

CRIME AND JUSTICE

Scottish Victimisation Telephone Survey 2020: Main Findings

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Executive summary

The Scottish Victimisation Telephone Survey (SVTS) 2020 is a social survey which asked people about their experiences and perceptions of crime, safety, and policing during the COVID-19 pandemic. The results are based on a sample of around 2,700 telephone interviews conducted in September and October 2020. The survey is designed to be nationally representative of all private residential households in Scotland.

What does the survey tell us about crime in Scotland?

- There were an estimated 445,000 incidents of crime experienced by adults in Scotland between September 2019 and September 2020, including incidents not reported to the police.
- Most adults (91%) were not victims of any crime between September 2019 and September 2020, with around one-in-eleven (9%) adults in Scotland experiencing crime over this time period. It is estimated that 8% of adults were victims of property crime, and 2% experienced violent crime. The likelihood of experiencing crime was higher for those living in urban areas, with those aged 60 and over least likely to be victims.
- Around two-thirds (67%) of all crime measured by the SVTS was property-related, with the remaining third (33%) being violent crime.
- Around 3% of the adult population of Scotland experienced multiple victimisation, whereby they experienced two or more incidents of any crime. This group experienced 61% of all crime recorded by the SVTS.
- 41% of crimes reported in the survey came to the attention of the police in some way.
- Approximately three-in-five (61%) crimes reported in survey occurred before the start of the UK's first national lockdown on the 23rd March 2020, and two-in-five (39%) occurred after that point. This suggests that crime fell significantly since the start of the UK's first national lockdown (by around 35%).

What does the survey tell us about perceptions of crime, safety, and policing since the virus outbreak?

- Just over half of people (54%) felt that crime in their local area had stayed about the same since the start of the UK's first national lockdown on the 23rd March.
- Around three-in-four (75%) adults felt safe when walking alone in their local area after dark and most people (87%) reported no change in how safe they felt walking alone in their local area after dark since the virus outbreak.
- More than nine-in-ten (91%) adults said that the COVID-19 pandemic had not changed how worried they felt about being a victim of crime. However, previous victims of crime felt more worried about being a victim of crime since the virus outbreak (19%) compared with just 5% of non-victims.
- Three-in-five (60%) people believed the police in their local area were doing an 'excellent' or 'good' job, and the majority of people (74%) were satisfied with the way the police in their local area were responding to the virus outbreak.

Summary infographics

Key findings from the SVTS 2020 on Overview of crime in Scotland

The SVTS found that between September 2019 and September 2020...

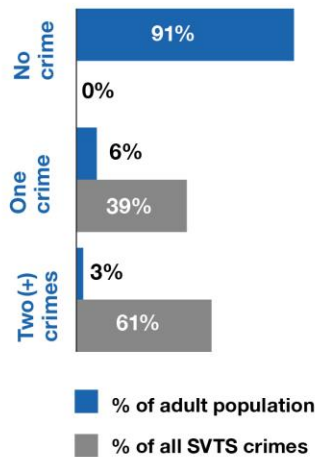
445,000

crimes were experienced by adults in Scotland

9%

of adults experienced crime

A small number of victims experienced a high proportion of all crime



No crime: most adults did not experience a single crime

One crime: 6% of adults experienced one crime, corresponding to just under two-fifths of all crime

Two (+) crimes: 3% of adults experienced two or more crimes. These victims experienced three-fifths of all crime

What type of crime was experienced?

67%
PROPERTY CRIME



33%
VIOLENT CRIME



41%
of crimes were reported to the police



9% of adults experienced crime. This rate varied across the population.

60+
Those aged 60 and over were least likely to experience crime

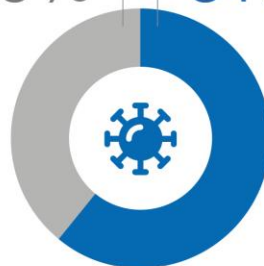


People living in urban areas were more likely than those living in rural areas to experience crime



No difference between men and women was found in the likelihood of experiencing crime

39% **61%**



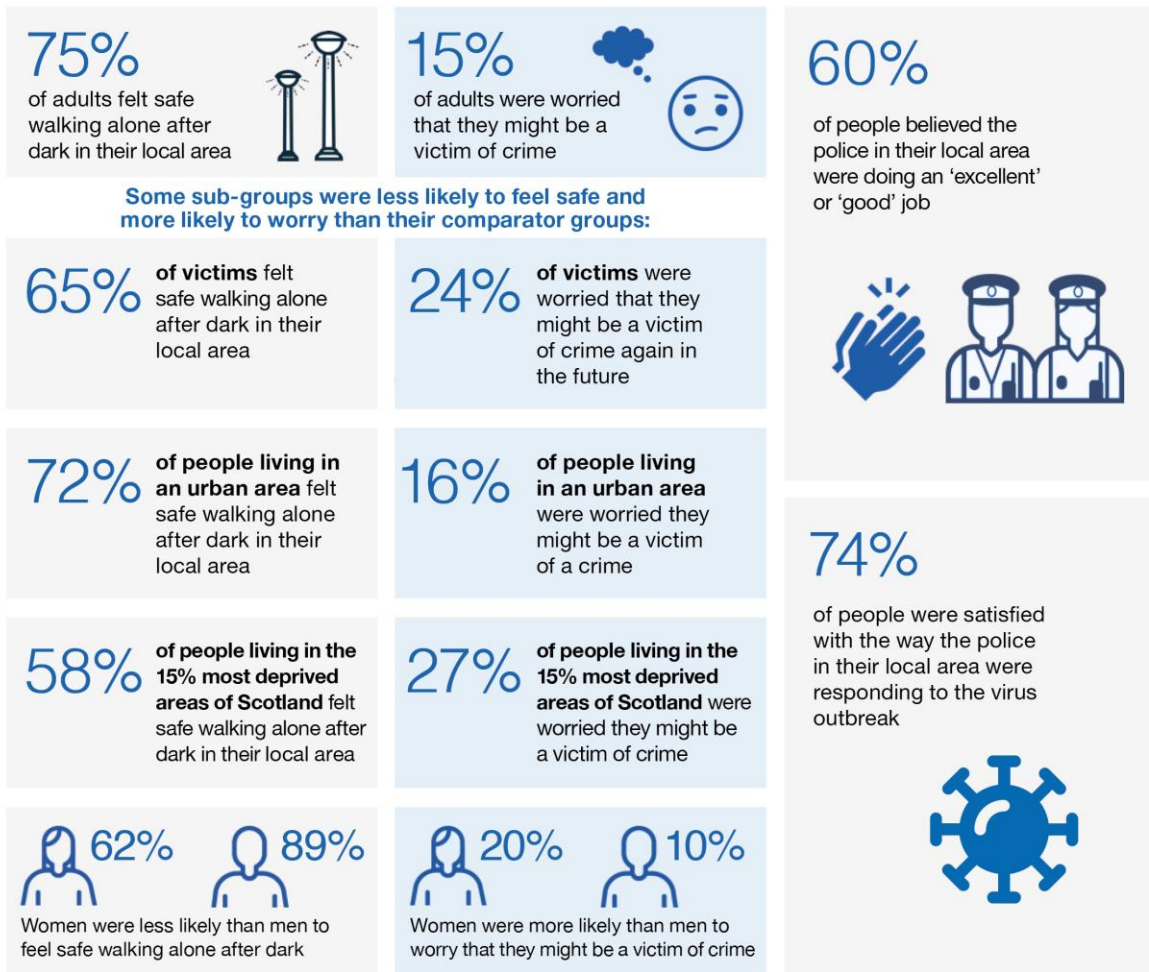
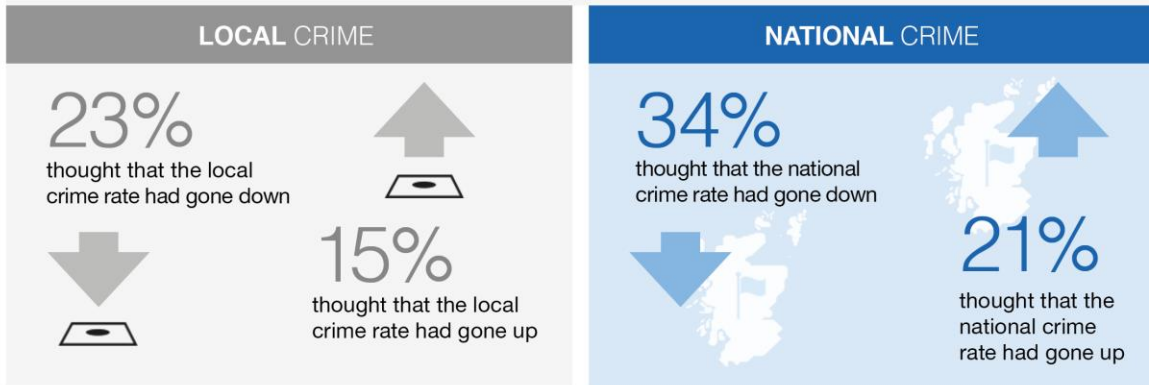
39% of SVTS crime occurred after the start of the UK's first national lockdown on 23rd March 2020, and **61%** in the period before the lockdown

