

Understanding and Preventing Youth Crime survey (UYPC) Early Findings

Stop and search in Glasgow and Edinburgh

Dr Kath Murray, University of Edinburgh
June 2015

Table of contents

Executive Summary: Key Findings	4
Introduction	8
The changing landscape of stop and search in Scotland	8
Policing children and young people: observations and recommendations	10
Report structure.....	12
1. Background to the survey and methodology.....	13
2. The overall and varying prevalence of stop and search in Glasgow and Edinburgh	16
2.1. Overall prevalence of stop and search.....	17
2.2. Multiple search encounters	18
2.3. Age (school year).....	18
2.4. Gender.....	19
2.5. Ethnicity	20
2.6. Educational factors and social class	21
2.7. Family support and child vulnerability.....	23
2.8. Perceived levels of neighbourhood/school crime and disorder	24
2.9. Children’s involvement in offending.....	26
2.10. Victimization	30
2.11. Factors that influence the probability of being searched by the police	32
3. The effectiveness of stop and search.....	37
3.1. Stop and search powers in Scotland: legislation and aims	37
3.2. Effectiveness and detection.....	38
4. Fairness and procedural Justice	40
4.1. The quality of stop and search encounters.....	40
4.2. Explaining decision-making.....	42
4.3. How children felt about being stopped and searched.....	42
4.4. Children’s views of the police	43
References	47

Table of Figures

Figure 1. UPYC study population and sampling frame	14
Figure 2 Recorded stop searches and seizures in Scotland, April 2013 to December 2015	15
Figure 3 Lifetime prevalence of stop and search amongst 12 to 16 year olds in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Sheffield and Birmingham (%)	17
Figure 4 When did the stop and search encounter/s take place?	17
Figure 5 Incidence of stop and search in the last 12 months, Glasgow and Edinburgh (%)	18
Figure 6. Lifetime prevalence of stop and search by school year (%) Edinburgh/Glasgow and Sheffield/Birmingham	19
Figure 7 Incidence of stop and search in the last twelve months, by gender (%)	19
Figure 8 Lifetime prevalence of stop and search by ethnicity (%)	20
Figure 9 Lifetime prevalence of stop and search by type of school attended (mainstream state or independent) (%)	21
Figure 10 Lifetime prevalence of stop and search by self-reported school achievement (%)	22
Figure 11 Lifetime prevalence of stop and search by self-reported truancy in the last 12 months (%)	22
Figure 12 Lifetime prevalence of stop and search by parental/carer knowledge of child's whereabouts (%)	23
Figure 13 Lifetime prevalence of stop and search by family involvement and support (%)	23
Figure 14 Lifetime prevalence of stop and search, by respondent's perceptions of neighbourhood crime and disorder (%)	24
Figure 15 Lifetime prevalence of stop and search, by respondent's perceptions of crime and disorder within their school (%)	25
Figure 16 Prevalence of offending among children in Grades S2 to S4 in Edinburgh and Glasgow, lifetime and in the last 12 months (%)	26
Figure 17 Overall prevalence of offending in the last 12 months (%) Glasgow and Edinburgh	27
Figure 18 Lifetime prevalence of stop and search amongst children who offended in the last 12 months (%)	28
Figure 19 Lifetime prevalence of stop and search, by types of victimization (%)	30
Figure 20 Lifetime prevalence of stop and search, by physical victimization on way home from school in the last 12 months (%)	31
Figure 21 Multivariate model predicting the likelihood of being stopped and searched amongst 12 to 16 year olds in Glasgow and Edinburgh	33
Figure 22 Non-offending and offending in the last 12 months) amongst children who were stopped and searched (%)	39
Figure 23 Last stop and search encounter: were the police professional? (%)	40

Figure 24 Last stop and search encounter: were the police polite & respectful? (%).....	41
Figure 25 Last stop and search encounter: were the police fair? (%)	41
Figure 26 Last stop and search encounter: were the police polite and respectful, by city (%).....	41
Figure 27 Did the officers explain the reason, or ask if you were happy to be searched?.....	42
Figure 28 How did children feel about being stopped and searched?	43
Figure 29 Whether the police generally treat young people with respect, by experience of stop and search (%).....	44
Figure 30 How often do the police make fair decisions when dealing with young people, by experience of stop and search (%).....	44
Figure 31 Whether the police explain their decisions, by experience of stop and search (%).....	45
Figure 32 Whether the police are appreciative of what young people think, by experience of stop and search (%).....	45
Figure 33 Whether generally supportive of what the police do, by experience of stop and search (%)	46

Executive Summary: Key Findings

This report presents data and analysis on children's experiences of stop and search in Scotland. The analysis in the report is based on data from the *Understanding and Preventing Youth Crime* (UYPC) survey, a UK wide project that examines children's experiences of crime, victimisation and policing. The report was commissioned by the Scottish Police Authority (SPA) in order to meet Recommendation 11 of the SPA Scrutiny Review on Stop and Search:¹

The SPA should commission research, in conjunction with others, to establish the short and long term impact of stop and search on different groups and communities. In particular, this should cover the short and long term impact of stop and search activity on young people. (SPA, 2014; 26)

The report examines the overall and varying prevalence, police effectiveness, and how children feel about being stopped and searched. The UYPC questionnaire was administered to 2,186 secondary school children in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Sheffield and Birmingham between September 2014 and December 2015. In Scotland, 1,286 pupils aged between twelve and sixteen years old took part in the survey, while in England, 900 children took part. The key findings on children's experiences of stop and search in Scotland are as follows:

The overall and varying prevalence of stop and search

- Overall, nearly a quarter of children in Glasgow and Edinburgh (23%) said that they had been stopped and searched at least once in their lifetime.
- The overall prevalence of stop and search in Glasgow and Edinburgh (23%) was around three times higher than Sheffield and Birmingham (8%).
- Across the four cities, prevalence rates ranged from 5% in Birmingham, to 26% in Glasgow.
- Children in Glasgow were more likely to have been searched on multiple occasions, compared to children in Edinburgh. Over a fifth (21%) of children in Glasgow had been searched on six or more occasions, compared to 2% in Edinburgh.

School year

- One of the strongest predictors of being stopped and searched was school year. In Glasgow and Edinburgh, 37% of children in S4 (15 and 16 year olds) had been stopped and searched on at least one occasion, compared to 11% in Birmingham and Sheffield.

¹ Additional research commissioned by the Authority includes a qualitative study of people's experiences of, and attitudes towards stop and search by Blake Stevenson Consultancy.

Gender

- The prevalence of stop and search was slightly higher among boys than girls, at 26% and 21% respectively.
- However, boys were far more likely to be searched on multiple occasions. Of the children who had been stopped and searched six times or more in the last twelve months, 71% were boys and 29% were girls.
- When controlling for other factors, multivariate analysis showed that boys were around 1.7 times more likely to be stopped and searched than girls.

Ethnicity

- Asian children were less likely to be stopped and searched, compared to White children. Otherwise, there were no statistically significant differences across the ethnic groups in the survey.

Education and social class

- Children who said that they did badly at school were more likely to have been searched, compared to those who said that they performed well at school. Over half (53%) of those who said that their achievement was poor or well below average had been stopped and searched, compared to 13% who said that their achievement was well above average or excellent.
- When controlling for other factors, children who attended state schools were 2.7 times more likely to have been searched, compared to children who attended independent schools. However, self-reported offending rates between the two groups did not vary.

Family support and involvement

- The prevalence of stop and search was lower amongst children with higher levels of family support and involvement. Children whose parents rarely knew their whereabouts, what they were doing, or whom they were with were more likely to have been stopped and searched by the police. For example, 73% of children who said that their parents/carers seldom or never knew where they were had been searched, compared to 18% who said that their parents/carers often or almost always knew where they were.

Neighbourhood crime and disorder

- The prevalence of stop and search was higher in areas with higher perceived levels of crime and disorder; however, this activity did not result in high detection rates.

Offending behaviour

- Half of the children (50%) in the survey had never taken part in a crime, rising to three quarters (75%) when excluding illegally downloading music or films from the internet. Excluding illegal downloads, 9% of children had taken part in two or more offences in the last twelve months.

- When controlling for other factors, children who had been involved in a group fight in the last twelve months were 4.8 times more likely to have been stopped and searched, compared to children who had not.
- However, other types of offending, including weapon carrying and drug misuse, were not significantly associated with being stopped and searched.
- More than six in ten of children who were stopped and searched (61%) had not committed an offence in the last twelve months.
- The number of children who were stopped and searched and had *not* committed a crime in the last 12 months was 57% higher than the number that had been stopped and searched and *had* committed a crime.

Alcohol

- Children who had drunk alcohol in the last month were 2.6 times more likely to have been stopped and searched, compared to those who had not.
- The demographics of stop and search were out of kilter with the demographics of stop and search. In general, the prevalence of underage drinking (in the last month) was higher in Edinburgh (compared to Glasgow), amongst girls (compared to boys) and amongst children who attended independent schools (compared to mainstream state schools).

Victimisation

- Children who said that someone had taken, or tried to take something from them either by force or the threat of force (i.e. robbery) were 3.5 times more likely to have been searched, compared to those who had not. Children who said that either they or a friend had been physically attacked on the way home from school on more than one occasion were 6.1 times more likely to have searched, compared to those who had not.

The effectiveness of stop and search

- Overall, 13% of encounters in the last twelve months resulted in detection. This finding is consistent with Police Scotland data, which shows that between June and December 2015, 14% of stop and search encounters involving 12 to 15 year olds resulted in detection. By contrast, Police Scotland data show that 24% of all stop searches carried out on persons of all ages in the same period were positive.
- Officers appeared to target the 'right places', that is, areas with higher levels of neighbour crime and disorder.
- However, at the individual level, involvement in criminal behaviour was a poor indicator for being stopped and searched. Of those children who had been stopped and searched, 61% had not been involved in offending behaviour even in the last year (excluding illegal downloading).

How children feel about being stopped and searched

- Children who had been stopped and searched tended to be equivocal or negative about their experiences. Over a third (34%) said that the officers were 'not at all' fair, compared to 14% who said that the officers were 'very fair.'
- Over a third of (35%) said the officers were 'a bit' professional, compared to a less than a fifth (18%) who said that the officers were 'very' polite and respectful.
- Nearly a third of children in Glasgow (32%) said that the police were 'not at all' polite and respectful, compared to 18% in Edinburgh.
- Just over half of respondents who were searched said that the officers had explained the reason (51%); of these children, three quarters (75%) said that they understood the reason.
- Around four in ten (39%) said the officers had asked if they were happy for the search to go ahead. Most of these children (79%) gave their agreement to be searched.
- Children mostly felt annoyed at being searched, rather than scared or embarrassed. Over a third of children (35%) said that they felt 'very' annoyed, and a quarter (25%) said they felt 'quite' annoyed.
- Very few children (7%) said that being stopped and searched made them feel 'very' safe on the streets, while 70% said it did not make them feel at all safer.
- The views of children who had been stopped and searched at least once tended to be more negative towards the police, compared to those who had not been searched. For example, more than a third (37%) of children who had been searched said they thought the police 'almost never' treated young people with respect, compared to 15% who had not been searched.
- A third (34%) of children who had been stopped and searched thought that the police 'almost never' made fair decisions when dealing with young people, compared to 14% who had not been searched.
- Over half (53%) of children who had been stopped and searched disagreed strongly or disagreed that the police appreciate what young people think, compared to 32% who had not been searched.

Introduction

This report presents data and analysis on school children's experiences of stop and search in Glasgow and Edinburgh. The analysis in the report is based on data from the *Understanding and Preventing Youth Crime* (UYPC) survey, a UK wide project that examines children's experiences of crime, victimisation and policing. The Scottish Police Authority (SPA) commissioned the report in order to meet Recommendation 11 of the SPA Scrutiny Review on Stop and Search:²

The SPA should commission research, in conjunction with others, to establish the short and long term impact of stop and search on different groups and communities. In particular, this should cover the short and long term impact of stop and search activity on young people. (SPA, 2014; 26)

The UYPC project is the first quantitative investigation into children's experiences of stop and search in Scotland. Between January and December 2015, secondary school children aged between 12 and 16 years completed a questionnaire about their everyday lives, their experiences of being a victim of crime and being involved in crime. The children also answered questions about contact with the police, their experiences of stop and search, and their attitudes towards the police. Overall, 1,300 pupils in Scotland took part (854 in Glasgow, and 446 in Edinburgh), while 907 children took part in England (369 in Birmingham and 538 in Sheffield). The findings presented in this report provide original and important insights into the overall and varying prevalence of stop and search in Scotland, the effectiveness of stop and search, and how children feel about being stopped and searched.

The changing landscape of stop and search in Scotland

The UYPC survey took place against a backdrop of major change in Scottish policing, namely the establishment of Police Scotland in April 2013, the roll-out of volume stop and search on a national basis (from an already high base-line),³ and subsequent reduction in the tactic from around late 2013 onward. In August 2014, the monthly number of recorded stop searches and seizures in Scotland peaked at around 70,000. By December 2015, this had fallen to fewer than 5,000, a decrease of around 93%. Whilst Police Scotland stop and search data prior to the introduction of the ungraded database in June 2015 should be treated very cautiously (HMICS, 2015), it is clear that stop and search levels in Scotland have fallen significantly over the last two years (see **Figure 2**).

² Additional research commissioned by the Authority includes a qualitative study of people's experiences of, and attitudes towards stop and search by Blake Stevenson Consultancy.

³ In 2012/13, the year before Police Reform, officers recorded over half a million stop searches and seizures in Scotland (640,000).

Survey fieldwork in Scotland was conducted between January and December 2015, by which time recorded stop and search rates were already falling, albeit unevenly across the country. Children taking part in the survey were asked about their experiences of stop and search within their lifetime (had they ever been searched) and within the last twelve months. Those respondents who had been searched in the last twelve months were asked a series of more detailed questions about the last (or only) search encounter, for example, what the police were looking for, how they felt, and how did the officers conduct themselves. Of those children who said that they had been stopped and searched, around eight in ten said that they had been searched in the last year.

