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**The Scottish Government  
Review of No Knives Better Lives**

**Final Report  
March 2015**

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## Contents

1. Background and context .....	1
2. Existing evidence about knife crime interventions .....	7
3. Programme delivery .....	10
4. Impact of the Programme .....	22
5. Conclusions .....	24

Appendix one: National statistics relating to knife crime

## 1. Background and Context

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### About the Programme

- 1.1 No Knives, Better Lives (NKBL) is a Scottish Government initiative, which aims to educate young people on the dangers, consequences and risks of carrying knives. The Programme aims to contribute to the reduction of knife crime in Scotland.
- 1.2 There are currently two elements to NKBL:
  - **A social marketing campaign** – this involves the development and management of national and local campaign materials. This work is managed and delivered by the Scottish Government’s marketing unit.
  - **Youth engagement activities** – this includes community engagement work, educational work, and diversionary activities. This element is managed and delivered by YouthLink Scotland.
- 1.3 The delivery team based in YouthLink meets with policy and marketing representatives from the Scottish Government on a regular basis to discuss and coordinate the two strands of activity.

### This review

- 1.4 In January 2015, the Scottish Government appointed us (ODS Consulting) to carry out a short, ‘light touch’ review of the youth engagement element of the Programme (the work delivered by YouthLink). It was agreed that the review should not include social marketing activity. As a result, we mainly reviewed evidence and gathered views about the youth engagement activities. In practice, many people we spoke with found it difficult to separate their views about the two elements. Given this, we have included relevant views about marketing in this report.

### Development of the Programme

- 1.5 NKBL began in 2009. The Programme developed from an initial idea to develop a national social marketing campaign to deter young people from knife carrying. Following discussions with national stakeholders, a youth engagement element was developed to support this.
- 1.6 The first NKBL activities were piloted in Inverclyde. The Programme was intensively delivered there, and involved key social marketing activities, youth engagement and a high profile basketball player as a role model. Although the pilot was evaluated as having been very successful, it was felt that this model could not be easily replicated across Scotland.

## Role of YouthLink

- 1.7 The National Delivery Team, based at YouthLink Scotland, was established in 2010 to work with partners in local authority areas to deliver the Programme in their area. This small team currently supports local practitioners, manages national networking, and develops resources for partners to deliver innovative solutions to knife crime.
- 1.8 Over time, YouthLink has moved from delivering a Programme which was very much developed and led by Government, to having increasingly more influence over the content and shape of delivery.
- 1.9 The number of local authority areas engaged has increased. At the time this review began, eleven local authorities were actively delivering NKBL. These areas tend to be places with relatively high levels of crime or violence. Since 2014 the Programme has been national – any local authority and area in Scotland can participate.
- 1.10 Staff have the following roles within the Programme:
- **National Co-ordinator** – this full time post is responsible for managing the Programme on a day-to-day basis, developing the Programme, and liaising with the Scottish Government.
  - **Senior Development Officer** – this full time post leads on local support and promotion.
  - **YouthLink Development Manager** – this senior manager oversees the management of the contract, and promotes the Programme across Scotland, as part of a range of responsibilities within YouthLink.

## Programme funding

- 1.11 The total level of funding awarded to YouthLink to deliver the NKBL Youth Engagement Programme during 2014-15 was £550,000<sup>1</sup>. Since 2009, the Scottish Government has provided over £2 million for NKBL.

## Intended focus and impact

- 1.12 The NKBL social marketing campaign and youth engagement approach was developed to reach young people (primarily males) aged 11-17, living in areas affected by knife crime.
- 1.13 According to YouthLink's most recent Business Plan for the Programme<sup>2</sup> the engagement programme has the following specific aims and vision:

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<sup>1</sup> Figures provided by the Scottish Government

<sup>2</sup> Engagement Programme Business Plan, 2013-2015, compiled by NKBL National Delivery Team

- No Knives, Better Lives will educate and empower young people to make positive life choices, whilst highlighting the dangers, consequences and risks of carrying a knife.
- No Knives, Better Lives aims to contribute to the reduction of knife crime in Scotland.
- No Knives, Better Lives aims to become defined as national; sustainable and preventative.

1.14 The Programme aims to contribute towards the following Scottish Government National Outcomes:

- **National Outcome 4:** Our young people are successful learners, confident individuals, effective contributors and responsible citizens.
- **National Outcome 9:** We live our lives safe from crime, disorder and danger.
- **National Outcome 11:** We have strong, resilient and supportive communities where people take responsibility for their own actions and how they affect others.

1.15 The National Delivery Team has developed activities and reports on progress towards the following specific Programme outcomes:

- increase young people's awareness of the risks and consequences of carrying a knife;
- increase opportunities for young people to hear about and promote positive life choices;
- increase the capacity of those working with young people to ensure they have the knowledge, skills and confidence to deliver effective NKBL educational interventions;
- improve support for local stakeholders to develop their own priorities, implementation and monitoring plans;
- improve communication and networking across NKBL stakeholders, resulting in increased collaborative working; and
- improve resources to support work in priority local authorities and also nation-wide.

### **Current approach and activities**

1.16 YouthLink provides a range of local and national activities to deliver its intended NKBL outcomes, including:

- **Programme development work** – It promotes the Programme with local authorities in Scotland, and provides support to develop and deliver NKBL activities in local areas.
- **Resource development** – YouthLink develops and updates resources to support partners with local awareness raising and youth engagement. This includes the NKBL toolkit (which offers a range of activities to deliver with young people), a guide to local implementation,

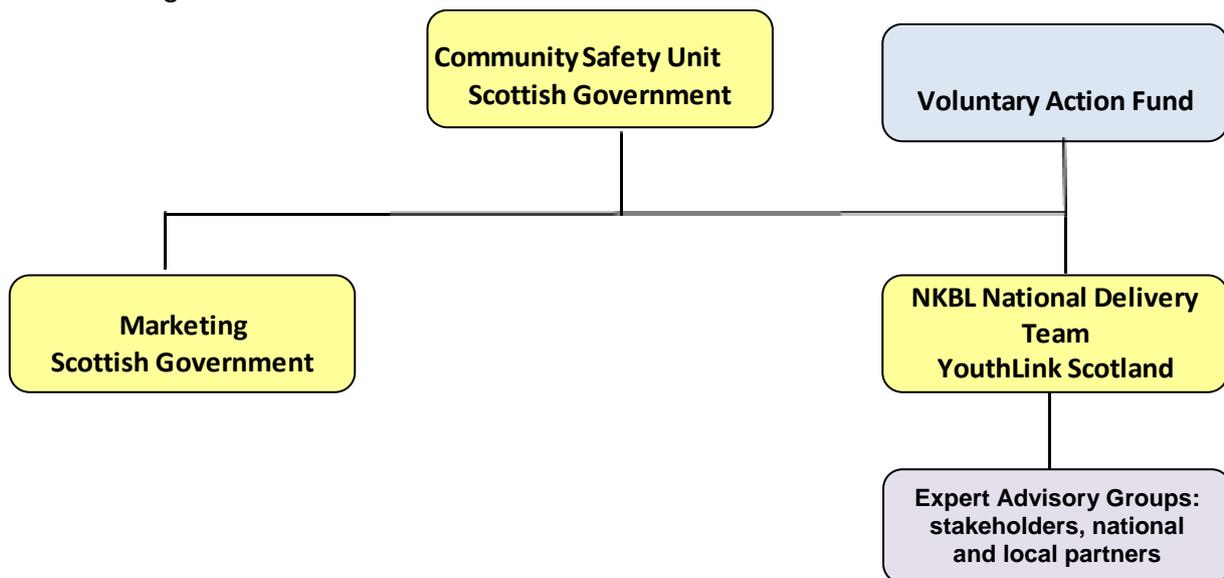
case studies, and marketing resources. YouthLink also actively informs the development of NKBL marketing activities.