This means that crime fell significantly after the start of the first lockdown

Key findings from the SVTS 2020 on

Perceptions of crime, safety, and policing during the pandemic

Adults were more likely to think that there had been a change in the level of crime nationally than in their local area since the virus outbreak



1. Introduction and background to the SVTS

This chapter includes:

- Information on why the SVTS was introduced and the purpose it serves
- Key points to note on the survey methodology (i.e. how it was carried out)
- Details on the findings included in this report, and where additional results and technical information can be found

1.1 What is the SVTS and what purpose does it serve?

The Scottish Victimisation Telephone Survey (SVTS) 2020 is a social survey which asked people about their experiences and perceptions of crime, safety, and policing during the COVID-19 pandemic. The results are based on a sample of around 2,700 telephone interviews conducted in September and October 2020. The survey is designed to be nationally representative of all private residential households in Scotland.

The SVTS was developed by the Scottish Government, in partnership with Ipsos MORI and ScotCen¹, to collect evidence on the extent and prevalence of crime in Scotland during the COVID-19 pandemic. A consequence of the pandemic was that all face-to-face interviewing for Scottish Government run social surveys, including the Scottish Crime and Justice Survey (SCJS)², was suspended to help prevent the spread of the virus³. The suspension of the SCJS opened up an evidence gap with particular challenges for assessing the volume of crime in Scotland not reported to the police, where other sources cannot provide an alternative⁴.

The Scottish Government introduced the SVTS as a discrete and additional collection to the SCJS. As such it should not be viewed as a replacement to the latter, with Scottish Government statisticians keeping under review options for the resumption of the SCJS including an assessment of the continued impact of social distancing measures on the running of face-to-face social surveys in Scotland. Users will be kept informed of developments in this area through the [ScotStat](#) network.

The main aims of the SVTS 2020 were to:

- collect data whilst face-to-face interviewing on the SCJS was not possible

¹ The survey was commissioned by the Scottish Government and produced by a collaboration between [Ipsos MORI](#) and [ScotCen Social Research](#).

² The Scottish Crime and Justice Survey (SCJS) is a large scale social survey on people's experiences and perceptions of crime, policing and the justice system in Scotland; based on around 5,500 face-to-face interviews with adults aged 16 and over in private households.

³ The Scottish Crime and Justice Survey (SCJS) has been suspended since the 17th March 2020.

⁴ Survey data collected on experiences of victimisation can act as a complementary measure of crime in Scotland to police recorded crime statistics.

- enable respondents to tell us about their experiences and perceptions of crime, safety, and policing; including crime not reported to the police
- provide a reliable measure of adults' experience of crime
- examine the varying risk and characteristics of crime for different groups of adults in the population
- examine any changes in crime between the pre-COVID-19 period (September 2019 to the 23rd March 2020 when the UK's first national lockdown was introduced) and the period following this up to the end of September 2020
- provide a complementary measure of crime to compare with police recorded crime statistics for the same period
- provide information on public perceptions of crime, policing and safety issues related to the COVID-19 pandemic, including comparisons with data collected in England and Wales as part of the [Telephone-operated Crime Survey for England and Wales \(TCSEW\)](#)

1.2 What do I need to know when reading this report?

Detailed information about the design and methodology of the SVTS is provided in the accompanying [Technical Report](#) to help users understand the strengths and limitations of the survey's results. The sections below provide summary information on the reliability of survey estimates and how uncertainty around results is explained, as well as an overview of the content of this report and other SVTS supporting outputs.

1.3 Who is included and what does the SVTS cover?

The SVTS does not aim to provide an absolute estimate for all crime and has some notable exclusions.

The SVTS is a survey of adults living in private residential households (including private and social rented housing) and therefore does not provide information on crimes against adults living in other circumstances (for example tourists and those living in institutions or communal residences, such as prisons or hospitals, military bases and student accommodation). The survey also excludes people under the age of 16 and crimes against businesses.

The SVTS re-contacted around 6,800 earlier Scottish Crime and Justice Survey (SCJS) respondents who consented to providing their telephone number for the purpose of further research. In total, 2,654 SVTS interviews were completed.

The SVTS is primarily a victimisation survey which captures information on adults' experiences of violent crime and property crime, including those incidents not reported to the police. However, it does not capture data on all crimes – for example, crimes with no direct or specific victim to interview (e.g. speeding, drug possession and homicide).

As an alternative to the SCJS, the SVTS did not seek to replicate all questions asked in the SCJS (though all questions to allow the classifications of crimes were retained). For example, some areas were excluded, such as questions on drug use, stalking and harassment, partner abuse and sexual victimisation, due to concerns around safeguarding those responding on the telephone.

Throughout the report, the term 'crime' is used to refer to any in-scope incident recorded by the survey, occurring during the interview reference period and in Scotland, in which the respondent or their household as a whole was the victim⁵.

The survey also explores perceptions of crime, safety, and policing in Scotland – as well as any changes “since the virus outbreak” (defined as since the start of the UK’s first national lockdown on the 23rd March 2020).

1.4 How was the survey delivered?

Key points to note on the methodology are outlined below:

- **Survey frequency:** the SVTS 2020 provides a unique snap-shot in time during the COVID-19 pandemic. There are no current plans to carry out another wave of this survey, however depending on the value to users of these statistics, the length of the SCJS suspension and resources available, a follow-up survey by telephone may be considered later in 2021. Should this happen, Scottish Government statisticians will inform users of the plans and invite feedback on the potential content of a second survey.
- **Sample:** the sample for the SVTS was comprised of respondents who, when participating in the 2018/19 or 2019/20 SCJS, had agreed to be re-contacted for the purposes of further research. All respondents who had agreed, and who had provided a usable telephone number, were invited to take part in the SVTS.
- **Questionnaire:** the questionnaire consists of a modular design completed by the interviewer using Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI). [Annex C](#) gives an overview of the questionnaire structure and general topics. The full questionnaire is available on the SVTS website. Socio-demographic question categories were expanded to include relevant COVID-19 concepts, such as key worker status⁶ and furlough.
- **Fieldwork:** the 2020 SVTS fieldwork ran for a little over six weeks from 11th September to 26th October 2020. Calls were carried out during mornings, afternoons and evenings, seven days a week. Each number was called a minimum of eight times (including at least one call each in the evening and the weekend) before a final outcome was recorded.
- **Interviews:** in total, 2,654 telephone interviews were completed, representing a response rate of 39%⁷.
- **Interview length:** an average interview lasted around 17 minutes, though there was variation in interview length, depending on the respondent's reported experience of crime.

⁵ Further information on the interview reference period and the classification of incidents as in scope or out of scope is provided in the [Technical Report](#).

⁶ A job defined by the government as critical for the response to the Coronavirus outbreak.

⁷ The response rate was calculated as the proportion of total number of completed interviews (2,654) out of the total number of issued addresses (6,777). Just under one-in-three respondents (30%) could not be contacted following eight or more calls, and around one-in-seven (14%) were contacted but did not wish to take part. Further information on the issued sample and response rates is provided in the [Technical Report](#).