Legal reform, policy and practice

The UPYC findings suggest that officers generally target the right places, for example, areas with higher levels of visible crime. However, it is questionable whether officers have targeted the right people. Putting aside the fact that stop and search is intended as an immediate response to potential wrongdoing, more than half (61%) of those children who had been searched had not been involved in offending in the past twelve months. This finding is reflected in the low detection rate, which at 13% is considerably lower than the average detection rate across the population as a whole.⁴ It is also clear that many children were stopped and searched, without good reason or explanation.

In practice, the widespread and frequent use of stop and search appears to have cast an excessively wide net over children in Glasgow and Edinburgh, leading to high levels of unjustified and intrusive police contact. On the one hand, this approach has led to officers stop and searching at least some of the 'right people'. On the other hand, it has drawn in many more of the 'wrong' people. In part, this is likely to reflect the extensive use of non-statutory stop and search prior to mid-2015, coupled with a volume-based policy approach.⁵

The findings in the report provide strong support for the legislative changes enacted in the Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 2016, which will establish a statutory Code of Practice and abolish non-statutory stop and search. The findings also underscore the need for systematic data collection, both quantitative and qualitative, ongoing scrutiny and greater transparency. The fact that Police Scotland has made significant progress on stop and search in an exceptionally short time-frame can, in part, be attributed to improved recorded procedures and careful monitoring.

At the time of writing, Police Scotland are progressing a wide range of recommendations on stop and search, as put forward by the SPA (10 recommendations), HMICS (23 recommendations), Police Scotland's own review (18 recommendations)⁶, the Fife Pilot

⁴ Police Scotland data indicate that 24% of stop searches between June and December 2015 were positive.

⁵ In 2014, 79% of recorded stop searches on twelve to sixteen year olds were classified as non-statutory.

⁶ Also see Police Scotland Stop and Search Improvement Plan 2016/17 for further details.

Evaluation (19 recommendations), and the Report of the Advisory Group on stop and search. In addition, Police Scotland are developing a one-day training course on stop and search for all officers, to be delivered ahead of the introduction of the Code of Practice in early 2017.

Drawing on the findings in the report, some broader observations and recommendations on policing children and young people are set out below.

Policing children and young people: observations and recommendations

‘The biggest challenge and arguably most critical areas for police work with young people is our relationship with them. In order to fully understand the impact of what we do and how we can improve our service to children and young people, we must be able to engage in an open and transparent manner.’

(National Police Chiefs Council, 2015)

Since late 2013, the volume of stop and search in Scotland has fallen substantially. Whilst this overall reduction in the quantity of stop searches is welcome, the findings in this report show that the quality of interaction between young people and the police can be problematic. For instance, around half of those who were stopped and searched said they were not given an explanation. Some children felt that they were treated unfairly, or said that the officers were not polite or respectful. It also seems likely that many children were singled out for police attention, based at least in part, on their age, neighbourhood and factors relating to social class.

It is highly unlikely that these observations are unique either to stop and search or to Police Scotland. Older studies conducted in Edinburgh provide evidence of adversarial contact with young people (Anderson et al. 1994; Loader, 1996), and the ways in which some children in poorer communities can feel ‘over-policed and under-protected’ (Anderson et al. 1994). A report commissioned by the Scottish Executive found that some young people felt that they were negatively stereotyped, and that the police were generally seen as ‘part of the problem’. There was however, support for community officers, who were viewed as more approachable and effective, compared to ‘mainstream’ officers (Flint et al., 2003). Longitudinal evidence from the Edinburgh Study of Youth Transitions and Crime has shown how children from more deprived areas (‘the usual suspects’) are more likely to be singled out by officers, compared to their more affluent counterparts (McAra and McVie, 2005, 2007). More recently, a small-scale study commissioned by the Centre for Youth and Crime Justice reported poor relationships between the police and vulnerable young people, in part, exacerbated by excessive use of stop and search (Cook, 2015; 8).

The consequences of unfair and/or excessive police contact are well documented. In practice, children and young people may be unnecessarily drawn into the criminal justice

system, with the risk of exacerbating, rather than reducing offending (McAra and McVie, 2005, 2007). More generally, unfair treatment by officers can damage public support for and confidence in the police, undermine police legitimacy, and reduce compliance with the law (Hough, 2010, Jackson et al., 2012). On the other side of the coin, fair treatment is likely to promote inclusiveness (rather than a sense of 'us and them') and generate public support (Tyler, 1990; Sunshine and Tyler, 2003, Tyler and Blader, 2003; Bradford, 2012).

Of course, many officers have constructive relationships with young people. The overarching point here is not one of blame. It is to highlight the fact that tactics such as stop and search can act as a conduit for underlying officer attitudes, be they positive, negative or somewhere in-between. Getting stop and search right also means getting the way in officers listen, respond to and interact with young people right, as well as addressing the ways in which street-based policing intersects with deprivation and inequality. Stop and search is part of a much bigger policing picture, and should not be viewed in isolation.

For policy-makers, these observations point towards a more holistic approach to stop and search. Having achieved a substantial reduction in volume, the challenges ahead are to ensure that stop and search encounters are conducted in a fair and effective manner; to develop strategies for engaging positively and constructively with young people; and to embed preventative, evidence-based approaches to policing.

'We must prioritise expenditure on public services which prevent negative outcomes from arising should be prioritised.'

(Christie Commission on the Future Delivery of Public Services, 2011)

To meet these sizeable challenges, Police Scotland should, in conjunction with partners, look to develop a long-term National Strategy for the policing of children and young people. The Strategy should be underpinned by the Christie Principles in regard to prevention, partnership and community empowerment, and guided by Scotland's Whole Systems Approach (WSA) to youth offending, which aims to achieve positive outcomes for vulnerable children, reduce unnecessary contact with criminal justice agencies, and lessen the risk of criminalisation. From the outset, the Strategy should be supported by a monitoring and evaluation framework.

Looking to operational policy and practice, the Strategy should align with the preventative and problem-solving approaches set out in the ten-year Violence Reduction Unit (VRU) Strategy. Police Scotland should also aim to deploy officers more consistently, visibly and strategically within communities, with a view to rebuilding and/or strengthening local relationships. In terms of more targeted prevention, as recommended by the VRU, Police Scotland, in conjunction with education authorities, should look to strategically increase the

number of campus officers in schools and standardize the campus officer approach.⁷ Campus officers can help to develop links between the police and communities (in particular, young people), build trust in the police and provide a role model for young people (VRU, cited in Frondigoun et al., 2013; 5). Research suggests that campus officers are most effectively deployed in schools where ‘perceptions of the police are especially negative; pupils are likely to have a lack of positive role models in the community; there are higher numbers of children exhibiting challenging behaviour or at risk; issues from the local community sometimes spill over into the school community; the school is situated in an area with gang activity’ (Black et al., 2010; 42). Given that these demographics broadly coincide with areas that have experienced high level of stop and search, campus officers may also help to counteract some of the likely damage caused by excessive police contact.

Addressing the legacy of stop and search will require long-term strategic commitment to rebuilding and strengthening police-community relations in affected areas. This type of work needs to be visible, partner-based and properly resourced, with additional training for officers, focused on policing and young people. Police Scotland is clearly in a challenging financial position at present. Nonetheless, investment in communities and frontline services should be viewed as a fundamental policing asset: a means of building the support, trust and cooperation that policing requires, and ultimately reducing demand.

Report structure

The report is structured in four parts. **Part One** describes the background to the survey, methodology and the sample.

Part Two examines the overall and varying prevalence of stop and search amongst 12 to 16 year olds in Glasgow and Edinburgh. To begin, **sections 2.1 to 2.10** examine a range of individual factors associated with the use of stop and search, including age, gender, ethnicity, perceived level of neighbourhood crime and disorder, and offending behaviour. The final section (**2.11**) uses multivariate analysis to examine the effect of each factor on the likelihood of being stopped and searched, when controlling for all of the other factors.

Part Three examines the effectiveness of stop and search, in terms of detection rates, and the extent to which officers target the ‘right people’.

Finally, **Part Four** looks at the quality and perceived fairness of stop and search encounters, and young people’s attitudes towards the police more generally.

⁷ At the time of writing, there are an estimated 84 campus officers deployed in Scottish schools.

1. Background to the survey and methodology

Understanding and Preventing Youth Crime is the project name used by a group of countries taking part in the *International Self-Report Delinquency study* (ISRD). ISRD is an international, comparative, self-report survey of school children's experiences of crime and victimisation. The survey is administered in schools in cities, and is targeted at children aged 12 to 16 years.

The first wave of the survey (ISRD1) took place between 1990 and 1992 and was a pilot project to chart variations in youth crime across thirteen countries (Junger-Tas et al, 1994). The second wave of the survey (ISRD2) was carried out from 2005 to 2007 and included thirty-one countries, with a revised design. The third wave of the survey (ISRD3) began in 2012, which includes thirty-five countries⁸, is due for completion in 2017.

From February 2014 to March 2017, Scotland and England, alongside four other countries (France, Germany, the Netherlands and the US) participated in ISRD3 under the project name, '*Understanding and Preventing Youth Crime* (UPYC). Participation was made possible by a collaborative grant from the Economic and Social Research Council under the Open Research Area programme. Prior to this, England also participated in ISRD1, carrying out a national survey with young people aged 14 to 21 (Barberet et al, 2004). Scotland participated in the study for the first time in ISRD3.

Study population and sampling frame

In Scotland, the survey was administered in Edinburgh and Glasgow (the two largest cities). In England, Birmingham and Sheffield were selected as two of the largest cities outside of London. Separate sampling frames were used for Scotland and England. The sample of school classes was randomly drawn using stratified sampling based on school size and grade. In Scotland, the recruitment of schools and pupils based on the original sampling frame took place between January 2015 and June 2015. Additional sampling took place between August and December 2015, with the aim of increasing the sample size. At this stage, opportunity sampling was used, whereby schools which had already taken were re-approached and asked if they would be willing to provide access to additional classes. In England, recruitment took place between September 2014 and December 2015.

All mainstream secondary schools (including privately-funded independent schools) in the selected cities were included in the sampling frame. Pupil Referral Units and other alternative education providers for children with learning or behavioural difficulties were excluded, as well as small schools with less than 25 pupils.

⁸ For a full list of the countries, see <http://www.northeastern.edu/isrd/isrd3/>

In Scotland, the survey was predominantly administered to classes of pupils in year groups S2 to S4. A small proportion of respondents in S5 took part (7%), due to delayed fieldwork. In England, the survey was administered in year groups 7 to 9. In Scotland, 1,286 children took part in the survey (841 in Glasgow and 445 in Edinburgh), whilst in England, 900 children took part (367 in Birmingham, and 533 in Sheffield). In Birmingham and Edinburgh, more male students were recruited, and a higher proportion of the sample was from the lowest year group. The analysis in this report is based on weighted data, adjusted for age and gender. The report also shows weighted bases in the figures. **Figure 1** summarizes the study population and sampling frame.

Figure 1. UPYC study population and sampling frame

	Scotland		England	
	Glasgow	Edinburgh	Birmingham	Sheffield
Total number of students	841	445	367	533
No. of classes	46	26	18	25
No. of schools	10	6	11	9
No. of schools in original sampling frame	35	33	69	31
Response rate	29%	18%	11%	29%*

*One additional school took part but due to a high level of technical failure on the day, insufficient data was collected to be included in the sample.

Questionnaire

The UPYC questionnaire was available either in an online format or in paper form depending on the preferences of, and resources and space available, in schools. The online version was identical to the paper one, with the addition of follow-up questions at the end of the survey triggered by positive responses to questions about victimisation or offending. The questionnaire was structured in three part as follows:

a) A core set of questions employed by all countries

The core questionnaire was made up of ten sections covering pupil's personal information (for example, age, ethnicity, religion, living circumstances); relationships with parents/carers; school life; any experiences of victimisation; leisure activities; attitudes to offending and risk-taking; any participating in offending; substance use; and perception of other people's attitudes to crime. Children in S3 and S4 were asked an additional series of questions about police fairness and their attitude towards the police.

b) Optional sections

Two optional sections were employed by all the countries in the UPYC project (England, Scotland, France, Germany, the Netherlands and the US). These were questions about children's security on their way to and from school, and a crosswise model question to check the likelihood that children had responded truthfully to the survey.

c) A country-specific module

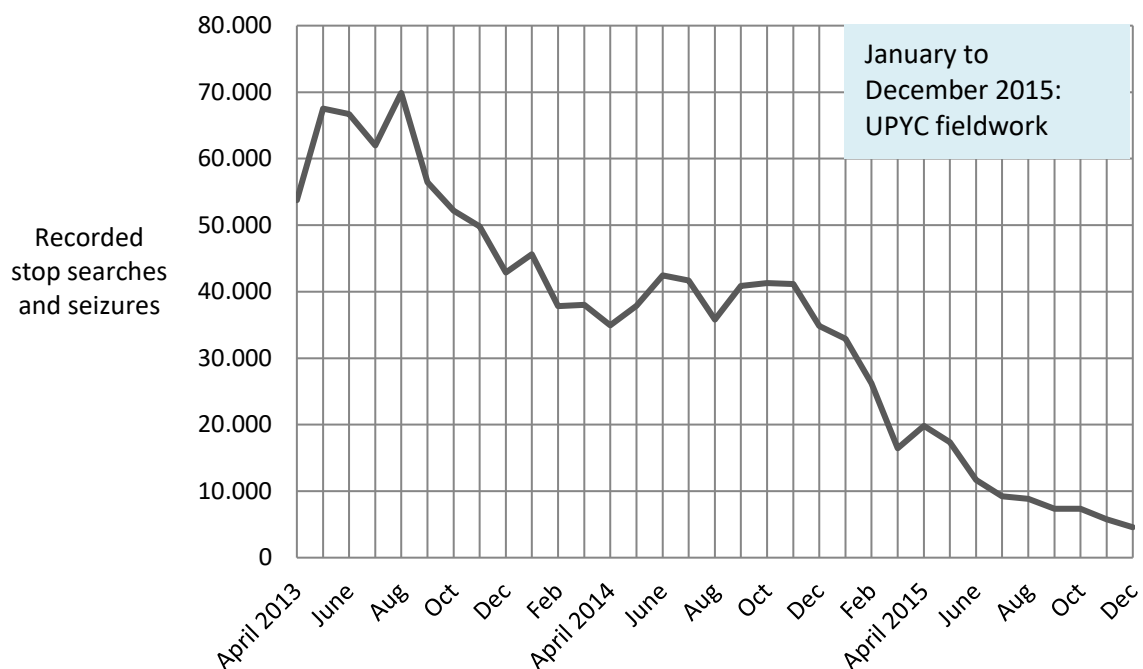
In Scotland and England only, children were asked about their experiences of police stop and search, and their experiences of online victimisation and offending.