- **Training for practitioners** – It develops and manages a national programme of training for those who work with young people (including youth workers, teachers and police officers).
- **Network support** – YouthLink coordinates a network of NKBL practitioners. This involves regular network events, and a regular digital newsletter.
- **Peer education programme** – It manages this programme to train and support young people to educate their peers in relation to knife crime and interpersonal violence. This programme is currently delivered by Fast Forward.
- **We-CTV** – YouthLink Scotland manages and coordinates this national film making programme, delivered by the Scottish Youth Parliament.

1.17 The approach taken is strongly based on the need to engage and build the capacity of existing local workers. Those involved in coordinating the youth engagement element of NKBL feel that this approach is likely to have a longer term impact at a national level than intensive, short term inputs. While YouthLink has worked to promote the Programme across all local authority areas, it has focused its efforts on partners and areas where there is a willingness and interest in building capacity and skills.

### Reporting and accountability

1.18 The diagram below shows the governance structure for the overall NKBL Programme<sup>3</sup>.



<sup>3</sup> Engagement Programme Business Plan, 2013-2015, compiled by NKBL National Delivery Team

1.19 The following reporting arrangements are in place:

- The NKBL Youth Engagement Business Plan and Development Plan are approved by the Community Safety Unit (CSU) of the Scottish Government.
- The National Delivery Team reports to the CSU.
- The National Delivery Team meets fortnightly with representatives from the Community Safety Unit and Marketing Team within the Scottish Government.
- Six monthly reports are prepared and provided to the Voluntary Action Fund (VAF), based on a prescribed format. VAF is responsible for monitoring delivery.
- Financial information is broken down and reported on.
- The National Delivery Team submits an annual report to the Scottish Government at the end of each financial year.

## Method

1.20 This review of the programme has been relatively 'light touch'. It has involved:

- An inception meeting with the Scottish Government in January 2015 – to agree the scope of the review, methodology and requirements.
- The development of structured discussion guides for interviews, which were reviewed and agreed by the Scottish Government.
- A face-to-face discussion with YouthLink Scotland to understand the way the Programme is delivered and gather views about its effectiveness and impact.
- Ten telephone interviews with coordinators and other stakeholders in seven local authority areas. Of these, two areas were new to the Programme, and had only recently begun discussions about participating. The other five have been involved in the Programme for at least two years. We aimed to invite a coordinator from each of the areas to be involved in the review, and successfully spoke with six. In the five areas already participating we also approached another local stakeholder identified by the coordinator. The interviews included three community learning or development workers and three Police Scotland representatives involved in Programme delivery. The areas were chosen to provide a mix of geography, urban and rural settings, level of violent crime, and length of involvement.
- We carried out two additional interviews with representatives from organisations with a strategic insight into interpersonal violence and youth engagement. One of the Police Scotland contacts was also asked to provide a strategic perspective during their interview.

1.21 The table below provides a breakdown of the stakeholder groups involved in the review, and the number of interviews conducted.

Stakeholder group	Date NKBL activity began	Number of interviews
Local - Inverclyde	August 2009	2
Local - Edinburgh	July 2010	2
Local - Glasgow	July 2010	1
Local – N. Lanarkshire	February 2012	2
Local – W. Lothian	September 2012	1
Local – S. Ayrshire	New to the Programme	1
Local - Dundee	New to the Programme	1
Strategic stakeholders		2
YouthLink Scotland		1
<b>Total number of interviews</b>		<b>13</b>

1.22 We have included evidence from existing reports, research and evaluation in this report. However, we found a limited amount of existing evaluative information to help us understand the extent to which the Programme has achieved its main intended outcomes. The approach taken to gathering and analysing new evidence was mainly qualitative. When considering the findings of the review it is important to note that the process involved a relatively small number of participants with limited perspectives, and is largely based on their perceptions of the Programme.

## 2. Existing Evidence about Knife Crime Interventions

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### This section of the report

- 2.1 This section of the report provides an overview of existing research and evidence about knife crime interventions. It mainly draws on a review funded by the Scottish Government and carried out by the Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research (SCCJR) in 2013<sup>4</sup>. Because of a lack of evaluation of specific approaches, that study mainly drew on academic studies of the causes and wider aspects of young peoples' lives.

### Causes of knife carrying

- 2.2 Although the reasons for knife carrying are complex and specific to each individual, the SCCJR report emphasises that research has found two common motivators. The first is a fear of crime, which causes an individual to carry a knife in the belief that the weapon shall offer protection and the second is a perception that status can be acquired by carrying a knife. As a result, intervention strategies often consider these two aspects in attempting to influence positive behaviours in young people.

### Diversions activities

- 2.3 Sport is considered to be effective in reducing knife crime and violence among young people<sup>5</sup>. Acting as a diversionary activity, engaging with sport can occupy a young person's time and attention, and give them a sense of control, focus and respect. Additionally, evidence demonstrates a relationship between knife carrying and gangs<sup>6</sup>, and it is thought that membership of a sports team can provide a similar feeling of inclusion.
- 2.4 The SCCJR report highlights that mentoring programmes between a young person and positive adult role models may also have a positive effect on interpersonal violence. Such relationships build confidence in young people which can act as a protective factor against violent behaviour. Similarly, peer-to-peer mentoring has been shown to increase self-esteem in young people which can direct individuals away from knife crime and violent activities.

### Educational interventions

- 2.5 Research suggests that, for an intervention into knife crime to be successful, one of the main reasons for carrying a knife should be addressed: a fear of being victimised, and the subsequent view that carrying a knife will offer

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<sup>4</sup> [http://www.sccjr.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/SCCJR\\_Report\\_No\\_04.2013\\_Knife\\_Crime\\_Interventions.pdf](http://www.sccjr.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/SCCJR_Report_No_04.2013_Knife_Crime_Interventions.pdf)

<sup>5</sup> [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/97777/tackling-knife-crime-report.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/97777/tackling-knife-crime-report.pdf)

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2010/09/09143042/0>

protection<sup>7</sup>. An important aim of an educational intervention is to inform young people of the issues relating to knife crime. This includes: the physical, emotional and legal consequences of knife crime; the sanctions involved with carrying a knife; and the understanding that carrying a knife actually increases an individual's risk of being victimised.

