Policing of Ethnic Minorities in Britain

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Abstract

This research explores the complexities of the relationship between the police and young black people. This includes considerations on how young people specifically, young black minority ethnic groups are shaped by government policies and its agents, the police.

Published research supports the notion that Black young people continue to be affected by a lack of services such as education, employment as well as other social inequalities. In addition, the stop and search practices have caused much damage to BME groups and has impacted negatively on the relationship between the police and Black communities. This thesis explores the issue of Black young people within a historical and social policy context, as well as exploring the views of young Black people and the police.

There is a significant body of published research about policing in general. There are however not many in depth research studies on a particular police setting about the experiences of white and black youths and how they are affected by policing. This research explores young people's thoughts on exactly this theme.

The empirical research was derived from qualitative data from semi-structured interviews with 18 police officers, and 17 young people taken from diverse and economically active areas of London. The findings supports published research of police discriminatory practices to explain the disproportionate treatment of black young people within the criminal justice system. It also highlighted the feelings and the effect of police stop on the individuals being stopped. This study therefore suggests a move away from the notion that black young people are criminals to involving them as contributors to social policy by giving them a true voice in policing and social policy making process.

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Glossary of Terms

ACPO	Association of Chief Police Officers
ASB	Anti-Social Behaviour
BCU	Basic Command Unit
BCS	British Crime Survey
BPA	Black Police Association
BME	Black Minority Ethnic
BTP	British Transport Police
BAME	Black, Asian, Minority Ethnic
BUSS	Best Use of Stop and Search Scheme
CSEW	Crime Survey for England and Wales
DfE	Department of Education
EDI	Economic Deprivation Index
EHRC	Equality and Human Rights Commission
FH	Hammersmith & Fulham Police Signage
GP	General Practitioner
H&F	London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham
HMIC	Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
LBL	London Borough of Lambeth
LX	Lambeth Police Command Signage
MPS, Met	Metropolitan Police Service
MET	Metropolitan Police Service
MOPAC	Major's Office for Policing and Crime
MOJ	Ministry of Justice
MBPA	Metropolitan Black Police Association
NPIA	National Policing Improvement Agency

ONS   Office of National Statistics

PACE   Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984

PCSO   Police Community Support Officers

RCCP   Royal Commission on Criminal procedure

YOTs   Youth Offending Teams

YOS   Youth Offending Service

Chapter 1
An Introduction to the study

This study is a culmination of over 22 years experience as a police officer within the London Metropolitan Police Service (Met), and as an enforcement officer with several local authorities in London. Over the years, I have experienced some hostilities on the street-based interaction between the police and black young people. This experience and observations is linked to the wider debates about the policing of young people in Britain, most particularly, Black Asian minority ethnic group (BAME). Some of these debates stem from the causes of the Brixton riot in 1981, and the Stephen Lawrence murder in 1993 where black communities felt the police are discriminating against black young people, and the effect on community relations and the police response. Nowhere is this more apparent than in London, one of the most vibrant cosmopolitan cities in the world. It has many cultural mixed with challenges and social inequalities that manifest in many ways. It will become clear that this study is located in London and the police service that policed it (Braithwaite, 2005, p. 1).

There are not many local studies like this one. This study will use both statistical and qualitative data and related modes of analysis to provide an alternative to the more generic, general studies that over-rely on national data sets with a focus on local context. Whilst there are many general academic literatures (e.g. Delsol and Shiner, 2015) on the subject that are focused mostly on large urban areas or generic in nature (Phillips and Bowling, 2003). Consequently, others (see Jackson *et al*., 2012) focus on law and compliance. And some are local studies (see Ilan, 2016; Waddington, *et al*., 2004). This study is classified as a local research because it focuses on a particular local area within an urban area.

The thesis looks at street-based encounters between the police and young people in a particular neighbourhood of an urban area. The main focus is about the policing of black

young people and the conflict between the police and black community. With this in mind, the thesis looks at the debate surrounding the social control of young people, and youth crime. The experiences of young people within the criminal justice system in Britain will be explored. It will trace the origin of the conflict historically through literature review and by a local case study to understand police-street youth interaction.

The policing of young people in Britain, the hostility, and conflicts between the police and young people go hand in hand. It is a matter of grave concern that these two are interlinked because "the police organisation is the prime agency of the state for law enforcement and social control" (Briant, 2013, p. 3). The police are the gatekeepers of the criminal justice system charged with the prime purpose to 'serve and protect' its citizens. That includes all sections of society without alienating any community it serves (Coleman and Norris, 2011, p. 118; Reiner, 1993).

The issue surrounding the policing of young people in Britain has been to some extent controversial and contrasting at times. Young people are perceived as in need of help from society to enable them to make informed decisions later on in their lives (Furlong, 2009; Skelton, 2009, pp. 1430–1448). At the same time, they are perceived as a threat (Ilan, 2016; Evans, 2008, pp. 1659–1680). There has been many academic studies about the relationship between the police and young people. But, as Ilan (2016, p. 1) pointed out, the public have not properly understood the intricacy involved during such encounters. There is more to policing than what is apparent. Therefore, the relationship between the police and young people cannot be captured fully on the basis of what happens on the street alone (Ogunsarkin 1999, p. 1). Class, gender, race and structural inequalities are arguably contributing factors that shape this interaction. As such, hostilities between the two groups are inevitable (Ilan, 2016; Gunter, 2008; Brown, 2005).

The Aims of the Study

The aims of this study are three fold, firstly, to look at the institutional context of policing. This will examine the relationship between the police and young people. This will include both the local experiences of the young people and also the police officers. It will predominantly focus on two ethnic groups; black and white youths. It will look at the police as part of a legal institution, and police culture. As a legal authority and the keeper of law and order by preventing crime and protecting its citizens to how police work as an institution in the criminal justice system. Whether the ethnicity, education, social class and age of an officer influences their judgement on decision making whilst on duty.

The controversy of stop and search practices, and the way young black men are singled out has been attributed to race (McLaughlin, 2007; Bowling and Philips, 2002). According to Newburn and Peay (2012) race:

> Is a modern term referring to the biological differences where references to skin pigmentation or hair texture set the differences within human species. However, race as a concept is not a natural distinction among human beings rather invented to legitimise racism (Newburn and Peay, 2012, p. 46).

The issue of racism whilst being documented within the police and the criminal justice system (Macpherson, 1999; Youth Justice Board, 2010) is nonetheless inconclusive and impeded by lack of interest within policy makers to fully address the issues (Travis, 2015).

The second aim will examine the experiences of young black males during their encounter with the police. The age of young people in the sample group, education, and the influence of street culture will be explored. Furthermore, their relationship and the perception of the police will also be explored. It will look at youth culture and seek to find out whether there are factors causing black youths to commit crime or what motivates them into crime, and whether they commit more crime than other ethnic groups.

This study will look further at whether there are differences on services accorded to these two groups (black and white ethnic group), which creates two different pathways in life that may impact on their relationship to co-exist. The issue of race and disadvantages faced by black youths has been documented (Sharp and Atherton, 2007; Bowling and Phillips, 2002). In view of this, the researcher will look at these pathways to see whether a particular ethnic group is treated differently than the other. This specifically will seek to find out if black youths are treated differently based on their ethnicity and the reasons why.

Lastly, it will look at the whole relationship between the police, and young people to understand the underlying issues and tension that can help to bridge the gap between the police and these groups for an all-inclusive society.

At the end of this research work, the researcher shall answer the following questions based on participant's accounts in this study, although not necessarily in chronological order.

Research Questions

1. Are there fundamental issues in the policing of young people in Britain?

2. Are young black males treated differently to other ethnic groups such as young white males?

3. Is they hostility between young black males and the police?

4. What are police officer's perception of social class and education in their role, and whether these attributes also influence the way black youths perceive the police?

5. How do Police Officers perceive black youths?

6. What do young black males think are the problems that impact the relationship between them and the Police?

7. What can be done to resolve the tension?

The remainder of the study is presented in seven chapters. Chapter two will look at social changes and how these have impacted on young people and crime. Chapter three will examine how the police operate and use technology. It will discuss the various technologies at the disposal of the police and whether this results in any changes to the smooth running of the organisation. This chapter will also examine any general concerns about the use of technology by the police and its impact on minority ethnic groups, and specifically on stop and search.

Chapter four will examine the impact of policing and government policy on young people and how this influences the relationship between the police and the local community. The impact of police patrols on young people is discussed, together with the conflicting position of young people within the community, which brings them into conflict with society as a whole.

Chapter five is concerned with the methodology that underpins this work. It sets out the context and plan of the thesis with debates on methods and its application. It looks at the difficulty of conducting academic research and how these were mitigated.

In Chapter six, the local geographical context of the two police command areas where this study took place is presented. This chapter also explores the democratic process involved in crime prevention within these local areas. The street-based experience of the police and young people is presented in chapter seven. A summary of the study and contribution of the research will also feature in this chapter. The last chapter, chapter 8 is a general conclusive chapter bringer together the discussions about the geographical areas and street-based experiences of the police and young people presented in chapters six and seven.

Chapter 2

Changing Social Trends within British Society as regards to Youth Crime

Conceptualisation of Youth Crimes pre 1940

Introduction

This chapter is divided into two parts: Part one, examines important developments and changes that have taken place within British society as regards to youth crime pre 1940s. It will also explore the debates about social class divisions within society. The second part will continue to focus on this trend since 1940s to modern day Britain. It will examine previous literature and discuss the reasons why young people have been a target within society for generations. Particular attention will be focused at the deprivation suffered by them within the family, and other structural inequalities (Bloch *et al.,* 2013; Griffin, 1993) within society as a whole that has shaped their life, and in some aspect made them prone to crime (Verbruggen, 2012; Brown, 1998). There are recurrent words used intentionally in this chapter: childhood, adulthood and young person. They will be used interchangeably as it is supposed to be dynamic because their interpretation and meaning over generations keeps changing (Brown, 1998; Furlong, 2009). As the discussion moves from the introductory and historical analogy at the beginning of the chapter into the issue of youths as a "problem" (Brown, 2005, p. 4), the rest of the chapter will look into the issue of youth crime. As young black males fare worse than any other ethnic groups within British society when it comes to punishment (Muncie and Wilson, 2004), it will also look at issues surrounding black people immigrating to Britain (Phillips and Phillips, 1999; Williams, 2000) as we trace the present black youth and their relationship within British society. It will conclude with a summary of what we have learnt and any remaining controversies.

The next section will look at the debates about social class. The social control of working class has been dominant in literary debates for centuries (Emsley, 2005; Savage, 2000; 2007). The division between the elite and the poorer sections of society is shaped by economic factors and the inequalities. As this thesis is about the relationship between the police, the agent of the state and young people, it is important to look at how social control has persisted over centuries and how inequalities, class struggles have continued (Furlong, 2009; Emsley, 2005)

Social Control of the Working Class in Britain

Social class has been predominant in sociological theories of crime for centuries (Walsh, 2011). Class is a "social relation" (Goldson and Muncie, 2006, p. 17).

British society has been obsessed with class structure and division up until most of the 19th century (Wiener, 2004). The feudal system, which was a structure of the Middle Ages, a medieval model before the modern state, was largely organised around feudalism. There were Lords or Barons, and their relationship was built on trust with the vassals who held the land on trust from the Baron (Picard, 2016). In the early part of 18th century, there were three broad categories of social status. Highest ranked were the 'gentry' who were those from landowner families that never had to work. Others who were considered 'gentlemen' were those from the government, high ranking military or clergy, it was acceptable to make money from investment as long as you did not have to work. The middle classes were civil servants, lawyers, and lower military officers. Lawyers and doctors did not gain as higher status as they do today (Wiener, 2004, p. 15). At the top of the lower class were craftsmen in manufacturing and labourers, while at the bottom were non-working, working paupers and vagrants.

There was a slight shift in the class system during the Victorian era as there was a clearly defined social class divided into three layers. The highest ranked were the 'educated working men and then the 'intelligent artisan'. At the bottom were the 'working men or labourers as they were also known (Picard, 2016). The middle class included such professions as the junior clerk from a city firm earning £100 per annum or a board chairman who could earn £1,000 per annum. Both were middle class because they worked with letters and figures, wore coats, white collars and top hats. Skilled engineers however who could earn more than the clerk were considered lower class because they worked with their hands.

Karl Marx saw class division as an exploitation of working class. Karl Marx has been described as an "enlightenment modernist" (Simon, 2006, p. 166) and trusted in the potential of science but critical of capitalism, which he saw as a product of a few powerful people. He thought that development should meet the needs of the working class by socially and democratically directing it. In class society production is controlled by the ruling elite which creates a class relationship between owners of productive forces, and labourers who actually perform the work. Proletarian and bourgeois, in order words, "classes are defined in terms of the exploitative relations of production which constitute the society in question" (Callinicos, 1983, p. 82).

Marxist and neo-Marxist came to dominate most part of the 20th century sociological research on social class in Britain. A new class of thought came from Pierre Bourdieu, as Atkinson *et al.* (2013) argues, class is now back high on the agenda due largely to the fact that this was thought to be only exploitation and economic inequalities. The work of Karl Marx and Max Weber has been instrumental on this thinking, but also cultural and symbolic domination too. The opposing class definition comes from the work of Pierre Bourdieu. Social class is not defined by means of "production, skills and capacity in the

labour market but by the embodiment of all attributes" such as economic capital, cultural capital and social capital. These together shape one's experience, capability and opportunity (Atkinson *et al.,* 2013, pp. 1-2). They was nonetheless no consensus on this new line of analysis.

The origin of the modern police force, a middle class workforce itself has been formed to control the working class and has evolved from the 1700's where it was a voluntary system of social control to a permanent organisation introduced due to population explosion and social unrest. The most powerful advocate of a professional police force was Sir Robert Peel, he was a Minister of Parliament as Home Secretary in 1820's. It was not until 1829 that an organised, full time professional uniformed police force was introduced, Metropolitan Police Services in London after The Metropolitan Police Act of 1829. Although there was resistance to the introduction of the modern police force by the working class who saw it as another way of the bourgeoisie to extend its control over those that it saw as a threat, namely the working class. Meanwhile, the elite saw this as a response to the collapse of law and order caused by rising crime (Taylor, 1946). Class became central to the analysis and perception of society (Emsley, 2005, p. 56) because class was linked to criminality as the majority of the people involved and arrested for crime were from poorer backgrounds. What has emerged since then until modern day Britain is the issue around social class and how to control the working class.