- **Time period covered:** respondents were asked about incidents experienced in the 12 months prior to the month of interview (the reference period). The time period covered by the data on experiences of crime included in this report extends over 13 months (from the start of September 2019 to the end of September 2020).
- **Weighting:** SVTS data is weighted to correct for the likelihood that people with certain characteristics (e.g. age, housing tenure etc.) may have been more or less likely to have taken part in the earlier SCJS survey, and (or) to have provided recontact details, and therefore taken part in the SVTS.
- **Pre-/post-lockdown period comparisons:** it is possible to identify changes in the volume of crime between the pre-lockdown period (September 2019 to 23rd March 2020), and the period following this up to the end of September 2020⁸.

For questions on perceptions of crime, respondents were asked whether they thought crime had gone up, down or remained the same since the virus outbreak, both in their local area and Scotland as a whole. For other attitudinal questions, respondents were typically asked two questions per topic – the first to establish how the respondent felt on the day of the interview, and the second to ask if their feelings had changed since the virus outbreak.

- **Police recorded crime comparisons:** both the SVTS and police recorded crime provide data on experiences of crime during the COVID-19 pandemic, up to September 2020, which allows for comparisons to be made with crime in Scotland before and after the start of the UK's first national lockdown. [Chapter 3](#) outlines these results.
- **England and Wales comparisons:** the attitudinal questions were designed to allow comparisons to be made with some questions from the Telephone-operated Crime Survey for England and Wales (TCSEW)⁹. [Chapter 4](#) outlines these results.

Further information about survey design and methodology is contained in the accompanying [Technical Report](#).

1.5 Why are SVTS and SCJS results not comparable ?

Whilst the SVTS covers similar topics to the SCJS, there are some key differences, outlined below, which mean SVTS and SCJS results are not comparable:

- **Mode effects:** the interviews for the SVTS were conducted by telephone rather than face-to-face. Differences in survey mode can affect how people answer questions, and the detail which they are willing to divulge over the telephone may vary from circumstances where an interviewer is present in their home at the time of interview.
- **Sampling method:** the SVTS re-contacted earlier SCJS respondents who consented to providing their telephone number for the purpose of further research, whereas the SCJS uses random selection from Royal Mail's postcode address file to select addresses for interview. Whilst data is weighted to be nationally representative of all private residential households, the sampling method may produce some differences.

⁸ It is important to caveat that crime levels ordinarily show some seasonal variation, so this should be considered when looking at crime levels before and after the UK's first national lockdown on the 23rd March.

⁹ Comparisons are not possible in relation to the crime statistics included in Chapter 2 of this report. For more information please refer to [Chapter 4](#) and the [Technical Report](#).

- **Sample size:** the SVTS achieved 2,654 interviews over a six week period, compared to around 5,500 SCJS interviews across 12 months. As such the SVTS is more limited in its ability to produce detailed breakdowns on the characteristics of crime (for example, the location of the incident or details of the offender). The smaller sample size also reduces the precision of the estimates.
- **Questionnaire length and content:** the SVTS was designed to be, on average, 20 minutes in length to encourage participation by telephone and minimise respondent burden. The SCJS is typically 40 minutes in length. Due to this shorter interview time, a smaller number of questions were asked, several of which were unique to this survey (for example, those that make reference to the pandemic).

1.6 How reliable are SVTS results?

The SVTS collected information from a sample rather than from the whole population and therefore survey results are always estimates, not precise figures. This means that the results are subject to a margin of error which can have an impact on how the numbers should be interpreted.

To indicate the extent of uncertainty, this report presents key results on the extent and prevalence of crime using both best estimates and [lower and upper estimates](#). The best estimate is the mean figure drawn from the sample. The lower and upper estimates are for the 95% confidence interval. Aside from these key findings, the majority of the analysis provided in the report focuses on best estimates.

Because of sampling variation, changes in reported estimates between population sub-groups may occur by chance. Standard statistical tests are therefore used to examine whether differences are likely to be due to chance. Only differences that are statistically significant at the 95% confidence level are described as differences or changes within this report¹⁰.

[Annex B](#) provides further information on the relative strengths and limitations of crime surveys and police record crime data.

1.7 What findings are included in this report and where can I access additional results?

The report is split into chapters which focus on each of the topics covered in the survey questionnaire, including: the extent and prevalence of crime in Scotland; perceptions and feelings about crime, safety and policing during the pandemic; and consideration of how evidence from the SVTS compares to and complements police recorded crime statistics in Scotland, and for some of the attitudinal questions, TCSEW results from England and Wales.

In this report, crime measured by the SVTS is a product of two distinct groups being combined – violent and property crime (see box below).

¹⁰ Further information on calculation of confidence intervals and significance testing is provided in the [Technical Report](#).

SVTS crime groups

Violent crime includes the following distinct groups:

- Assault (includes serious assault, minor assault with injury, minor assault with no or negligible injury, and attempted assault)
- Robbery

Property crime includes the following distinct groups:

- Housebreaking
- Personal theft (excluding robbery)
- Other household theft (including bicycle theft)
- All motor vehicle related theft (including theft and attempted theft of and from a vehicle)
- Vandalism (including motor vehicle and property vandalism)

Further details on each of these groups, and the process through which incidents are identified as specific crime types, are provided in the [Technical Report](#).

However, due to the small sample sizes involved, only the headline property and violent crime groups are presented in this report.

SVTS crime estimates¹¹ are split into two time periods – September 2019 up to the UK's first national lockdown on the 23rd March 2020¹², and after this date up to the end of September 2020.

This report contains a range of demonstration tables and figures within the body of each chapter. Many of these tables and charts include breakdowns by respondent characteristics such as gender, age, victim status¹³, rurality, area deprivation, and key worker status¹⁴. [Annex D](#) provides the full list and definitions of these characteristics.

¹¹ Including individual incidents within a series incident – see the [Technical Report](#).

¹² For a small number of incidents, where only the annual quarter in which the incident occurred was available, it was not possible to explicitly determine as before or after the lockdown. In such cases, unless there was further contextual data, where the quarter the incident occurred was 1st January – 31st March the incident was classified as before the lockdown, and where the quarter was 1st March – 31st May it was classified as having occurred after the lockdown.

¹³ A victim is defined as a respondent who reported crimes or offences in the main questionnaire (excluding sexual offences and threats) that are within the scope of the survey, took place in Scotland, and occurred within the reference period. For more information please refer to the [Technical Report](#).

¹⁴ Respondents who were not employed throughout the pandemic (including those who were retired) were not asked CVKEYWORK, explained as: "a job defined by the government as critical for the response to the Coronavirus outbreak". For more information please refer to the [Technical Report](#).

A more comprehensive set of [SVTS data tables](#) are released alongside this report which present further breakdowns of results. The survey datasets and associated documentation will be available shortly after publication of this report from the [UK Data Service](#).

1.8 How can I find out more?

This is an Experimental Statistics Publication for Scotland¹⁵.

If you have any enquiries on this survey please contact the SCJS Project Team via scjs@gov.scot.

¹⁵ [Experimental Statistics](#) are a sub-set of Official Statistics.

2. Overview of crime in Scotland

This chapter includes:

- Estimates for the total number of crime incidents and the proportion of people experiencing crime
- Comparisons of experiences of crime by gender, age, area deprivation, rurality, and key worker status
- The likelihood of experiencing more than one crime
- The proportion of crimes that were reported to the police

2.1 What was the extent and prevalence of crime in Scotland?

The SVTS estimates that overall there were 445,000 crimes experienced by adults in Scotland between September 2019 and September 2020.

The Scottish Victimisation Telephone Survey (SVTS) provides an estimate of the number of crimes (or incidence) occurring within Scotland, rounded to the nearest 1,000 crimes. The SVTS estimates that overall there were 445,000 crimes experienced by adults in Scotland between the start of September 2019 and the end of September 2020.

As a sample survey of the general public, SVTS results are estimated values with margins of error, rather than exact counts. Further information on the process used to calculate estimates is contained within the [Technical Report](#). Taking into account confidence intervals, the SVTS estimates that there were between 328,000 and 561,000 incidents of crime in Scotland.

Around one-in-eleven (9%) adults in Scotland had experienced crime between September 2019 and September 2020.