- 2.6 The SCCJR review suggests there is a lack of literature examining how a young person is influenced by the information delivered by an educational intervention. For example, an individual who carries a knife to elevate their status may be discouraged by the information due to the risks involved. However, an individual who carries a knife out of fear of victimisation may be less receptive to the information, as the reasons why they are fearful are not acknowledged or addressed.
- 2.7 As a result, the SCCJR review argued that the issues regarding fear and victimisation which affect young people should be made a priority within the delivery of educational interventions on knife crime. While a young person's perception of being a victim of crime may be inaccurate, it is often understandable. Based on this, it is suggested that educational programmes should acknowledge how fearful perceptions are created.
- 2.8 Current research acknowledges that in certain Scottish communities where violence is thoroughly embedded, a culture of fear can exist – an issue which particularly affects areas in the West of Scotland<sup>8</sup>. Here, the acknowledgment of fear and reassurance of police protection may not be enough to reduce anxiety in young people, especially if feelings of vulnerability are deeply ingrained. However, educational interventions could usefully be delivered as a sustained, longer term approach, rather than an immediate solution.
- 2.9 The SCCJR report draws attention to successes in providing education in two settings: formal, such as schools; and informal, such as community centres and public buildings. This acknowledges that different young people have different experiences of education, and individuals with little attachment to school may already be at a higher risk of knife carrying. Young people who have not responded well to the school environment may be more receptive to a programme delivered in their local youth organisation, and so it is important to ensure that interventions target such settings.

### **Criminal justice and multi-agency responses**

- 2.10 Research suggests that, in addition to educational interventions, criminal justice responses can also contribute to reducing knife crime as part of a multi-agency solution<sup>9</sup>. It is important that a balance is struck between education and criminal justice to ensure an appropriate level of response is practiced.

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<sup>7</sup> <http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/1258/1/0104312.pdf>

<sup>8</sup> [http://www.sccjr.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/SCCJR\\_Report\\_No\\_04.2013\\_Knife\\_Crime\\_Interventions.pdf](http://www.sccjr.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/SCCJR_Report_No_04.2013_Knife_Crime_Interventions.pdf), p.9

<sup>9</sup> [http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefingsAndFactsheets/S3/SB\\_11-23.pdf](http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefingsAndFactsheets/S3/SB_11-23.pdf)

- 2.11 While police ‘stop and search’ policies have had some success, the SCCJR review draws attention to concerns regarding the effectiveness and potential negative impacts this practice may have on the relationship between young people and the police.
- 2.12 Knife amnesties are an additional criminal justice strategy which tends to produce limited results. In 2006, an amnesty in England and Wales retrieved 89,864 knives which represented 0.4% of knives in homes, assuming each of the 22 million households in England and Wales had only a single knife<sup>10</sup>. Such a marginal figure indicates that knife amnesties are not in themselves a solution to knife crime, but can have an important role in raising awareness of knife carrying.
- 2.13 The Criminal Justice (Scotland) Bill was introduced in 2013 which proposed to raise the maximum custodial sentence for knife possession from 4 to 5 years. Although an expectation of a lengthier prison sentence is that more individuals will be deterred from carrying knives, the SCCJR review highlights that some scholars are sceptical of the impact. In the example of a young person who carries a knife out of fear of victimisation, it is unlikely that an individual will objectively consider the consequences of their behaviour, regardless of the increase to the maximum custodial sentence.

### **Broader context of violence**

- 2.14 The SCCJR review proposes a need to consider the wider context in which violence takes place, as it may be problematic to isolate knives from other weapons, and to isolate weapons from other social issues. There is concern that too much emphasis is placed on ‘the knife’ itself rather than the underlying causes of violence which may limit the effect of intervention strategies. Furthermore, knives have become a weapon of choice for many individuals due to their ease of access but that is not to say a different weapon could not take their place in future. Subsequently, intervention programmes should be adaptable to the broader issue of violence in order to deliver effective responses.

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<sup>10</sup>[http://www.crimeandjustice.org.uk/sites/crimeandjustice.org.uk/files/ccjs\\_knife\\_report%20CE%20et%20a1.pdf](http://www.crimeandjustice.org.uk/sites/crimeandjustice.org.uk/files/ccjs_knife_report%20CE%20et%20a1.pdf)

### 3. Programme Delivery

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#### Geographic reach

3.1 The table below shows the local authority areas where NKBL is currently delivered and when activity in that area began. The information is based on timeline records provided by YouthLink Scotland.

Stage	Local authority area	Date NKBL activity began
Initial pilot area	Inverclyde	August 2009
Involved in initial roll out	Clackmannanshire	July 2010
	Renfrewshire	July 2010
	Edinburgh	July 2010
	Glasgow	July 2010
Involved through targeted promotion	West Dunbartonshire	October 2010
	East Ayrshire	October 2011
	North Ayrshire	February 2012
	North Lanarkshire	February 2012
	South Lanarkshire	February 2012
	West Lothian	September 2012

3.2 The Programme is currently delivered in eleven local authority areas across Scotland. Up until 2014, most areas were targeted because of their relatively high levels of violence involving a weapon. Appendix one provides national statistics relating to carrying an offensive weapon.

#### Targeting specific communities or groups

3.3 As part of this review, coordinators and partners were asked about how the Programme had been targeted within their area. We heard that there were varied approaches to identifying communities or groups of young people to be engaged in the Programme. We found that:

- All of the existing five Programme areas we spoke with had specifically chosen geographic communities (usually because of the high levels of crime) in which to target the NKBL activities – although often these were relatively large localities.
- Areas specifically spoke of some NKBL activities being targeted at young people who might be particularly at risk. For example, in one area we heard that youth workers are delivering the Programme during summer schools run with young people with social, emotional or behavioural issues transitioning to secondary school.

- 3.4 Some stakeholders wanted to see better coordination and targeting of NKBL activities at a local level. Rather than trying to achieve a broad reach, they wanted to see a greater focus on local crime ‘hotspots’; young people most at risk (such as looked after young people); younger children; 18-25 year olds; and those not in education, employment or training. There was also interest from one area in doing more work with parents and carers.
- 3.5 In one area, there is an annual planning meeting with schools to look at hotspots and areas to target. Schools decide what training and support they want. In that area, those involved report that NKBL activity is strongly based on the Community Safety Strategic Assessment and has strong links to the Early Years Intervention Group, which can help identify young people who need to be engaged.

