interplay of different risk factors, developmental processes, and short-term decision-making dynamics.

In fact, research has identified a large number of risk factors for violence at the levels of individual, family, peer, school, leisure time, neighbourhood and wider social context, which seem to independently and interactively contribute to the risk of violence. We therefore believe that a knowledge-based violence prevention policy should attempt to focus on the most important, empirically validated risk factors. Moreover, it should aim to address multiple risk factors.

Across the report we showed that virtually all risk factors for youth violence found in Montevideo are factors that have also been identified in the international literature. Moreover, a more formal test examining 31 risk factors in Zurich and Montevideo revealed that all major risk factors were similarly associated with violence in both cities, that for 27 risk factors not differences in the size of the association could be found, and that only for four risk factors we found evidence for some difference in the size of the risk factor.

The following table shows a possible general strategic direction of violence prevention policies based on the finings of risk factors in the present study:

Table 36 Selected Goals for a Comprehensive Prevention Policy

Layer	**Strategic Orientation**
Individual	✓ Strengthen impulse and anger control ✓ Support social, emotional and cognitive skills ✓ Promote norms of cooperative and non-violent behavior ✓ Address early manifestations of problem behavior
Family	✓ Strengthen parenting skills ✓ Reduce child maltreatment and neglect ✓ Address partnership violence ✓ Support families with concentrated adversity
School	✓ Develop coherent school management strategy ✓ Support effective classroom management ✓ Address bullying and low-level disruptive behaviors ✓ Promote learning motivation and positive school climate ✓ Reduce truancy
Peers/neighbourhood	✓ Reduce early onset alcohol and substance abuse ✓ Control access to weapons, especially firearms ✓ Prevent formation of youth groups with delinquent norms ✓ Strengthen control and surveillance mechanisms in crime and violence hotspots
Social Institutions	✓ Strengthen legitimacy of the school ✓ Strengthen legitimacy of the police

Coordinate Universal, Selective and Indicated Prevention: The 70-25-5 rule

In all societies public expenditure on prevention, public health and safety competes with other, equally important goals of public policy. It is therefore important that

resources and time are spent in such a way that they optimally achieve their goals. Here the distinction between universal, selective and indicated prevention is important. Universal prevention targets all individuals in a society. It is broad and comprehensive, but also unspecific and less intensive. Selective prevention aims to reduce the risk of future problems amongst subgroups of individuals that are exposed to one or several risk factors, but do not necessariy show serious behavior problems. Indicated prevention, finally, targets adolescents who already show serious and repeated aggressive behavior and aims to reduce the likelihood that these behaviors persist in the future. It is intensive and often needs to be adapted to the varying needs of each individual.

One way to think about the relationship between universal, selective and indicated prevention in connection with youth violence is the the 70-25-5 rule. This is a rule that seems to apply in all societies. It holds that 70% of adolescents are only marginally involved in serious rulebreaking problem behaviors. These 70% of adolescents typically contribute less than 5% to the total of serious crimes. The next 25% of adolescents commit a range of minor offenses and show considerable levels of norm-breaking behavior. They are typically responsible for about 20-25% of all serious and violent crimes. Finally, the 5% most 'productive' adolescents commit a very large number of offenses that also includes serious and violent acts. Across the world this small group typically accounts for 70-80% of all serious delinquent and violent acts.

Table 37 *The 70-25-5 Rule: the Relationship between Universal, Selective and Indicated Violence Prevention.*

% of Adolescents	% of Violent Acts	Risk Factors	Type of Prevention
70%	5%	Few developmental and situational risk factors present, high resilience and protective factors, low probability of future offending	**Universal**
25%	25%	Presence of some family, school and personality risk factors, exposure to situational risks, medium resilience and protective factors, elevated risk of future problem behaviours including violence	**Selective**
5%	70%	High on multiple family, school and individual risk factors, exposure to risk factors during childhood, often combination of different behaviour problems,	**Indicated**

These figures have important implications for prevention policy and the balance between universal, selective and indicated prevention. They highlight that prevention must focus most resources on those 5% of the youths who cause the most significant problems.