Most adults (91%) were not victims of any crime between September 2019 and September 2020, with around one-in-eleven (9%) adults in Scotland experiencing crime over this time period.

As with incident numbers, crime prevalence rates are also estimates derived from a sample survey of the population with associated margins of error around them. Taking into account these confidence intervals, between 7% and 11% of the adult population were estimated to have experienced at least one SVTS crime.

The SVTS collects data on the adult population's experiences of two main types of crime – property and violent crime (see [Section 1.4](#)). It is estimated that around two-thirds (67%) of all crime measured by the SVTS was property-related, with the remaining third (33%) being violent crime. This means the survey estimates that, rounded to the nearest 1,000 crimes, there was a total of 299,000 property crimes and 145,000 violent crimes in the period covered by the survey. It is estimated that 8% of adults were victims of a property crime, and 2% experienced a violent crime.

Crime fell significantly after the UK’s first national lockdown, compared with the six months before.

As outlined above, incidents of crime were classified as having occurred before or after the UK’s first national lockdown on the 23rd March 2020, two periods of almost equal length¹⁶. It is estimated that approximately three-in-five (61%, 269,000) crimes occurred before the lockdown, and two-in-five (39%, 176,000) occurred after the lockdown, meaning that crime fell significantly after the start of the UK’s first national lockdown. This equates to an estimated fall in crime of approximately 35% over this time period.

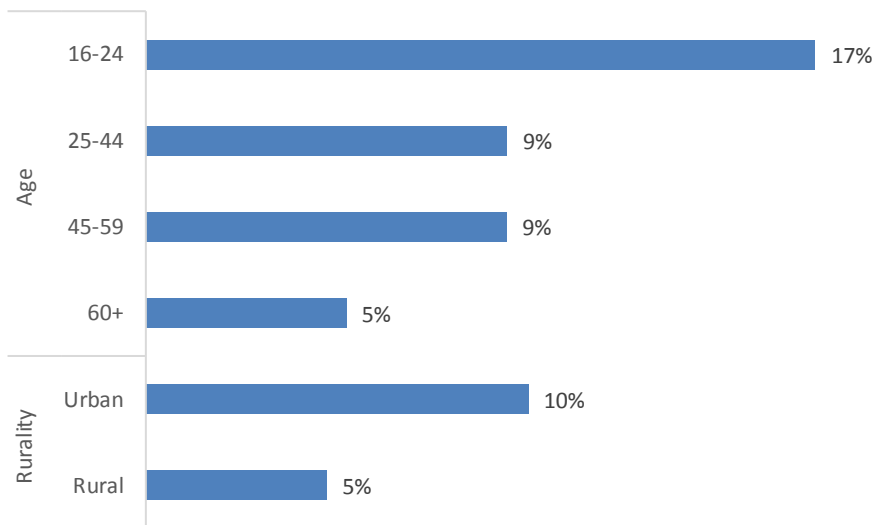
It is only possible to report this measure for all crimes (rather than for any sub-groups, including property and violent crime), due to the small sample sizes of the specific crime types and the associated larger margins of error.

2.2 How did the likelihood of experiencing crime vary across the population?

The likelihood of experiencing crime was higher for those living in urban areas.

Adults living in urban areas were more likely to have been a victim of crime than those living in rural areas (10% compared to 5%). Whereas, those aged 60 and over were less likely to have been a victim of crime compared to all other age groups.

Figure 2.1: Proportion of adults experiencing crime measured by the SVTS



Base: SVTS 2020 (2,654). Variables: PREVSURVEYCRIME, QDAGE, TABURBRUR.

These findings were also true when looking at property crime with those living in an urban area more likely to experience property crime than those living in rural areas (9%, compared to 3% and those aged 60 and over less likely to be a victim of property crime than those aged 16 to 24 (4% compared to 16%).

¹⁶ The period *before* the UK’s first national lockdown is classified as the start of September 2019 up until the 23rd March 2020; the period *after* the UK’s first national lockdown started is classified as from the 23rd March through to the end of September 2020.

There was no statistically significant difference in the likelihood of experiencing crime (both all crime and property crime¹⁷) between men and women, nor between those living in the 15% most deprived areas and those living elsewhere. There was also no difference in the victimisation rate of those who were key workers and those who were not key workers when looking at working age adults only (as defined in [Annex D](#)).

2.3 What can the SVTS tell us about multiple victimisation?

The SVTS also enables us to further explore how experiences varied amongst victims and examine the concentration of crime, including what proportion of victims experienced more than one crime (of any type). This is known as ‘multiple victimisation’.

Multiple victimisation examines the proportion of the population which experienced two or more property crimes or two or more violent crimes (known as repeat victimisation), or have been victims of both crime types (i.e. two or more incidents of any crime).

It is estimated that 3% of adults experienced multiple victimisation, which accounted for around three-fifths (61%) of all SVTS crimes.

As discussed [above](#), the majority of adults (91%) were not victims of any crime between September 2019 and September 2020, with around one-in-eleven (9%) adults in Scotland experiencing crime over this time period.

Examining the volume of crime experienced by individual victims more closely shows that 6% of adults in Scotland were a victim of a single incident of SVTS crime. The total number of crimes experienced by those experiencing one incident only accounted for 39% of all crime.

It is estimated that 3% of adults experienced multiple victimisation, which accounted for around three-fifths (61%) of all SVTS crimes.

Table 2.1 shows these results in more detail.

Table 2.1: Proportion of all SVTS crime experienced by victims, by number of crimes

Number of crimes	% of population	% of SVTS crime
None	91%	0%
One	6%	39%
Two	2%	27%
Three	1%	15%
Four	0%	3%
Five or more	0%	17%
Two or more	3%	61%

Base: SVTS 2020 (2,654). Variables: INCSURVEYCRIME, PREVSURVEYCRIME.

¹⁷ Due to the small numbers of respondents who experienced violent crime, comparisons of the likelihood of experiencing violent crime between sub-groups are not included here.

Looking only at property crime, the SVTS found that 6% of adults in Scotland were a victim of a single incident of property crime. The total number of property crimes experienced by those who experienced one incident accounted for 43% of all property crime.

The proportion of adults in Scotland who experienced more than one incident of property crime (otherwise known as repeat victims of property crime) was 2%. The total number of crimes experienced by those repeat victims of property crime accounted for 57% of all property crime.

Table 2.2 shows these results in more detail.

Table 2.2: Proportion of SVTS property crime experienced by victims, by number of property crimes

Number of crimes	% of population	% of SVTS property crime
None	92%	0%
One	6%	43%
Two	1%	26%
Three	0%	12%
Four	0%	3%
Five or more	0%	15%
Two or more	2%	57%

Base: SVTS 2020 (2,654). Variables: INCPROPERTY, PREVPROPERTY.

2.4 What proportion of crimes were reported to the police?

Around two-in-five (41%) crimes came to the attention of the police.

The SVTS estimates that 41% of crimes came to the attention of the police in some way. Looking at property and violent crime individually, it is estimated that 38% of property crime and 46% of violent crime came to the attention of the police.

Regardless of whether the incident was reported to the police or not, around half (48%) of victims thought the offender should have been prosecuted in court. The most common reasons cited for why the offender should not have been prosecuted for the offence were that the incident was too trivial (23%) or that it was a personal or private matter that the victim would deal with themselves (21%).

3. Bringing together crime statistics

This chapter includes:

- An overview of the different sources of crime statistics available in Scotland
- Comparisons of SVTS crime and police recorded crime

3.1 Sources of crime statistics for Scotland

The main sources of crime statistics for Scotland are police recorded crime and nationally representative crime surveys – the Scottish Victimisation Telephone Survey (SVTS) and the Scottish Crime and Justice Survey (SCJS).

Police recorded crime and crime surveys are essential, complementary evidence sources that, when considered together, present a fuller picture of crime in Scotland.

[Police recorded crime](#) captures a broad range of crimes that are recorded by the police and is particularly useful for lower-volume crimes that can be difficult for sample surveys of the population to capture. However, this data is sensitive to changes in recording practices and police activity and cannot include information about crimes that are not reported to or recorded by the police.