### Reach among practitioners

- 3.6 The immediate audience for YouthLink’s NKBL activity is practitioners (workers or volunteers). The Programme specifically targets those involved at a strategic level in local authorities, youth workers, teachers and police officers. It also works directly with peer educators. The table below shows the numbers of practitioners involved in NKBL activity between April and September 2014 (based on the most recent six month progress report).

Specific activity	Numbers involved (Apr – Sep 2014)
Training for practitioners	102 staff and volunteers trained in the use of ‘Sharp Solution’ and ‘On a Knife’s Edge’
NKBL practitioner network event	55 practitioners (from 9 local authority areas) attended an event in April 2014
Peer education training	4 young people and 2 practitioners trained
Peer educator support	Support to 12 peer educators
Resource provision	1,103 resources were downloaded from the website
Practitioner newsletter	600 people received the newsletter and 162 people opened it

### Reach with young people

- 3.7 While YouthLink does record examples of the numbers of young people directly engaged in the toolkit and peer education inputs, this information is not gathered in a consistent way at a programme level.
- 3.8 During the review, we asked coordinators and other partners to estimate the number of young people engaged in specific activities in their area. However, we found this information was not being recorded in most areas. We did find that the reach in some areas was quite significant. For example:

- In Inverclyde (where the Programme has been most intensively delivered, over the longest period of time) more than 2,000 young people aged 12 – 18 have been involved in the Programme since it began. Those involved estimate 40% of the relevant school age population have been involved.
- According to YouthLink's most recent six monthly progress report, at least 1,098 young people received peer education inputs between April and September 2014.

3.9 As we understand it, there is currently no method to record the demographic profile of the young people participating in a consistent way.

3.10 A recent survey to evaluate the toolkit training suggests that:

- Most of the 249 people who completed the training between November 2012 and May 2013 were youth workers (57%). A further 17% were police officers and 11% were teachers.
- Forty per cent of people surveyed during the study have gone on to deliver the toolkit in the community after training. A further 26% said they hadn't yet but planned to.
- Over a quarter of those who had delivered the toolkit had done so in Glasgow.
- The toolkit had most commonly been used in schools (43%) and youth work settings (38%). Fifteen per cent of survey respondents said they had used the materials in a school and youth work setting, with 4% saying they had used the toolkit in a secure unit.

### **Ethos and focus**

3.11 NKBL was originally targeted at young people (primarily males) aged 11-17, living in areas affected by knife crime. The marketing strand has been very much tailored to this target group.

3.12 During the review we heard that in recent years the focus of the youth engagement programme has changed in the following ways:

- The language, toolkits and activities now focus more on interpersonal violence, and wider safety issues for young people – rather than just knife crime.
- In response to demand from some local partners, new work has been developed to engage particular groups – including work with young people who are already offending and work to engage with younger children (under 11).
- The youth engagement activity is now open to any local authority or area in Scotland. YouthLink has been working to actively promote the opportunity across all local authority areas since 2013 and formally launched this broader scope in May 2014.

- 3.13 NKBL is very much viewed as a national programme among those we spoke with. We found that people's first impressions were strongly led by the national branding and the name. For those closely involved with delivery, their understanding of the Programme was also shaped by the way it was described by the National Delivery Team, and the content of the training and toolkit.
- 3.14 Local and policy stakeholders felt the brand was well known and had given the issue and activities a high profile. The brand had been helpful in some areas in getting the Programme on the local agenda. But some felt that the name was now too narrow and even misleading (as it focuses on knife crime).
- 3.15 A few local stakeholders emphasised that the name and brand can give the wrong first impression of the current Programme's content. They felt that their local partners had at times automatically assumed it 'isn't for us' because knife crime is not a major issue in their area. In reality, those we spoke with felt that the materials and resources actually covered a broad range of topics and issues of value to many areas.

"Because of how it is packaged, people might just think there is not a lot of problem with knife crime [here]."

"The focus of the toolkit is right . . . but people need to look beyond the title."

- 3.16 Stakeholders also had views about the language and imagery associated with the Programme marketing. A few of those we spoke with valued the "hard hitting" messages delivered. For them, it made sense that these messages would impact on young people who might not otherwise understand the consequences of carrying a knife.

"The current brand and message work."

- 3.17 For a significant number of those we spoke with, the tone of much of the marketing activity was too negative. It was suggested that this was not in keeping with recent and emerging Scottish Government programmes which appear to be more positive and focus on raising aspiration. Stakeholders called for changes to be made to the name and approach within the marketing campaign in order to shift to a more positive focus.

"It is very negative."

- 3.18 According to some coordinators and local stakeholders, the (at times) shocking messages and negative tone in the marketing campaign have adversely affected engagement in the Programme at both local authority and community level. We heard that in some areas there was local concern that the campaign would undermine attempts to regenerate and improve the image of particular neighbourhoods. Head teachers and community groups have been unsupportive of the Programme in some places, and have at times blocked participation. Often this is because of a concern that communities and individual schools will be stigmatised because of their association with NKBL, and have already bad reputations reinforced.

“Some teachers don’t want it in their schools . . . the Programme is helpful, but it is the perception of it . . . it looks to the public like there is a knife crime problem in their area.”

- 3.19 Coordinators and wider stakeholders recognised and very much valued the broader scope and increasingly more positive ethos of the toolkit, other materials, and promotion by the National Delivery Team. They spoke of the tone and language being much more positive. Most emphasised that the focus on interpersonal violence and wider issues was much more meaningful and helpful than a narrow focus on knife crime. It was felt by some that the national branding and social media campaigns have at times undermined the content of the Programme.
- 3.20 Many of the people we spoke with wanted the name and national campaign work to reflect the broader focus of interpersonal violence, and clarify the main priorities from the Government perspective.
- 3.21 Several spoke of the potential benefits and drawbacks of changing the name and approach to marketing. There was recognition that the established brand brought a high profile, but this might be outweighed by the need to change in order to reflect changes in priorities and style.

### Variations in local approaches

3.22 YouthLink very much promotes the flexibility to deliver the Programme in different ways, depending on the needs and priorities of a local area. Although there were variations in approach in different places, our review found that most areas use a wide range of elements of the Programme. The table below provides an overview of activities by local authority area. It shows that most of the activities on offer are being used. It also shows that most areas received additional CashBack funding to support their NKBL activities.

	Launch Event	Outdoor Advertising	WE-CTV	Youth Summit	Toolkit Training	Peer Education	Roadshow	CashBack Funding
Clackmannanshire	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-
East Ayrshire	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-
Edinburgh	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓
Glasgow	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Inverclyde	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
North Ayrshire	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-
North Lanarkshire	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	✓	-	-
Renfrewshire	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓
South Lanarkshire	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
West Lothian	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	-	✓
West Dunbartonshire	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

3.23 During interviews, we found that active areas are delivering NKBL activities in a range of settings and involving different practitioners. In some areas, much of the input is delivered by police officers in schools. In others, youth workers deliver activities in schools, and less formal youth work settings. Stakeholders in two areas wanted to start using the resources in street-work, as they felt this would help engage young people most at risk.