The findings of this report confirm evidence from many other studies that aggressive behavior is faily highly concentrated among a minority of young people, and that serious and repeated violence is very highly concentrated among a very small minority of adolescents who are generally exposed to a multitude of risk factors and adversities.

8.3 Specific Recommendations

The World Health Organization recommends that countries develop comprehensive national action plans that bring together different agencies with the goal of addressing violence in its various manifestations. We believe that the development of an action plan to address youth violence might be a useful tool for developing a long-term strategy in Uruguay. However, we believe that this will require a more extensive review of current resources and strategies, a careful examination of current international knowledge on evidence-based violence prevention, and a consideration of measures that can be introduced in the current system. Such a task is outside the scope of the present report and the empirical results presented here. However, based on the findings we believe it may be useful to point out four issues that may deserve particular attention.

Enhance Parenting Support

The analyses of the risk factors for youth violence support the notion that adolescents with behavior problems grow up in families where the parents are less involved in their activities, where parents monitor the behavior of children less, and where there is more conflict between the parents. The results also show that a substantial proportion of about 20% of adolescents still experience corporal punishment, and that a smaller group of 2-5% of adolescents experiences repeated and serious abusive parenting.

Access to evidence-informed parenting support for high-risk parents is one of the cornerstones of the WHO violence reduction strategy. The idea is that helping parents of children with behavior difficulties or parents in difficult psycho-social circumstances to better interact with their children can help revent the long-term development of serious behavior problems. These strategies mainly target parents of toddlers and children up to

age 12. The present study with its focus on adolescents at age 15 can only shed limited light on the question of how meaningful efforts in this domain would be. However, we believe that better support for parents who struggle in effectively supporting their adolescent children could be an important component of a strategy to reduce youth violence. However, within a comprehensive violence prevention strategy it would also be important to better understand levels of child maltreatment and abuse amongst younger children, as abusive parenting tends to be more widespread against children during the first decade of their lives.

Improve School Climate and Behavior Management in Schools

Several results from the present study suggest that additional preventive measures may be desirable at the school level. The findings of this study are suggestive of problems at three levels: First, our findings suggest that a considerable proportion of adolescents are victims of bullying. These findings are in line with a comparative study which suggests that levels of bullying victimization in Uruguay are close to the average of Latin American countries (Roman & Murillo, 2011). Bullying victimisation is a known risk factor for a number of adverse outcomes including poor school motivation and depressive symptoms. Second, high proportions of adolescents in Montevideo feel treated unfairly by their teachers and by their school, perceive a negative relationship with their classmates, and feel that they struggle with the academic tasks in their school. For example, 41% of adolescents in the survey felt that disciplinary measures in their school are unfair, and 61% of students felt that some pupils are treated better than others. These indicators suggest that in some schools there may be scope for improving aspects of school climate and school management. Finally, a comparison of study participants with classroom lists suggests that 17% of adolescents were not in school on the day of the survey although they are listed in the school records. This is a high rate of school drop-out, a problem that has been recognized in various studies on the education system in Uruguay (Cardozo, 2010; Fernandez et al., 2010). School drop-out has consistently been found to be a significant risk factor for negative outcomes including crime, substance abuse, prostitution, and homelessness. Also, 42% of the adolescents who were present during the survey admitted to playing truant at least once in the past year. This is higher than truancy rates commonly reported in the United States or Europe, which typically range between 20 and 30 percent.