The suppression of the working class has been evident throughout the centuries and the perception that they perpetuated all crimes was dominant in the 18th and 19th centuries (Colquhoun, 2012; Wiener, 2004). There was evidence pointing to the fact that men of wealth and social standing within society also committed crimes. These white collar crimes were not taken seriously as the upper and middle class portray crime to be located elsewhere within the lower classes. On the other hand crimes within their social class were

however considered an exception (Emsley, 2005, pp. 57-58). This period also saw renewed emphasis on the link between poverty and crime as clerks who handled money for the wealthiest of society were often involved in embezzling and stealing money from their owners. The debate then moved to the fact that this was happening because the clerks were not well paid and therefore tempted to steal. However, this discourse has not gathered support. What has been put forward as a debate is that there is no link between poverty and crime but rather moral weakness and lack of education (Emsley, 2005).

Childhood, Youth and Youth Crime

Crime in general is an old phenomenon. The fear of crime could be a real problem and the fear of youths is 'creating a self-reinforcing negative spiral' (Wills, 2009). It is evident that the majority of crime is perpetrated by poor and marginalised sections of society, however, crimes such as financial fraud are committed by the rich and elite, but society is mostly preoccupied with the former (Brown, 2005).

There is no standard clear-cut definition of youth, but the Oxford English Dictionary defines it as 'the period between childhood and adult age'[1]. As such, children age 10 to 17 are treated differently within the criminal justice system in England and Wales and are dealt with in youth courts, given different sentences than adults and sent to secure centres for young people. Youth crime has not only been a modern day problem as it was also an issue during Victorian and Edwardian times (Goldson and Muncie, 2006; King, 1998; Hendrick, 1997). It is important to look back historically to unearth the controversy surrounding youth crimes, and the origin of youth as a "problem" (Brown, 1998, p. 1). James and Prout (1990, p. 33) explains the changing meaning of 'childhood', and point out that it is a social construct, constructed by adults. Brown while confirming this went

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[1] http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/youth (Accessed: 30 May 2016).

further and pointed out that, the notion of 'youth' or 'childhood' [2] is a social and cultural construct and not fixed because this helps adults to have clear ideas of the way they expect young people to behave in accordance to the norms of the prevailing society. A young person that does not conform to this norm is classed as deviant and a problem child. Children were expected to behave and act like children during the Victorian era. Anything else was considered to be out of character for society, resulting in punishment for the child (ibid). Depending on the severity of the crime punishment could be that enshrined in law through reformatories or prison. Or within the family moral code through corporal punishment which was the norm at that time and up until towards the end of the last century in Britain (Gard, 2009; Logan, 2010). Brown (1998) stress that, this idea is based on an adult's conception of young people and does not reflect the real lives of children. This is because western social sciences have been dominated with theory of age being cultural rather than natural (Pilcher, 1995). Although, there is a new line of enquiry of age as a natural phase as opposed to cultural, nonetheless the notion of childhood changes over time.

The notion of childhood, as we know has not always existed but this only came about from the sixteenth century through the introduction of schooling. This brought about a new category where children were no more treated as 'small adult' (Brown, 1998, p. 8). It was however during the Victorian era that the idea of childhood reached its peak and brought about discourse of childhood as we know today. This era brought along the commercial and artistic images of children for educational and commercial purposes and special cloths and toys for children blossomed. They were many versions of childhood and their interpretation around this period, from Romantic, Evangelic, the Factory, the Delinquent

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[2] "the belief that expert advice based on criminological and penological research is the foundation for penal change, is only a screen behind which ideological and political factors, perhaps inevitably, shape those attitudes which imbue legislation" (Brown, 1998, p. 76).

and the Schooled child all emerged (Hendrick, 1997). Many children in poor families were factory workers employed in factories, and many as young as five years old. It is estimated that as many as 80 per cent of workers in English cotton mills were children (Brown, 1998, p. 8). The Victorians saw Romantic child as being innocent and was often depicted in arts and literature, while the Factory child was the opposite and used in the factory as cheap labour working more than 13-hour days. This exploitation as we might call it today benefitted both the family who relied on their salary to survive and the factory owners for cheap labour (Tuttle, 2001). Men had pivotal roles where the father was the leader of the family. Everyone had a role within society but men were at the highest level as breadwinners whilst women's role was childbearing (Horrell and Oxley, 1999). This was also evident in the emergence of working men's clubs for men where women were prohibited from becoming members, some of these clubs today still do not allow women membership (ITV News, 2014). The idea was that children were to be trained, and protected within the family and the society as a whole without giving them autonomy. This brought about a clear distinction between childhood and adulthood with certain expectations of how adults expect children to behave and conform to the rules and norms of society (Brown, 1998). This is still a predominant idea in the 21st Century where children live within the bounds of the family and must obey the rules of the house without full autonomy. This is because adults think children must be trained and coached to have the life experience that will help them to make meaningful decisions later on in their lives (Brown, 1998; Furlong, 2009).

Many children were used in urban factories as child labour, but while this benefitted the parent because of the extra income, it also benefitted the factory owners, and the society at large as many of these children were employed. This means, they presented less threats to society. However, subsequent changes made to workplace had severe impact and contributed to increase in youth crime as many of these children were later made

unemployed.

Evidence suggests that changes made during the industrial revolution had a direct impact on child labour (Tuttle, 2001). The introduction and the use of machines in factories had severe bearing on what we now know as youth crime and how to control it. In addition to the differences already noted, there was the growing strength of the labour movement comprised of men who wanted to preserve their jobs and were against cheap labour mostly from children employed in factories. These changes meant that most children were unable to perform certain functions because they were too small to operate the newly introduced machines. Additionally, families were broken up because the old factory set up allowed parents and children to work in the same production line together (Brown, 1998). These changes also meant that the family were not only broken up but most of the children were without work, staying and living on the street and forming child gangs which caused problems that alarmed the Victorians. These were drastic changes that have affected the poor the most because most families from poorer backgrounds relied heavily on income from their children to survive. Since they was not enough income some families struggled to feed their children or to provide shelter for them. Most of them lived on the streets fueling street crime and youth gangs (ibid). There were serious concerns raised by society about the emergence of old factory child labour from poor backgrounds without work or school roaming around the streets causing problems.

The Victorians brought about some changes to improve the lives of children and to protect them in an effort to reduce incidences of youth crime and the number of street children. The Factory Act 1833 was one of the Act's brought in to prevent the employment of children under nine years old and limit the hours that they could work per day to thirteen. It was because of problem street children that this legislation and reforms to protect society and punish delinquent children (Goldson and Muncie, 2006) were established. This was the birth of prison for delinquent child as it was considered to be a place where children could

be kept and reformed in order to conform to the norms of society. Brown (1998) explains that, ''as many as 7000 young people were in prison in 1835, and this number rose to 12,000 in 1853'' (1998, p. 10). It is this fear in adults that has formed rafts of regulation for young people that still dominates us today in the 21st century (Squires & Stephen, 2005).

Youth Crime and Gender

There is a link between social class, gender and crime (Brown, 2005) and these have featured in debates about young people. Even though, boys have always been portrayed negatively and are disproportionally overrepresented in crime statistics (Reiner, 1993; Newburn & Stanko, 1994; Muncie, 2004). Griffin (1993) suggests that it was not all negative, for example, the Romans were obsessed with girls while Edwardians with boys as the bearer of the empire and the need to educate them in preparation for colonial success and rule. Youth problems such as youth gangs on streets and youth street disorder made adults insecure and anxious. Their response was more regulation aimed at the working class in urban areas in England. The modern police force itself a middle class organisation was seen as a response and answer to the Victorians fear in curtailing youth problems. As some sections of youth today are resistant to police control, this was also evident during the Victorian and Edwardian era, and over time in the later part of the nineteenth century with the emergence of hooliganism (Goldson and Muncie, 2006, p. 7). This resistance is evident in modern day Britain. Davis (1990) argues that without the development of social theory and science in the late Victorian society there would probably not have been much proliferation of many institutions or regulations to control young people and the construction of youths itself and the discourse about problem children. While the discourse of childhood as a scientific realm was seen in the work of (Hall, 1904), as young people transition to adulthood through puberty by sexual awakening. Boys were largely seen as a problem while girls on the other hand were seen as less of a threat to society due to their

maternal instinct. This is because girls were seen as more obedient and this brings masculinity to a centre stage in the discourse of youth problem.

The next section will follow in this theme but focus on a more contemporary discussion about social class and youth crime.

Post 1940 Developments in Youth Crimes

Revisiting Social Class Debate

The central theme of the debate about social class in modern Britain and a number of other western countries is edged on two opposing arguments. The term class is a "set of class division that arise from society's economic organisation'' (Abercrombie & Warde, 2001, p. 69). Those who argue that class is not important, or an issue in modern day Britain (Storry and Childs, 2013), and those who argue that as it has been in the past and is still a dominant factor (Westergaard, 1992; Driscoll, 2009; Benson, 2003). Driscoll (2009) argues that, social class in Britain today as in most of the western world has seen a dilution of their powers over the centuries. It is further pointed out (see Marshall, *et al.,* 1993) that, social class is not as starkly marked and divided as it was in the past and has become blurred. Walsh (2011) reiterates that, social class is nonetheless still an issue when it comes to the control of the masses and the working class. Meanwhile, Savage (2007) argues that class in modern Britain is articulated in a different way than in the past because class power is not an ascribed product of birth or upbringing rather it is mobility between class positions. Moreover, there is no decline of class identities but what is evident is the importance of class identities (Roberts, 2011). Abercrombie & Warde (2001) caution the new theory that class is no more an issue (2001, p. 69) and note that inequalities have continued over the centuries but the gap between the rich and the poor has widened dramatically since 1980. The shift in class structure as a category has been caused by

economic and political factors (ibid, p. 71) because there has been a shift and restructuring of the economy, which has led to uneven growth. Policies were deliberately made to increase economic inequalities based on the propagation of long term economic growth and emphasis on individual choice and personal responsibility (2001, p. 72).

Britain has emerged as the most unequal country (Robert, 2011) where the divide between the poorer sections of society continues to widen disproportionately. In Britain, the wealthiest fifth of the entire population controlled 45% of all disposable wealth in 2003 (Rees, 2003) and they also control about 41% of the income in 2014 (Inman, 2014b). This figure will continue to rise. "The top fifth of earners saw their annual disposable income rise by £940, while the bottom fifth lost £381 and all other groups lost around £250" in 2014 (ibid). This uneven distribution of wealth and services is markedly along boundary lines too, as the North of the country is poorer than South and South East of Britain (Graph. 1a & b). There has also been a shift in class structure, which is the decline in size of the working class while there has been exponential growth of the middle class (Savage, 2000). Roberts (cited in Abercrombie & Warde, 2001, p. 159) also notes that social class in postmodern Britain has shifted resulting in an uncertain future for young people compared to what it was decades ago. Youth culture has changed because it is becoming more diverse, more fragmented, is no longer only male dominated, and consists of varied age groups.

Graph 1a. Average earning between North and South of England

Average Earnings per job

South   £28,274

North   £23,991
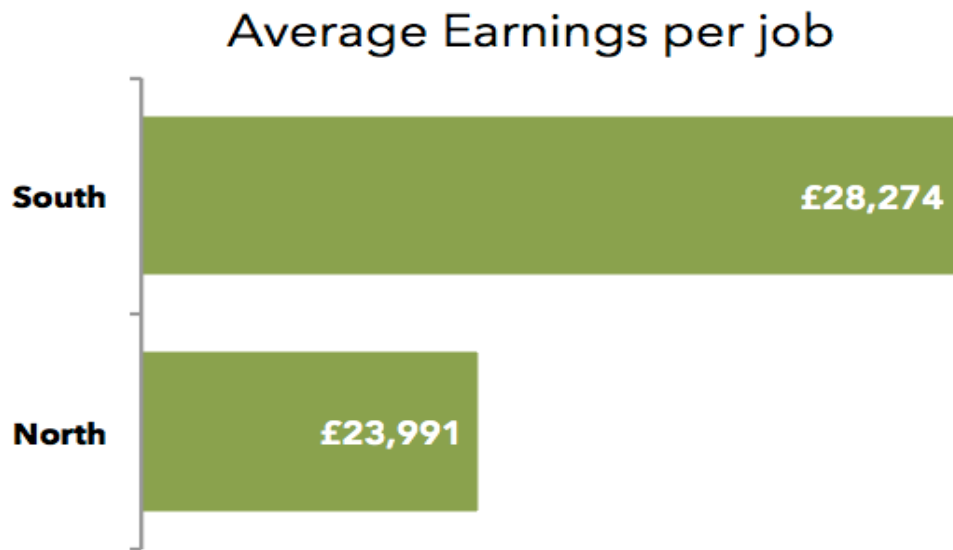
Source: Slane, R, (2013). Available at: http://www.economicmodelling.co.uk/2013/07/23/the-economy-and-the-north-south-divide/ (Accessed: 22 June 2016).

Graph 1b. Job numbers between North and South

Job Change
(2003-2013)

—North —South
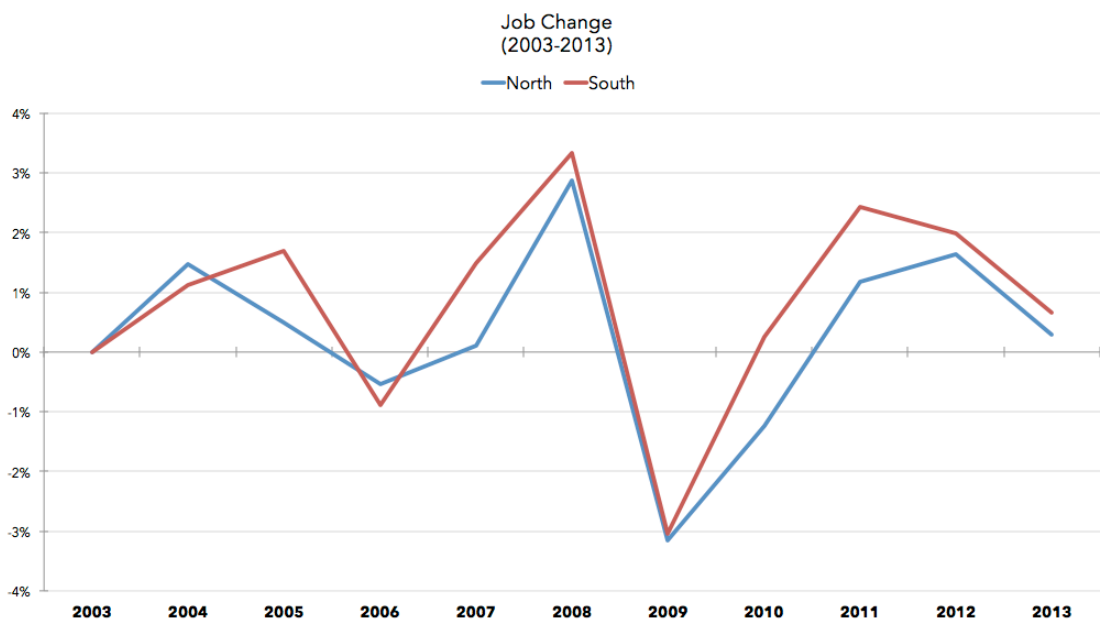
Source: Slane, R, (2013). Available at: http://www.economicmodelling.co.uk/2013/07/23/the-economy-and-the-north-south-divide/ (Accessed: 22 June 2016).