“We need to get back to proper detached youth work; we need to get the message out on the streets.”

3.24 Several of those we spoke with emphasised the value of engaging young people outside of the classroom, and of youth workers and peers delivering messages.

3.25 A number of stakeholders valued the flexible approach YouthLink had taken to local delivery. They emphasised that YouthLink had supported them develop their own approach locally, and had adapted to local feedback and challenges.

### What works well about the Programme

3.26 During the interviews, we explored what worked well about the current NKBL Programme. The main strengths identified were:

- **The increasing focus on interpersonal violence rather than knife crime** – stakeholders consistently welcomed that NKBL resources and tools now focused much more on interpersonal violence, which was seen as being much more relevant in many areas. There was also recognition that more interventions needed to take this broader approach, as problems were rarely just associated with knives.

“The ‘knives’ part of NKBL and gang culture are not major issues here. However, interpersonal violence is a big challenge for us.”

- **The recognition of the broader factors which influence violent and criminal behaviours** – those we spoke with repeatedly talked about the value of including information about wider issues which affect young people’s lives and their experiences of violence. These included mental health, drugs, alcohol, and bullying.

“Teen suicides and self harming linked to cyber bullying are now on the increase.”

“Resources that help young people make informed choices are of interest.”

- **Some aspects of branding** – although there were concerns about the tone and messages of the social media campaigns, some stakeholders also highlighted that they liked the variety of different media and innovative approaches used to deliver messages.

- **Toolkit and materials** – we were struck by the positive comments about the content of the toolkit and materials provided within the Programme. These were highly valued resources in school and informal youth work settings.

“The materials and the website are fantastic . . . they are incredibly helpful.”

- **Peer educators** – this was a highly valued approach and seen as a major strength of the Programme. Some stakeholders told us that the peer educators were being engaged to deliver wider messages on topics such as drugs, alcohol and bullying.

“Going down the peer education route has been a real success locally.”

- **Training** – some highlighted the benefits of the training provided. In particular, one stakeholder felt that the real life stories used really brought home the consequences of knife carrying.
- **Focus on youth work** – some emphasised the importance of having a programme like this which provides resources and training for youth work, rather than just for teachers or for formal school settings. They felt this recognised that less formal approaches may be needed to engage young people who do not engage positively in a formal school setting.

“They like it when the youth worker comes to speak with them at school, it is less formal and more chatty.”

- **We-CTV** – some drew attention to the benefits of this project which it was felt was a good project to actively engage young people in thinking about knife crime, and expressing this themselves.

“We-CTV was the thing that hooked young people.”

- **National profile and reputation** – having a campaign which had a high national profile had helped generate interest in the issues, secure local participation, and offered opportunities for practitioners to come together and learn from each other.
- **Local flexibility** – several of those we spoke with were positive about how the Programme could be delivered in ways which responded to local needs and priorities.

“The NKBL toolkit fits well with our community safety priorities, and is flexible enough to be adapted to respond to local needs.”

## What could be better about the Programme

3.27 When asked about what could be better about the Programme, stakeholders often emphasised points already discussed elsewhere in this report. They highlighted:

- **A need for better coordination and targeting at a local level** – some of those we spoke with felt that there needed to be better coordination and targeting of activities in their area. Some also wanted to see better engagement of local partners in their area – including the third sector and community learning and development. In other areas there was strategic planning in place which involved a range of partners.
- **Concerns about the tone and messages** – as already discussed, there was significant concern about the negative tone of the national marketing campaign materials (although some felt these worked well).
- **Need to revisit priorities and focus** – some questioned whether the focus on knife crime and the 11-17 age group is still relevant, given the shift towards a more holistic consideration of violence, and reductions in handling of offensive weapons in this age group.
- **Meeting the needs of older young people** – to further reduce knife carrying, stakeholders emphasised the need for new materials, campaigns and activities to reach older young people (beyond 17) given current statistical evidence. There was recognition that this would probably require different mechanisms and messages. The motivations and behaviours are likely to be different for this group. And they are likely to be effectively engaged in other ways and settings.

“We need to think out of the box a bit.”

- **Fit with other Scottish Government funded programmes** - several also spoke of the need to consider the ‘fit’ between NKBL and other Scottish Government funded programmes – such as work undertaken by the Violence Reduction Unit, Medics Against Violence and Crimestoppers. Generally, they felt that there was a place for all the approaches, and wanted to be able to access a range of different tools in their area. But they felt that there is a need for better coordination of these programmes at a national level to ensure that messages and approaches do not conflict with and undermine each other.

“People do understand the NKBL brand and the messages that underpin it. However, it could get diluted by other similar initiatives.”

“We are making them fit together but there could be better links nationally. There is a need to make sure there is a synergy there, [so that programmes do] not compete or clutter the landscape.”

- **Opportunities to strengthen the links with stakeholders at a national level** – some of those we spoke with felt there needed to be better links made with a range of organisations with an interest in violence and young people at a national level. This is likely to include community safety, youth work and education representatives.

“There needs to be more buy in from the top, to get more schools to buy into the Programme.”

### **Strengths and weaknesses of specific Programme activities**

3.28 During this review, we considered previous evaluation work carried out on specific elements of YouthLink coordinated activity. This independent and self evaluation material mostly provided evidence on what has worked well about specific activities, and the impact for young people directly participating in these (such as making films as part of the We-CTV project or acting as peer educators). The table on the following page sets out the main learning points about Programme delivery, based on this evaluative evidence. The impact on young people is considered in section 4 of this report.

Activity	What the evaluation tells us about . . .	
	What worked well	What could have been better
Toolkit training <sup>11</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Toolkits have been integrated into a variety of events across many locations</li> <li>• The toolkit was popular with youth workers and police officers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Some trainees struggled to find suitable groups to deliver their toolkits with</li> </ul>
Peer education <sup>12</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Having a young person deliver the session added credibility</li> <li>• Messages which were local and relevant to educatees were easier to remember</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Peer educators and educatees should share similar backgrounds</li> <li>• Most educatees admitted they would not start a conversation with friends or family about anti-knife crime</li> </ul>
Peer education programme with Young Offenders <sup>13</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sessions are designed by young people, for young people</li> <li>• The Programme inspires participants to <i>become</i> something, rather than merely <i>do</i> something</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Some participants thought sessions became repetitive</li> <li>• Some peer educators relied too heavily on the written structure of sessions</li> <li>• Sessions should have clear outcomes</li> </ul>
We-CTV <sup>14</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The approach generated excitement and enthusiasm</li> <li>• Participation from someone who had been a knife crime offender was powerful</li> <li>• The engagement from a professional film agency was welcomed</li> <li>• Different roles and team work was required</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Instructions for the project should clearly state the aims and rules</li> <li>• A longer timescale could increase production values</li> <li>• The voting system should account for differences in size between schools</li> </ul>

## YouthLink's role

3.29 We asked local coordinators and wider stakeholders about the support they received from YouthLink. They were generally positive about this, and identified the following key strengths:

- YouthLink has effectively promoted and driven progress in local areas. They spoke of the National Delivery Team staff meeting with them regularly, highlighting the importance of knife carrying and

<sup>11</sup> Toolkit Training Evaluation (2014). 249 people completed toolkit training; 72 people completed the toolkit training survey.