International research has identified a number of evidence-based school-based strategies that can help to reduce school-related problem behavior. Four universal strategies include *school management programs*, *classroom management programs*, *anti-bullying programs* and *social skills training programs*. School-management programs are probably the

broadest approach that comprises all aspects of school life and embodies elements of universal and selective prevention. School management programs initiate and coordinate a planned process of change aimed to improve the general functioning of the school and create a safe and supportive environment for the academic and social development of children. This can include modifying the decision-making processes, improving the interactions amongst staff, pupils and parents, changing the curriculum, promoting teacher development, or implementing monitoring mechanisms. School management programs that are mainly aimed at improving school discipline may specifically focus on school ethos and school-wide rules, health policies, classroom management, and disciplinary procedures. Classroom management programs provide teachers with preventive strategies and techniques that help to maintain classroom discipline, create a supportive educational environment, and enhance students' positive behavior. Current evidence suggests that improvements in classroom management can reduce disruptive, antisocial and aggressive behavior in the classroom considerably. Anti-bullying programs aim to change the processes that enable bullying. To this end, they attempt to stop the implicit support for bullies by promoting children's awareness of bullying and its consequences. In addition, they enhance children's skills to respond effectively to bullying. Finally, they sensitize teachers and parents to the problem and provide them with clear rules about how to intervene. School-based social skills training programmes are based on social learning and problem solving theories. Their goal is to enhance individuals' socio-cognitive, socio-emotional, and behavioral skills in order to regulate maladaptive behaviors.

Research suggests that evidence-based school-based programmes can contribute to reducing adolescent problem behavior. The introduction of such approaches in the context of Uruguayan schools would require careful consideration and should be accompanied by high-quality evaluation.

Improve the Legitimacy of the Police

A specific area of concern that emerged in the present study was the extent to which adolescents in Montevideo distrust *the* major institution in modern society responsible for controlling violence and crime, namely the police. The vast majority of adolescents in Montevideo, namely 77% of the respondents, do not trust the police. Similar proportions of adolescents believe that the police do not apply the law equally to everybody, that the police is dishonest, and that they treat people without respect. These figures show a widespread lack of police legitimacy amongst young people in Montevideo.

As we have shown in this report, a widespread lack of trust into the work of the police likely contributes to problems with violence and crime in Montevideo. For one, lacking confidence in the police may result in fewer victims reporting crimes to the police or other authorities, which reduces the chances that victims can be helped and the perpetrators can be taken to justice. Also, in any society where the police authorities are not seen to work for the rule of law and to help the delivery of justice there is a danger that citizens will resort to self-justice, and that young people feel less obliged to comply with the law.

We therefore believe that strategies to improve the perception of the police should be considered as an important component of an overall approach to reducing youth violence. Such strategies probably require a combination of different measures aimed at improving the reputation of the police in the general public, but also to make the daily work of the police more efficient and trustworthy, and more responsive to community needs. A recent meta-analysis has shown that strategies of legitimacy policing can help to increase compliance, satisfaction with the police and self-reported victimization (Mazerolle, Bennett, & Davis, 2013).

Reduce Early Access to Psychoactive Substances and Weapons

Reducing access to firearms, alcohol, and drugs is one of the main cornerstones of the violence reduction strategies recommended by the World Health Organization (Violence Prevention Alliance, 2012). The data presented in this report suggest that by far the most important psychoactive substance consumed by young people in Montevideo is alcohol. A majority of 15-year olds has consumed alcoholic beverages at least once during the past 12 months, and a substantial minority of approximately 5% consumes alcohol beverages at least once a week. In line with other studies conducted in Uruguay (HBSC study) and international findings frequent consumption of alcohol at age 15 is strongly associated both with the risk of violent victimization and violent behavior.

The current drinking age in Uruguay is age 18. We therefore recommend considering measures that reduce the availability of alcohol beverages to young people, based on a more consistent enforcement of the existing legal framework. Such measure may include tighter controls over age in supermarkets and stores, higher penalties for bars and restaurants that sell alcohol to persons under age 18, and criminal sanctions for parents who allow their children to drink alcohol.

Illegal drugs are much less common amongst adolescents in Montevideo than alcohol. However, the present study find that substantial minorities of adolescents at age 15 have consumed cannabis and amphetamines, and a small minority has consumed hard

drugs. The findings in this study suggest that consumption of drugs at age 15 is correlated with an increased probability of involvement in crime and violent behavior.