Fieldwork

Fieldwork in Scotland was carried out by researchers at the University of Edinburgh between January and December 2015. As noted in the introduction, the survey fieldwork took place against a backdrop of significant change in Scottish policing, following the establishment of the single police force (Police Scotland) under the Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Act 2012.

Children taking part in the survey were asked about their lifetime experiences of stop and search (had they ever been searched) and in the last twelve months. Respondents who had been searched at least once in the last twelve months were then asked a series of follow-up questions about the last (or only) encounter. **Figure 2** below shows the period of fieldwork set against recorded levels of stop and search and seizures (confiscations)⁹ in Scotland between April 2013 and December 2015. Whilst Police Scotland stop and search data prior to the introduction of the upgraded database in June 2015 should be treated cautiously (HMICS, 2015), it is clear that stop and search levels have fallen substantially in this period.

Figure 2 Recorded stop searches and seizures in Scotland, April 2013 to December 2015



Police Scotland established April 2013

June 2015: introduction of improved recording standards

⁹ Prior to June 2015, officers did not record stop searches and seizures separately.

2. The overall and varying prevalence of stop and search in Glasgow and Edinburgh

This part of the report examines the overall and varying prevalence amongst secondary school children in Glasgow and Edinburgh. To begin, **Sections 2.1 to 2.10** examine a range of individual factors associated with the use of stop and search, including age, gender, ethnicity, perceived level of neighbourhood crime and disorder, and offending behaviour. The final section (**2.11**) uses multivariate analysis to examine the effect of each factor on the likelihood of being stopped and searched, when controlling for all of the other factors.

The final findings paint a complex picture of the factors that predict the likelihood of being stopped and searched amongst secondary school children in Glasgow and Edinburgh. In many ways, these factors do not directly relate to offending behaviour. When controlling for a range of factors, the probability of being stopped and searched is influenced by age, gender, factors relating to education and social class, family support and vulnerability, neighbourhood crime and disorder, and some types of victimization. Strikingly, testing for the effects of different offending behaviours, including weapon carrying and drug use, shows that only involvement in a group fight in the last twelve months significantly increased the probability of being stopped and searched by the police.

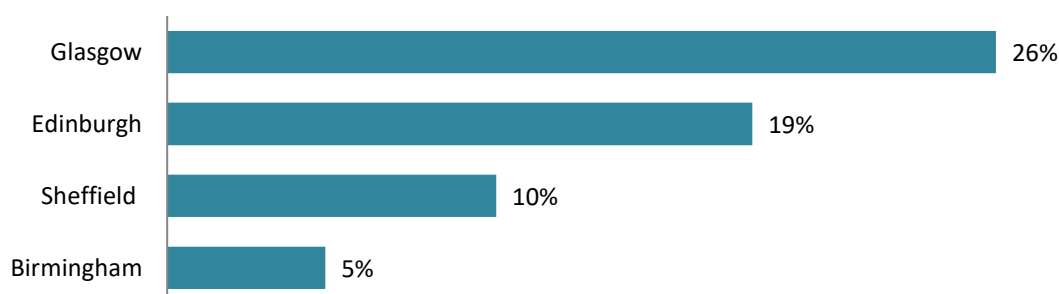
To be clear, the results do not suggest that officers are not stopping and searching children who are involved in offending behaviour. As the report shows, a high proportion of children who said they had committed crimes in the last year had also been stopped and searched by officers. Rather, the findings suggest that many children who were not involved in offending in the last twelve months were also singled out for police attention. In other words, the use of stop and search cast an exceptionally wide net over children in Glasgow and Edinburgh.

2.1. Overall prevalence of stop and search

Children taking part in the survey were asked whether they had ever been stopped and searched by the last police, and separately, if they had been stopped and searched in the last twelve months.

Overall, 23% of children said that they had been stopped and searched at least once by the police. This proportion was higher in Glasgow than Edinburgh, at 26% and 19% respectively. The prevalence of stop and search in the two English cities, Sheffield and Birmingham, was much lower at 10% and 5% respectively. **Figure 3** shows the results.

Figure 3 Lifetime prevalence of stop and search amongst 12 to 16 year olds in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Sheffield and Birmingham (%)



Base: Glasgow (730) Edinburgh (411) Sheffield (497) Birmingham (354)

Amongst those who said that they had been stopped and searched on at least one occasion, around eight out of ten (81%) said that the most recent (or only) encounter took place in the last twelve months. This proportion was higher in Glasgow, compared to Edinburgh, at 84% and 75% respectively. This variation is likely to reflect long-standing differences in stop and search rates between in the two cities, which are in Glasgow than Edinburgh.¹⁰ **Figure 4** shows the results.

Figure 4 When did the stop and search encounter/s take place?

When the most encounter/s took place	Glasgow	Edinburgh
Over a year ago	16%	25%
In the last 12 months	84%	75%
Base	190	80

¹⁰ In the seven month period from June to December 2015, the per capita rate of stop and search in Glasgow was 30.2 stop searches per 1,000 people, compared to 6.4 per 1,000 in Edinburgh.

2.2. Multiple search encounters

The likelihood of being stopped and searched on multiple occasions varied between the two cities. In general, children in Glasgow were more likely to be searched on multiple occasions.

Looking only at children who had been searched in the last twelve months, a higher proportion in Edinburgh had been searched on one occasion, compared to Glasgow, at 45% and 36% respectively. This difference between the two cities was more pronounced amongst children who had been searched on two occasions. In Edinburgh, 30% had been searched twice, compared to 17% in Glasgow. A similar proportion said that they had been searched between three and five times (23% in Edinburgh, and 26% in Glasgow).

However, children in Glasgow were far more likely to have been searched on six or more occasions. Just over a fifth of respondents in Glasgow (21%) said that they had been searched on more than six occasions, compared to only 2% in Edinburgh. **Figure 5** presents the findings.

Figure 5 Incidence of stop and search in the last 12 months, Glasgow and Edinburgh (%)

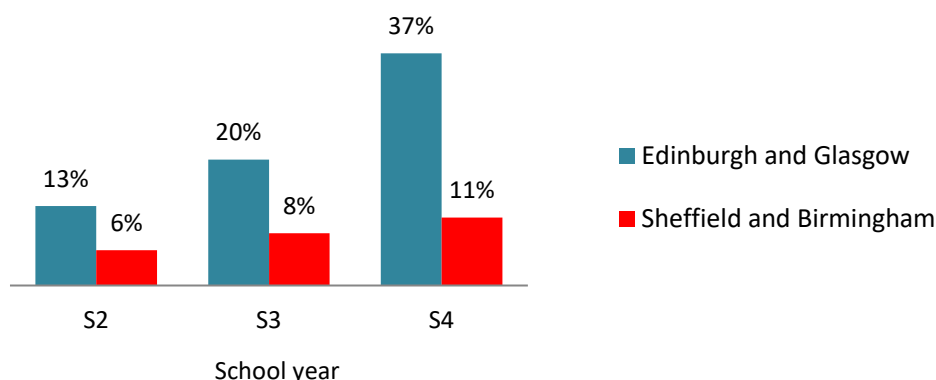
Number of stop search encounters	Glasgow	Edinburgh	Both
One	36%	45%	39%
Two	17%	30%	21%
Three to Five	26%	23%	25%
Six or more	21%	2%	16%
Base	160	60	220

2.3. Age (school year)

As might be expected, the prevalence of stop and search increased with age. Breaking down the results by school year, 13% of children in S2 said they had been stopped and searched at least once by the police. This proportion increased almost threefold in the S4 group, to 37%.

Overall prevalence rates by school year were much higher in Edinburgh and Glasgow, compared to Sheffield and Birmingham, where prevalence ranged between 6% in Grade 7 (S2 equivalent) and 11% in Grade 9 (S4 equivalent). **Figure 6** shows the results.

Figure 6. Lifetime prevalence of stop and search by school year (%) Edinburgh/Glasgow and Sheffield/Birmingham



Base: Glasgow and Edinburgh (1,142) Sheffield and Birmingham (857)

2.4. Gender

The prevalence of stop and search was slightly higher among boys than girls, at 26% and 21% respectively. Although not directly comparable, these findings contrast sharply with Police Scotland incident data, which shows that of the 6,142 stop searches recorded on children aged 12 to 16 between June and December 2015, 16% involved girls and 84% involved boys.

In part, we can explain this discrepancy in terms of repeat or multiple searches, which are not readily identifiable within Police Scotland incident data. The UPYC data shows the respective proportion of boys and girls who were searched once in the last twelve months was very similar, at 51% and 49% respectively. A higher proportion of boys than girls reported two or more stop and search encounters, at 60% and 40% (a ratio of 3 boys to 2 girls). This ratio was the same amongst those who had been searched between three and five times. Nearly three quarters of children who had been searched six times or more in the last twelve months were boys (71%), compared to 29% girls. **Figure 7** shows the results.

Figure 7 Incidence of stop and search in the last twelve months, by gender (%)

Number of stop search encounters	Girls	Boys
One	49%	51%
Two	40%	60%
Three to Five	42%	58%
Six or more	29%	71%

Base: Girls (92) Boys (127)

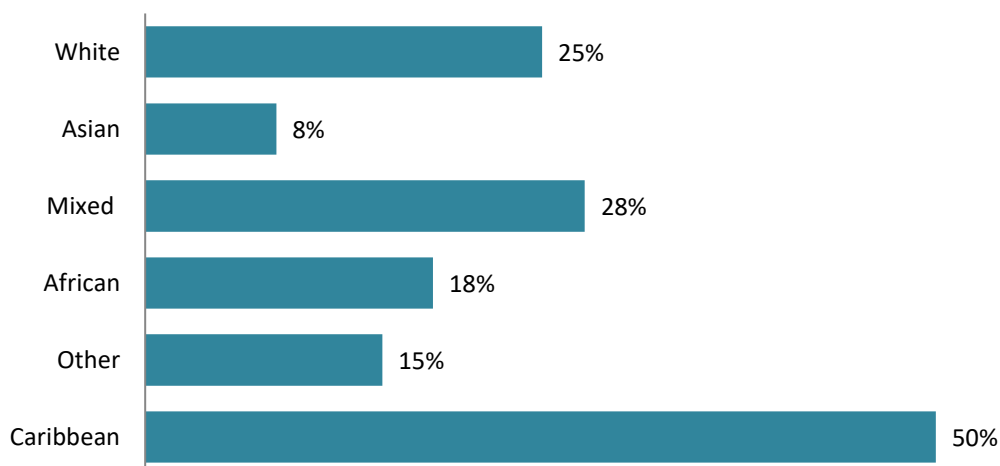
The extent to which gender influences the probability of being stopped and searched by the police becomes clearer when we examine the impact of multiple factors, rather than gender in isolation. When controlling for a range of factors, multivariate analysis shows that boys were around 1.7 times more likely to be stopped and searched than girls (see [Section 2.11](#)).

2.5. Ethnicity

Children taking part in the survey were asked to define their ethnicity. Eight of ten children were White (80%). The next largest category was Asian (10%), followed by Mixed Race (3%), African (3%), Black Caribbean (1%) and 'Other' (2%).

The lifetime prevalence of stop and searched varied across the different ethnic categories. Over a quarter of Mixed-Race children (28%) had been stopped and searched, compared to a quarter of White children (25%). Whilst only ten children in the survey were classified as Black Caribbean, half of this group (50%) had been stopped and searched. Prevalence rates were lowest among Asian children, at 8%. [Figure 8](#) shows the results.

Figure 8 Lifetime prevalence of stop and search by ethnicity (%)



Base: 1,140 respondents: White (932) Asian (109) Mixed (36) African (33) Other (20) Caribbean (10)

The effect on ethnicity on the probability of being stopped and searched was much less pronounced when controlling for a range of factors. Multivariate analysis indicates the probability of being searched was significantly lower among Asian children, compared to White children. Otherwise, there were no significant differences across the different ethnic groups (see [Section 2.11](#)).

2.6. Educational factors and social class

The likelihood of being stopped and searched was associated with a range of educational factors, including type of school attended (mainstream state or independent), self-reported attainment, and truancy.

Importantly, these factors also provide insights into relationship between stop and search and social class. For example, children attending independent schools are more likely to be from middle or upper middle class backgrounds than working class backgrounds (Evans and Tilley, 2012). Similarly, an extensive body of evidence suggests that social class is one of the strongest indicators of educational attainment. As a report published by the Commissioner for Children and Young People in Scotland observes, ‘the evidence on the adverse effects of poverty on educational attainment and achievement is unequivocal’ (Pirrie and Hockings, 2012; 9). There is also an established link between the prevalence of truancy and social class (Reid, 2005). Note however, that these associations are subject to variation, for example, some schools in deprived areas have much better attendance rates than others (Sheldon (2009).

2.6.1 Independent and mainstream state schools

Most of the children taking part in the survey attended mainstream state schools (92%), with the remaining 8% attending independent schools. Pupils from state schools were almost twice as likely to have been stopped and searched than children from independent schools, at 25% and 13% respectively.

Figure 9 Lifetime prevalence of stop and search by type of school attended (mainstream state or independent) (%)



Base: 1,143 respondents

This variation in search rates between mainstream state and independent schools was not accounted for by differences in offending behaviour in the last twelve months.

In both educational sectors, around eight in ten children had *not* committed an offence in the last twelve months (excluding illegal downloading from the internet). A slightly higher proportion of children attending mainstream state schools said that they had committed one offence in the last twelve months, compared to children attending independent schools, at 10% and 9% respectively, whilst a slightly higher proportion of children from independent schools had committed two or more offences, at 10% and 9% respectively.