Youth Crime Since 1940s

Young people today still share something in common with previous generations of youths because their lives are still being structured, while adults are still making decisions that affect their lives for them. Class and gender inequalities still persist and according to

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Furlong (2009) we have seen changes across generations but the same issues still prevail, this has provided social scientists with an opportunity to see and learn across generations:

> "the study of young people's lives provides a unique opportunity to study processes of change, to understand the way in which inequalities are reproduced between generations and to reflect on the ways in which structure and agency combine to shape lives'' (2009, p. 1).

The transition from childhood to adulthood is not as obvious as it was in past decades, and has become blurred. Furlong (2009) attributes these changes to modern day young people becoming more independent and autonomous, citing the post war market policies as a detrimental factor. These transitional changes that young people go through are different for boys and girls as they have different pathways and self-determination for personal autonomy. As Furlong (2009, pp. 1-7) explains, a young person's passage is shaped by experiences, the social context of where they live, the society, and their orientation in life. That is where they want to be or what they want to do in life. More and more young people are in education and becoming independent now than in past generations, but life, and the society throws other challenges at them and above all past issues remain unsolved such as inequalities within this group.

Youth issues that were exacerbated by changes in industry by the introduction of machinery during the Victorian era and the period after that have re-emerged in post war Britain. British society went through great changes after the Second World War, from the reconstruction to the restructuring of its economy. In the 1980s came the restructuring of the economy (Jennings *et al.*, 2015) from industrial to services sectors and the privatisation. This repositioned Britain within the world economy and market forces taking over with limited government intervention in the market, monetarism. This was a move away from government intervention in the market as advocated by the Keynesian ideology. Thatcher and Thatcherism as an ideology have made great impact on "cultural construct

and economic creed" as argued by Evans (2004, p. i), pointing out that although a bold ideological experiment, it has failed to meet its objectives. It has nevertheless brought a shift in the political landscape and equally produced dramatic changes in some aspect of public life in Britain and abroad (ibid).

The government of Margaret Thatcher effectively changed the British economic landscape by putting through severe restructuring and privatisation. It reduced the influence of state control and regulation by denationalising publicly owned assets. It introduced limited government intervention in the market, deregulation and reducing monopoly in areas such as transport and telecommunication licences. Compulsory sale of local authority houses to housing associations and housing tenants under the right to buy. There were more women in employment than ever before except during the Second World War, but mainly in the service sector bringing along other issues of part time work, meaning that both parents were working as opposed to when only one parent mainly the father was the only breadwinner (Furlong, 2009). This posed some challenges to the family in terms of looking after, and controlling their children because they were spending less time together because one or both parents were working. There was also the emergence of lone or single parent families, mostly women taking care of children alone without a male role model. Although, the general standard of living greatly improved prevalently between 1960 until the late 1990s, albeit the economic crisis of the 1980s when Britain was in recession, wealth has not spread evenly throughout society. The poor were becoming poorer (Robert, 2011; Inman, 2014b) and still faced the inequalities of poor infrastructure and services with young people being at the receiving end while adults and society as a whole seemed to point fingers and constantly scrutinise them.

Youth poverty is one of the inequalities faced by young people and is an increasing issue, as pointed out by Furlong (2009), young people under the age of 24 are in the same group

as "children and older people over the age of 65 because their income is below the national average" (2009, p. 2).

Immigration and Cultural Changes

This thesis focuses on issues involving young people and the criminal justice system. Particularly the breakdown of trust within black youths, the black community and the police. The author will briefly trace the history of black youths in order to elucidate on the issue of black youth and crime, and focus mainly on cultural changes and black immigration to Britain.

It is not possible to write about black youths without first tracing the history of their parents or ancestors because the black youths we know today are the off spring of earlier arrivals to Britain some sixty-six years ago (Phillips & Phillips, 1999). After the second Word War from 1948 coordinated black immigration into Britain, mainly came from the Caribbean. This phenomena known as the Windrush would not have resulted in the number of people immigrating to the UK had "America not closed its border and opted for a quota system under McCarran – Walter Act 1950" (Wild, 2008, p. 27).[3] At the time America was the preferred destination and cheaper to reach for Caribbean immigrants than Britain. This is not to say that there was no black immigration to Britain before the Windrush (Belchem, 2014) [4]. They were Africans in Britain, slaves and soldiers in the Roman imperial army for three and half centuries (Fryer & Gilroy, 2010, p. 1). Africans have been born here since 1505 (Walvin, 1973) and their presence has been notable since then but their numbers were

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[3] "The McCarran-Walter Act ended the practice of allowing West Indians to enter the United States under the category of British citizens and set a new Caribbean immigration quota of just 800 per year" (Wild, 2008, p. 27).

[4] Black people had been a continuous, in small, presence in Britain for over 500 years, but the level of black immigration after 1955 represented a new phenomenon (Wild, 2008, p. 26).

insignificant to cause friction or challenge British society.[5] Earlier mass arrivals were through slavery but they did not share the same characteristics as those of the Windrush because they did not come here of their own free will or pay their fares with the free spirit of coming to work (Phillips and Phillips, 1999). Pre Windrush arrivals were either blacks from Africa and the Caribbean coming to Britain to study, work on merchant ships, or those brought back by religious organisations for religious reasons (Wambu, 1998; Phillips and Phillips, 1999).

The Windrush is attributed to be the beginning of British multi-cultural society because of mass black migration to Britain and the impact to British society. According to Solomos (1991), the period between 1945 to 1962 was a period of free entry of colonial labours such as black Caribbean's because there were no immigration restrictions. Black Caribbean's were openly invited to come to work and live in Britain by the British government in their effort to rebuild Britain after the destructions caused by the Second World War. This was due to the shortages of labour as most men were either killed during the war, and the sheer scale of reconstruction meant that they needed workers to help in this effort. This open invitation came with a fanfare of publicity in order to lure young black males from the Caribbean to Britain. In 1948, 492 Jamaicans migrated to Britain, but their numbers gradually rose to 126.000 by 1959 (Bloch *et al.,* 2013, p. 55).

Even though black Caribbean's were openly invited to Britain, they were nonetheless met with hostility and so were their families. They persevered by a "process of managing a hostile urban environment and infiltrating its structures" (Phillips and Phillips, 1999, p. 384). There were personal accounts of experiences faced by black immigrants, and one of

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[5] "Biggest shock was, one, the cold, and two, having gone to church for the very first time – so elated, so delighted that I'm coming from an Anglican church back home, I went to join in worship, and so I did – but after the service I was greeted by the vicar, who politely and nicely told me: "Thank you for coming, but I would be delighted if you didn't come back." (Phillips & Phillips, 1999, p. 149).

these is as a preface by Braithwaite, in (Wambu, 1998). Braithwaite graduated From Cambridge University in 1949 with a degree in Physics but could not find work. He faced many hostilities and prejudices while employers came up with excuses as to why they would not employ him. Black immigrants also face other difficulties such as finding a place to live, as some landlords were reluctant to rent to them. Many were confined to some run down areas of the city, and some lived in overcrowded properties. There was also hostility in schools attended by their children and within society[6].

Black culture started to emerge as a way of expressing their cultural heritage and entertaining themselves. This later led for example to the creation of Soul II Soul, which was a celebration of black culture through music by embracing soul and reggae style of music. A notable event was the beginning of the Notting Hill carnival in the 1960s celebrating their differences and trying to create a space within British society for themselves. It would not come as a surprise that most participants to this yearly event that has been described as 'Europe's biggest street party [7] would not remember the history or challenges to the organiser's in the early day defensive Britain. Even the compulsory purchase and rehousing policy adopted by the local authority of the area towards them in the later part of the sixties could not dampen the demand for the carnival. This controversial policy was termed by black communities as "black dispersal" (Phillips and Phillips, 1999, p. 276). This was because black people who predominantly occupied this area were dispersed out of Notting Hill to other parts of London such as Neasden and

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[6] In the street I moved like a cat, every sense turned up, taking a different route every time. One night a gang of boys erupted out of an alleyway, yelling and waving chains, but I was fast, some sixth sense warning me the moment before I saw them, and I got to the High Street pulling away and leapt on the platform of a double decker, clinging to the pole, my legs sweeping out behind me as I scrabbled for a foothold (Phillips and Phillips, 1999, pp. 145-146).

[7] http://www.visitlondon.com/things-to-do/event/9023471-notting-hill-carnival-2015 (Accessed: 31 May 2016).

Wembley. The local authority rejected this claim at the time and insisted that the decision was driven by the need to redevelop this area. According to Phillips and Phillips (1999) some were living in slum houses in large and overcrowded families. It was nonetheless considered as black dispersal because the new houses built were smaller and were not designed for occupancy by many or large families. As the new houses were smaller and not consistent with black Caribbean culture it meant that vast numbers of them were re-housed elsewhere out of the Notting Hill area.

Young black people in Britain today are second or third generation immigrants to Britain. Life in 1940s Britain was a harsh and hostile place for their parents (Wambu, 1998) who mostly came here to work, save money and go back home to start their own businesses or build their own houses. This meant they had to stay away from trouble, but as Phillips and Phillips (1999, p. 388) stress, the new generation of black youths go around wearing trousers "round their thighs", the Windrush generation were deeply conservative trying to stay away from trouble "because to be noticed too much is to be a target" (1999, pp. 388-389). They however vented their anger in the Notting Hill riot in 1958 (Riggio, 2004)[8] but nothing compared to other riots that took place since the 1980s such as the Brixton riot. The Windrush generation didn't feel British or interested in politics. In contrast, the younger generation wants to be in the "limelight, are not intimidated by anything, and are willing to take more risk" (Phillips and Phillips, 1999, p. 388). They feel part of British society and consider themselves British. They are not shy to fight for what they consider theirs, or make their voices heard, and this is evident on the resentment and anger vented

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[8] The 1958 White-on black riots in Notting Hill and Nottingham delivered a sharp message to the predominantly West Indian, but also African and Asian, immigrants living there that many white Britons were far from happy about the arrival of their fellow citizens from the New Commonwealth (Wild, 2008, p. 25).

during such riots as the Broadwater farm (BBC News, 2014), Brixton 1981[9], and the last riot across Britain originated in North London in 2011[10].

Some call the later Blackberry riot (Halliday, 2011) and attribute this to cultural changes with the advent of information technology and globalization. The whole world is now a village as news travels fast, fashion and street culture including gangs are regularly imported and exported across the Atlantic. Riots are easily coordinated and organised through social media and Blackberry mobile phones used as a fast and cheap way of mobilising large numbers of people and audiences. Post war Britain was obsessed with youth issues and the subculture in general. It was convenient for adults in the late 1950's because there was more commercialisation of mass market goods and products for young people (Garratt, 1997; Willis, 1990). Items such as records, cloths, trainers and magazines aimed at children as they were considered a single entity for marketing with ever more disposable income than before. On the other hand they would be scrutinised by adults because of their excessive consumption and trends fueled by mass media, and accusing young people of being brain washed by TV commercialising and games (Brown 1998). Society feared that youths were reliving what they saw on TV in real life thus causing tension between young people and adults as they were increasingly seen as a problem (Malone, 2002; Gunter, 2008). Notwithstanding this, there is still a proliferation of TV images, which could either be damaging to the child or impound on society as a whole. More products for example, video games were aimed at them rather than curtailing it in order to reduce potential damaging effect on them (Brown, 1998, p. 26). Youth cultures in Britain are also influenced by music such as Hip Hop and street culture. This has led to

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[9] According to Lord Scarman it was the worst disorder last Century. The riot in Brixton in 1981 was caused following what black people perceived as police harassment towards them.

[10] This riots started when police shot dead a black youth Mark Duggan in Tottenham on 06 August 2011 when police tried to arrest him.

boys becoming more territorial in their neighbourhoods (Young, 2016).

Young black males are prominently featured in street gangs and this is evident by the number of knives and gun crimes fueled by gangs and other associated illegal activities (Goldson, 2011). There were twenty-seven murders of teenagers in London in 2007. This figure rose to 35 in late 2017 (The Guardian, 2017), at least half of these were attributed to being gang related (Castella and McClatchey, 2011).

Chapter Summary

As seen in this chapter, there is still a long way to go before the British government and society as a whole fully understand the intricacies surrounding the issue of youths and the causes of youth crime. The British political system notably Conservatives and Labour, and as it was during the Victorian and Edwardian era are still trying to control young people (Brown, 2005; Furlong, 2009), and youth crimes within society. The power of social class is still evident although most debates are centered on the shift within class structure and the dilution of their powers (Driscoll, 2009). Nonetheless, the control of the working class is still evident in modern Britain. The definition and transition from childhood to adulthood has shifted and become blurred in recent times. As pointed out by Brown (1998) we will not see major changes until society stops pointing fingers at young people and starts to make real changes that have the interest of youths in mind through consultation. Structural inequalities and lack of services that drives certain members of society to the margin has been attributed as the cause.