The pioneering legal framework of Uruguay has made cannabis consumption legal from age 18 onwards. From the perspective of the prevention of youth violence we believe it is desirable to monitor closely how the legalisation affects the consumption of psychoactive substances at younger ages. We also believe that the present evidence strongly suggests that early onset of any kind of chronic substance use – whether legal or illegal - is a risk factor for academic failure and behavior difficulties.

Reducing Street Violence and Robbery

A range of data suggests that adolescents in Montevideo experience relatively elevated levels of group violence and violence with instrumental goals such as robbery and extortion. This includes findings on the high prevalence of robbery victimisation and results about the proportion of adolescents in Montevideo who are members of gangs that commit robberies, extort protection money or carry weapons. Members of gangs are far over-proportionally involved in violence and in cities where pertinent research has been conducted a small number of core members have regularly been found to be responsible for the overwhelming part of the most serious youth violence.

We therefore recommend that the authorities in Montevideo consider specific strategies aimed at reducing youth violence in public places. Some of these strategies entail targeted police interventions and research-based problem-oriented policing initiative that entailed the formation of an interagency working group, the utilization of the best available research techniques, and continuous adaptation of the intervention based on observations of success.

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APPENDIX: SCALES

A) Individual Characteristics

Conflict Coping Abilities
Definition: This scale measures respondent's non-violent skills to react and deal with conflictive situations. This scale includes two sub dimensions:

- *Social Competent Strategies*
- *Aggressive Strategies*

Number of items: 6. Examples are *'I go mad and yell', 'I listen very carefully, to avoid misunderstandings'*
Reliability: Cronbach's α = .59

Morality
Definition: This scale measures the extent to which the respondent endorses moral beliefs about how wrong is to commit acts that break moral norms and the law.
Number of items: 14. Examples are '*how wrong do you think is to lie to your parents, teachers or other adults*', '*how wrong do you think is to steal something that is worth 1000 pesos*'
Reliability: Cronbach's α = .89

Moral Neutralization of Aggression
Definition: This scale measures the extent which respondent uses a number of justifications and excuses for intentionally harming others. This scale includes three sub dimensions:

- *Cognitive Restructuring:*
- *Disregarding / Distorting negative impact*
- *Blaming / Dehumanizing the victim*

Number of items: 14. Examples are '*Violence solves a lot of problems*', '*It is normal to beat up a person, who does not respect your friends*'
Reliability: Cronbach's α = .87

Police Legitimacy
Definition: This scale measures the extent to which the respondent believe that police is a legitimate institution. Police as a legitimate institution is expected to treat fairly and respectfully all individuals, to comply with the law, and to be efficient in maintaining social order. This scale includes three sub dimensions

- *Procedural and distributive fairness*
- *Lawfulness*
- *Effectiveness*

Number of items: 14. Examples are '*police treats people respectfully*', '*police applies law equally'*,
Reliability: Cronbach's α = .82

Legal cynicism
Definition: This scale measures the extent to which the respondent consider that laws and social norms irrelevant, weak, and not binding.

Number of items: 6. Examples are 'laws are made to be broken', 'there are no right or wrong ways to make money, only difficult or easy ones'
Reliability: Cronbach's α = .63

Self-control
Definition: This scale measures respondent personality in terms of its ability to resist temptations and to anticipate negative consequences from certain behaviors. Low self-control youths are more impulsive, self-centered, risk seeking, myopic, prefers physical and simple activities to mental and complex ones, with more volatile temper and less tolerance to frustration. This scale includes six sub dimensions:

- *Impulsivity*
- *Egocentrism*
- *Risk – seeking*
- *Preference for physical activities*
- *Temper*
- *Preference for simple activities*

Number of items: 24. Examples are '*I easily loose control*', '*I like to take risks, just because it is a lot of fun*'
Reliability: Cronbach's α = . 87

B) School-Related Characteristics

Academic Difficulties
Definition: This scale measures the extent to which the respondent considers difficult school tasks.
Number of items: 3. Examples are '*I frequently have bad grades*', '*I usually find difficult to follow the lesson*'
Reliability: Cronbach's α = .64