<sup>12</sup> Peer Education Evaluation (2014).

<sup>13</sup> Evaluation of the Peer Education Programme: Polmont Young Offenders Institution (2014)

<sup>14</sup> Evaluation of the Scottish Youth Parliament's We-CTV Programme (2012). 116 evaluation surveys were received across nine schools.

interpersonal violence, and working with them to overcome challenges or slow progress in their area.

- Some spoke of the way that YouthLink had effectively used its network of local and national contacts to promote the Programme and improve connections at a local level. It was felt that YouthLink has a good national overview of youth work delivery and a strong network of local contacts.
- We heard about examples where YouthLink had become very actively involved in delivering local activities, particularly in the early stages. This proactive approach was valued.
- A number also spoke of the positive way in which YouthLink had responded to feedback and adapted to local sensitivities as issues arose. The National Delivery Team staff members were seen as being approachable and helpful.

“We can always pick up the phone and get their ear.”

### Future priorities

3.30 When we asked people about their priorities for the future regarding tackling knife crime and interpersonal violence, there was recognition that the issues and landscape have changed since NKBL began in 2009. In particular, stakeholders involved in the review felt there was a need to look again at:

- **The scope of the problem** – For most this was broader than knife crime, and more about interpersonal violence. But it might encompass wider issues about health and wellbeing, and inequality.

“[The problem] is not about knives it is about violence.”

- **The priority groups for change** – To date, the NKBL Programme has been strongly targeted at young men aged 11-17. With falling levels of knife carrying within this group, a number of stakeholders emphasised the need to identify new priority target groups. They emphasised the need to engage older young men (who are most affected by knife crime) and younger children (to influence them early).

3.31 There was a sense that the Scottish Government needed to consider the main priorities and issues with stakeholders, and progress appropriate campaigns and interventions. There was interest in the Scottish Government continuing to drive national activity around interpersonal violence, and potentially knife crime, depending on the priorities identified.

“Funding is tight . . . [organisations are] working to lots of agendas. Having a dedicated ‘Rolls Royce’ model gives a focus and priority. Otherwise it becomes a list of 20 priorities.”

3.32 Whatever the future priorities in relation to knife crime, there was ongoing support for having a range of approaches in place to engage school age young people in discussions about interpersonal violence. There was interest in this

involving both school and less formal settings. Most of the stakeholders we spoke with saw an ongoing need for high quality resources and materials which focused on violence, peer education and youth engagement. Some highlighted the value of developing tools and materials at a national level that could be used by workers who already have relationships with young people – this was seen as a meaningful and sustainable approach. Generally, most stakeholders wanted to see the work currently delivered by YouthLink – or something like it – continue to be delivered.

“It should be about developing things at the grass roots level, and not parachuting ‘ready made’ solutions that might not be appropriate.”

## 4. Impact of the Programme

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4.1 This section of the report considers the impact of the NKBL activities coordinated and managed by YouthLink. It includes relevant information on previous evaluations conducted for specific elements of the Programme and analyses stakeholder views on Programme impact.

### Evidence about impact

4.2 We asked all those involved in the review about the impact the Programme has had on young people, communities and wider partners. Many felt it was difficult for them to comment on this, as they lacked evidence to support their views.

4.3 A number drew attention to the falling levels of knife crime and offences involving weapons. Ultimately they felt this demonstrated progress in relation to the aims identified for NKBL. However, most who talked about this also emphasised that this progress could not easily be attributed to NKBL alone. Some felt these changes were a result of a very wide package of policy and interventions in community safety, education, and early years support. Having said that, stakeholders spoke positively of the important role of the NKBL Programme in their areas.

4.4 Having reviewed evaluative evidence of existing Programme activities, we found there was a lack of consistent evidence about the impact of the Programme as a whole in relation to its intended outcomes.

4.5 Below we provide an analysis of views and other evidence about the impact of the Programme on practitioners and young people.

### Impacts on practitioners

4.6 Some stakeholders spoke of the impact the Programme had on practitioners and those working in their areas. They emphasised that the high profile nature of the campaign, and development work by YouthLink, had raised the profile of knife crime issues among local decision makers and practitioners.

4.7 YouthLink regularly gathers feedback from Network event participants. This suggests that practitioners attending these events particularly welcomed the opportunity to meet others working on NKBL and the opportunity to consider future activities. Most felt the events have improved their understanding of the national context for NKBL, and improved their understanding of NKBL activities in other local areas.

### Impacts on young people

4.8 During interviews, some stakeholders felt that the Programme had raised awareness of knife crime and related issues among young people – although they found it difficult to evidence this.

4.9 The independent evaluation of the peer education training showed that:

- All young people who participated in the training to become a peer educator reported they had developed new skills and confidence.
- More than three quarters (78%) of young people who had participated in a session delivered by peer educators could recall some key messages.
- More than two thirds (70%) of young people who participated in a session and completed a feedback questionnaire said they would tell their friends and family about what they had learned. However, the study found that only one person had done and young people felt this was a difficult topic to instigate discussions about.

4.10 An evaluation of the peer education programme delivered in Polmont Youth Offenders Institution suggests that the peer educators had experienced benefits from the programme - although for most it was their changed attitude towards violence that prompted them to join the programme, rather than the other way around. They reported that the most important thing they gained from their role was the opportunity to learn techniques to avoid violent situations.

4.11 The evaluation of the We-CTV Programme highlighted that:

- Young people directly involved in film making projects thought they had learned about knife crime. They also felt they had developed film making and programme management skills, and were often proud of what they had produced.
- Involvement in the Programme had led some young people to do their own research to find out about knife crime, and its consequences.
- An online survey, which was sent to potential viewers of the films, found that 66% of those who had already seen a film thought the film was an effective way of changing attitudes to knife crime, and 59% said they had learned more about the consequences of knife crime from the film. When asked what they might do differently as a result of the film, half (51%) said they would encourage friends or family not to carry knives; 39% said they would avoid people they knew who carried knives; and 33% said they would tell a teacher or another adult if they knew someone was carrying a knife.

## 5. Conclusions

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### Introduction

5.1 This section of the report discusses the evidence gathered during the review, and draws conclusions about the Programme in relation to the specific research questions set out in the Scottish Government's brief.

### Reach

5.2 We found that the Programme has been actively delivered in eleven areas since its inception. Until recently, the Programme was primarily targeted at areas where there were high levels of handling offensive weapons.