2.6.2 Educational attainment

Children were asked to rank how well they thought they did at school, ranging from well below average, to excellent. A third of pupils described themselves as average (33%). Only a small proportion said they were below average, poor or well below average (7%), while 60% said that they were well above average or excellent.

In general, the small proportion of children who said that they did badly at school were more likely to have been stopped and searched, compared to those who said that they performed well at school. For example, over half (53%) of those who said that their achievement was poor or well below average had been stopped and searched, compared to 13% who said that their achievement was well above average or excellent. **Figure 10** shows the results.

Figure 10 Lifetime prevalence of stop and search by self-reported school achievement (%)

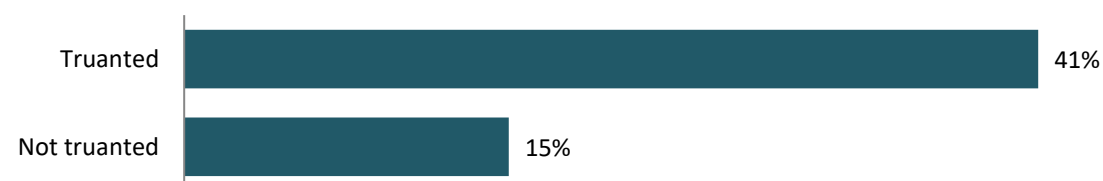
Perceived school achievement	% stopped and searched
Poor or well below average	53%
Below average	37%
Average	30%
Above average	23%
Well above average or excellent	13%

Base: 1,135 respondents

2.6.3 Truancy

The prevalence of being stopped and searched was higher amongst children who had truanted in the last year, compared to those who had not, at 41% and 15% respectively. These findings are consistent with existing research on children and policing, which shows that availability on the streets in itself is a significant predictor of police contact (McAra and McVie, 2005). Truancy is also associated with deprivation. For example, in 2012/13, pupils living in areas associated with most deprivation (as based on lowest 20 per cent of the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) 2012) had an attendance rate 5.8 percentage points lower than the pupils living in areas associated with least deprivation (Scottish Government, 2015).

Figure 11 Lifetime prevalence of stop and search by self-reported truancy in the last 12 months (%)



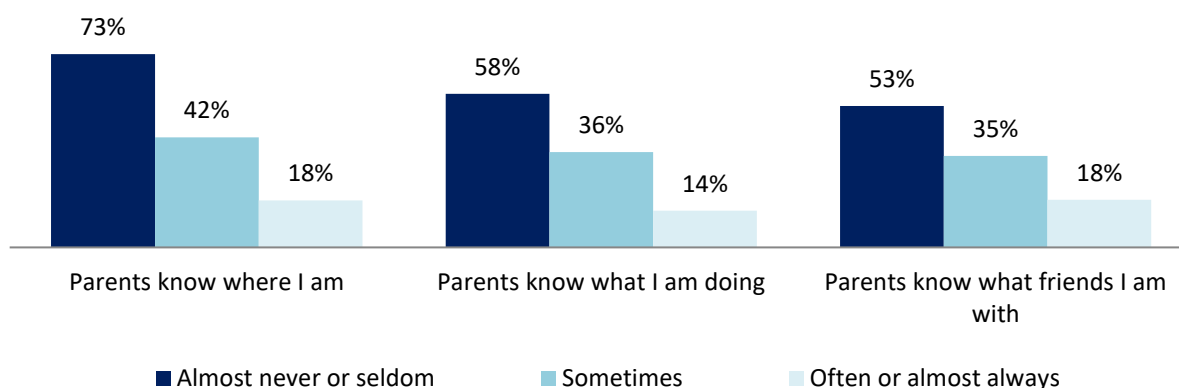
Base: 1,137 respondents

2.7. Family support and child vulnerability

The prevalence of stop and search was associated with levels of family support and relatedly, child vulnerability. In general, children whose parents rarely knew their whereabouts, what they were doing, or whom they were with were more likely to have been stopped and searched, compared to those parents who knew whereabouts and what they were doing.

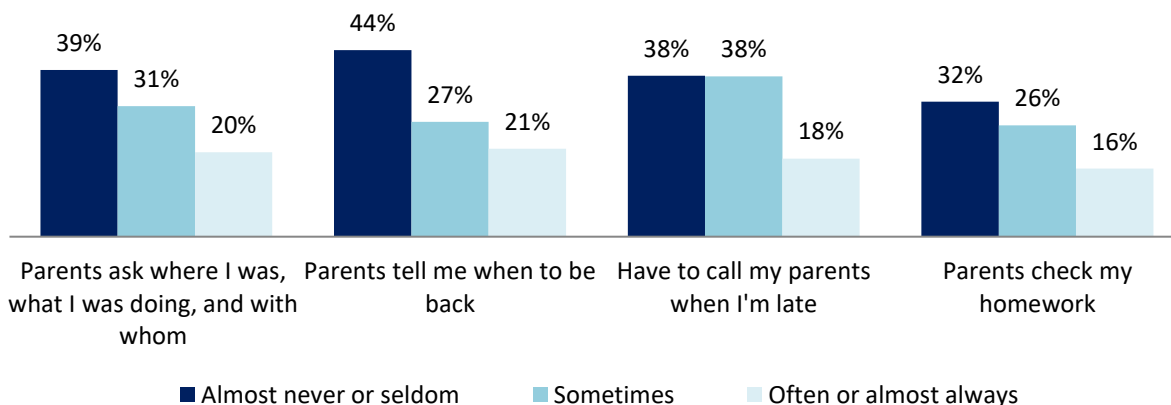
Strikingly, nearly three quarters (73%) of those who said that their parents almost never or seldom knew where they were had been stopped and searched in the last twelve months, compared to 18% who said that their parents always knew where they were. Note also that less than half of children who had been stopped and searched in the last year had told their parents about the last (or only) encounter (46%). **Figures 12 and 13** show the results.

Figure 12 Lifetime prevalence of stop and search by parental/carer knowledge of child's whereabouts (%)



Bases: Parents know where I am (1,135) Parents know what I am doing (1,137) Parents know who I am with (1,130)

Figure 13 Lifetime prevalence of stop and search by family involvement and support (%)



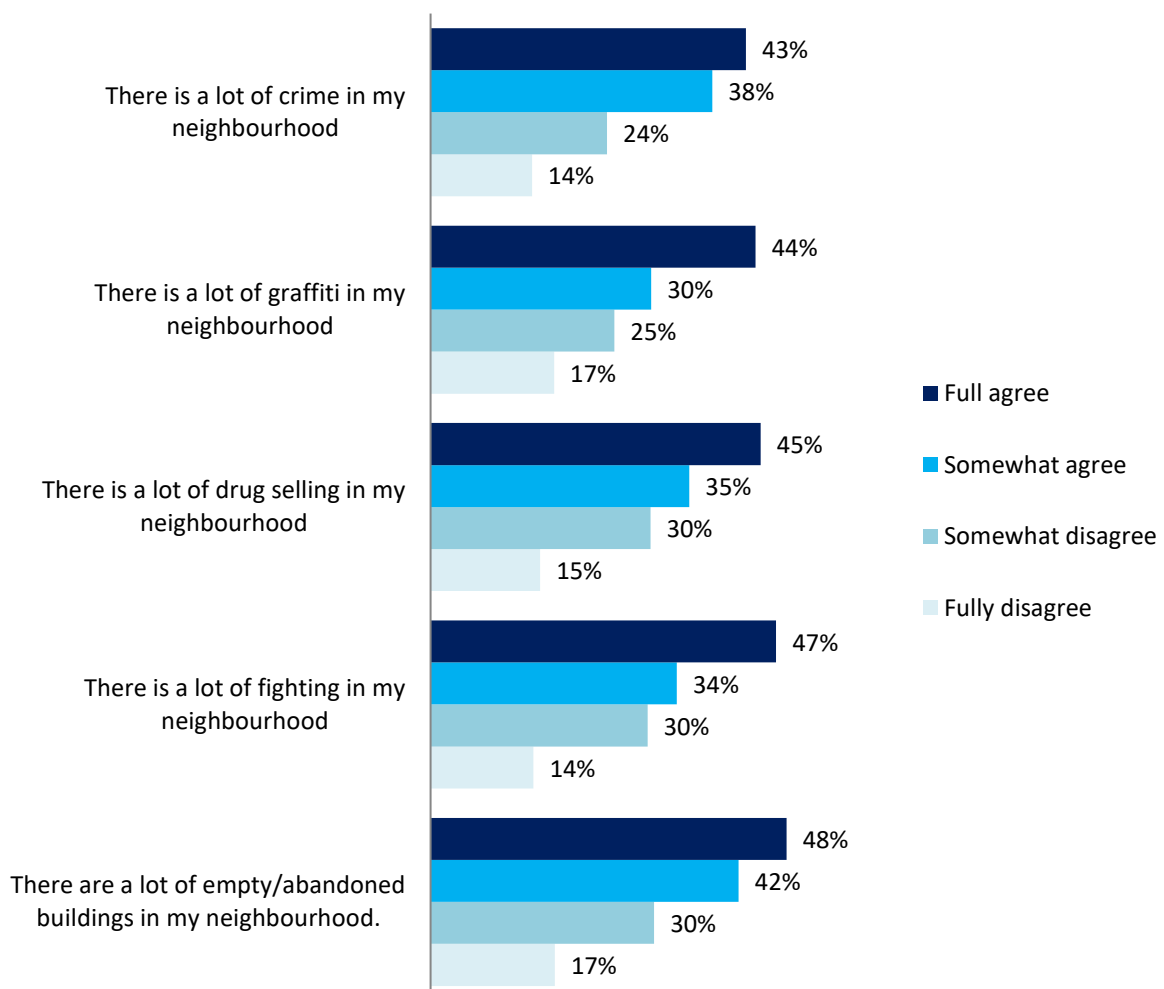
Bases: Parents ask where I was, what doing & who with (1,132) Parents tell me when to be back (1,131) I have to call my parents when late (1,128) Parents check homework (1,133)

2.8. Perceived levels of neighbourhood/school crime and disorder

Children taking part in the survey were asked a series of questions about their perceptions of crime and disorder in their local neighbourhood, and in their school. In general, the likelihood of being stopped and searched was higher amongst children who said that they lived in a neighbourhood or attended a school with higher levels of crime and disorder.

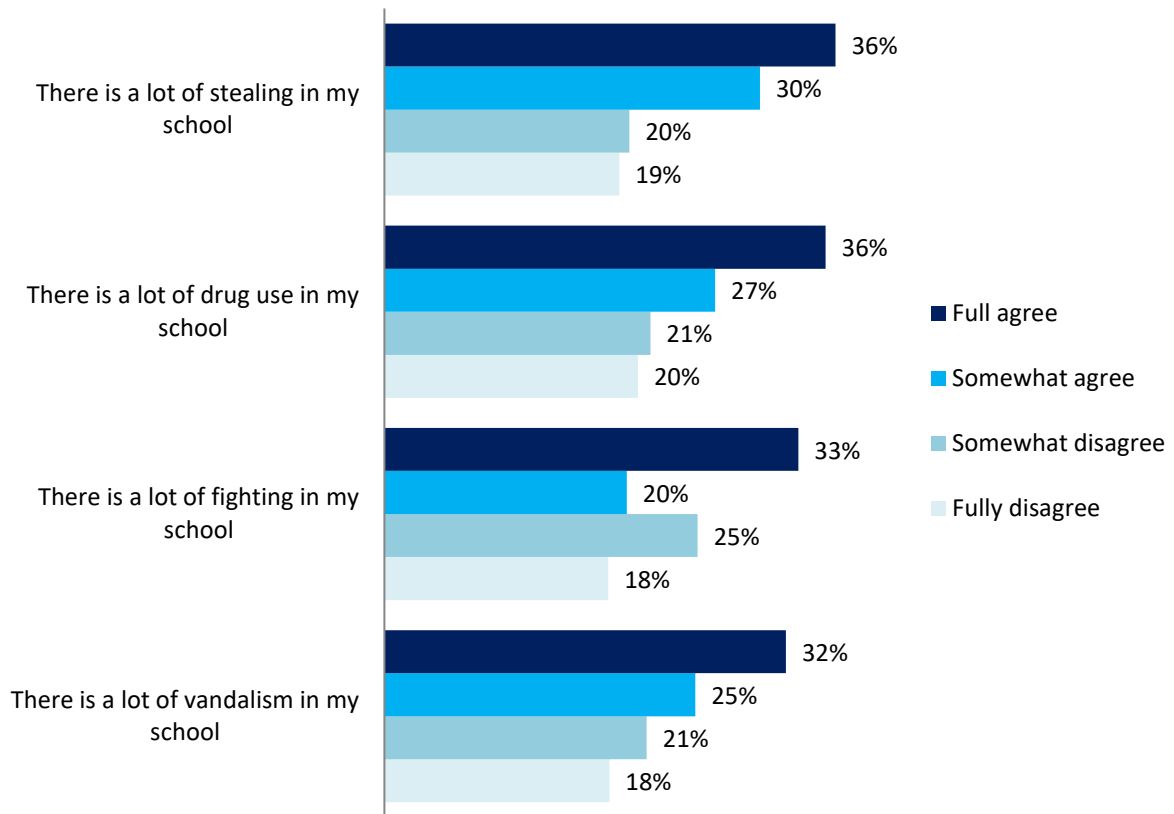
For example, around two fifths (43%) of children who ‘fully agreed’ that there was a lot of crime in the area had been stopped and searched in the last 12 months, compared to 14% who ‘fully disagreed’. Similarly, more than a third (36%) who ‘strongly agreed’ that there was a lot of stealing in their school had been stopped and searched, compared to just under a fifth (19%) who said they ‘strongly disagreed’. These results suggest that police stop and search activity appears to be broadly focused in the right place in terms of targeting *areas* with higher levels of crime and disorder. **Figures 14 and 15** show the results.

Figure 14 Lifetime prevalence of stop and search, by respondent’s perceptions of neighbourhood crime and disorder (%)



Bases: Crime (1,131) Graffiti (1,130) Drug selling (1,130) Fighting (1,130) Empty and abandoned buildings (1,132)

Figure 15 Lifetime prevalence of stop and search, by respondent's perceptions of crime and disorder within their school (%)



Bases: Stealing (1,128) Drug use (1,131) Fighting (1,134) Vandalism (1,131)

2.9. Children’s involvement in offending

Children taking part in the survey were asked if they had committed a range of crimes, either within their lifetime, or in the last twelve months.