Some academics (Roche, 1997) agree that policies towards young people over the generations have been dominated by political beliefs and ideology. This is evident in increased emphasis on punishment (Goodey, 2005) over generations and more dominant from the 1960's. Until the British government starts to implement policies recommended as

being child friendly in tackling the root cause of youth problems rather than use interventionist attitude of penology we will be at a cross roads with possibly more riots and damage to society. The government risks antagonising young people to the extent where there is a possibility that society cannot accommodate any more as penal policy is not sustainable due to spiraling costs (Marsh, 2008). This will further inflame tension within ethnic groups. The issue of race and the racialisation of race have been dominant in British government policies. Although there have been improvements in race relations over the last forty years in Britain there is still a long way to go as past policies are deep rooted within government and society, which still has influence in recent times.[11]

The next chapter will look at available literature to understand what underpins police work and the technology used in policing, and the impact of this on black minority ethnic group, specifically on stop and search.

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[11] ''Recent remarks allegedly made by the royalty were widely reported. One particular member of the royalty told a group of African American dinners in an exclusive restaurant in New York to go back to the colonies'' (Bhavnani *et al*., 2005, p. 41).

Chapter 3

Contextualising Police Work

Introduction

In the last chapter the police were placed in historical context, not only in terms of the development of policing and historical development in youth crime and social changes (Brown 2005; Tuttle, 2001; Bateman and Pitts, 2005) but also in respect of challenges in policy and policing (Brunston & Miller, 2006; Sharp & Atherton, 2007). This chapter will continue to examine literature on this theme with particular attention to the definition of police. How it has changed and what is involved in practical day to day policing in order to understand the notion of police and policing.

This thesis is about the conflict in relationships between the police and black people. It is evident that policing is a contributory factor to this conflict (Bowling and Phillips, 2002). Chief among this is the use of stop and search practices (Shiner and Delsol, 2013). This chapter will also look at technology in general (Newburn and Peay, 2012), and how the police have embraced it. Whilst doing so, it will also look at the police services use of technology and what difference it makes to improving police operations, community safety and community relations (McGuire, 2012). It will be seen in this thesis, specifically in chapter four the overrepresentation of black young males within the criminal justice system. Whether increased technology use within the police has made any difference in improving this disproportionality and the impacts on black minority group (Gau *et al.,* 2010). In other words, this chapter will explore the impact of police technology use on black minority young people (Shaw, 2015).

A review of literature for this thesis reveals that policing and government policy around law and order has brought conflict with the people it is supposed to police, and how some

communities are feeling antipathy towards them (Bowling and Phillips, 2002). As Fielding (2005, p. vii) notes, police and policing is at the core of the state as it is one of the few legitimate institutions with the power to use force on its citizens. As a consequence with the legitimisation of police powers by the state (Brunston and Miller, 2006), the use of such powers is often contested by those being controlled and has been a contentious issue. Some of the contradictions on the role of the police is "because of its ambiguity" (Norris, 1987, p. 28). Central to this debate is its role as a protector by protecting lives and property, reassuring its citizens with visible presence and also helping victims of crime. Controlling the population is seen as challenging, a contradiction, which brings conflict (Fielding, 2005, p. vii). Government policy around law and order has been mostly about controlling the working class (Emsley, 2005), but this conflict in the relationship is more evident in chapter four. This is due to policing and control alienating some sections of the community. While the early work on police research in the mid to late 20th century was seen in the work of Fielding (2005), the police focus in the past was to manage community relations in order to avoid trouble. Reiner (2000) on the other hand saw subsequent trend and period as conflict stage. In this chapter, we will look briefly at the police as part of the criminal justice system and the legal framework within which they operate.

The origin of the modern police force has been slow with much resistance from society but the Metropolitan Act 1829 established a paid, permanent uniformed police force. Sir Robert Peel was instrumental in establishing a professional police force in London (Ratcliff, 2008). His vision of police still captures the reality of policing in modern day Britain, notwithstanding, his vision 'the nine pillars of policing' [1] was written more than a century ago. This chapter will show how the police have evolved over the years at a slow pace to modern day Britain with changing roles and challenges. Never before have the

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[1] Principles of Law Enforcement. Available at: https://www.durham.police.uk/About-Us/Documents/Peels_Principles_Of_Law_Enforcement.pdf (Accessed: 10 June 2016).

police faced such challenges; community relation and leadership concerns (Adlam and Villiers, 2003); reduction in its finances (Lindsay *et al.,* 2012) leading to more police assets being sold off with reduced budgets to carry out its roles and functions as a state institution charged with protecting its citizens. In addition to this, is the uncertainty and conflict around the world with an increase in terrorism and cyber-crime activities. The future looks rather troublesome and these pose great challenges to the existence of the police force as we know it today (Newburn and Peay, 2012).

Definition of the Police and Policing

Any definition of police and policing is problematic, partly as a result of "epistemological disputes" (Norris, 1987, p. 28), but also because of the contradictions and confusion with police mandate. The Oxford dictionary online defines police as ''the civil force of a state, responsible for the prevention and detection of crime and the maintenance of public order''.[2] Policing instead is the duties carried out by authorised officers of a police force (Newburn & Neyroud, 2008) [3]. Newburn and Peay (2012) also define policing as "any activity that is expressly designed and intended to establish and maintain (or enforce) a defined order within a community" (2012, p. 267).

The literature on police work is full of dichotomies, which try to capture a range of "style, duties and tasks as if it neatly falls into a neatly conceptual umbrella" (Norris, 1987, p. 28). In reality, to this day, contradiction remains about its mandate on policing, encompassing not only crime prevention, but keeping the peace and detection and punishing offenders

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[2] http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/police (Accessed: 12 Dec 2015).

[3] "Policing cannot usefully be analysed as conterminous with social control but must be seen as a specific aspect of it. Policing implies the set of activities aimed at preserving the security of a particular social order, or social order in general…Policing does not encompass all activities directed at achieving social order. What is specific to policing is the creation of systems of surveillance coupled with the threat of sanctions for discovered deviance- either immediately or by initiating penal processes" (Newburn and Peay, 2012, p. 266).

(Newburn and Neyroud, 2008). It was a trend in the past for UK police researchers to look across the Atlantic for inspiration. This was because police researchers were predominantly in North America researching police work and it was common for UK researchers to look to the USA for inspiration (Newburn and Peay, 2012, p. 81), but this balance of power has long shifted away to the UK and other European countries. There has also been mobility of international police researchers, which has shifted research attention around as many of them have experiences across regions.

There have been issues and debates about 'police culture' and how this influences police work and officers responses. Reiner defines it as follows:

> "Cultures are complex ensembles of values, attitudes, symbols, rules, recipes, and practices, emerging as people react to the exigencies and situations they confront, interpreted through the cognitive frames and orientations they carry with them from prior experiences" (Reiner, 2010, p. 116).

Police culture and officer's use of discretion while dealing with black minority ethnic groups and the application of equitable justice to all is seen in the work of Bowling and Phillips (2002; 2007); Phillips & Bowling (2003). The reluctance to embrace change and slow progress implementing its equality recommendations has also been blamed on police culture. This has led to debates by academics about the extent of police culture in policing. What is evident however is that the debate has gathered momentum in recent years (Macpherson, 1999), and often a target for reform. As Waddington (cited in Newburn and Peay, 2012) reiterates, police culture is not 'homogeneous' there has been a shift in police work and policing but the "core characteristics remain as discerning as they were 30 years ago when Simon Holdaway conducted his fieldwork" (2012, p. 90). Police culture has faced increasing scrutiny and provided both pressure groups and the government with a "convenient label" (2012, p. 91). In addition, they argue that the core characteristics of police culture is not distinct from the rest of society rather it is an expression of the "wider

culture of society" (2012, p. 94), and that the term police culture has been a rhetoric tool for those wanting police reform.

Institutional Context of Policing

The Police do not "exist in a social, political or economical vacuum" (Colin & James, 2012, p. 273), and its legal powers are multi directional mostly emanating from government legislation through various acts of parliament, and are guided by common laws. Police have been given the legitimate power to use force against its citizens, the use of "coercive force" (Newburn and Peay, 2012, p. 155) but the use of such force must be reasonable and proportionate.

Citizens also have some power under common law, the right to self-defence, and the use of reasonable force (College of Policing, 2013). A power of arrest by a member of the public is enshrined in section 24A of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 (Myers, 2011). Whilst police were able to exceed their powers on the use of force in the past (Israel, 2014), these powers are proving controversial today as they are frequently challenged in court. In order to address this issue, Police management now has a policy in place. Officers must justify why they use force on a suspect during arrest, and the management audits this information. Police legitimacy is 'multi-dimensional which comprises of actual and perceived judgments of police processes, justice, legality and effectiveness' (Reisig and Kane, 2014, p. 239). Changing the political context and operational environment dictates the service and the nature of police work. Police legitimacy is clear in some areas but is rather vague in others, for example domestic disputes. An area once considered a private family matter (Lanette, 2012). It is argued (Newburn and Peay, 2012) that it is for such instances that the Police roles and responsibilities are left rather vague in order to fill the void where other agencies are unable to fill or control.

Police work is mundane involving long shift work with unsocial hours and evidence of Peel's ideology is still present today. The most visible aspect of policing which has been a "core task" for centuries (Newburn and Peay, 2012, p. 181), is the "bobby on the beat" (Collin and James, 2012, p. 279). Police rank and file is still dominated by a ranking system of command with varied roles, which encompass both proactive and reactive work from random patrols to detecting and investigating crime. This places the police at the centre of our everyday lives where citizens rely on them for protection, reassurance and to solve social problems. On the other hand, every part of police work is open to scrutiny and an officer's personal experience is built on his previous encounters and passing on the knowledge to new officers. Reiner (cited in Westmarland, 2001, p. 93) claims that it is in such values and norms that perpetuate a group's survival.

Police are experiencing some changes albeit slowly but are mostly characterized into what Reisig and Kane (2014, p. 69) view as a shift. They view that larger police forces in terms of area of control are more mechanistic and inflexible in structure and dependent on technology and lastly, are becoming more militarized. Although some of these changes are a predominant characteristic of the North American police force as opposed to the UK, but most technologies such as the use of Taser guns has been part of UK policing for some years. Tasers or stun guns (Ryan, 2008) [4] widely used in North America are gradually being embraced by police in Britain.

The next section will discuss concerns on its implication and the use on people who present no danger to themselves or others and indiscriminate use on children and people

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[4] Taser is a specific brand of stun gun – hand held, gun shaped electronic weapons that shoot two needle tipped dart into the skin, trailing a fine wire electrical cable connected to the hand set. The firing range varies from 7 to around 11 metres (depending on the type of cartridge used), delivering an electrical shock designed to temporarily paralyse the muscles of the recipient and immediately incapacitate them (Ryan, 2008, p. 293).

with medical condition is seen in the work of (Meehan and Ponder, 2002: Ryan, 2008). In addition, concerns about the use of tasers on people's health and lives (Gau *et al.*, 2010, p. 28). The UK police have used technological innovations for many years and are keen to embrace even more in order to keep pace with the ever changing and challenging world and environment they work in. For this reason, the next section will look at the impact of technology in policing to assess what differences it makes to police work, and to Black Asian minority ethnic groups.

Technology in Policing and the impact on Stop and Search

There has been a fundamental change in the information and communications technology (ICT) environment for the police (Newburn & Peay, 2012, p. 156), which has resulted in increased penetration of social media and other forms of technological innovations into every aspect of policing and our social life. While new technologies are developed to improve police performance and to prevent crime (Byrne and Marx, 2011). These innovations have been a driving force in crime prevention and crime control strategy (Harris, 2007). However, there hasn't been a lot of research to assess the impact of technology on the problem of crime and its "intended" and "unintended" consequences (Byrne and Marx, 2011, p. 17). Technology is an "apparatus" (McGuire, 2012, p. 9). While it is now considered a vital tool in the fight against crime, but there have been concerns over the use of some technological innovations such as intrusive surveillance (McGuire, 2012), and the impact on ethnic minorities who are over represented in the criminal justice system (Gau *et al*., 2010).

Despite much of this technology geared at streamlining police work and for greater management and accountability (Carter, 2009, p. 799), it has not addressed the disproportionate over-representation of black minority young people in the criminal justice system (Delsol and Shiner, 2015). The term 'disproportionality' is used to describe a

disparity, or imbalance in the application of the power to different ethnic groups in comparison with a neutral criterion' (Bowling and Phillips, 2007, p. 944), This contradiction perhaps is reflected in the way we perceive technology.

The Police have embraced Technology but Manning (2003) has raised questions into how much it has changed police work. While Reichert (2001) argues that it has made significant changes into how police organise their work. Harris (2007) points out that although they were great changes in the organisation of police work when cars, telephone and two-way radios were introduced to policing in the early part of the twentieth century. Technology however, has not significantly improved police performance. Byrne and Marx (2011) categorise these into two groups; the information based technology as soft technology and material based technology as hard technology (Byrne and Marx, 2011, pp. 17-20), see table 1.

Police have used software and other technology to gather intelligence to help in their work, and this has been used in stop and search operations, but issues around the plight of young black males and other ethnic minorities who are disproportionately overrepresented within the criminal justice system raises concerns. Concerns that these technologies are exacerbating and impacting further on the black community instead of helping the police to improve the disproportionality. For example, the Home Office statistics for the year ending 31 March 2014 show that the police have used taser guns 10,062 times in 2014 in England & Wales. Although a three percent decrease compared to 2013 but taser use had been steadily increasing from 2010 to 2013, with a decrease in 2014, see graph 2 (Shaw, 2015).