5.3 Since it was agreed to open the Programme up to all areas in Scotland, YouthLink reports that it has promoted the Programme with all 32 local authorities. While it is still relatively early days in relation to national promotion, take up has varied. This review suggests there are a number of factors which influence understanding, interest and participation in the Programme. These may also be affecting take up. In particular:

- The name and brand very much emphasise knife carrying – which is not seen as a problem in many areas.
- The tone of marketing materials is viewed as being very negative – which may lead to concerns about the stigma of being involved.
- There may be issues of local capacity and interest among practitioners – the current model very much relies on local commitment and capacity to deliver.
- The 'fit' with other approaches and interventions is not always clear – we found that other messages, language and delivery approaches are being delivered.

5.4 If promotion of the Programme leads to increased participation, the Scottish Government and YouthLink will have to consider how to prioritise support across Scotland.

### Local adaptations

5.5 The ethos and tone of the Programme has been very much set at a national level – through the campaign as well as the content of specific tools and resources.

5.6 Those we spoke with felt that the Programme fitted with their local priorities. We found that YouthLink had worked hard to communicate that the Programme was about much more than knives, which had been important to engage those areas involved. Generally, people felt that the Programme was responsive to

local issues and challenges, and that the toolkit and other elements were very much presented as a range of tools which they could deploy in a way that worked for them. We certainly found that the resources were being used by different practitioners in a range of settings – with police officers and youth workers carrying out NKBL activities in schools, and youth workers using them in less formal settings.

- 5.7 In most of the active areas we spoke with, the Programme had been initially targeted in a few localities. Although we found some evidence of targeting of specific high risk groups, a number of those we spoke with wanted to see a much more targeted approach. In some areas we found that the toolkits were being delivered to all the schools in the designated areas. There may be reasons for this – for example, concerns about targeting and stigmatising some schools over others – but there was an appetite for a more focused response. However, this would require further clarification about priorities at a national level, as the scope of the campaign and toolkits would influence where it should be used.
- 5.8 There was concern that, if the ongoing focus of the Programme is on knife crime, there needs to be a shift towards identifying older young people who are now more likely to be involved in this than school age young people. There was recognition that the current tools and resources would not necessarily influence this age group, and that new approaches and even new programmes would need to be developed if this was what the Scottish Government wanted to achieve.

### **An ongoing role for a national programme or programmes**

- 5.9 Those involved in the review felt there had been benefits to having a very high profile national campaign on knife crime. However, there was a strong sense that the current marketing approach needs to be adapted to reflect changing priorities and concerns about its negative tone.
- 5.10 Many felt there was ongoing value in the Scottish Government having a continued national focus on interpersonal violence. In practice, this may involve marketing activities and youth engagement activities. But a range of stakeholders called for clarity about the current priorities and target groups in relation to knife crime and interpersonal violence. Generally, they wanted to see a broader approach to tackling violence - focusing on interpersonal violence rather than knife crime in isolation. They called for greater consistency of message and approach between nationally funded programmes to tackle violent behaviours, and more 'joining up' of national policy stakeholders involved in community safety, education and youth work.
- 5.11 While stakeholders wanted there to be a more cohesive approach at the centre, there was also a strong sense that having a range of different interventions and models was also helpful, and that they could complement each other.
- 5.12 Whatever policy makers and funders decide in relation to national priorities, there was strong support for high quality tools and resources – such as those

coordinated by YouthLink on the NKBL Programme – to be made available for those working with young people. People wanted to see a continuing and even increased focus on engaging young people in a range of youth work (rather than just educational) settings, which the current Programme supports.

### **Responding to emerging evidence about knife crime interventions**

5.13 The SCCJR review highlights a number of important lessons of relevance to this Programme. In particular:

- Knife crime interventions need to focus on two main motivators – a fear of crime or a perception that a knife acts as a status symbol. A fear of crime and victimisation should be the main focus of educational interventions with young people.
- Approaches involving mentoring and peer to peer mentoring have been shown to be useful in tackling interpersonal violence.
- In some communities, violence is very thoroughly embedded, and a culture of fear exists. Given this, a long-term and sustained approach may be needed.
- Educational interventions have been successful in both formal and informal educational settings. It may be important to deliver interventions in a range of places, in order to respond to different experiences of these settings among young people.
- There is a need to develop interventions and approaches which consider a broader context to interpersonal violence.

5.14 Although this review was not a detailed evaluation of NKBL, we found that the current NKBL Programme does explore issues of fear and victimisation – for example, making young people aware that they may actually be more likely to become a victim of crime if they carry a knife. However, it does also employ ‘shock tactics’ which may not necessarily positively influence feelings of fear and victimisation.

5.15 The current Programme includes peer to peer work, and provides tools which have proved useful in youth work settings. We believe these are important and valuable characteristics of this Programme, which have been strengthened by YouthLink’s involvement.

5.16 YouthLink has taken the view that the Programme needs to build commitment, skills and capacity at a local level. While the long term sustainability of the approach has not been evaluated, this idea is in keeping with the SCCJR proposal that approaches in many communities need to be longer term.

## Monitoring and evaluation

5.17 During the review process we found YouthLink records and reports on its activities and outputs in a fairly diverse and detailed way. Its approach has been strongly influenced by the reporting framework provided by VAF. Specific elements of the Programme have been independently evaluated. We also found that YouthLink has actively gathered feedback from practitioners in order to shape the way the Programme is delivered - an approach recognised and welcomed by those involved in local delivery.

5.18 Although a range of material has been gathered and analysed, we found that there is a lack of consistent information about the number of young people involved and their profile. We also found that evaluation and reporting has not focused on Programme outcomes as much as that it might have – even at a practitioner level, which should be relatively straight forward to capture. The approach to monitoring and evaluation could be improved through:

- the agreement of a small number of output and outcome focused targets for each funding period and associated indicators, to be agreed with the Scottish Government;
- improved collection of data from local coordinators (including information about the number of local practitioners using the toolkit, settings, and numbers of young people participating in NKBL activities, and their profile); and
- a simpler reporting framework, which shifts away from detailed output reporting to providing a more outcome focused picture of the impact of the Programme.

5.19 This could helpfully involve the development of monitoring and self evaluation tools – such as a revised survey of network participants and annual information gathering from local coordinators. Importantly, such tools should consistently gather evidence in relation to agreed output and outcome indicators.

5.20 At some point, the Scottish Government or YouthLink may wish to commission further independent evaluation of the Programme. We suggest that this should mainly focus on understanding the impact of the whole Programme in relation to its agreed outcomes, as well as the effectiveness of key elements or activities.