Future Benefits of Learning
Definition: This scale measures the extent to which the respondent believes how useful school is for obtaining conventional goals in the future (e.g. getting a job).
Number of items: 3. Examples are '*It is important for me that I do well in school*', *'I work hard in school in order to get a good job in the future'*
Reliability: Cronbach's α = .69

Relationship to Teacher
Definition: This scale measures the extent to which the respondent has a good relationship with his/her teacher.
Number of items: 3. Examples are '*I have a good relationship with my teacher*', 'My teacher treats me in a fair way'
Reliability: Cronbach's α = .65

Relationship to Peers
Definition: This scale measures the extent to which the respondent believes has a good relationship with peers/students.

Number of items: 3. Examples are '*Other students are nice with me*', '*I get along with my class mates*'
Reliability: Cronbach's α = .72

School Commitment
Definition: This scale measures the extent to which the respondent likes going to the school and believes it is useful.
Number of items: 3. Examples are '*I like going to the school*', 'I find school useless'
Reliability: Cronbach's α = .45

School Legitimacy
Definition: This scale measures the extent to which the respondent perceives the school as a legitimate institution. School is a legitimate institution if all students are treated in a fair and respectful way, and if teachers and authorities are trustworthy and good at their job. This scale includes three sub dimensions:

- *Procedural and distributive fairness*
- *Lawfulness*
- *Effectiveness*

Number of items: 10. Examples are '*In my school all students are treated in a fair way*', 'In my school punishment is administered in a fair way'
Reliability: Cronbach's α = .75

C) Parenting and Family Characteristics

Authoritarianism
Definition: This scale measures how strict and harsh is the parenting style in the respondent's family.
Number of items: 3. Examples are '*Your parents are very strict when you do not do exactly what they say*', '*Your parents show you who rules*'
Reliability: Cronbach's α = .63

Corporal Punishment
Definition: This scale measures the extent to which the respondents suffer physical punishment from their parents.
Number of items: 3. Examples are '*your parents slap you*', '*your parents hit you with an object or belt*'
Reliability: Cronbach's α = .71

Erratic Parenting
Definition: This scale measures the inconsistency of parent's discipline, that is, how erratic, unfounded, and unpredictable is parent's punishment over their children.
Number of items: 3. Examples are '*you persuade your parents not to punish you*', '*your parents threaten you to punish you but ultimately the don't punish you*'
Reliability: Cronbach's α = .62

Parental Conflict
Definition: This scale measures the extent of disagreement, conflict and lack of

adequate communication between parents.
Number of items: 3. Examples are '*your parents are angry with each other*', '*your parents spent a lot of time without talking to each after a fight*'
Reliability: Cronbach's $\alpha = .78$

Parental Involvement
Definition: This scale measures the extent to which parents commit time and energy to their children, and share activities with them.
Number of items: 4. Examples are '*Your parents play or do activities with you', 'when you are sad your parents hug you and make you feel better*'
Reliability: Cronbach's $\alpha = .75$

Positive Parenting
Definition: This scale measures the extent to which parents offer 'positive reinforcements (praises, compliments, rewards) to their children.
Number of items: 3. Examples are '*your parents give you rewards when you do something well,* 'your parents praise you when you do very well in the school, in sports or in hobbies'
Reliability: Cronbach's $\alpha = .66$

Supervision
Definition: This scale measures the extent to which parents monitor and are after their children.
Number of items: 4. Examples are '*when you go out you got to tell your parents at what time you will be back*', 'you come home at night later than you agreed with your parents'
Reliability: Cronbach's $\alpha = .67$

D) Routine Activities

Consumption of Violent Media
Definition: This scale measures respondent's time spent with violent adult content media (TV, movies, Internet, and cellphones).
Number of items: 6. Examples are *'I watch horror movies for above 18 years old', 'I tape violent scenes in my cellphone'*
Reliability: Cronbach's $\alpha = .81$