Table 1. The Application of Hard and Soft Technology to Crime Prevention and Police

	HARD Technology	SOFT Technology
Crime Prevention	- CCTV - Street lighting - CS spray - Tasers - Metal detectors	- Threat assessment instrument - Risk assessment instruments - Profiling offenders - Facial recognition software used in conjunction with CCTV
Police	- Improved police protection devices (helmet, vest, cars, buildings) - Improved new weapons - Less than lethal force (mobile/riot control) - Computers in squad cars - Biometric and fingerprints - Mobile data centres - Video in police cars	- Crime mapping (hot spots) - Crime analysis

Source: adapted from (Byrne and Marx, 2011, p. 20)

Graph 2. Taser Use in England and Wales
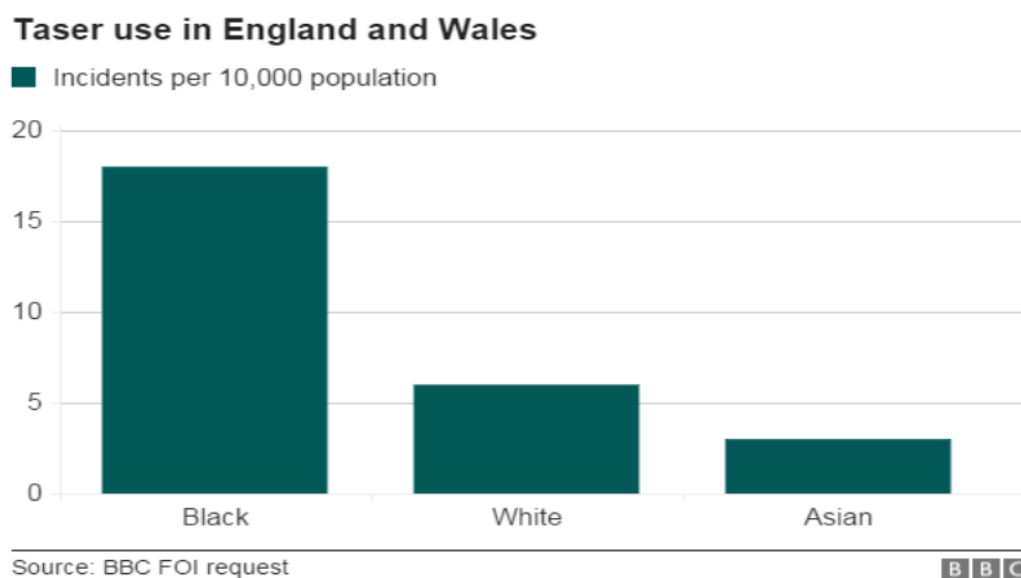
Source: Shaw, D. (2015)

This figure includes tasers drawn, aimed or fired, and it was "used predominantly against persons of African Caribbean or mixed and African – Caribbean origin" (Shaw, 2015). This finding was also seen in the work of (Gau *et al*., 2010) where it was found that there was a relationship between suspect's race and police officer's use of taser. Their study

found that Hispanics in the USA were twice as likely to have tasers used against them. Police figures show that tasers were drawn, aimed or fired 38,000 times in England & Wales over a five years period (Home Office 2015).

A further evidence on the police use of technology led to a total of 14,864 firearms operations conducted by the police force in England & Wales in 2014. Police discharged firearms in two operations during that period (2015). For the year 2011/12 police in England & Wales opened fire five times, with two people killed (Ritchie, 2014). One of the people killed during this period was a young black man Mark Duggan (Gadd, 2015), which led to 2011 riots in London followed by other Towns and cities in England.

Some forces are trialing the use of body cameras while on the beat as a form of accountability and also to allay fear from sections of Black and Ethnic Minority groups (Shaw, 2016) about policing. Berry (2010) suggests that the last coalition government's financial cuts within the police service would enhance the need for the police to use more technology to reduce bureaucracy and increase efficiency (2010, p. 30). As a result, the British police are faced with increased demand for accountability (Lindsay *et al*., 2012, p. 301) and efficiency coupled with a requirement to decrease expenditure. Technology is seen as the answer thus £75 million was invested into mobile technology using GPS. As Lindsay (2012) asserts, increased use and investment in technology is seen as a way to improve efficiency by freeing up police time but an inadequate framework is in place to assess the impact on policing. The impact of increased reliance on technology will potentially impact negatively on its citizens because of intrusive surveillance and coercive control strategies that would result in more people being processed through the criminal justice system. Those at the receiving end being Black Minority Ethnic groups (Shaw, 2015; Gau *et al*., 2010) who are already overrepresented within the criminal justice system (Brown, 2005, Shiner and Delsol, 2013).

Chapter Summary

There has been conflict in policing from the onset, but what is evident is that this conflict has persisted and brought more dissent than ever before, thus to challenge the existence of the police in its present format. Communities, political leaders and academics have called into question policing and police tactics more frequently in recent years (McVeigh *et al*., 2009). Some have argued that the origin of this conflict is in its ambiguity in its mandate (Newburn and Peay, 2012). However, the police force has evolved with the changing world and become more reliant on technology as a way to keep pace with modern crime. This debate is primarily about how police go about and use technology, and information.

It is clear that technology may have helped the police to organise their work (Harris, 2007) but it has made little impact on improving encounters with ethnic minorities (Gau *et al*., 2010). Use of technology has further impacted negatively on this group, and on monitoring of its citizens through surveillance has also proven controversial. Whilst the use of technology may have helped in streamlining police work it has further impacted negatively on young black people. Tasers for example are used on black people more than any other ethnic group in Britain (Shaw, 2015). Arguably, technology is important in policing but there should be a balance between its uses and where appropriate use in consent with its citizens. It is also evident that despite all the technology in use by the police there are still concerns about its disproportionate use on black young males, and it could be argued that the introduction of any new technology in the police would continue to impact negatively on black people as they are mostly apprehended for crimes (Brown, 2005: Bowling and Philips, 2002).

The next chapter will look more closely at youth issues and the conflictual relationship between the police and black communities. The debates surrounding the controversial stop and search, a major factor in policing practices most cited (see Shiner & Delsol, 2015;

Phillips & Bowling, 2003; Ogunsarkin, 1997) as the catalyst for this conflict will be examined.

Chapter 4

Social Control of Minority Youths in Britain

Introduction

Thus far, the theme of the thesis is about the policing of young people in Britain and specifically young black people. We have looked historically into changing social trends in Britain and found that young people have experienced societal difficulties due to the way they are controlled and policed. The class struggles and the inequalities faced by young people over centuries continue. The literature review so far has also uncovered that the police are changing and embracing more technology in their work. However, these technologies though helpful in improving police efficiency in some areas, it is nonetheless, impacting negatively on black young people as they are mostly apprehended for crime than any other ethnic group in Britain (Gau *et al*., 2010; McLaughlin, 2007). Hence technology use and stop and search has been found to increase the over representation of black young people within the criminal justice system.

The theoretical overview of this chapter will define and discuss some recurrent words and themes. It will look at the historical perspectives of youth justice, and policing of minority youths in Britain (Brown 2005; Goldson and Muncie, 2006). It will also look at education and various government policies towards youth crime. And the disadvantages within the educational system and how this is failing black minority ethnic groups (Maylor, 2014; Tomlinson, 2014; Barns, 2001).

The remainder of the chapter will look at the way young people use public space and how this is exacerbating youth issues as it brings them into conflict with the community (Skelton, 2009; Evans, 2008). Media debates and how young people are portrayed in media headlines (Garside, 2010). Thus causing anxiety to the general population about the impact

of crime (Hallsworth, 2008; Jones and Holmes, 2011). The controversial stop and search practice (McLaughlin, 2007; Bateman and Pitts, 2005) that is contributing to the overrepresentation of black young males in the criminal justice system will also be addressed. General discussions will focus on youth crime involving black young males within society as a whole. Police leadership and the lack of trust in its leadership (Rutter, 2014; Adlam & Villiers, 2003), and the conflict in relationship with the community. It will conclude with prevalent issues looking at the best way forward for the policing of youth from BME groups in Britain.

Race and ethnicity has been much debated in policing studies when it comes to Black Asian minority ethnic groups. The definition and categories used in the classification of ethnic groups in government policies has been problematic (Waddington *et al.,* 2004). To this end, we will look at these debates in the next section

Race and Ethnicity

It has long been held that the British government policy on crime and social welfare has been shaped by race (Phillips and Bowling, 2002; Solomos, 1991) and this issue continues to draw intense debate in modern day. Race, culture and ethnicity are often used interchangeably but they mean different things (Botsford and Dening, 2015). Race "refers to obvious physical characteristic like skin pigmentation" (Waddington *et al*., 2004, p. 892). Culture is described as the "various individual characteristics that individuals share and those that binds them into a community" (Botsford and Dening, 2015, p. 59). However, what constitutes ethnicity as a definition is subject to intense debate and discussion. Shahabuddin (2016, p. 13) defines ethnic groups as "people who conceive themselves as one kind by virtue of their common ancestry, real or imagined, who are united by common bonds". While Afkhami (2012, p. 6-8) explores many of these

definitions and discussions[1]. For clarity and avoidance of confusion, the terms used in this work to describe ethnic classification are those used by the Home Office and the Ministry of Justice at the time for monitoring police activity. It is also used by the police to identify visual ethnic appearance of someone during stop and search, or arrest. The term 'black' describes anyone being of (Black) African, Caribbean, or other black origin. This includes people of mixed black and white heritage (FitzGerald *et al*., 2003, p. 11). Although the Census 2011 offers more categories that differentiates ethnic groups than the Home Office or the Ministry of Justice. The researcher has chosen the later classifications, and is aware of the ongoing debate but for clarity and consistency, the Home Office classification is used. Having clarified this, the term 'Black Youth' is intended to mean young black people of African, Caribbean, and of mixed black origin.

There have been concerns about categories and the classifications used in crime statistic (Home Office; Crime Survey for England and Wales (known until 2012 as the British Crime Survey); Modood and Khattab, 2015; Waddington *et al.,* 2004) for many years. Some of these concerns will again be revisited briefly in this chapter. The main theme is that the classification and categories are too generic as it categorizes different ethnic groups into one without distinguishing a black African from black Caribbean or Indian and Pakistani. Modood and Khattab (2015) has argued that the use of such classification is too

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[1] Bulmer's (1996) defines ethnic group as 'An ethnic group is a collectivity within a larger population having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared past, and a cultural focus upon one or more symbolic elements which define the group's identity, such as kinship, religion, language, shared territory, nationality or physical appearance. Members of an ethnic group are conscious of belonging to an ethnic group'. Referring more specifically to the process of racialisation in Britain. Modood *et al.* (1997) define ethnic group as '… a community whose heritage offers important characteristics in common between its members and which makes them distinct from other communities. There is a boundary, which separates 'us' from 'them', and the distinction would probably be recognised on both sides of that boundary. Ethnicity is a multi-faceted phenomenon based on physical appearance, subjective identification, cultural and religious affiliation, stereotyping, and social exclusion' cited in (Afkhami, 2012, pp. 6-8).

generic as it fails to take into consideration values and lifestyles amongst others, reiterating that there are differences between Indian and Pakistani or Bangladeshi. These values and lifestyles also affect crime rates, employment and education. By classifying all black people into 'black' therefore means that all persons of black origin irrespective of whether black Caribbean, African or 'Other' are heavily disproportionate in crime statistics. Black youths are not the same in terms of behaviour, offending patterns, education, lifestyle and treatment by the police. The intention is not to pitch one group against the other but there is a need for greater debate on this issue.

As Modood (2005) pointed out, there are also differences in values and lifestyles within black Africans, Caribbean's or black others that impact on crime rate and this will produce variation that will differentiate crime rates within these groups. Despite many debates about this ethnic group, the difference within this group remains under-studied, and there is limited literature and data available. In spite of this, the researcher will however make use of available data to draw some conclusions.

It is difficult to find data or statistics that break down into categories for statistical purposes the differences within black group in terms of stop and search and prison population. This is because a Home Office category used in ethnic classification does not differentiate between Black African and Black Caribbean. However, prison population data from the House of Commons on numbers of foreign prisoners held in British prisons is used. As at June 2013, Jamaican nationals were over-represented in prison than any other black group (House of Commons Library, 2017).

There have been debates about the link between race, ethnicity and crime but (Waddington *et al*., 2004, p. 892) question the over generalisation when discussing the disproportionality in stop and search. It is therefore suggested that the two should be separated as they have different connotations. Ethnicity, (Afkhami, 2012; Modood and Berthoud, 1997) argue that

ethnicity, is a shared value and identity irrespective of a person's race, people can potentially share the same value and identity while race refers to people's skin pigmentation. Bowling and Phillips (2002) indicate that there is a link between race and policy. British policy makers have since the 1940's, and most particularly the 1960's set their policy on race. The issue of race and the racialisation of race have been dominant in British government policies. An ideology both in public via various immigration legislation to keep and control the immigration of black people to the covert ploy of other policies and tactics to dissuade black immigration (Solomos, 1991). The issue of race cannot be isolated, as race has been embedded into British policy making (Hall *et al*., 1978). It is also difficult to separate race from policing (Bowling and Philips 2002) in as much as subjectivity is involved in police patrol. This brought in the notion of race and crime, and the 'racialisation' of crime (Bateman and Pitts, 2005, p. 16). Notwithstanding this, the treatment of black youths within all strata of the criminal justice system is different to that accorded to any other ethnic group. It is as if all government interventions in youth justice in decades has been directed, or instigated with black youths in mind as they are over represented within the criminal justice system (Joseph & Gunter, 2001; Brown, 2005; Delsol & Shiner, 2015). The question as to whether racial discrimination towards black youths influences policy and practice in the criminal justice system has been suggested by (Bateman and Pitts, 2005). Concerns of the link between race, crime and criminal justice have been prominent for decades, but this debate has still not been addressed. The reasons why certain youth groups are over represented within the criminal justice system remain to be fully debated and discourse within academic circles and government policy still fails to tackle the inequalities within these groups. It seems there is a two-tiered system, one for black youths, and another for white youths (Joseph and Gunter, 2011). Crime statistics are against black youths (Bateman and Pitts, 2005), as they have the highest pro-rata arrest rate for all indictable offences including robbery. Higher arrest rates were synonymous with higher levels of custodial sentences. They enter the

criminal justice system at a much younger age than any other ethnic groups.

It is no surprise that the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child (an international agency to which the British government is a signatory) criticized the government in 1995 and again in 2002 at the way the UK government treats youths (Bateman & Pitts, 2005, p. 240). Black youths feel that society as a whole is conspiring against them and no one is interested in doing anything to help them. They continue to be victimised and harassed by the police (Bowling and Philips 2002; Brown 2005). They are more likely to be stopped and searched by the police under section 1 of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 (PACE) and associated legislation than any other ethnic group, and this is evident by the data on stop and search (Ministry of Justice, 2013; House of Commons Library 2013). They feel persecuted both by the police and by the rest of the criminal justice system. Black youths fare worse than any other ethnic group in many areas within British society. They are mostly excluded from school, lack employment and confined to housing estates with a lack of facilities for youths. This leads to a lack of confidence in the system while seeing crime as the only way:

> "... [T]hey 'feel' discriminated against. They 'feel' that teachers are treating them differently and they 'feel' that others get preferential treatment, they 'feel' targeted by the police, because they are Black. These powerful messages (real or perceived) impact on them emotionally and have the detrimental effect of eroding motivation and lowering aspirations" (Youth Justice Board, 2010).