[Crime surveys](#) are able to collate a wider assessment of the overall level of crime and likelihood of experiencing crime, including crimes which do not come to the attention of the police. They can also provide additional contextual information such as the characteristics of crime, the way in which crime affects different cohorts of the population, and on repeat victimisation. However, crime surveys are less able to gather information on rarer forms of crime or crimes where there is no specific victim to interview (for example, homicide).

Both the SVTS and police recorded crime provide data on crime during the COVID-19 pandemic, up to September 2020, which allows for comparisons to be made with crime in Scotland before and after the start of the UK's first national lockdown. The SCJS provides evidence on the longer-term trends of crime in Scotland, including incidents not reported to the police, from 2008 up to the suspension of all face-to-face interviews on 17th March 2020. [Annex B](#) provides more information on the strengths and limitations of police recorded crime, the SVTS, and the SCJS.

3.2 SVTS comparable crime and police recorded crime

Of the 445,000 crimes estimated by the SVTS, a little over two-thirds can be compared with police recorded crime.

The information below is provided based on an analysis of a sub-set of comparable crimes, which includes three broadly comparable sub-groups: violent crime, acquisitive crime, and vandalism¹⁸.

¹⁸ For further information on comparable crimes see the [Technical Report](#).

Of the 445,000 crimes estimated by the SVTS, a little over two-thirds (68%, 300,000) can be compared with police recorded crimes. During the period between September 1st 2019 and September 30th 2020¹⁹, the police recorded 129,000 crimes and offences in the comparable sub-set²⁰, representing approximately 43% of the number of crimes in the SVTS comparable sub-set.

It is to be expected that the crime estimates produced by the SVTS are higher than police recorded crime figures, even in the comparable sub-set, because the survey was able to capture crime which did not come to the attention of the police²¹.

Within the comparable sub-set the types of crimes can be categorised into violent crime, acquisitive crime, and vandalism. Violent comparable crime includes serious assault, minor assault and robbery. The SVTS estimated a total of 145,000 comparable violent crimes, whereas there were 66,000 comparable police recorded violent crimes, representing approximately 45% of the SVTS estimated comparable violent crimes.

Acquisitive comparable crime includes bicycle theft, housebreaking and theft of a motor vehicle. The SVTS recorded a total of 39,000 comparable acquisitive crimes, whilst there were 17,000 comparable police recorded acquisitive crimes, representing approximately 43% of the SVTS estimated comparable acquisitive crimes.

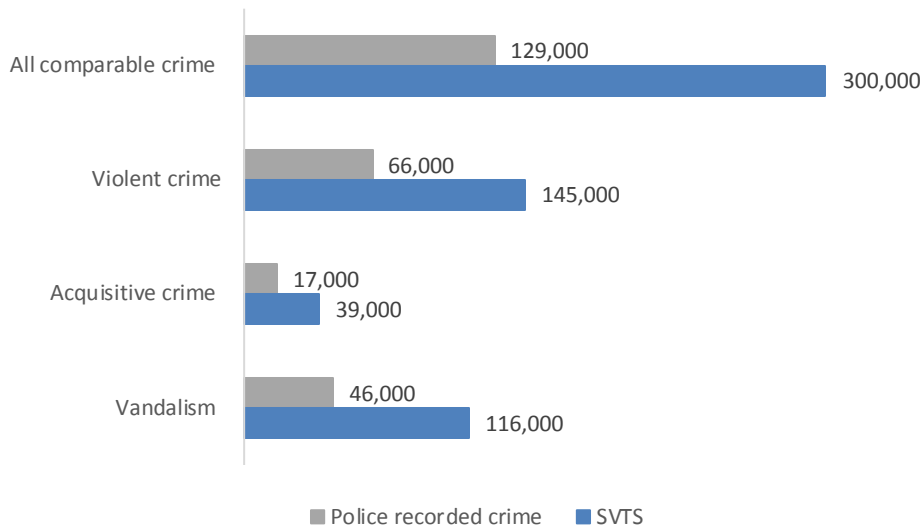
Finally, vandalism includes motor vehicle vandalism and property vandalism. The SVTS estimates a total of 116,000 comparable vandalism crimes, whereas there were 46,000 comparable police recorded vandalism crimes, representing approximately 40% of the SVTS estimated comparable vandalism crimes.

¹⁹ Only around half of SVTS respondents were asked to recall incidents of crime occurring in September 2019 and September 2020, depending on the month the interview was completed.

²⁰ The comparable police recorded crime data for September 2019 to March 2020 was sourced from the annual Recorded Crime in Scotland National Statistics, while the data for September 2019 and April to September 2020 was sourced from the monthly Recorded Crime in Scotland Official Statistics. More information on these series can be found on the [Scottish Government website](#). Note police recorded crime figures have been rounded to the nearest thousand throughout.

²¹ Due to the relatively smaller sample size of the SVTS compared to the SCJS, respondents who had been a victim of crime but not reported the incident to the police were not asked about their reasons for this. Information on why victims do not reported their experiences of crime to the police, whilst not comparable, is collected by the [Scottish Crime and Justice Survey](#).

Figure 3.1: Comparable police recorded and SVTS crime



Sources: SVTS 2020 (2,654), Police recorded crime. Variables: INCCOMPARCRIME, INCVIOLENT, INCACQUIS, INCVAND.

By considering police recorded crime data by quarter, it is possible to assess any change in the volume of recorded crime between October 2019 to March 2020 and April 2020 to September 2020. This can be used as a broad assessment of changes before and after the UK’s first national lockdown on 23rd March 2020.

From October 2019 through to March 2020 there were approximately 61,000 comparable police recorded crimes, whilst from April 2020 through to September 2020 there were 58,000 comparable police recorded crimes. This equated to an approximate fall of 5% in comparable police recorded crime. The fall in crime was mostly concentrated in the period between April 2020 and June 2020.

Looking back over 2013/14 to 2019/20, comparable recorded crime has been higher in April to September compared to the October to March period of the previous financial year. The fall in comparable recorded crime between October 2019 to March 2020 and April to September 2020 is therefore a notable difference to this trend, with a potential factor being the impact of COVID-19 and restrictions put in place to limit the spread of the virus.

Whereas comparable police recorded crime fell by 5% after the UK’s first national lockdown, the SVTS found no significant difference in the number of comparable crimes experienced by adults over a similar period. This suggests that any changes that may have occurred in comparable crime across Scotland during this period, were insufficient to be identified by the SVTS.

4. Perceptions of crime, safety, and policing during the pandemic

This chapter includes:

- Public perceptions on the level of crime since the virus outbreak, both locally and across Scotland
- Perceptions of personal safety when at home, and when walking alone in the local area after dark
- The extent to which adults in Scotland are worried that they will be a victim of crime
- The degree of safety consciousness shown when at home and when out and about
- Satisfaction with the police, both in general and specifically regarding their response to the virus outbreak
- Some comparisons of perceptions of crime and safety during the pandemic between Scotland and England and Wales

Comparing findings from Scotland with England and Wales

Some general comparisons can be made between attitudinal data collected by the SVTS for Scotland and the Telephone-operated Crime Survey for England and Wales (TCSEW). Comparisons are not possible in relation to the crime statistics included in [Chapter 2](#) of this report, due to the difference in the data collection periods of the two surveys. Given the seasonality effect on the propensity of crime, and the fluctuating nature of crime throughout 2020, these two data sources cannot be compared as like-for-like²².

The comparable TCSEW findings are presented alongside SVTS findings in this chapter. However, even when looking at comparable TCSEW variables, there are some important limitations to caveat:

- Firstly, TCSEW analysis excludes “don’t know” or “refused” responses²³, whereas these responses were included in the SVTS analysis²⁴. As such, comparisons are only made where there are very low levels of “don’t know” and “refused” responses, accounting for less than 3.5% of responses²⁵.
- Secondly, some of the TCSEW findings are based on data collected in an earlier fieldwork period compared to the SVTS. Where this is the case, this is footnoted in the comparisons in this chapter.

Given the above limitations, where a general comparison has been made between Scotland and England and Wales, no discernible difference is apparent in people’s responses to the attitudinal questions asked across both surveys.

4.1 How did the public think the level of crime in their local area had changed since the virus outbreak?

More than half of people (54%) felt that crime in their local area had stayed about the same since the virus outbreak.