Half of the children surveyed (50%) said that they had taken part in a crime at some point in their lives, although this fell to 25% when excluding illegally downloading music or films from the internet.

Within the last twelve months, 39% had taken part in at least one crime, falling to 19% when excluding illegal downloading. Nine per cent of children had taken part in at least two crimes in the last twelve months, excluding illegal downloading. **Figure 16** shows the results.

Figure 16 Prevalence of offending among children in Grades S2 to S4 in Edinburgh and Glasgow, lifetime and in the last 12 months (%)

No. of offences	Lifetime		Last 12 months	
	All crime types	Excluding illegal downloading	All crime types	Excluding illegal downloading
None	50%	75%	61%	81%
At least one	50%	25%	39%	19%
One	29%	12%	26%	10%
Two or more	20%	14%	13%	9%
Base	1,242	1,242	1,241	1,241

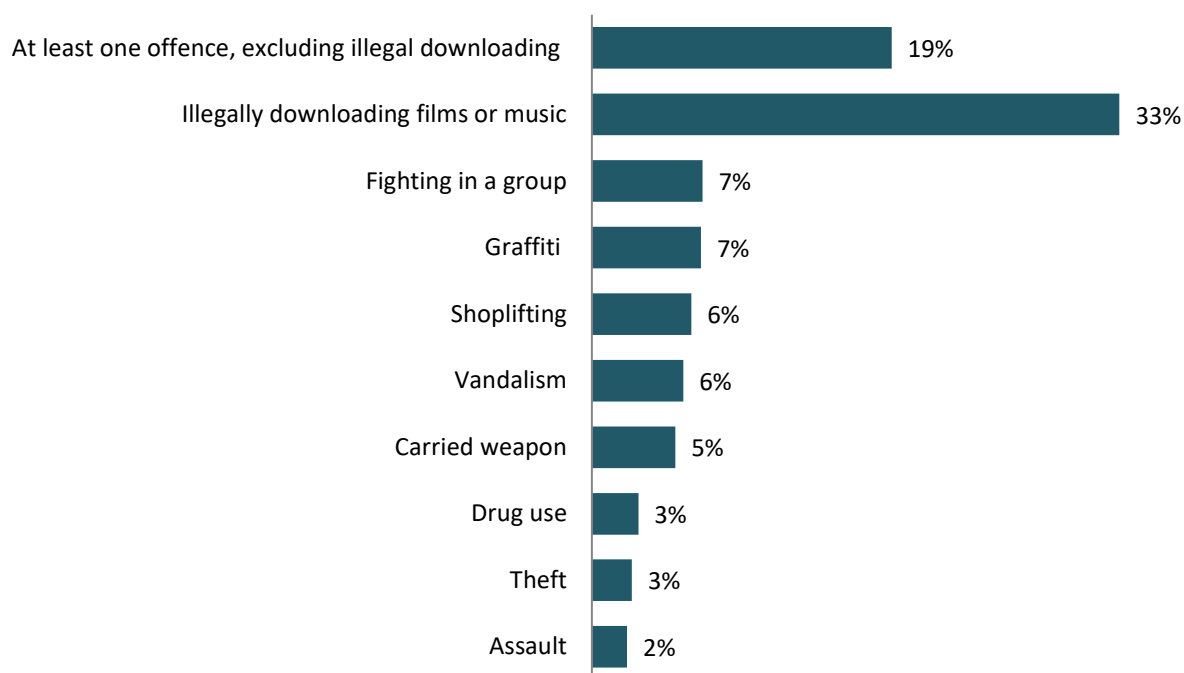
Totals do not add to 100 due to rounding

2.9.1 Prevalence of offending types in the last 12 months

The most common type of crime in the last twelve months was illegal downloading, which was reported by a third of children (33%). Prevalence rates for the other crime types were much lower (less than one in ten). For example, 7% said that they had been involved in a group fight and graffiti respectively, 6% said that they had shoplifted or carried out vandalism, and 5% said that they had carried a weapon.¹¹ **Figure 17** shows the results for the most common types of crimes asked about in the survey.

¹¹ The survey asks about ‘a weapon, such as a stick, knife, gun or chain’.

Figure 17 Overall prevalence of offending in the last 12 months (%) Glasgow and Edinburgh



Base: At least one offence (1,241) Illegal downloading (1,124) Fighting in a group (1,226) Graffiti (1,224) Shoplifting (1,226) Vandalism (1,222) Carried weapon (1,223) Drugs (1,224) Theft (1,227). Figure excludes bicycle theft, breaking into a car, housebreaking, car theft and extortion (all $\leq 2.0\%$)

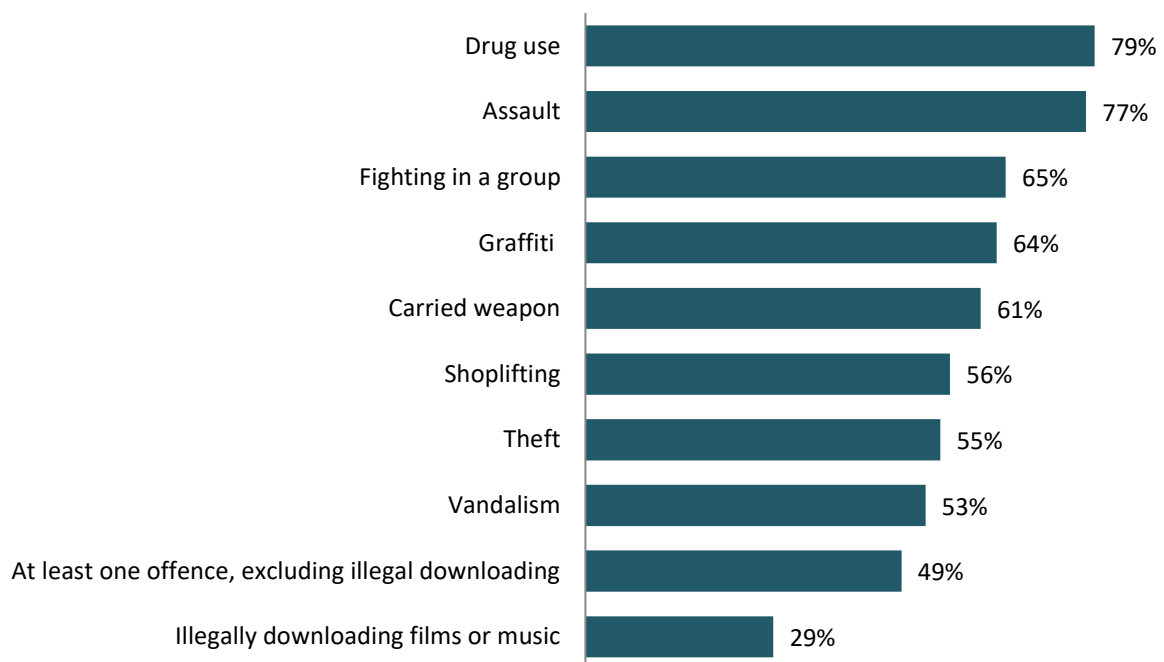
For most types of crime asked about in the survey, the prevalence amongst children did not vary by city. The only exceptions to this were assault and shoplifting. The prevalence of assault was higher in Glasgow than Edinburgh, at 3% and 1% respectively, whilst the prevalence of shoplifting was higher in Edinburgh than Glasgow, at 10% and 4% respectively.

2.9.2 Offending and the prevalence of stop and search

With the exception to those who had illegally downloaded films or music from the internet, a high proportion of children who had been involved in a range of crimes in the last twelve months had also been stopped and searched by the police. Overall, 49% of those who had committed at least one crime in the last twelve months (excluding illegal downloading) had also been stopped and searched, compared to a 23% average for all children.

Looking at the different types of crime, just under two-thirds (65%) of children who had been involved in a group fight had been stopped and searched, while nearly eight in ten of those who had used illegal drugs had been searched. **Figure 18** shows the results.

Figure 18 Lifetime prevalence of stop and search amongst children who offended in the last 12 months (%)



Bases: Any crime excluding illegal downloading (213) Illegal downloading (348) Fighting in a group (77) Graffiti (74) Shoplifting (71) Vandalism (61) Carried weapon (59) Drugs (28) Theft (31) Assault (22). Figure excludes bicycle theft, breaking into a car, housebreaking, car theft and extortion.

At first glance, the high proportions presented in **Figure 18** appear to suggest that previous involvement in offending acts as a strong indicator of being stopped and searched.

However, the findings should be interpreted cautiously on two counts. First, the results tell us about offending over a twelve-month period; not at the time of the most recent (or only) stop and search encounter. In other words, we do not know if the search was justified.

Second, officers searched even more children who had *not* offended in the last twelve months: overall, 61% of the children who were stopped and searched had not offended in the last twelve months (excluding illegal downloading).

This disparity arises because only a relatively small number of children were involved in criminal activity. To explain further, of the 213 children that had committed a crime (excluding illegal downloading) in the last twelve months, 104 had been stopped and searched, which is a prevalence rate of 49%. Although the prevalence of stop and search amongst children who had not offended in the last twelve months was much lower (18%), the base number of this group was much larger (928 children). In effect then, 163 of children who had *not* offended in the last twelve months had also been stopped and searched – which is 57% more than those who had offended.

2.9.3 Underage drinking

Overall, four in ten children (40%) who said that they had drunk alcohol in the last month had been stopped and searched at some point, compared to an average stop and search rate of 23%.

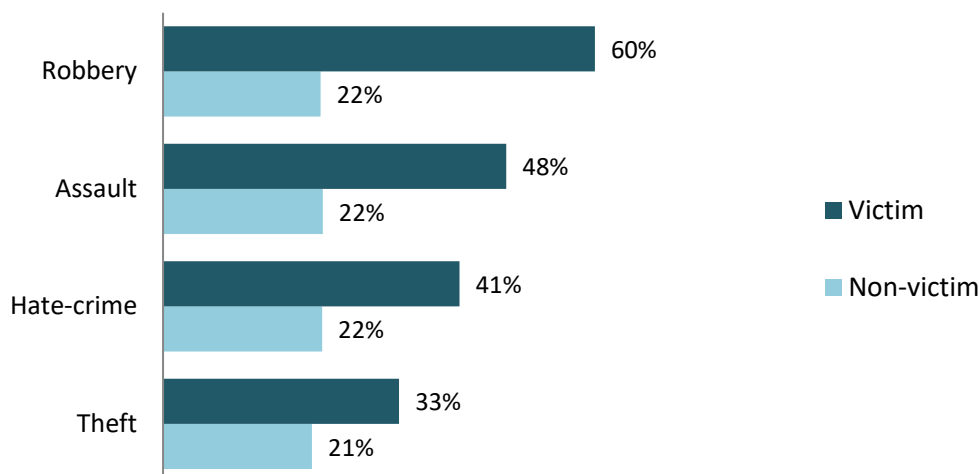
Looking at the prevalence of underage drinking, just over a third (35%) of children said that they had drunk alcohol in the last month. This ranged from 21% in S2, to 49% in S4. Aside from age, the demographics of underage drinking appeared to be out of kilter with the demographics of stop and search. For example, the prevalence of drinking in the last month was higher in Edinburgh, compared to Glasgow: 64% of children in S4 in Edinburgh said that they had drunk alcohol in the last month, compared to 44% in Glasgow. Prevalence was also higher amongst girls, compared to boys (at 40% and 30% respectively) and amongst children who attended independent schools, compared to mainstream state schools (at 50% and 34% respectively).

Note however, that we do not know the circumstances, for example, whether alcohol was consumed at home, or in public, or how the alcohol was accessed.

2.10. Victimization

Children taking part in the survey were asked if they had been the victim of certain types of crime in the last twelve months (robbery, assault, theft, hate-crime and cyber-bullying: see footnote for definitions).¹² With the exception of cyber-crime, the prevalence of stop and search was higher amongst children who said that they had been victimised on at least one occasion, compared to those who had not. **Figure 19** shows the results.

Figure 19 Lifetime prevalence of stop and search, by types of victimization (%)



Bases: Robbery (1,134) Assault (1,133) Hate-crime (1,131) Theft (1,122)

The children were also asked if either they, or a friend, had ever been physically attacked on the way home from school.¹³ Children who said that they had been attacked either once or more than once in were more likely to have been searched by the police, compared to children who had not. Nearly two thirds of those who had been victimized more than once (62%) had been stopped and searched by the police. **Figure 20** shows the results.

¹² The questions were:

[Robbery] 'Did any of the following things ever happen to you? Someone wanted you to give them money or something else (like a watch, shoes, cell phone) and threatened you if you refused?

[Assault] Someone hit you violently or hurt you – so much that you needed to see a doctor?

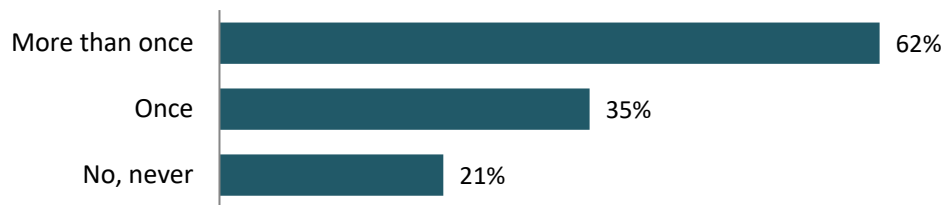
[Theft] Something was stolen from you?

[Hate-crime] Someone threatened you with violence or committed physical violence against you because of your religion, the language you speak, the colour of your skin, your social or ethnic background, or for similar reasons?

[Cyber-bullying] Has anyone made fun of you or teased you seriously in a hurtful way through e-mail, instant messaging, in a chat room, on a website, or through a text message sent to your mobile phone?

¹³ 'In the last twelve months, have you or a friend of yours who uses the same way to school been physically attacked on the way between home and school?'