However, Sewell (1998; 2000) attributes young black males criminality to black youth culture. Meanwhile, the Youth Justice Board (2010) asserts that a lack of male role models and single family homes which are consistent with many black families is a contributing factor. The history of government policies towards young people and how these policies in some ways have excercabated the problem and increased the conflict will follow in the next section.

A History of Youth Justice

The history of youth justice has been one of discontinuity based on political ideology without scientific evidence (Bateman and Pitts, 2005, p. 2). Looking at the history of various government policies, notably Labour & Conservative, it is evident how youth policies have been fragmented and disjointed with the sole aim of political gains to suit the political agenda of the government in power. The welferism approach between the 1930s and1960s was based on the needs (Welfare) of the youth rather than the deeds of young people. This approach was in itself controversial because it draws many young people into the criminal justice system, and had no solution to reducing youth offending. In 1980, there was a shift in the Conservative government policy regarding the youth justice system to cost effectiveness and value for money. The idea was for longer jail sentences for serious offenders whilst at the same time lesser criminals subjected to cost management and surveillance. By 1991, there was a complete change of policy as (Pratt, 2007, p. 2) phrases it "penal populism", (also see Bateman & Pitts, 2005). This policy led to large numbers of juveniles sent to prison or coming into the criminal justice system. The successive Labour government brought in a radical reform in the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 incorporating what many considered to be what the system needed (ibid) and how to target youth crime. The Act introduced the involvement of multi-agencies such as Social Service and the National Health Service (NHS) both in a central and local level to deal with youth crime.

Youth crime today, as in the past, continues to attract political and media attention. It is argued (Brown, 2005; McLaughlin and Muncie, 2001) that as a natural phenomenon some youths will run into trouble within the home, school or community as part of growing up. This means that some will invariably have trouble with the police or become known within the criminal justice system. This is supported by Bateman and Pitts (2005, p. 15), who point out that youth crime and their involvement in crime is commonplace, but their involvement is usually short lived. This is why Barn (2001) argues that these youths need

help rather than being penalised for life. Being in contact with the criminal justice system and spending time in prison can have a devastating effect on a young person psychologically and emotionally, and more so, will further alienate them from society. Theft and handling was the crime mostly committed by youths of all ethnic groups, followed by burglary, violence against persons, drug offences and criminal damage (Bateman and Pitts, 2005, p. 15).

Concerns about youth crime continues to be at the forefront of government policies and media debates but there is no set definition of youth crime as this and its seriousness changes from time to time, and from place to place. For example, the age of criminal responsibility in England & Wales is 10 whilst in Scotland it is 8. Ever since the mid 1990's data and statistics from the Crime Survey for England and Wales for the year ending June 2012 have shown that youth offending and crime has been falling, but popular opinion and perception shows that people still believe that youth crime is spiralling out of control (Bateman and Pitts, 2005, p. 14). Black youths are the most apprehended for crime and over represented within the criminal justice system, while black girls are under-represented (Bateman and Pitts, 2005, p. 12). Crimes committed by black youths are no different as a whole to that committed by other ethnic groups in general terms as crime is crime, although some data suggest that certain types of street crime such as theft of mobile phones are mostly attributed to them, compared to domestic burglary in white youths (ibid).

Theft remains the crime most commonly committed by youths aged 10-18 years old. Boys fare a lot worse in the criminal justice system as they are more likely to be apprehended for crimes than girls. The typical background of a youth who commits crime would suggest that they are mostly from a poor family background, live in a multiple disadvantaged and

high crime area, unemployed, from lone parent and most excluded from school (Joseph and Gunter, 2011).

The total population of England and Wales in 2011 according to the Office of National Statistics data (Census 2011, ONS) was 56.1 million[2]. Blacks comprising of Africans, Caribbean and black British accounted for only 3.3 per cent of the population (Table 2), but they are attributed to the majority of all crimes (Joseph and Gunter 2011, p. 2). Concerns about the impact of government policy towards black youths and other ethnic minorities has been evident in the work of (Joseph and Gunter, 2011). They argue that racist policies are driving black people to the corner, due to unequal distribution of wealth and services. In addition, they reiterate that black people have been subjected to urban areas where there is lack of or sufficient services and facilities. Therefore considers race and inequalities faced by this group as the factor that defines their relationship with the police. This is consistent with the work of Hallsten (2013) asserting that policy makers are yet to address the underlying causes of crime as they avoid addressing these issues and instead focusing on differences in crime rates within ethnic groups.

Table 2. Black Minority Ethnic group Population, England and Wales 2011

	Total Number	%
All usual residents	56,075,912	100.0
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British	1,864,890	3.3

Source: adapted from Office of National Statistics Census 2011. Available at: www.ons.gov.uk

Kelly (2000) pointed out social factors as the causes of crime and argues that poverty is intrinsically related to crime. It is suggested that an absence of a stake in society felt among young people in some communities is creating the conditions for conflict rather

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[2] http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171776_290558.pdf (Accessed: 10 March 2013).

than the right-wing press that linked crime with race and young people. As most black minority ethnic groups prefer to settle and live in large metropolitan and urban areas that can offer them more employment opportunities. It is therefore no surprise that the black population are mostly concentrated in areas such as London, Birmingham, Liverpool and Manchester (Barn, 2001), with London having the highest concentration of black people.

Like most ethnic minorities, black youths are mostly concentrated in deprived areas of urban cities where there is less access to services such as employment, schools, housing, transportation and health services. Gainful employment in these areas is scarce, and many are unemployed. They are concentrated in high-rise blocks of flats in housing estates where there are fewer amenities for young people (Joseph & Gunter, 2011), in part because of this, they tend to get bored easily as would be expected of that age group, and cause trouble, which then gets them into trouble with the Police (Barns, 2001: Brown, 2005). With the feeling of injustice and lack of opportunities, they turn to crime (Gunter, 2008). Some argue that structural inequality faced by black youth will produce soaring crime rates. Joseph and Gunter (2011) stress that black young people are disproportionately subjected to socioeconomic disadvantage that manifest in a myriad of ways. The Home Affairs Committee (2007) also found that two other factors were contributing to over-representation, which were particularly characteristic to the black community and have the potential to compound such disadvantage. Higher rates of lone parenting has been identified as having a negative effect which may lead to a consequent lack of appropriate male role models, and the quality of parental discipline, were considered by the Committee to be problematic. Black children are also significantly over-represented in the care system, involvement in which is frequently recognized as a risk factor for offending (Youth Justice Board, 2010).

Young black males are over-represented in prison and within the criminal justice system than any other youth group by all ethnicity. According to the Youth Justice Board (2010), black and mixed race males received a lower proportion of pre-court disposals than White males; this was also the case with mixed race females, in comparison to White females. It also pointed out that a higher proportion of black and mixed race males received a custodial sentence than White males. A quote that reflects the feelings of young black males as to the level of incarceration of black males and their desperation about the criminal justice system [3]. Hall *et al*. (1978) points out that this concern, and the over-representation of black youths in the youth justice system is nothing new. This was evident in 1982 in Ashford Remand Centre where 50% of those detained were black. During the mugging crime waves in the early 1970s, young black men were also singled out and labelled as the "archetypical muggers" (Hallsworth, 2008, p. 137) and they were already overrepresented. These trends continue today, and are still disproportionally represented in prison. There have been debates as to why black youths are over represented within the criminal justice system. Some have argued (Joseph and Gunter, 2011) that invariably, being socio-economically disadvantaged correlates closely with crime, they are more crime prone than other ethnic groups. It is also argued that because the British black population is a relatively young one, its contact with the criminal justice system is higher. Others instead have cautioned against this generalisation (Bateman and Pitts, 2005, p. 231).

After many years of political interference, authoritarian policies, the notion of being tough on crime, and the use of prison as a deterrent, the government is now trying to rethink policy. There have been many white papers, legislation, policy and ideological changes. Moreover, billions of pounds wasted (Audit Commission 1996) with increases in judges, court staff and police on the beat, but still yielded no tangible result, as these measures did not reflect value for money at times. It had little effect in reducing crime or the numbers of

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[3] "I have only seen White judges. I have never seen a Black judge" (Youth Justice Board, 2010).

people processed within the criminal justice system. The government have now recognised that the policy is not working. There are still too many young people in prison and most of them are supposed to be diverted away from custodial sentences. According to the Audit Commission £40M was spent annually for those under 18 in prison (Jones, 2001). Between 2010 and 2011, 88,000 juvenile offenders were either cautioned or convicted; 32,000 or 35.8% actually re-offended which represents a worrying 2.5% increase on the previous year. The police are the gatekeepers of the criminal justice system, and the point where youths become known within the criminal justice system due to police apprehension. It has been suggested (Brown, 2005; Bowling and Phillips, 2002) that the police are disproportionally targeting black youths while the issue of police leadership has been raised as compounding the issue.

Education policy has also contributed to the discrimination and disproportionality experienced by minority ethnic groups within the criminal justice system. In the next section, we will see how the exclusion of young people from Black Asian minority group is not only exposing them to the criminal justice system, hence increased in the disproportionality. Their exclusions have been questionable at times while many have pointed out that British schools are not equipped to teach ethnic minority pupils (Shen, 2010; Simon & Johnson, 2013).

Discrimination of Minority Youth in the Education System

The Youth Justice Board (2010) identified a link between social exclusion of black youths and under-attainment in school as the major route into crime. However, for many years, education was regarded as one of the three pillars of the welfare state in the Education Act 1944. It has now deviated from its core principles to "become a competitive enterprise and a commodity, rather than a preparation for a democratic society" (Tomlinson, 2014, p. 139).

We work to achieve a highly educated society in which opportunity is equal for children and young people, no matter what their background or family circumstances (Department for Education (DfE).

Despite many reforms and rhetoric, it has nonetheless failed to serve the needs of society and individuals (2014). There have been debates about black children and minority ethnic groups in schools for many decades (Maylor, 2014; Tomlinson, 2014; Barns, 2001; Bateman & Pitts, 2005). The central issues are investment in schools, training for teachers to understand minority ethnic needs and culture, rate of school exclusion amongst black pupils, underachievement of black pupils in schools, and the link between education and crime.

Black children are not a homogeneous group but are portrayed negatively within discourses and debates in schools due to behaviour and underachievement (Maylor, 2014, pp. 13-14). Despite many studies, research and reports about their attainment, they are often stereotyped as low achievers. Other evidence disputes this fact, citing that given the same opportunity, at Key Stage 4 (ages fourteen to sixteen) a Black Caribbean who is "equally economically and socially placed like a white pupil is no more likely to be low achiever than the White" (2014, p. 14). Questions have been raised to the suitability of British schools to the education of black children (Walker, 1996) due to their failure to prepare black children to function at their highest potential. Pre-service teachers have not been equipped with the skills and understanding to address the issues of black pupils underachieving within the classroom. Lack of attention to diversity has also been cited because many teachers have little or no experience with the community of many children they teach as these teachers are often female, middle class and predominantly white. Newly qualified teachers have expressed that they are not adequately prepared to teach children from ethnic minorities (TDA 2005).

Evidence suggests that the "socio-economic status of a child's family" is a good predictor of academic performance because economic deprivation is a factor in underachievement in school (Halpen, 1995, p. 302). Cole (2012, pp. 241-242) went further by arguing that children's school attainment depends on the occupation, income and the qualifications of their parents, which influence the ability to afford the best schools, books or private tutors for their children. Black children and other minority ethnic groups are likely to attend schools in deprived areas that are less successful schools (Weekes-Bernard, 2007). The rates of school exclusion tend to be almost twice as high for Black children (Graph 3.) than for any other ethnic group. Meanwhile, Sewell (1998; 2000) argues that Black children have an anti-school culture and are responsible for their own demise, and poor parenting and single parent families as the cause for underachievement. There are still some challenges within the educational system in Britain, but there are other factors such as gender issues as girls tend to do better at school than boys.

Graph 3. School exclusion by ethnicity

Source: Permanent and Fixed Period Exclusions from Schools in England, DfE; England; updated Jul 2011
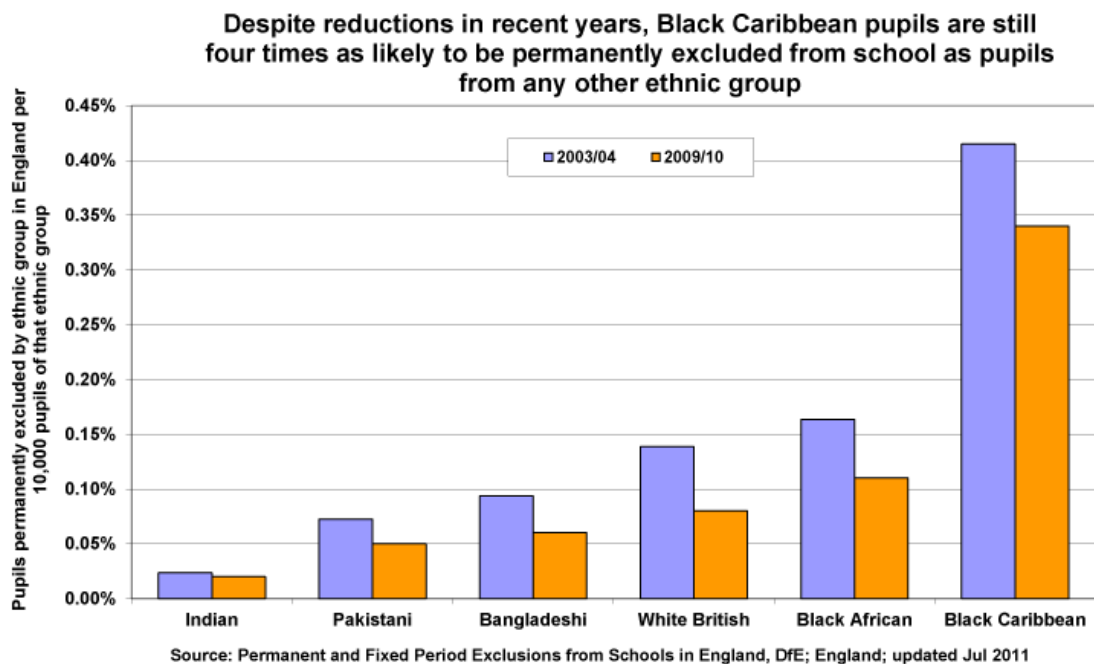
The government have in the past embarked on some successful initiatives to improve standards in schools but they were all short-term goals that have certainly benefitted many Black children (e.g. Aim High, The Black Children Achievement Programme). There has been a debate about lack of educational provisions in inner cities area, which is dominated by black and minority ethnic groups for many years. Many have argued that there is a lack of investment in schools and citing the reason many black youths get into trouble with the police and the consequences this has on employment. Educational provision in these deprived areas is less well provided for so advancement in educational attainment is more constrained (Barns, 2001; Bateman and Pitts, 2005).