Over half of adults (54%) believed that crime in their local area had stayed about the same since the virus outbreak, with a further 23% thinking that crime in their area had gone down. This is a greater proportion than believed it had gone up (15%).

There were variations by demographic and area characteristics in the perceptions of local crime. Those living in rural areas were more likely than those living in urban areas to believe crime in their local area had stayed about the same since the start of the virus outbreak.

²² SVTS data was collected in September and October 2020, and thus captured incidents of crime which occurred between 1st September 2019 and 30th September 2020. TCSEW data was collected between May 2020 and November 2020, and thus captured incidents of crime which occurred between 1st May 2019 and 31st October 2020.

²³ See the [user guide](#) to crime statistics for England and Wales.

²⁴ Some variables which are asked in both the SVTS and TCSEW, including in relation to the perceived level of crime in the local area and across Scotland, and perceptions of the police, cannot be compared because the findings from the SVTS include “don’t know” and “refused” responses which when combined account for more than 5% of responses.

²⁵ CVWALKDARK (feelings of safety waking alone in local area after dark) has 3.4% responding don’t know or refused, the remainder of the questions compared have less than 0.5% responding don’t know or refused.

Women, those aged 60 and over, those living in the 15% most deprived areas of Scotland, and those who had been a victim of a crime were all more likely than comparator groups to believe that crime had gone up in their local area since the start of the virus outbreak.

Conversely, women and those aged 60 and over were less likely to believe that crime had decreased in their local area since the start of the virus outbreak. Table 4.1 shows these significant results.

Table 4.1: Proportion of adults believing that crime had increased, decreased, or stayed about the same in their local area since the start of the virus outbreak

Characteristics		% of adults who believe that crime had increased	% of adults who believe that crime had stayed about the same	% of adults who believe that crime had decreased	Base
Gender	Male	13%	-	26%	1,262
	Female	18%	-	21%	1,392
Age	16-24	18%	49%	27%	90
	25-44	17%	51%	25%	558
	45-59	17%	49%	28%	743
	60 and over	11%	62%	16%	1,263
Victim status	Victim	35%	37%	-	192
	Non-victim	13%	55%	-	2,462
Area deprivation	15% most deprived	21%	-	-	279
	Rest of Scotland	14%	-	-	2,375
Rurality	Urban	16%	51%	25%	2,107
	Rural	10%	67%	17%	547
All adults		15%	54%	23%	2,654

Base: All respondents. Variable: CVCRIMELOC.

Note: only significant differences are shown in the table above. The differences between the youngest three age groups are not significantly different to each other but are different to those aged 60 and over.

4.2 How did the public think the level of crime in Scotland had changed since the virus outbreak?

Around one-in-three (34%) people believed that crime had gone down in Scotland since the virus outbreak.

More people believed that crime had gone down in Scotland since the virus outbreak than believed it had gone up (34%, compared to 21%), whilst a little less than one-in-three (32%) perceived the level of crime across Scotland to have stayed about the same.

Women and victims of crime were more likely than men and non-victims to have perceived an increase in crime in Scotland (25% of women compared to 17% of men, and 38% of victims compared with 19% of non-victims). Those living in the 15% most deprived areas were also more likely than those in the rest of Scotland to believe that crime had gone up in Scotland since the virus outbreak (29% compared with 20%), and were less likely to think that crime had gone down (29% compared with 36%).

Adults were more likely to think there had been a change in the level of crime nationally than in their local area.

Adults were more likely to think the crime rate had increased nationally than locally (21% compared to 15%), however they were also more likely to think the crime rate had gone down nationally than locally (34% compared to 23%). Adults were more likely to think there had been no change to the level of crime in their local area compared to the national level (54% compared to 32%).

4.3 How safe did the public feel?

The vast majority of adults (97%) felt safe in their home.

The SVTS found that the vast majority of adults (97%) felt safe in their home²⁶. However, despite this overwhelming feeling of safety at home across the population, there were some small differences amongst population sub-groups worth noting.

Those living in the 15% most deprived areas of Scotland were less likely to feel safe in their home than those living in less deprived areas (93% compared with 98%). Victims of crime were also less likely to feel safe (93% compared with 97% of non-victims) and key workers were more likely to feel safe in their home than non-key workers (99% compared with 96% of non-key workers, including those of working age and all ages).

The vast majority of people in England and Wales (96%)²⁷ also felt safe in their home since the virus outbreak.

More than nine-in-ten (92%) felt that there had been no real change to their feelings of safety when at home since the virus outbreak.

²⁶ A clarification was included in the SVTS questionnaire script at the start of the feelings of safety section to ensure that respondents understood that 'feelings of safety' meant in general, and not just regarding COVID-19.

²⁷ This finding is based on TCSEW data collected in August 2020.

The majority of adults (75%) felt safe walking alone in their local area after dark.

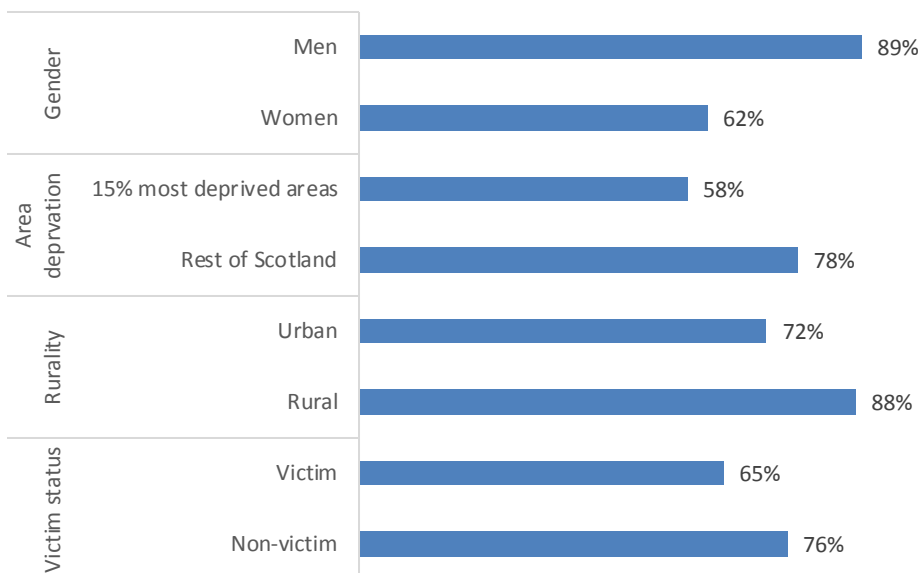
Around three-in-four (75%) adults felt safe when walking alone in their local area after dark.

In England and Wales around four-in-five people (80% based on data collected in September and 82% when collected in October) felt safe when walking alone in their local area after dark, whilst around one-in-five (20% based on data collected in September and 18% when collected in October) felt unsafe.

Despite the majority of adults feeling safe, some differences amongst population sub-groups were apparent. For example, women were less likely than men to feel safe walking alone in their local area after dark (62% and 89%, respectively).

There were also differences in the likelihood of feeling safe when walking alone in their local area after dark when looking at area deprivation, rurality, and victim status. The significant differences are shown in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1: Proportion of adults feeling safe walking alone in their local area after dark, by demographic and area characteristics



Base: SVTS 2020 (2,654). Variables: CVWALKDARK, TABQDGEN, SIMD_TOP, TABURBRUR, VICFLAG3.

Most people (87%) reported no change in how safe they felt walking alone in their local area after dark since the virus outbreak, however there were some differences with comparator groups.

Men were more likely than women to report no real change (91% compared to 84%), whilst women were less likely to feel safe (9% compared with 4% of men). Those living in urban areas were less likely to feel safe (7% compared with 4% of those living in rural areas), as were victims of crime (12% compared with 6% of non-victims).

There was no difference found between age groups, area deprivation, or key worker status in the proportion of adults feeling more or less safe when walking alone in the local area after dark since the virus outbreak.