Figure 20 Lifetime prevalence of stop and search, by physical victimization on way home from school in the last 12 months (%)



Base: 1,122 respondents

Research shows a strong overlap between offending and victimization, whereby young people who are involved in offending are also at higher risk of victimization (Smith and Ecob, 2007). Preliminary analysis indicates that this association is also evident in the UPYC findings, insofar as offending (in the last twelve months) and some types of victimization are highly correlated. Notably, nearly three quarters (72%) of those who reported being a victim of robbery in the last twelve months had also been involved in at least one type offending (excluding illegal downloading) in the same period. However, further analysis is required to unpack these complex relationships more fully.

2.11. Factors that influence the probability of being searched by the police

The analysis so far has examined the influence of *individual* factors such as age, gender and offending behaviour on the probability of being stopped and searched by the police. The analysis in this section examines the effect of each factor on the probability of being stopped and searched, when controlling for all the other factors.

The analysis uses a technique called binary logistic regression modelling, which calculates the likelihood (or odds) that a given factor will predict a particular outcome. In this instance, we are testing whether the respective factors can successfully predict whether a respondent was stopped and searched by the police, when controlling for all the other factors. The results are presented as odds ratios, which show the likelihood that one category (for example, 'male') predicts being stopped and searched by the police, compared to its *reference category* (denoted 'ref.'), in this case, 'female'.

The findings paint a complex picture of the factors that predict being stopped and searched amongst secondary school children in Glasgow and Edinburgh, that in many ways, do not directly relate to offending.

When controlling for a range of factors, the probability of being stopped and searched is influenced by age, gender, factors relating to education and social class, family support and vulnerability, neighbourhood crime and disorder, and some types of victimization. Testing for the effect of offending behaviour, including weapon carrying and drug use, shows that only involvement in a group fight in the last twelve months significantly increased the probability of being stopped and searched.

To be clear, the results do not suggest that officers are failing to stop and search children that are involved in offending behaviour. As we saw earlier, a high proportion of those who had committed crimes had also been searched (see **Figure 18**). Rather, the findings indicate that many children who were not involved in offending were also singled out for police attention. Overall, children searched by the police were more likely to be boys, in their mid-teens, with lower levels of family support and living in areas with higher levels of crime and disorder. These children were also more likely to attend a state school, less likely to do well at school, and more likely to have been a victim of some types of violent crime. **Figure 21** shows the findings, followed by a discussion of the individual factors in the model.

Figure 21 Multivariate model predicting the likelihood of being stopped and searched amongst 12 to 16 year olds in Glasgow and Edinburgh

Factors predicting being stopped and searched by the police	Wald statistic	Odds ratio (OR)	Significance	95% confidence intervals for OR		
				Lower	Upper	
Demographic factors						
City: Glasgow (Edinburgh = ref.)	3.7	1.6	0.053	NS	1.0	2.4
School year						
S2 (ref.)	30.6		0.000	***		
S3	3.4	1.7	0.064	NS	1.0	3.1
S4	26.8	4.3	0.000	***	2.5	7.5
Gender: Male (Female = ref.)	6.2	1.7	0.013	*	1.1	2.6
Ethnicity						
White (ref.)	9.6		0.086	NS		
Mixed	0.8	0.6	0.359	NS	0.2	1.8
Asian	5.7	0.2	0.017	*	0.0	0.7
African	1.4	0.3	0.236	NS	0.0	2.1
Caribbean	0.7	2.6	0.411	NS	0.3	27.0
Other	0.4	0.5	0.531	NS	0.1	4.6
Education and social class						
State school (Independent school = ref.)	4.8	2.7	0.028	*	1.1	6.6
Self-reported school achievement scale (low to high)	7.0	0.8	0.008	**	0.7	0.9
Truancy (not truanted = ref.)	3.5	1.5	0.060	NS	1.0	2.4
Family support and child vulnerability						
Parental support scale (low to high)	9.1	0.9	0.003	**	0.9	1.0
Perceptions of neighbour/school crime and disorder						
Neighbourhood crime and disorder scale (low to high)	19.4	1.1	0.000	***	1.1	1.2
School crime and disorder scale (low to high)	1.4	1.0	0.238	NS	0.9	1.0
Offending and alcohol consumption (none = ref.)						
Assaulted someone in the last year	1.6	3.0	0.204	NS	0.6	16.4
Used drugs in the last year	2.7	3.2	0.098	NS	0.8	12.6
Involved in graffiti in the last year	2.0	2.0	0.157	NS	0.8	5.1
Carried a weapon in the last year	0.0	0.9	0.827	NS	0.3	2.4
Involved in vandalism in the last year	1.7	0.5	0.198	NS	0.2	1.4
Shoplifted in the last year	0.6	1.4	0.443	NS	0.6	3.4
Involved in theft in last year	0.0	1.1	0.843	NS	0.3	4.0

In a group fight in the last year	11.3	4.8	0.001	**	1.9	11.8
Illegally downloaded music or films in the last year	0.0	1.0	0.891	NS	0.6	1.5
Committed at least one crime ever (did not = ref.)	0.1	1.1	0.781	NS	0.5	2.5
At least one crime in the last year (did not = ref.)	0.0	1.0	0.959	NS	0.4	2.7
Drank alcohol in the last month	17.0	2.6	0.000	***	1.6	4.0
Self-reported victimisation						
Victim of robbery (not a victim = ref.)	5.6	3.5	0.018	*	1.2	9.8
Victim of assault (not a victim = ref.)	0.0	1.0	0.957	NS	0.4	2.6
Victim of theft (not a victim = ref.)	1.6	1.4	0.200	NS	0.9	2.2
Victim of hate crime (not a victim = ref.)	0.2	1.2	0.698	NS	0.5	3.1
Victimized on way home from school (not = ref.)	7.6		0.023	*		
Once	0.2	0.9	0.666	NS	0.4	1.7
More than once	7.2	6.1	0.007	**	1.6	23.0
Constant	2.487	0.2	0.115			

Nagelkerke $R^2 = .439$.

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; NS = not significant

Demographic factors: age, gender and ethnicity

Amongst the demographic factors, school year emerges as a strong predictor of stop and search. The difference between S2 and S3 is not statistically significant (at the 95% level). However, the odds of being stopped and searched in S4 are 4.3 times greater, compared to children in S2. The effect of gender is moderate, with the odds of being stopped and searched 1.7 times greater for boys, compared to girls. When controlling for other factors, the odds of being stopped and searched are lower for Asian children, compared to White children (odds ratio 0.2). Otherwise, there are no statistically significant differences across the different ethnic groups.

Educational factors and social class

School type (independent or mainstream state) also acts as a strong predictor of stop and search. The odds of being stopped and searched amongst children who attend a mainstream state school are 2.7 times greater, compared to children who attend an independent school. The probability of being stopped and searched is also associated with self-reported educational attainment, whereby children who rank themselves towards the lower end of the scale are increasingly more likely to be stopped and searched by the police. These findings are important insofar they may also be read as a proxy for social class, which is otherwise difficult to pin down in relation to stop and search. When controlling for other factors, truancy does not emerge as a significant predictor.

Family support and involvement

In order to gauge the effect of family support and involvement, a scale was constructed from eight variables that asked about different aspects of family support and involvement (for example, whether parents/carers knew their child's whereabouts and who they were with, and asked their child what they had been doing).¹⁴ Overall, children with higher levels of family support and involvement were increasingly *less* likely to be stopped and searched by the police (and vice-versa).

Perceived levels of neighbourhood/school crime and disorder

Neighbourhood crime and disorder (as perceived by respondents) is also significantly associated with the probability of stop and search. For the purposes of testing, a scale was constructed from five variables that asked children if there was a lot of crime, drug selling, fighting, abandoned and/or empty buildings and graffiti.¹⁵ Overall, children who live in areas with higher levels of crime and disorder were increasingly more likely to be stopped and searched. A similar scale was constructed to test the effect of crime and disorder within schools on the probability of being searched (based on stealing, fighting, drug use and vandalism),¹⁶ however this was not statistically significant.

Offending behaviour and alcohol consumption

Overall, offending behaviour (as defined by the types of crime asked about in the survey) does not act as a significant predictor of stop and search. The model shows that children who have committed at least one type of crime (excluding illegal downloading), either in the last twelve months or ever, were no more likely to be stopped and searched by the police than children who had not.

¹⁴ Family and support was tested using a scale constructed from the following questions: *How often do the following statements apply to you?* [Almost always, Often, Sometimes, Hardly ever, Almost never]

My parents know where I am when I go out; My parents know what I am doing when I go out; My parents know what friends I am with when I go out; If I have been out, my parents ask me what I did, where I went, and who I spent time with; If I go out in the evening my parents tell me when I have to be back home by; If I am out and it gets late I have to call my parents and let them know; My parents check if I have done my homework; My parents check that I only watch films/DVDs allowed for my age-group

¹⁵ Neighbourhood crime and disorder was tested using a scale constructed from the following questions: *How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about your neighborhood?* [Fully agree, Somewhat agree, Somewhat disagree, Fully disagree]

There is a lot of crime in my neighbourhood; There is a lot of drug selling in my neighbourhood; There is a lot of fighting in my neighbourhood; There are a lot of empty and abandoned buildings in my neighbourhood; There is a lot of graffiti in my neighbourhood.

¹⁶ Crime and disorder in school was tested using a scale constructed from the following questions: *How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements about your school?* [Fully agree, Somewhat agree, Somewhat disagree, Fully disagree]

There is a lot of stealing in my school; There is a lot of fighting in my school; Many things are broken or vandalized in my school; There is a lot of drug use in my school.

Looking at the different crime types in the survey, only fighting in a group successfully predicted the likelihood of being searched. The odds of being searched are 4.8 times greater amongst children who were involved in a group fight in the last twelve months, compared to those who had not. Strikingly, neither carrying a weapon nor drug use act as a significant predictor of stop and search. Alcohol consumption in the last month does however act as a significant predictor. The odds of being searched are 2.5 times greater amongst children who have drunk alcohol in the last month, compared to those who have not.

Victimisation

Finally, some types of victimization act as a significant predictor of stop and search. The odds of being stopped and searched were 3.5 times greater amongst children who said that someone had taken, or tried to take something from them either by force or the threat of force (i.e. robbery), compared to those who had not. Similarly, the odds of being stopped and searched were 6.1 times greater amongst children who said that either they or a friend had been physically attacked on the way home from school on more than one occasion, compared to those who had not.

3. The effectiveness of stop and search

3.1. Stop and search powers in Scotland: legislation and aims

Stop and search is intended as an investigative power, designed to allay or confirm suspicion, without resorting to arrest (Lustgarten, 2002). The majority of stop and search powers in Scotland are subject to reasonable suspicion¹⁷ and follow a similar formula whereby the police may stop and search a person if they suspect that an offence has, is, or is about to be committed, or that the person is in possession of a prohibited article (Lennon and Murray, 2016; Lennon, 2016). In this context, an officer should have reasonable grounds or suspicion for the search, the aim of which is to safeguard against arbitrary or unfair practice. Note also that statutory powers should be used to detect specific crimes, rather than as a general tool to prevent crime or control anti-social behaviour.

Two further statutory powers do not require reasonable suspicion: the Terrorism Act 2000, section 47A and the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994, section 60. These powers are UK wide, but rarely used in Scotland.

At the time of writing, officers in Scotland may also search a person on a non-statutory basis, which does not require reasonable suspicion and is premised on consent, rather than legal authority. Non-statutory stop and search is due to be abolished in Scotland in 2017, under the Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 2016, and is currently being phased out by Police Scotland.¹⁸

¹⁷ The core statutory stop and search powers are:

- Criminal Law (Consolidation) (Scotland) Act 1995 s 48, 49B, 50) Possession of or carrying an offensive weapon in a public place, or on school premises, or of an article with a blade or point in a public place or on school premises
- Misuse of Drugs Act 1971 s 23: Possession of controlled drugs
- Fireworks Act 2003 s 11A: Prohibited fireworks
- Civic Government (Scotland) Act 1982 s 60: Stolen property (including property constituting evidence of the commission of theft)
- Criminal Law (Consolidation) (Scotland) Act 1995 section 21: Persons suspected of being in possession of alcohol or a flare, or being drunk at, while entering, or while in, a designated sporting event. Officers may also stop and search public service vehicles and vehicles which can carry over eight persons that are conveying passengers to a designated sporting event and are suspected of carrying drunk people or alcohol

Additional powers relate to Custom and Excise offences, wildlife and environmental offences, and suspicion-based anti-terrorist powers. For a full overview and discussion see Lennon, 2016.

¹⁸ For a critique of non-statutory stop and search see: Mead, 2002; Murray, 2014; Scott, 2015; Lennon and Murray, 2016; Lennon, 2016)

3.2. Effectiveness and detection

This part of the report looks at the effectiveness of stop and search, as measured by detection rates. In other words, the value of stop and search as an investigative tool, rather than a general deterrent.¹⁹

The overall detection rate among those stopped and searched by the police in the last twelve months was low, at 13%. This finding is consistent with Police Scotland data, which shows that between June and December 2015, 14% of stop and search encounters involving 12 to 16 year olds resulted in detection. By contrast, Police Scotland data show that 24% of all stop searches in the same period were positive. In the UPYC sample, detection rates were higher amongst boys, compared to girls, at 17% and 8% respectively, although this result is on the borderline of statistical significance ($p=.051$).