The education system is failing many youths, ethnic minorities in particular in inner cities, and also children with special needs or other behavioural issues. However, there has been much investment in school infrastructure and equipment during the coalition government, which is evident in inner city schools as there are many new academies and independent schools.

The last Coalition government announced a further £6 billion just before the 2015 general election for school improvement projects (Department for Education, 2015). Some of this money is earmarked for improving the standards of school buildings, about £2 billion, while £4 billion is allocated to local authorities, academies, trusts and voluntary aided partnerships on a three year project (2015-2018).

Most inner city schools are now more resourced and perform better in GCSEs than rural areas. These improvements and other factors such as immigrant children are pushing up academic standards by achieving good results in their GCSE exams. Even poorer boroughs such as Tower Hamlets, which is the most economically deprived and racially diverse in London (Appendix 1), recorded a high level of achievement. Inner city schools are now

outperforming rural schools in GCSE exam performance where evidence has shown that in some cases black children in inner cities are doing better in their exams than white children in rural areas across Britain. "White working class children were consistently the lowest-performing group in the country" (Butler, 2014). The reasons for this according to Butler (2014), aside from the wealth of the area is "immigration, the supply of young teachers and prevalence of private schools" (Butler, 2014). Immigrant children are being pushed by ambitious parents to perform well at school as a way to break the divide and propel their children to brighter futures as many see education as the way to a well-paid job. Chinese and Indian children are exceptionally good academically and African children generally do well at school than other black groups such as Caribbean's.

Attainment within black groups is complex because as there is an achievement gap between Black African and Black Caribbean, it also exists between Black and White children (DFE 2013d). There is also a difference within African groups as children from Nigeria and Ghana tend to perform well in GCSE's compared to other African groups (DFES 2006a). Some attribute this to the fact that many black African youths come from strict Christian families, and some within a middle class family with a strong community base.

A foreword on a study conducted by Demie (2013) found that the "high educational aspirations of African parents, inspirational leadership and strong links with their African communities are among the main factors why African pupils tend to outperform their peers". Education is a number one priority for their children while 'Education... takes second place to notions of entrepreneurship'… 'hustle culture' (Richardson, 2011; Gunter, 2008) in Jamaica for the black Caribbean. Black Africans perform well at school and achieve good grades compared to black Caribbean's. They stay longer in school and are less excluded from school (Demie, 2013). A report by the Children Commissioner England

found that when it comes to school exclusion 'Black Caribbean pupils were more than three times more likely to be permanently excluded from school in 2010-11 than the school population as a whole' (Graph 3). Mirza (2008) whilst supporting the need to monitor ethnic performance in school however warned against hierarchical comparison between Chinese at the top and black people below as this could fuel a new kind of racism.

There may be underlying factors why these children behave this way. Disruptive and violent behaviours aside from boys standing up to prove their ego to their peers (Gunter, 2008) may be a sign of other medical conditions (Cole, 2012). It is important to find out why these children are excluded from school and work with families and health professionals to resolve this. Children are also increasingly excluded from school illegally for their hairstyles (Children Commissioner England, 2012). School exclusion has been found to lead to criminal activities outside school (Home Affairs Committee, 2007).

Improvement on educational achievement, notably GCSE exams is one of the revelations and success stories in education but there are still endemic issues that must be addressed in order to achieve the Department of Education (DfE) aims and to maintain such momentum. There is still a postcode lottery for parents in inner cities to find good schools for their children. There are still fewer good schools in poor inner city areas than the rich areas (Weekes-Bernard 2007). Teaching at these schools is still a problem as many teachers lack the skills and experience to deal with minority ethnic students. In addition to this, teacher retention in these areas is problematic, as there tends to be a high turnaround of good teachers and have difficulties retaining good teachers (Shen, 2010; Simon & Johnson, 2013).

The numbers of pupils permanently excluded from school continued to fall from 2004/06 but the figure was still high at approximately six thousand pupils in 2009/10. Black

Caribbean pupils were the most excluded from school and accounted for more than half of all ethnic groups. It is difficult to differentiate for statistical purposes the rate of offending figures on stop and search between black Caribbean and African youth in Home Office ethnicity categories. According to the Home Affairs Committee (2007), there is a link between educational opportunities and youth crime (Youth Justice Board, 2010)[4]. It would be right to assume that since Black Africans are less likely to be excluded from school (DFES 2006a), and stay longer at school than Caribbean youths (Demie, 2013) that their contact with the police will be less. This is open to scrutiny and needs further study and debate.

It has so far been seen in this study that social control and the policing of black minority ethnic group has been controversial due to the over-representation of Black young people within the criminal justice system. It is evident that this disproportionality is in part caused by government policy towards this group. Educational policies amongst others have contributed to this over-representation. The next section will continue on this theme to show that police leadership is also a contributing factor due to their inflexibility to fully make changes and engage with ethnic minorities communities. The police leadership reluctance to embrace changes and acknowledge the problem facing them while policing black communities is impacting not only police leadership who are perceived to be out of touch, but also on the relationship between the police and black communities.

Police Leadership Debate

There have been concerns about police leadership in Britain for many years. From increased demands for improved leadership, issues of accountability to value for money

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[4] "The social exclusion of black youth from school and under-attainment in school has been recognised as the major route into crime" (Home Affairs Committee, 2007: paragraph 113, quoted in Youth Justice Board, 2010).

(Wright, 2002: Adlam and Villiers, 2003). These concerns have been more prominent since the 1980's following high profile scandals such as the Brixton riot and the investigation into the murder of Stephen Lawrence. Whilst these concerns initially came mostly from the Black Minority Ethnic group (BME), recent concerns are from all quarters (Gilbertson, 2009), specifically politicians following recent leadership scandals. Police leadership has been accused of a lack of vision, and resistance to change whilst promotion at the top cadre of leadership are chosen from the rank and file. Although some progress has been made recently on the employment of experienced individuals at the inspector's and superintendent level under the direct entry programme (Rutter, 2014). This has been due to pressure from the government and would have been unthinkable a few years ago to have an inspector who has not worked the beat or started a career as a police officer. The reality is that a lack of change is impacting on the organisation and leadership and has led to a lack of trust in its leadership. The realities of police leadership is the people and the community they serve (Grieve, cited in Adlam and Villiers, 2003) and they are often accused of not moving with the times and this is holding back the organisation.

Britain has become a more diverse society than what it was thirty years ago, and with it comes many challenges such as global terrorism threats, criminal rackets trending beyond boarders and cyber-crime. Many crimes are now committed using the internet such as money laundering, electronic frauds and other crimes taking place via social media, bullying, and harvesting of paedophile syndicate rings prolific in child abuse and imagery (Shipley and Bowker, 2014). Policing is complicated within such a diverse and challenging world. The issue of police governance and accountability has been subject to intense and heated debate for some time. Some academics (Newburn, 2008), and within the police by a leading police leader acknowledged the need for change. Peter Neyroud was the chief executive of the National Policing Improvement Agency (NPIA) but now retired, recommended that there should be public participation in policing. He argues that without

this, and irrespective of how well police conduct business in other areas they will still lack credibility and the legitimacy required to successfully police the communities they serve (Newburn, 2008, p. 526). Many undoubtedly acknowledge the complexity in policing but support the need for change in the face of modern day challenges with such a diverse and challenging world.

Police leadership on the other hand has always denied there is a crisis of leadership even in the face of so many scandals. There is evidence to suggest there is a crisis of leadership in the police force (Wright, 2002; Grieve, 2014; Adlam and Villiers, 2003; Newburn, 2008). The police force has undergone many transformations over the past 30 years. A shift between order maintenance, crime fighting and vice versa (Newburn, 2008). There have also been suggestions following Scarman's Report that this continuous shift in the role of the police is having an impact on policing. It is argued (Newburn, 2008) that these changes have led to gradual changes in the structure of policing and methods of accountability. It has raised concerns on the intricacies of balancing local concerns whilst meeting central government targets and control. The shift in practice meant the racialization of street crime and the criminalisation of black youths. A police mostly dominated by white men with sometimes questionable work ethics. Their action reflects the authoritarian government policies over the years. The police aim to target street crime by controlling the streets using highly controversial tactics such as the stop and search (Shiner and Delsol, 2013; Bowling and Phillips, 2007). This brings them into conflict with black communities, and particularly black youths (McLaughlin, 2007). This is evident in the controversial stop and search tactics used by the police and the politicians' unwillingness to address these practices. However, there is a glimmer of hope on the Home Office consultation to reform stop and search practices (Theresa May, 2014). Some have argued (Bateman & Pitts, 2005; McLaughlin & Muncie, 2001) for the need to bring police under democratic rule that is representation of the community they serve by curbing their discretionary and excessive

power. The police instead argue that this power is necessary in controlling crime by detecting and arresting offenders. But this tactic has served exclusively in controlling and discriminating against black youth. It has caused tensions between the police and the black community[5].

Black youths have been sceptical about government policies and intentions towards them for several decades. They feel victimised by their policies and that the police are singling them out. This brings them in direct conflict with the police and the criminal justice system. Their suspicion about police conduct was vindicated when the Metropolitan Police was accused of institutional racism during the inquiry into the murder of a black youth, Stephen Lawrence (Macpherson, 1999). This inquiry made many recommendations including close liaison and making the police representative of the community that they serve, as it was shown that the police were unable to meet their target in terms of recruiting ethnic minorities. This was more evident in the recruitment to the senior cadre of leadership. There has been an improvement on the numbers of ethnic minorities recruited into the police in general compared to pre Macpherson's report after Stephen Lawrence's murder, but still not enough. Racism has been an issue in the police service in the past and still continues to be an issue in the present. By his own admission, the former commissioner of the London Metropolitan Police Service, Sir Bernard Hogan-Howe admitted there is still an issue with racism in the police (Peachey, 2013).

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[5] "Strongly tend to choose young males, especially young black males. Other groups that they tend to single out are people who look scruffy or poor (slag), people who have long hair or unconventional dress (who, they think, may use drugs) and homosexuals. We observed two cases where men were stopped purely because they appeared to be homosexual. In a few cases they appeared to be no criteria at all and all stop is completely random; this happens especially in the early hours of the morning when police officers tend to be bored". (Smith and Gray, 1985. Cited in McLaughlin and Muncie, 2001, p. 83).

The National Black Police Association (NBPA) has argued that the best way to tackle racism within the police is to recruit talented black people into the service at senior levels. Recruitment of ethnic minorities at senior and top levels is very slow and lacking within the police service. The Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) set up an investigation into race equality in police employment following The Secret Policeman in 2003 (Daly, 2008). This was the filming of a police recruit and demonstrates how racism has been driven underground as it shows there was still racism within the police force. The investigation concluded that there is still slow progress in terms of employment, training and promotion of ethnic minorities in the police force. There was improvement on the numbers of new recruits of black and ethnic minorities within police staff and police officers, evidence points at no progress at a very senior rank as there was a lack of promotion within the very top positions. It further highlighted the disparity on stop and search where black people were more likely to be stopped than any other ethnic group.

Having looked at the issues and debates about police leadership and management, the next section will look into how police officers conduct their duties whilst street based, and how they use their discretion during stop and search. It has been seen that the policing of black young people has been controversial due to the use of stop and search.

Stereotyping and the Effect on Policing Discretion in relation to Stop and Search
As argued earlier, policing being a social control, there is inevitable potential conflict with those who are policed (King and Wincup, 2000, p. 218). Nerwburn and Peay, (2012) asserts that:

> the rhetoric on law and order has the tendency of reinforcing and targeting those individuals within the society considered as 'police property' by heavy headedly singling them out and excluding them from society by locking them up in police cells and prison (2012, p. 47). It is too often that these groups deemed dangerous class are often ill-treated while the society turns a blind eye to such ill treatment as the police aim to control these groups by excluding them

from full membership of the society (ibid).

As pointed out by King & Wincup (2000, p. 218), police work is dangerous and a dirty job as most involves making people do what they do not want to do or change their behaviours. It is inevitable that the police will use or adopt controversial methods in order to accomplish their goals. Policy makers still fail to understand the consequences of not addressing these inequalities. Police actions in targeting young black men, and their communities (Shiner, and Delsol, 2013; Shiner, 2010; Brown, 2005; Bowling and Philips, 2002) have been called into question on many occasions as the reason why tension remains within these two groups. Bateman and Pitts (2005) on the other hand explain that black youths are over represented within the criminal justice system because of their criminal tendencies. Lack of role model in a single-family homes consistent with many black families have been found to compound this disproportionality (Youth Justice Board, 2010). However, it also found that there is evidence of discrimination towards black minority ethnic groups within the criminal justice system. Black youths are still disproportionately being stopped and searched by the police more than any other ethnic group (McLaughlin, 2007; Bateman and Pitts, 2005). Statistics from the Ministry of Justice (2010) show that between 2006 & 2010, more black youths were still being stopped & searched under Stop and Search (Section 1 PACE and other legislation) by all Police forces in England & Wales than any other group. Evidence supports that black youths were still being stopped more times than all ethnic groups combined for the above period. In the same period, more black youths were arrested than any other group, or combined. The same goes for cautions as a disproportionate number of black youths were cautioned by the Police. Although, the Statistic on Stop and Search 2013 shows there was a reduction in the overall numbers of people stopped and searched by the police to just slightly above 1 million, of all the people stopped and asked to define their ethnicity during these stops. The proportion of people who identified themselves as black was down 2 percentage points to 12%, but unchanged for mixed race at 3% and those who did not state their ethnicity at 4%.

Stop and search categories are too generic (Waddington *et al*., 2004) and makes statistics sometimes difficult to understand as 'others and 'mixed' could be included or excluded from other sub categories. However, they was a decrease of 15% compared to previous years, but no change in the number of minority youths. In practice, much has not changed as young black people are still being discriminated against on a daily basis within the criminal justice system. A Committee set up by the Ministry of Justice (2007) concluded that there is discrimination within the criminal justice system:

"The Committee found evidence of significant discrimination within the criminal justice system that contributes to the over-representation of Black young people within it. The report notes that Black and Mixed race offenders who admit offending are much more likely to come into contact with the youth justice system, both as victims and offenders than their White counterparts'' (Youth Justice Board, 2010).