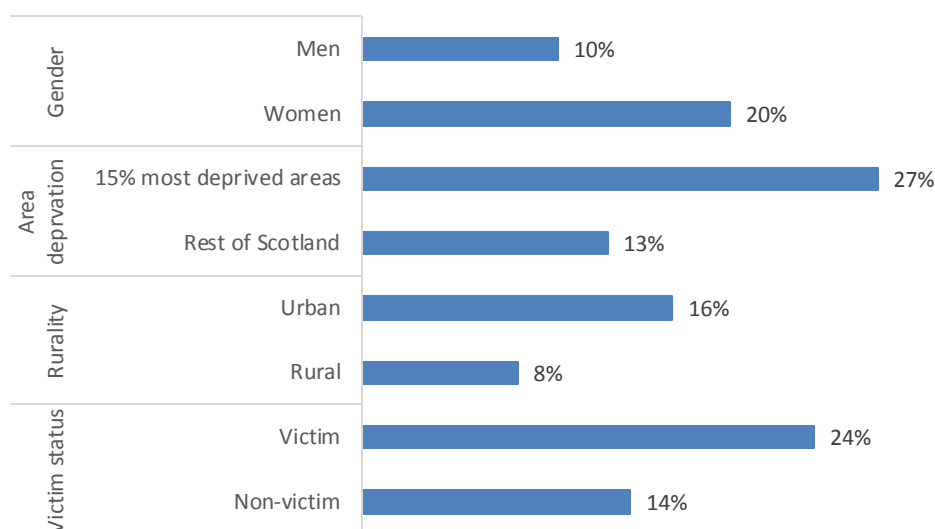
4.4 How concerned were the public about crime?

Around one-in-seven (15%) adults were worried that they might be a victim of crime.

The SVTS found that 15% of adults were worried that they might be a victim of crime.

Women, those living in the 15% most deprived areas, adults living in urban areas, and people who had experienced crime in the 12 months prior to interview were all more likely than their comparator groups to be worried that they would be a victim of crime in future. Figure 4.2 shows these results.

Figure 4.2: Proportion of adults worried that they might be a victim of crime



Base: SVTS 2020 (2,654). Variables: CVWORR, TABQDGEN, SIMD_TOP, TABURBRUR, VICFLAG3.

More than nine-in-ten (91%) adults stated that the COVID-19 pandemic had not changed how worried they felt about being a victim of crime. The only characteristic to show a difference in the change of worry felt since the start of the virus outbreak was victim status. Just under one-in-five (19%) of those who had experienced crime in the 12 months prior to interview said that they felt more worried about being a victim of crime since the virus outbreak, compared with just 5% of non-victims.

A little over eight-in-ten (82% based on data collected in September and 84% when collected in October) people in England and Wales did not feel any more or less worried about crime since the virus outbreak. Around one-in-ten (12% based on data collected in September and 10% when collected in October) people said that they felt more worried about crime, and a small number (7% based on data collected in September and 6% when collected in October) said that they felt less worried.

4.5 How security conscious did people feel?

The majority of adults reported that since the virus outbreak they have been no more or less security conscious in their day-to-day behaviour both around their home and when out and about.

Most adults (85%) reported no change in how security conscious they were in their day-to-day behaviour around their home since the virus outbreak, whilst 14% have become more security conscious and only 1% have become less so.

Women and victims were more likely to have become more security conscious in their day-to-day behaviour around their home since the virus outbreak (16% of women compared to 12% of men, and 23% of victims compared to 13% of non-victims). Those in the middle age groups (25 to 44 and 45 to 59) were also more likely than those aged 60 and over to have become more security conscious in their day-to-day behaviour around their home since the virus outbreak.

Again, since the virus outbreak, four-in-five (80%)²⁸ people in England and Wales reported they had not become any more or less security conscious when at home, and nearly one-in-five (18%) have become more security conscious.

When considering security consciousness in their day-to-day behaviour whilst out and about, again most people (87%) reported that there had been no real change since the virus outbreak. Around one-in-eight (13%) became more security conscious, and fewer than 1% reported becoming less security conscious when out and about. Women (16% compared with 9% of men), victims of crime (27% compared with 11% of non-victims), and working age non-key workers (14%, compared with 10% of key workers) were more likely to have become more security conscious when out and about since the virus outbreak.

When out and about, more than four-in-five (83%)²⁹ people in England and Wales reported they had not changed how security conscious they are, and nearly one-in-five (17%) had become more security conscious.

²⁸ This finding is based on TCSEW data collected in August 2020.

²⁹ This finding is based on TCSEW data collected in August 2020.

4.6 Perceptions of the police

Most adults (60%) believed the police in their local area were doing an ‘excellent’ or ‘good’ job.

Three-in-five (60%) adults believed the police in their local area were doing an ‘excellent’ or ‘good’ job at the time of interview. Marginally more than one-in-five (22%) thought the police were doing a ‘fair’ job and a small minority (6%) said the police were doing a ‘poor’ or ‘very poor’ job.

There were no differences in the likelihood of believing that the police in the local area were doing an ‘excellent’ or ‘good’ job found within population sub-groups.

Most people (74%) were satisfied with the way the police in their local area were responding to the virus outbreak.

Just under three-quarters (74%) of adults were satisfied with the way the police in their local area were responding to the virus outbreak. A small minority (8%) were dissatisfied, and 18% said that they did not know how satisfied or dissatisfied they felt.

No differences by demographic or area characteristics were found in the likelihood of being satisfied with the way the police in the local area were responding to the virus outbreak. However, people living in the 15% most deprived areas (13% compared with 8% of those living in less deprived areas), people living in urban areas (9% compared with 4% of those living in rural areas), and people who had been a victim of a crime (19% compared with 7% of non-victims) were more likely to be dissatisfied with the way the police in their local area are responding to the virus outbreak.

Annex A: Data tables

The following tables provide data for some of the key measures of the survey. Information on how to read and interpret these tables is presented below. Tables A1.1 and A1.2 have the following structure:

ALL SVTS CRIME includes all crimes measured by the survey.

PROPERTY CRIME comprises the following groups:

- Vandalism
- All motor vehicle theft related incidents
- Housebreaking
- Other household thefts (including bicycle theft)
- Personal theft (excluding robbery)

VIOLENT CRIME comprises the following groups:

- Assault
- Robbery

COMPARABLE CRIME is a sub-set of all SVTS crime that can be compared with police recorded crime statistics. This comparable sub-set comprises vandalism, acquisitive crime and violent crime. Just over two-thirds (68%) of crime was classed as comparable with police recorded crime statistics, as discussed in [Section 3.2](#). Further details about police recorded crime statistics are included in Chapter 12 of the [Technical Report](#).

Notes

1. Upper and lower estimates are based on 95% confidence intervals.
2. In Table A1.2 rates are quoted per 10,000 adults for violent crime. The rates for all SVTS crime, property crime and comparable crime rates are combinations of household and individual crimes.

Table A1.1: SVTS estimates of the extent of crime

Crime type	Best Estimate	Lower estimate	Upper estimate
ALL SVTS CRIME	445,000	328,000	561,000
PROPERTY CRIME	299,000	230,000	369,000
VIOLENT CRIME	145,000#	70,000	221,000
COMPARABLE CRIME	300,000	217,000	384,000

Number of respondents: 2,654

Figures in this table are rounded to the nearest 1,000.

Use with caution - the count estimate has a relative standard error (RSE) greater than 20%.

Table A1.2: SVTS estimates for rates of crime, per 10,000 households/adults

Crime type	Best Estimate	Lower estimate	Upper estimate
ALL SVTS CRIME	1,410	1,040	1,780
PROPERTY CRIME	1,090	830	1,340
VIOLENT CRIME	320	150	490
COMPARABLE CRIME	940	680	1,200

Number of respondents: 2,654

Figures in this table are rounded to the nearest 10.