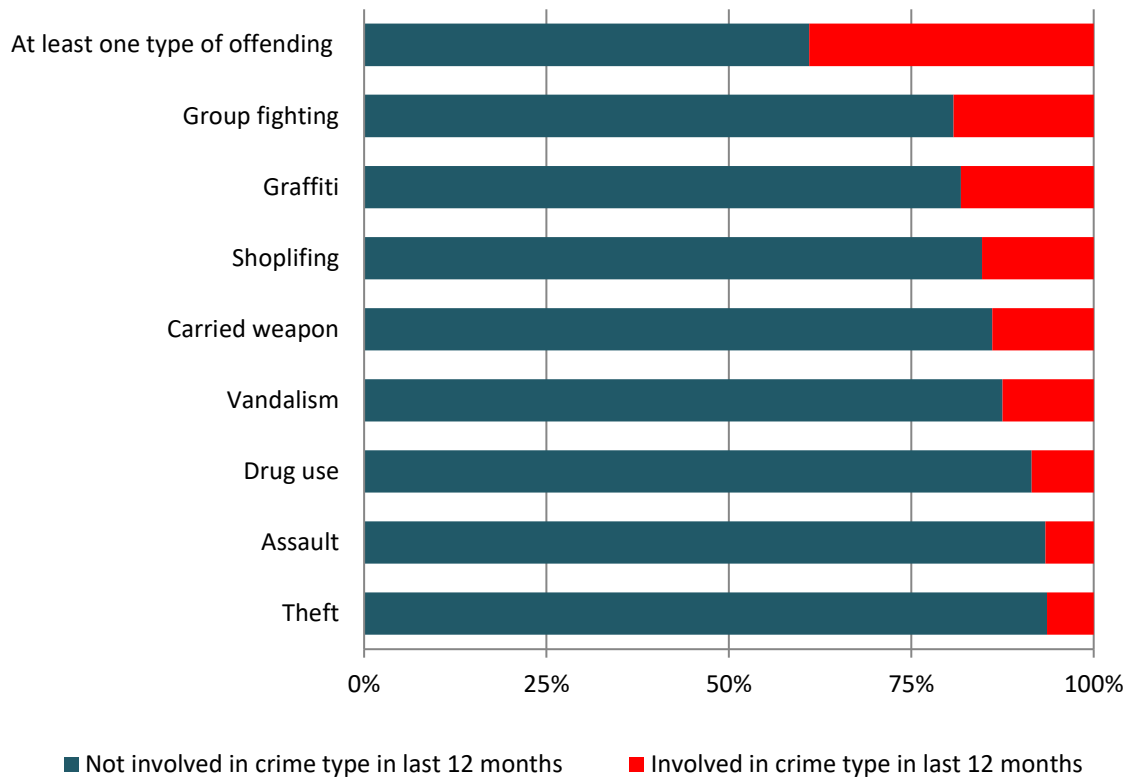
Low detection rates are likely to reflect the relatively weak link between offending by children and the use of stop and search. As noted earlier, 61% of the children who had been stopped and searched said that they had not been involved in any offending behaviour in the last twelve months (excluding illegal downloading). Looking at the different crime types asked about in the survey, 9% of children who had been searched had used drugs (91% had not), 14% had carried a weapon (86% had not) and 15% had shoplifted (85% had not). Group fighting was the strongest predictor of being stopped and searched. Nearly a fifth (19%) of those who were searched had been involved in a group fight in the last year, while 81% had not.

Again, these findings are likely to reflect the extensive use of non-statutory stop and search prior to mid-2015, and relatedly, the way in which stop and search was adopted as a general preventative policy tool, rather than an investigative police *power* aimed at detection.

Figure 22 shows the results.

¹⁹ Evidence on the deterrent effect of stop and search (and the associated costs in terms of police legitimacy and legal compliance) is unclear. For example, recent work by Weisburd et al. (2016) suggests the level of stop and search 'needed to produce meaningful crime reductions are costly in terms of police time and are potentially harmful to police legitimacy.' See also Apel, 2016,

Figure 22 Non-offending and offending in the last 12 months) amongst children who were stopped and searched (%)



Bases: At least one type (267) Illegal downloading (232) Fighting in a group (260) Graffiti (258) Shoplifting (261) Vandalism (256) Carried weapon (259) Drugs (259) Assault (22) Theft (265). Figure excludes bicycle theft, breaking into a car, housebreaking, car theft and extortion

4. Fairness and procedural Justice

The final part of the report examines children’s experiences of stop and search, and their attitudes towards the police. Whereas the analysis so far has principally focused on the prevalence and volume of stop and search, this section looks at the perceived fairness and the quality of stop and search encounters.

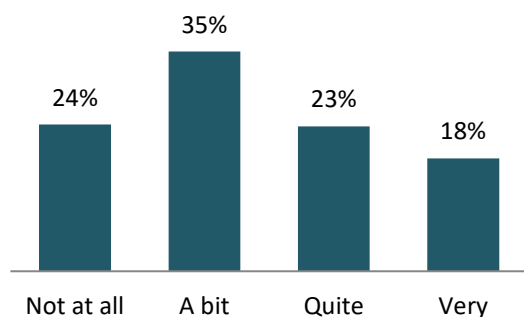
These factors are important on two counts. First, research evidence indicates that there is in-principle public support for stop and search, provided it is used fairly, respectfully and the grounds are explained (Stone and Pettigrew, 2000; Jackson et al., 2012, Myhill and Bradford, 2012). Second, looking beyond the tactic itself, research also shows that good quality decision-making and treating people with respect is likely to increase public support for the police, improve police-community relationships and strengthen police legitimacy more widely (Sunshine and Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2006; Tyler and Fagan, 2006; Hinds and Murphy, 2007; Hough et al, 2010).

4.1. The quality of stop and search encounters

Children who had been stopped and searched at least once in the last twelve months were asked (with reference to the last (or only) encounter) whether the police were professional, polite and respectful, and fair.

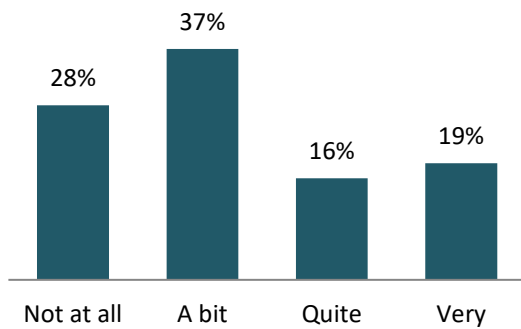
In general, the responses tended to be either equivocal or negative. For example, over a third of children (35%) said the officers were ‘a bit’ professional, compared to 18% who said that the officers were ‘very’ professional. When asked if the officers were polite and respectful, over a quarter (28%) said ‘not at all’, while under a fifth (19%) said ‘very’. When asked if the officers were fair, over a third (34%) said ‘not at all’, compared to 14% who said ‘very’. **Figures 23 to 25** show the results.

Figure 23 Last stop and search encounter: were the police professional? (%)



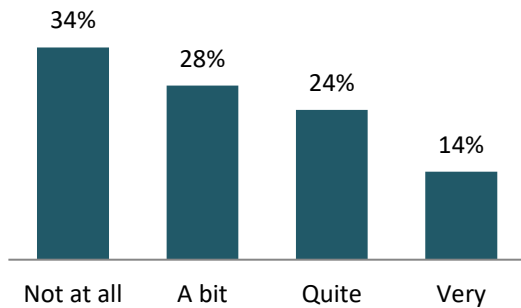
Base: 233 respondents

Figure 24 Last stop and search encounter: were the police polite & respectful? (%)



Base: 236 respondents

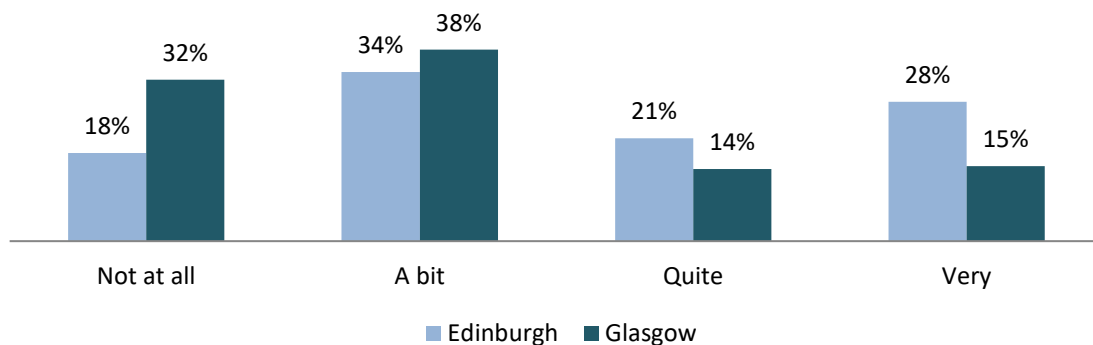
Figure 25 Last stop and search encounter: were the police fair? (%)



Base: 233 respondents

There were no statistically significant differences between pupil’s perceptions of police fairness or professionalism between Edinburgh and Glasgow. However, children in Glasgow were less likely to say that the police were polite and respectful, compared to children in Edinburgh. The proportion of children in Edinburgh who said that the officers were polite and respectful was nearly double that in Glasgow, at 28% and 15% respectively. At the other end of the scale, nearly a third of children in Glasgow (32%) said that the police were not at all polite and respectful, compared to 18% in Edinburgh. **Figure 26** shows these results.

Figure 26 Last stop and search encounter: were the police polite and respectful, by city (%)



Base: Edinburgh (68) Glasgow (167)

4.2. Explaining decision-making

Research by Stone and Pettigrew shows that that public support for stop and search is partly dependent on being officers providing a valid reason for the search. As the researchers explained, ‘respondents believed that stops and searches should be carried out for legitimate reasons and that a person should be given a valid, genuine and credible reason at all times whenever he/she is stopped or searched’ (2000; ix).

Just over half of the children who were searched in the last twelve months said that, the officers had explained the reason (51%). Of these children, three quarters (75%) said that they understood the reason. Around four in ten children (39%) said the officers had asked if they were happy for the search to go ahead, and nearly eight in ten of these children (79%) said that they gave their agreement to be searched. **Figure 27** shows the results.

Figure 27 Did the officers explain the reason, or ask if you were happy to be searched?



Base: Explained reason (237) Asked if happy to go ahead (238)

4.3. How children felt about being stopped and searched

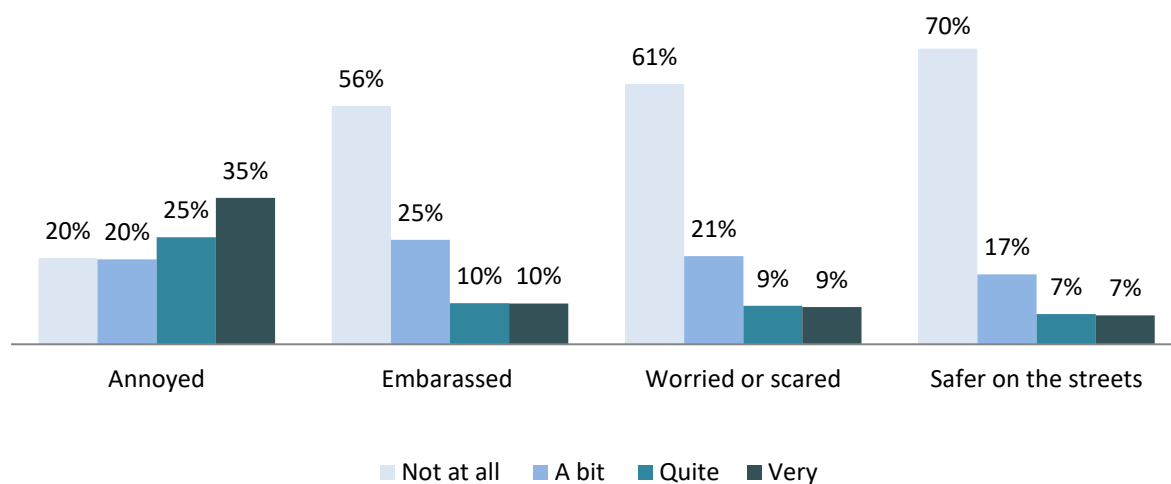
The children were also asked how they felt about the last (or only) encounter: whether they felt annoyed, embarrassed, worried or scared, or safer on the streets. Response options ranged from ‘not at all’ to ‘very’.

The most common reaction was annoyance. Over a third of children (35%) said that they felt ‘very’ annoyed, and a quarter (25%) said they felt ‘quite’ annoyed. Fewer children said that they felt either ‘quite’ or ‘very’ embarrassed (10% respectively). Similarly, fewer children said that they felt ‘quite’ or ‘very’ worried and scared (9% respectively).

The fact that relatively few children reported either fear or embarrassment is interesting, and may be indicative of the respondent’s familiarity with the police, and relatedly, the extent to which stop and search has become accepted or normalized by young people in some parts of Scotland.

Even fewer children said that being searched made them feel either ‘quite’ or ‘very’ safe (7% respectively), whilst seven out of ten (70%) said that being searched by the police did not make them feel at all safer on the streets. **Figure 28** shows the findings.

Figure 28 How did children feel about being stopped and searched?



Base: Annoyed (232) Embarrassed (228) Worried or scared (227) Felt safer on the street (226)

4.4. Children’s views of the police

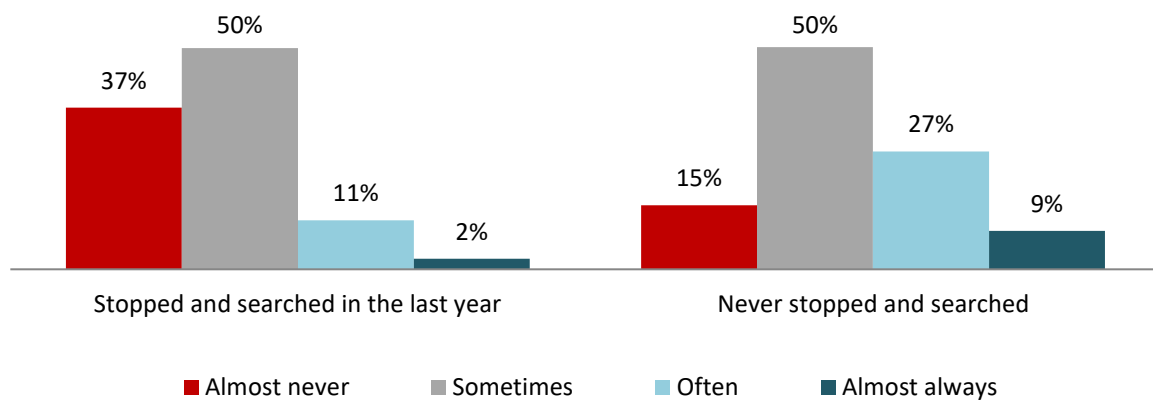
Children in S3 and S4 were asked an additional series of questions on police fairness more generally, for example, whether they felt that the police treated young people with respect, made fair decisions and appreciated young people’s views.