## Appendix 1: National Statistics Relating to Knife Crime

National Statistics Source: Recorded Crime in Scotland, 2013-14

### Handling of an offensive weapon, 2006-07 to 2013-14

Data	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	%change 2012-13 to 2013- 14	%change 2006-07 to 2013- 14
Aberdeen City	331	366	351	231	257	253	130	139	7%	-58%
Aberdeenshire	170	137	167	108	123	107	94	62	-34%	-64%
Angus	72	71	92	79	69	47	43	44	2%	-39%
Argyll & Bute	163	130	120	92	91	66	54	51	-6%	-69%
Clackmannanshire	138	126	118	79	85	70	59	40	-32%	-71%
Dumfries & Galloway	159	133	127	122	135	88	62	69	11%	-57%
Dundee City	190	179	205	155	240	175	128	131	2%	-31%
East Ayrshire East	217	214	211	168	111	111	71	55	-23%	-75%
Dunbartonshire	119	112	77	91	67	45	59	24	-59%	-80%
East Lothian	139	85	78	75	79	65	66	51	-23%	-63%
East Renfrewshire	96	73	100	73	78	40	22	15	-32%	-84%
Edinburgh, City of	807	723	699	542	611	492	340	436	28%	-46%
Eilean Siar	16	13	18	11	7	9	8	10	25%	-38%
Falkirk	222	162	210	126	167	165	96	129	34%	-42%
Fife	341	314	406	287	246	267	165	185	12%	-46%
Glasgow City	3,020	2,650	2,484	2,085	1,562	1,447	985	838	-15%	-72%
Highland	360	345	315	275	263	279	167	133	-20%	-63%
Inverclyde	237	224	221	182	135	100	70	48	-31%	-80%
Midlothian	135	96	94	90	67	76	60	65	8%	-52%
Moray	104	83	72	74	80	34	36	41	14%	-61%
North Ayrshire	338	337	316	191	152	157	67	79	18%	-77%
North Lanarkshire	684	677	582	467	400	316	251	249	-1%	-64%
Orkney Islands	10	9	7	10	14	7	9	3	-67%	-70%
Perth & Kinross	84	70	113	65	87	76	65	60	-8%	-29%
Renfrewshire	397	318	342	256	225	222	146	136	-7%	-66%
Scottish Borders	120	91	121	75	68	91	59	55	-7%	-54%
Shetland Islands	19	10	20	15	6	12	15	13	-13%	-32%
South Ayrshire	183	145	153	89	101	64	55	46	-16%	-75%
South Lanarkshire	589	514	543	395	350	312	276	251	-9%	-57%
Stirling	139	97	98	92	82	95	71	50	-30%	-64%
West Dunbartonshire	300	294	319	237	172	174	126	143	13%	-52%
West Lothian	211	191	201	205	153	169	160	144	-10%	-32%
<b>Scotland</b>	<b>10,110</b>	<b>8,989</b>	<b>8,980</b>	<b>7,042</b>	<b>6,283</b>	<b>5,631</b>	<b>4,015</b>	<b>3,795</b>	<b>-5%</b>	<b>-62%</b>

**Total Crimes recorded, 2006-07 to 2013-14**

<b>Data</b>	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	%change 2012-13 to 2013- 14	%change 2006-07 to 2013- 14
Aberdeen City	23,322	21,903	21,413	18,753	18,749	17,877	15,635	15,390	-2%	-34%
Aberdeenshire	10,527	8,493	8,729	8,093	8,064	7,513	7,072	6,836	-3%	-35%
Angus	6,099	5,547	5,926	4,872	4,631	3,865	3,831	4,004	5%	-34%
Argyll & Bute	5,303	5,051	4,617	4,133	3,897	3,821	3,121	2,904	-7%	-45%
Clackmannanshire	4,932	4,572	4,018	3,278	3,382	2,986	2,570	2,330	-9%	-53%
Dumfries & Galloway	9,547	8,389	7,503	6,900	6,773	6,036	5,350	5,351	0%	-44%
Dundee City	15,512	14,467	13,301	11,932	12,228	9,820	8,962	9,212	3%	-41%
East Ayrshire	8,544	8,665	8,187	7,967	7,683	7,456	6,148	5,738	-7%	-33%
East Dunbartonshire	4,874	4,196	4,103	4,047	3,950	3,913	3,466	3,066	-12%	-37%
East Lothian	5,232	4,377	4,560	4,643	4,568	3,856	3,339	3,493	5%	-33%
East Renfrewshire	4,164	3,643	3,642	3,120	3,163	2,951	2,539	2,120	-17%	-49%
Edinburgh, City of	48,385	45,092	44,360	39,867	38,253	36,206	31,310	35,614	14%	-26%
Eilean Siar	1,125	970	865	642	754	778	682	478	-30%	-58%
Falkirk	10,148	9,673	9,388	8,062	8,340	8,034	7,299	7,210	-1%	-29%
Fife	30,304	25,362	24,075	21,139	18,726	17,848	15,230	16,150	6%	-47%
Glasgow City	75,387	69,521	68,565	61,165	57,122	61,002	53,212	50,823	-4%	-33%
Highland	14,872	13,987	13,804	12,120	11,654	11,684	9,707	8,232	-15%	-45%
Inverclyde	7,040	6,506	6,250	5,521	5,641	5,504	4,201	4,323	3%	-39%
Midlothian	6,325	5,338	5,780	5,246	4,603	4,546	4,015	4,346	8%	-31%
Moray	5,900	5,292	4,830	4,111	4,065	3,838	3,159	3,115	-1%	-47%
North Ayrshire	9,871	9,742	10,630	9,313	9,030	9,378	7,707	7,047	-9%	-29%
North Lanarkshire	26,157	26,442	25,458	23,422	21,747	20,729	17,977	17,784	-1%	-32%
Orkney Islands	497	418	561	543	450	420	436	364	-17%	-27%
Perth & Kinross	7,634	6,890	6,820	5,965	5,642	5,320	5,013	4,930	-2%	-35%
Renfrewshire	14,672	12,637	13,095	11,603	11,494	11,491	9,221	9,291	1%	-37%
Scottish Borders	5,402	4,460	4,705	4,065	3,743	3,844	3,179	3,206	1%	-41%
Shetland Islands	782	756	887	847	726	674	530	440	-17%	-44%
South Ayrshire	7,531	7,204	6,824	5,688	6,081	5,514	5,221	5,088	-3%	-32%
South Lanarkshire	20,969	19,980	19,343	17,271	16,638	15,850	14,689	14,183	-3%	-32%
Stirling	6,150	5,580	5,535	5,089	5,138	5,237	4,187	3,781	-10%	-39%
West Dunbartonshire	9,160	8,869	8,540	7,585	7,312	7,178	6,099	5,203	-15%	-43%
West Lothian	12,890	11,487	11,119	11,122	9,000	9,019	7,946	8,345	5%	-35%
<b>Scotland</b>	<b>419,257</b>	<b>385,509</b>	<b>377,433</b>	<b>338,124</b>	<b>323,247</b>	<b>314,188</b>	<b>273,053</b>	<b>270,397</b>	<b>-1%</b>	<b>-36%</b>