Table A1.3: Proportion of adults who were victims of key crime groups

Crime type	Best Estimate	Lower estimate	Upper estimate
ALL SVTS CRIME	9%	7%	11%
PROPERTY CRIME	8%	6%	9%
VIOLENT CRIME	2%	1%	3%

Number of respondents: 2,654

Table A1.4: Prevalence of SVTS crime by demographic variables

Proportion of adults experiencing SVTS crime	%
All	9%
Male	9%
Female	9%
16-24	17%
25-44	9%
45-59	9%
60+	5%
15% most deprived areas	9%
Rest of Scotland	9%
Urban	10%
Rural	5%

Number of respondents: 2,654

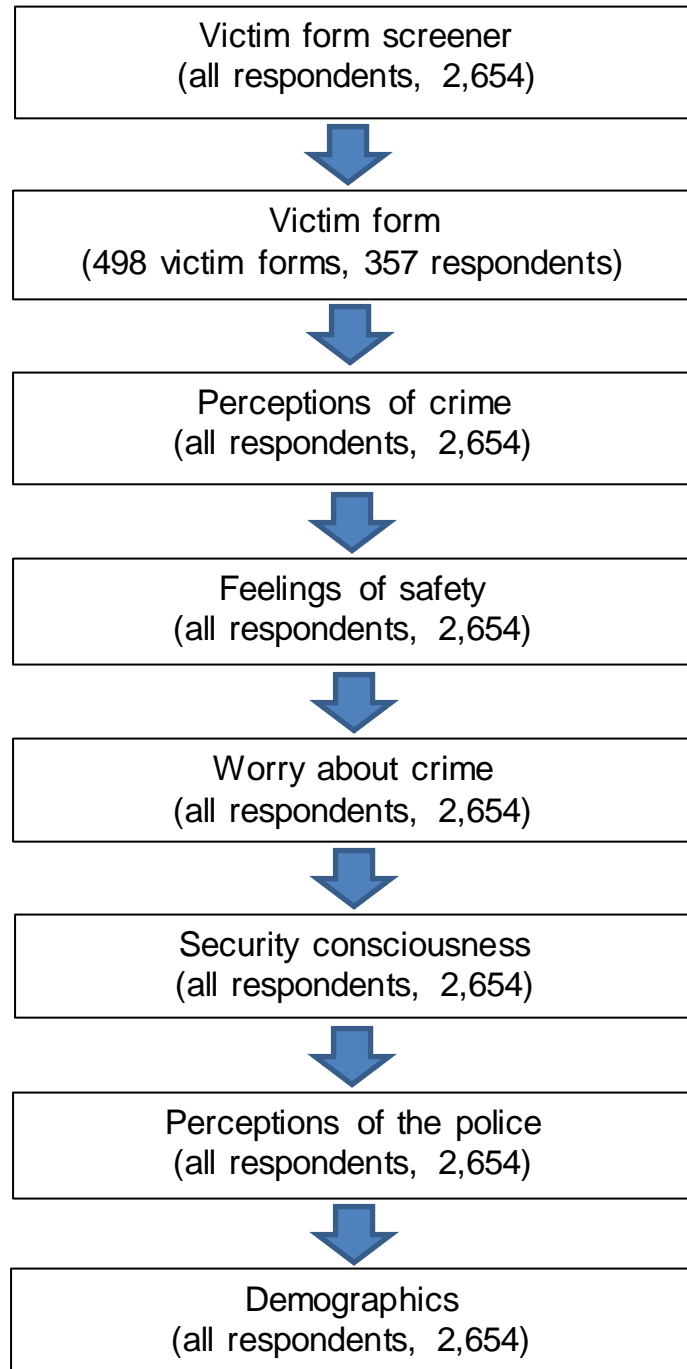
Annex B: Overview of police recorded crime, the SVTS and the SCJS

	Police Recorded Crime	Scottish Victimization Telephone Survey (SVTS) 2020	Scottish Crime and Justice Survey (SCJS)
Where does the data come from?	Administrative police records	Telephone interviews with residents from a recontact sample from the 2018/19 and 2019/20 SCJS surveys	Face-to-face interviews with residents from a nationally representative sample of the household population
Basis for inclusion	Crimes recorded by the police in Scotland, governed by the Scottish Crime Recording Standard	Trained coders determine whether experiences of victimisation in the last 12 months constitute a crime or not and assign an offence code which specifies that crime	
Frequency	Collected by financial year (April to March). Statistics released in an annual publication as well as on a monthly basis from April 2020	Single survey. Fieldwork conducted during September and October 2020, with a reference period extending over 13 months from September 2019 to September 2020	Survey conducted annually for each financial year with reference period extending over 25 months. Results previously published biennially, now annually and available on the SCJS website .
Strengths	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Covers the full range of crimes and offences Provides data at a local level A good measure of rarer, more serious crimes that are well reported A good measure of long-term trends A good measure of crime that the police are faced with 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Analyses crime for different demographic groups Provides information on multiple and repeat victimisation (up to five incidents in a series) Provides attitudinal data (e.g. fear of crime and perceptions of police) Fieldwork can be undertaken whilst face-to-face fieldwork is not possible Provides estimation of change in crime rate after the implementation of the UK's first national lockdown (23rd March 2020) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A good measure of trends in crime since 2008/09 Captures further information about crimes that are not reported to the police (including domestic abuse or drug abuse) Analyses crime for different demographic groups and victim-offender relationships Provides information on multiple and repeat victimisation (up to five incidents in a series) Provides attitudinal data (e.g. fear of crime and attitudes towards the criminal justice system)
Limitations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Partially reliant on the public reporting crime Reporting rates may vary by the type of crime (e.g. serious crime is more likely to be reported or 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Does not cover all crimes (e.g. homicide or crimes without specific victims, such as speeding) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Does not cover all crimes (e.g. homicide or crimes without specific victims, such as speeding)

	<p>housebreaking if a crime number is required for insurance purposes)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trends can be affected by legislation; public reporting practices; police recording practices 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does not cover the entire population (e.g. children, homeless people or people living in communal accommodation) • Less able to produce robust data at lower level geographies • Not possible to compare data with the SCJS time series, due to methodological differences • Estimates are subject to a degree of error (confidence intervals) • Is not able to cover sensitive issues such as domestic abuse or drug use 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does not cover the entire population (e.g. children, homeless people or people living in communal accommodation) • Less able to produce robust data at lower level geographies • Difficult to measure trends between adjacent survey years, especially in rarer forms of crime (such as more serious offences) • Estimates are subject to a degree of error (confidence intervals)
<p>What other data is collected?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Additional statistical bulletins published, including on homicides, firearm offences and domestic abuse incidents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public perceptions about crime • Worry about crime • Perceptions of the police • Security consciousness when at home and when out 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public perceptions about crime • Worry about crime and the perceived likelihood of being a victim of different types of crime • Confidence in the police and the criminal justice system • Prevalence estimates on 'sensitive' topics (partner abuse, sexual victimisation, stalking and drug use) reported on biennially

Annex C: SVTS questionnaire structure

The diagram below provided an overview of the SVTS questionnaire structure and general topics. Further detail is provided in the [Technical Report](#).



Annex D: SVTS analysis variables

Characteristic	Categories	Definition
Gender	Men Women	
Age	16 – 24 25 – 44 45 – 59 60 and over	Banded age of respondent in years. Due to the sampling methodology used on the SVTS, just 5 respondents were aged 16 or 17.
Age and gender combined	Male / Female 16 – 24 Male / Female 25 – 44 Male / Female 45 – 59 Male / Female 60 and over	
Victim status	Victim Non-victim	Whether experienced a crime within: the 12 months prior to interview, Scotland, and the scope of the survey
Perception of safety	Safe Unsafe	Response to variable CVWALKDARK – “How safe do you feel walking alone in your local area after dark?”
Worry about crime	Worried Not worried	Response to variable CVWORR – “How worried are you that you might be a victim of crime?”
Urban Rural classification	Urban Rural	2016 Scottish Government two-fold Urban Rural classification
Area deprivation	15% most deprived Rest of Scotland	2020 Scottish Government Index of Multiple Deprivation classification
Tenure	Owner occupied Social rented Private rented	Response to variable QDTENUR and QDRENT
Disability	Yes No	A physical or mental health condition or illness lasting or expected to last 12 months or more, which reduces the respondent’s ability to carry-out day-to-day activities
Key worker	Yes No	Response to variable CVKEYWORK. Explained as: “a job defined by the government as critical for the response to the Coronavirus outbreak ³⁰ ”

³⁰ Respondents who were not employed, including retired, throughout the pandemic were not asked CVKEYWORK. These respondents are classified as non-key workers when completing analysis by key worker status. Further analysis by key worker status was also completed whereby only working age respondents (aged 16-65) were included in the analysis.

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