Children in Edinburgh appeared to have more positive views of the police than children in Glasgow. For example, 43% of children in Edinburgh said that the police often or almost always make fair decisions, compared to 27% in Glasgow. Similarly, 35% of children in Edinburgh said that the police often or almost always treat young people with respect, compared to 27% in Glasgow.

The views of children who had been stopped and searched at least once tended to be more negative towards the police, compared to those who had not been searched. To be clear, these findings do not indicate that the experience of being stopped and searched caused more negative attitudes towards the police (more advanced statistical modelling is required to establish this type of relationship). However, at this stage, we can state that there is a statistically significant association between the two factors, which is consistent with an existing body of academic research on stop and search (Miller et al. 2000; Jackson et al., 2012, Myhill and Bradford, 2012). Note also that multiple encounters (see **Section 2.2**) are also likely to increase the risk of negative attitudes towards the police (Stone and Pettigrew, 2000; Hillyard, 2003; Skogan, 2006).

Respectful treatment: More than a third of children (37%) who had been searched said they thought the police ‘almost never’ treated young people with respect, compared to 15% who had not been searched. Relatedly, the proportion of children who thought the police ‘almost always’ treated young people with respect was higher amongst those who had not been searched, compared to those who had, at 9% and 2% respectively. **Figure 29** shows the results.

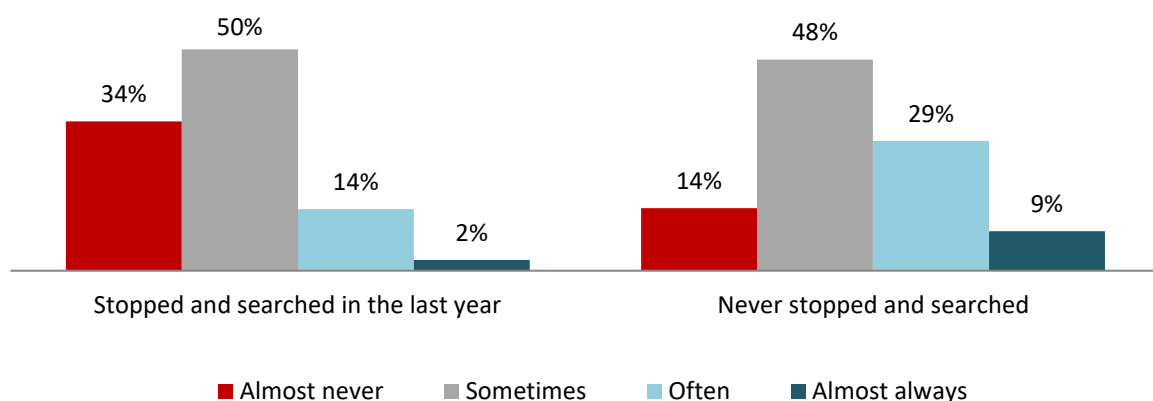
Figure 29 Whether the police generally treat young people with respect, by experience of stop and search (%)



Base: 762 respondents

Fair decision-making: Around a third (34%) of children who had been stopped and searched thought that the police ‘almost never’ made fair decisions when dealing with young people, compared to 14% who had not been searched. **Figure 30** shows the results.

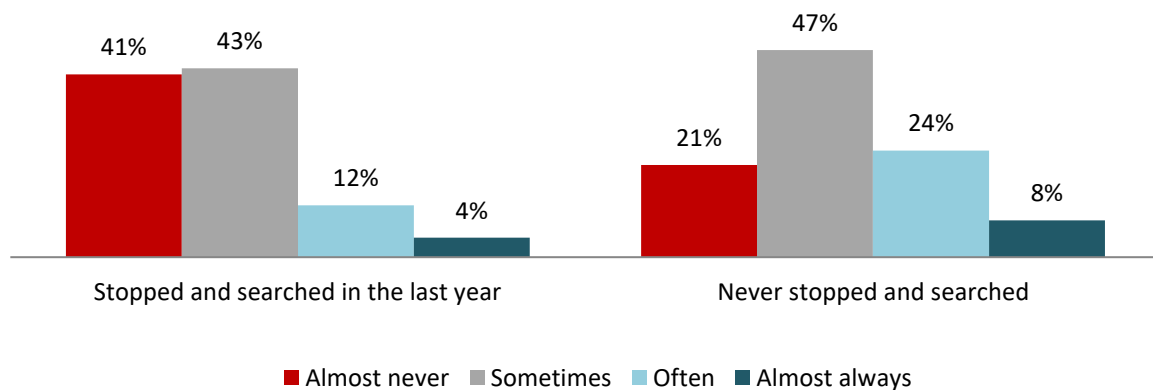
Figure 30 How often do the police make fair decisions when dealing with young people, by experience of stop and search (%)



Base: 760 respondents

Explaining decision-making: The proportion of children who said that the police ‘almost always’ explained their decisions was almost double amongst those who had been searched, compared to those who had not, at 8% and 4% respectively. Conversely, 41% of those who had been searched said that the police ‘almost never’ explain their decisions, compared to 21% of those had not been searched. **Figure 31** shows the results.

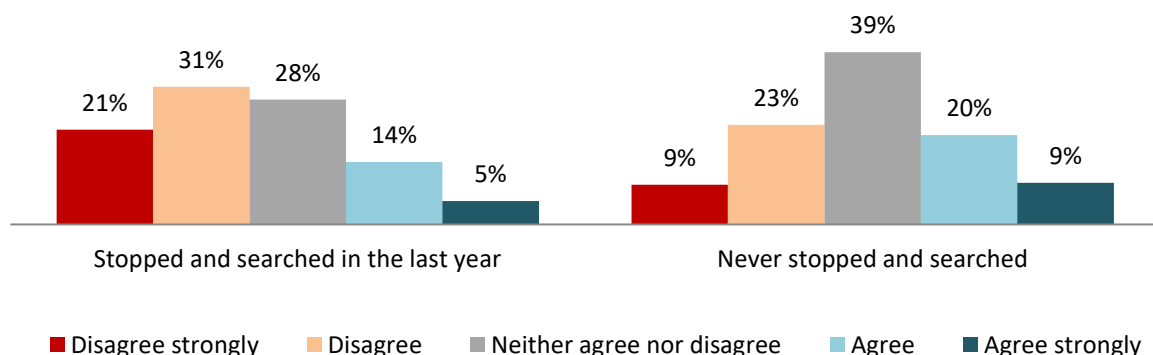
Figure 31 Whether the police explain their decisions, by experience of stop and search (%)



Base: 757 respondents

Understanding young people: A higher proportion of those who had not been searched ‘agreed strongly’ that the police appreciated what young people think, compared to those who had been searched, at 9% and 5% respectively. Conversely, around a fifth (21%) of those who had been searched ‘disagreed strongly’ that the police appreciated what young people think, compared to 9% of those who had not been searched. **Figure 32** shows the results.

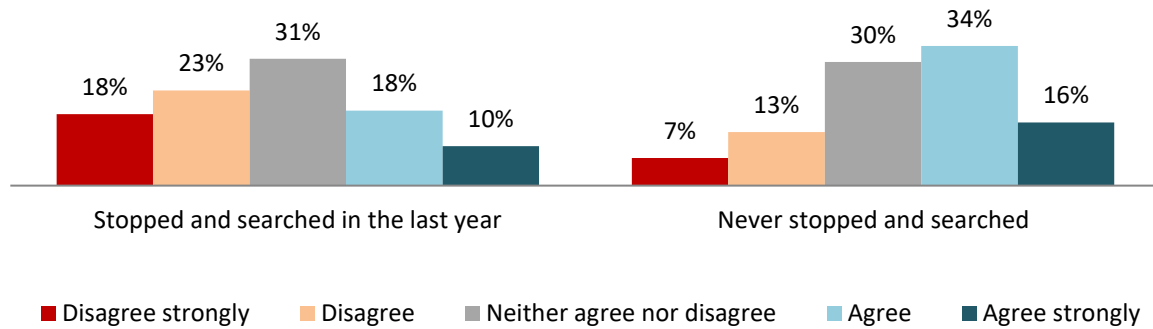
Figure 32 Whether the police are appreciative of what young people think, by experience of stop and search (%)



Base: 750 respondents

Support for the police: Finally, overall support for the police was higher amongst those who had not been searched, compared to those who had been searched, at 16% and 10% respectively. Conversely, 18% of those had been searched were not supportive of the police, compared to 7% of those who had not been searched. **Figure 33** shows the results.

Figure 33 Whether generally supportive of what the police do, by experience of stop and search (%)



Base: 750 respondents

References

- Apel, R. (2016) 'On the deterrent effect of stop, question, and frisk', *Criminology & Public Policy*, advance publication.
- Black, C., Homes, A., Diffley, M., Sewel, K. and Chamberlain, V. (2010) *Evaluation of campus police officers in Scottish schools*, Scottish Government/Ipsos MORI (online) <http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/1225/1/0095816.pdf>
- Cook, O. (2015) Youth in justice: Young people explore what their role in improving youth justice should be, SpaceUnlimited, Glasgow. Online: <http://www.spaceunlimited.org/media/134827/final%20report%20youth-in-justice-1.pdf>
- Evans G. & Tilley J. (2012), 'Private schools and public divisions: the influence of fee-paying education on social attitudes', *British Social Attitudes, 28th Report*, 37-52. Online: www.bsa.natcen.ac.uk/media/38965/bsa28_3private_education.pdf
- Hillard, T. (2003), Comments delivered at the Third National Symposium on Racial Profiling, Center for Public Safety, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL, November.
- Hinds, L. and Murphy, K. (2007), 'Public Satisfaction with Police: Using Procedural Justice to Improve Police Legitimacy' in *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology* 40 pp.27–42
- Hough, M., Jackson, J., Bradford, B., Myhill, A. and Quinton, P. (2010) 'Procedural Justice, Trust, and Institutional Legitimacy', *Policing*, vol. 4 (3) pp. 203–210.
- HMICS (2015) Audit & Assurance Review of Stop and Search: Phase 1, HMICS.
- Jackson, J., Bradford, B., Hough, M., Myhill, a., Quinton, P., & Tyler, T. R. (2012) Why do People Comply with the Law?: Legitimacy and the Influence of Legal Institutions, *British Journal of Criminology* 52 (6) pp.1051–1071.
- Loader, I. (1996), *Youth, Policing and Democracy*. Palgrave.
- Lustgarten, L. (2002) *The Future of Stop and Search*, *Criminal Law Review*, pp. 603-618.
- McAra, L. and McVie, S. (2005) 'The usual suspects? Street-life, young people and the police', *Criminal Justice*, 5 (1) pp. 5-36.
- McAra, L. and McVie (2007) 'Youth Justice? The impact of system contact on patterns of desistance from offending', *European Journal of Criminology*, 4(3): 315-345.
- Miller, J., Bland, N. and Quinton, P. (2000) *The Impact of Stops and Searches on Crime and the Community*, Police Research Series, Paper 127, Policing and Reducing Crime Unit, Home Office, London.
- Murray, K. (2014b) *Non-statutory stop and search in Scotland*, Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research Briefing Paper 6/2014. Lennon, G. (2016) *Searching for Change: Scottish Stop and Search Powers*, *Edinburgh Law Review*, Volume 20 Issue 2, pp. 178-203.

Myhill, A., & Bradford, B. (2012) 'Can police enhance public confidence by improving quality of service? Results from two surveys in England and Wales' in *Policing and Society* 22(4) pp.397–425.

Lennon, G. and Murray, K. (2016) *Under-regulated and unaccountable? Explaining variation in stop and search rates in Scotland, England and Wales*, *Policing and Society* (advance online publication) <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2016.1163359>

Mead, D. (2002) 'Informed consent to police searches in England and Wales: a critical re-appraisal in the light of the Human Rights Act', *Criminal Law Review*, pp. 791-804.

Pirrie, A. and Hockings, A. (2012) *Poverty, educational attainment and achievement in Scotland: a critical review of the literature*, Scotland's Commissioner for Children and Young People. Online:
http://www.cypcs.org.uk/downloads/Adult%20Reports/Poverty_educational_attainment_and_achievement.pdf

Police Scotland (2015) *Stop and search update report*,
<http://www.gov.scot/Resource/0047/00474484.pdf>

Scott, J. (2015) *The report of the Advisory Group on Stop and Search*, Edinburgh, Scottish Government.

Scottish Government (2015) *Summary Statistics for Schools in Scotland, No.5. 2014 Edition* (amended 25th February 2015). Online:
<http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2014/12/7590/downloads>

Scottish Police Authority (2014) *Scrutiny Review – Police Scotland's Stop and Search Policy and Practice* (online) <http://www.spa.police.uk/assets/126884/261737/item16.1>

Sheldon, N. (2009) *Tackling truancy: why have the millions invested not paid off?*, History and Policy, Policy Papers. Online: <http://www.historyandpolicy.org/policy-papers/papers/tackling-truancy-why-have-the-millions-invested-not-paid-off>

Skogan, W. (2006) 'Asymmetry in the impact of encounters with the police', *Policing and Society*, 16 (2) pp. 99-126.

Smith, D. J. and Ecob, R. (2007), An investigation into causal links between victimization and offending in adolescents. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 58 pp. 633–659.

Stone, V. and Pettigrew, N. (2000) *The Views of the Public on Stops and Searches*, London, Home Office.

Sunshine, J., and Tyler, T., (2003) 'The role of procedural justice and legitimacy in shaping public support for policing' *Law and society review*, Vol 37(3), pp. 513-548.

Tyler, T. R. (1990) *Why People Obey the Law*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Tyler, T. R. and Blader (2003) *The Group Engagement Model: Procedural Justice, Social Identity, and Cooperative Behavior*, *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, vol. 7 (4) pp. 349-361.

Tyler, T. R. and Fagan J. (2006) *Legitimacy and cooperation: why do people help the police fight crime in their communities?* Public Law and Legal Theory Working Paper Group, Columbia Law School, 6-99

Weisburd, D., Wooditch, A., Weisburd, S. and Yang, S. (2016) *'Do Stop, Question, and Frisk Practices Deter Crime?'*, *Criminology & Public Policy* (advance publication) American Society of Criminology.