This was a significant acknowledgement, and Bowling and Philips (2002) argues that police discriminatory action was the cause[6]. Bateman & Pitts (2005), on the other hand argue that this may be because black youths commit more crime than other ethnic groups, and good police detection would explain why black youths are disproportionately over represented within the criminal justice system. Meanwhile, Verbruggen, (2012) link the root cause of crime to lack of infrastructure and services in deprived urban areas. Politicians from both sides of the political spectrum in Britain have always argued that being tough on crime will mean less crime. The government had always stressed that more legislation, getting tougher on crime and increased power to the police and criminal justice system would deter crime. Yet, the crime rate, public disorder and numbers of youth confined to prison continued to increase steadily until the mid-1990's. The fear of crime in public life has increased even though official statistics (Crime Survey for England and

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[6] "At least part of the explanation for this anomaly is the impact of policing, which some commentators have argued is characterised by a 'pervasive, ongoing targeting of Black areas" (Bowling and Philips, 2002, p. 129).

Wales in June 2012) suggest crime is actually falling, and so is public confidence (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2001). The government itself have questioned the police value for money, a concern voiced by Kenneth Baker[7]. They have branded young lawbreakers as criminals with many names such as hooligans, louts, delinquents, and thugs. The Conservative government has been so vocal and busy in setting its agenda around Law and Order (Newburn & Reiner, 2007), and without doubt Labour with "Blair's pledge to be tough on crime, tough on causes of crime" (Newburn & Reiner, 2007, p. 319). Conservatives blame the break down in discipline and family as the root cause of this lawlessness and disrespect for adults. They argue that such crime can only be controlled by more severe punishment through tougher custodial & non-custodial sentences. They pointed out that the police should be strengthened to deal with such crime, arguing that the police and the courts should be given increased power to deal with this issue. Brown (2005) reiterated this and further pointed out that the Conservative government shifted their youth policy and agenda from the 'child in need' to juvenile criminal'. Morris and Giller (cited in Brown, 2005, p. 81) emphasized that these changes of policy were not based on research but political.

This appetite for punishment continues today where we see our prisons full to capacity, and vast numbers of youths (Prison Reform Trust, 2013), in particular black youths in prison, graph 4 (Prison Reform Trust).

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[7] "Found that while several of my ministerial colleagues and Tory MPS support the police in public, they were highly critical of them in private. There were impatience, if not anger, that although we had spent 87 per cent more in real terms since 1979 and had increased police numbers by 27,000, they had still been substantial rise in crime. 'Where is the value for money?' asked my colleagues". (Morgan and Newburn, 1997, p. 2).

Graph 4. Prison Population by Ethnicity 2005/06 to 2016/17

Under 18 Secure Population by Ethnicity 2005/06 - 2016/17*
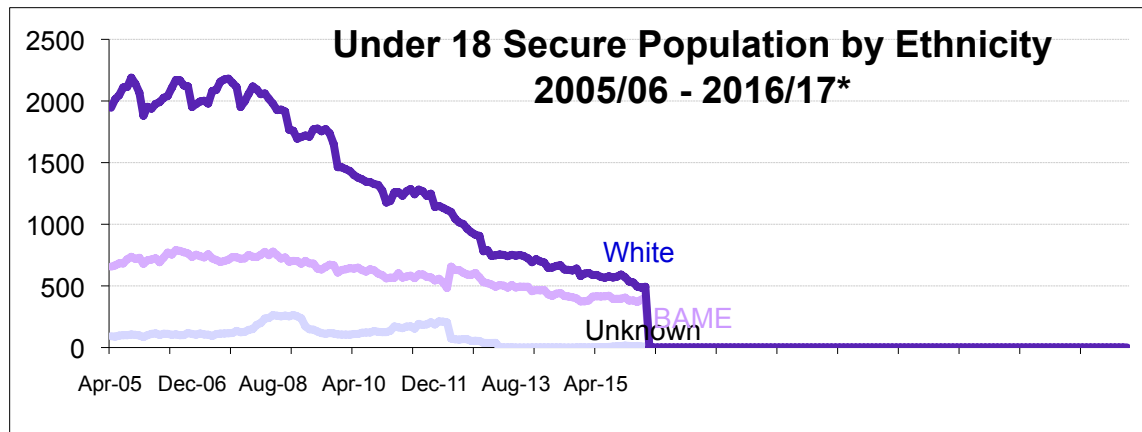
Source: Adapted from Ministry of Justice. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/youth.

The government wanted to be seen as being tough on crime but much of their policy was ideology. However there were some changes under the New Labour government in 1997 with initiatives giving a voice to young people by involving schools and youth councils, but youth rights and protection has not improved rather is what Brown (2005) termed as 'increased penal hostility towards youth'. An issue which has been the concern of the United Nations about the UK government's policy over youth justice. UK government has been a signatory to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, but yet its policy has been in contrast to this charter. The UN has been concerned that too many children were being locked up in prison and also at a very early age. The role of the Police and policing of black males in England and Wales continues to be controversial (Phillips and Bowling, 2007). The police are the gatekeepers of the criminal justice system and have discretion as regards the exercise of powers' (Bateman and Pitts, 2005, p. 65), but this discretion is rarely being applied when dealing with black youths (Barn, 2001).

The police have deliberately targeted black youths and communities for some decades and some critics stress that the police should instead be dedicating more

time and resources in addressing serious crimes rather than less serious crimes perpetrated by some black youths (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2001). Garside (2010) asserts that white middle class males caused the last financial crisis, which nearly bankrupt the UK economy. This was one of the greatest crimes and a very serious type the police should be concentrating on. However, no efforts have been made to bring the perpetrators to justice. There have also been no discussions of a link between ethnicity and such crime (Garside, 2010) while such link is commonplace when black youths are involved. While Goldson (2005b) notes that crime committed by young people is insignificant compared to white collar and corporate crime.

The disproportionate targeting of black youths and their treatment by police has been extensively debated and concerns expressed in many quarters. There have been various studies of police conduct both by scholars, government commissioned research, and various public and internal inquiries (Mhlanga, 1997; Hall *et al*., 1978; The Macpherson report 1999). The dominant theme concludes that there is discrimination within the police force and their action towards black youths is discriminatory. Their actions cannot be attributed solely as a mistake, or tainted action by a few bad apples and go on as business as usual. Their action is the accumulation of government policies, bias and discrimination that goes far beyond a mere few bad apples. As demonstrated in this section, black males are more likely to be stopped and searched, refused bail, prosecuted than any other ethnic groups. 'They are over policed, under protected' (Brown, 2005). Mixed, black or black British youths are victims of crime more often than any other ethnic group (Ministry of Justice, 2014).

Concerns were raised about racism in the police force in Lord Scarman's report (1981). Lord Scarman's report into the 1981 riots, notably the Brixton riot and made a number of recommendations including close liaison with the community and their participation since

crime affects all sections of the community. It pointed out that the police would actually alienate the community if they work on their own, as this will have less impact on local policing (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2001). This led to police restructuring their commands by setting up local liaison offices and neighbourhood policing. The need to improve race relations was also brought up in the murder of Stephen Lawrence (Macpherson, 1999). This was to challenge occupational culture and wipe out racism within the police force, although some things may have improved, further data still suggests the difficulty on the strength of occupational culture within the police to fully accomplish these recommendations. Again, familiar themes re-echoed about policing of black youth in the Stephen Lawrence inquiry. The Macpherson report (1999) delivered a damning assessment of the police as "institutional racism" in the Metropolitan Police Force and policing generally (Macpherson, 1999).

There have been key thinkers on the philosophy and model of policing. Sir Robert Peel was one of these thinkers. His nine principles of policing still captures what the police should do and who they represent (Grieve *et al*., 2007, pp. 36-37), with the consent of the people, and maintain good relationships with the public (Policing by consent). The police have evolved over the years with the changing nature of communities, and social mobility with ethnic divisions comes different types of crimes. With the advent of technology, this should only make police work smarter but without deviating from its core principle, which is to serve all sections of society equally and equitably.

The next topic will look at how the visibility of young people in public space makes them a target for the police, and the effect this has on community relations.

Youths Use of Public Space

The discussions about young people and the relationship they have with public space (Skelton, 2009, pp. 1430–1448; Evans, 2008, pp. 1659–1680) is centered on two themes. Firstly, young people as threats to the public, and secondly a need to protect young people whilst in public spaces.

Streets have been and to some extent still remain the only space that young people can express their culture and individuality, but their visibility and the use of space has been misunderstood by adults. For example the presence of groups of youths congregating in public spaces has increased the fear of crime particularly for women and older people that feel threatened by such behavior. Streets remain a contested issue in cities (Malone, 2002) and have been a contested terrain of many clashes and resistance. It is also a place of pleasure for many, specifically for young people as a space where they can express themselves. However, it is becoming restrictive for young people due to legislation and policies to protect them from harm. Other legislation is meant to contain them by keeping them off the streets and away from trouble while some are formulated to protect others from harm.

The way young people use public space and how they occupy for example the pavement without regards to other users "hug the pavement" (Gunter, 2008, p. 353) is causing anxiety to many. This creates fear of crime in some adults, which places young people in conflict with society. Notwithstanding this, evidence indicates actual crime rates are falling according to figures from the Crime Survey for England and Wales for the year ending June 2012, but people still believe crime is spiraling out of control. Public spaces are regulated to restrict young people in order to keep others safe and somehow, themselves as well:

"Public space therefore is not produced as an open space, a space where teenagers are freely

able to participate in street life or define their own ways of interacting and using space, but is a highly regulated – or closed – space where young people are expected to show deference to adults and adults' definitions of appropriate behaviour, levels of voices, and so on – to use the traditional saying: 'Children should be seen and not heard'."(Valentine, 1996, pp. 205–220).

Public space is something that is used and shared by everyone but its uses differ according to groups and age. Young men tend to be more visible in public space than girls and the elderly. This means that developers and policy makers sometimes plan leisure facilities, infrastructure, and public spaces with a particular group or multiple users in mind. It may be planned to exclude certain age groups or activities as well. For example, this may involve redeveloping a space that was used by youths to cause antisocial behaviour into a housing complex, shop or road. In another instance, a park could be redeveloped for infants at the expense of older children. All these are ways to control and regulate public spaces and contain youths.

Most young people are active and full of energy to burn as would be expected of the age group. They fall into the age group that are exploring life and making use of available space. They sometimes have less to do and much time to explore life. The way the educational system in Britain is structured may also exacerbate the problem for youths between the ages of six to seventeen because schools close daily around 3.15 in the afternoon leaving them with much time to explore life with peers. As some adequate leisure facilities are dwindling and lacking in some deprived urban areas with increased harassment by authorities due to their use of space, it is argued that, the reason young people get into trouble is because they want to let off steam.

The British government in past decades has tried to keep young people off the streets by establishing youth centers aimed at keeping youths in, either to play sport or do other activities, or training under the initial New Deal to help young people access to work (Bell *et al.*, 1999; BBC News, 1999a). This is somehow helpful but with changes in government

comes change of direction and most of these facilities have closed down or are unfunded in the age of economic austerity when the coalition government came to power (Shanks, 2017). Most young people have a large circle of friends and sometimes gather in groups in town centers, streets and parks. Modern youth are no different from those before them and share the same similarities because given the opportunity they would prefer to be left alone to spend the majority of their time outdoors with friends. With the advent of technology such as social media, computer games, some tend to spend considerable hours at home playing games together with friends or playing alone remotely with multiple players around the globe. There has also been criticism for such isolated life with no physical friends or life skills, as most tend to rely on technology and spend endless time communicating with people on social media.

There seems to be contradicting policy by the British government. On one hand, they are encouraging more people to take part in outdoor activities for a healthy mind and body. On the other hand nonetheless, they are seen as a nuisance, as a former British Prime Minister, Tony Blair pointed out in 1997, "the scourge of so many communities are young people with nothing to do [but] make life hell for other citizens" (Squires and Stephen, 2005, p. 6). This comment was considered by many as derogatory and inflammatory, it however conveyed concerns of popular opinion at the time. Some also considered it as an unhelpful comment that singled out young people in economically and socially deprived communities. The media also reign in to portray youths as perpetrators of antisocial behaviour in public space (see media sensationalisation in the next section). This according to Verkaik (2005) is the basis for government increasingly punitive policies, which is unfairly targeting young people. Such punitive and restrictive policy is the use of anti-social behaviour order (ASBO) to punish and restrict young people who gather in public space as they are perceived as threats (Burney, 2005, p. 67).

It is argued however by Crawford (2009, p. 759) that, anti-social behaviour legislation was not targeted at young people but it is the enforcement that is causing concerns. Pointing out further that, in England and Wales, over 40 per cent of the ASBOs served were given to people under 18. There are also other restrictive legislation introduced such as the Dispersal Order where people, particularly young people can be dispersed if they are in groups of two or more. They can be served with a notice to exclude them from the area for up to twenty-four hours. This legislation has now been strengthened under Sections 34 - 42 of the Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014 where an individual can be dispersed for up to forty-eight hours. This process aside from excluding young people from public space is criminalizing them as well because breaching these orders could be subject to criminalisation.

Young people are continuously being squeezed out of public space by adults who complain about their behaviours. They are also being excluded by the local authority who plan amenities to keep young people out or contain them. On the other hand young people are inadvertently excluding themselves from public space as well because of gang affiliations (Hallsworth & Silverstone, 2009; Young & Silverstone, 2014). This is because different gangs control different areas or turf as is known on the street, so it would be suicidal for a gang from one area to venture into another's. Young people tend to gather and hang about in public space, which brings them into conflict with the authority. While confirming this, Malone (2002) also points out that the competing use of special space by youths and their visibility and perception brings them in to conflict. Malone (2002) also stresses that there is danger from the increased privatisation of public space, as more youths will be excluded from such spaces, which was formerly in public use (2002, p. 24). Young people are frequently perceived as threats and undesirable which place them in 'ambiguous zone' when it comes to the use of space.

There have been concerns that while some perceive youths as undesirable and a threat, others argue that some of these youths need protection (ibid, p.162).

It is not helpful when the Home Office, Crime Survey for England and Wales attempt to measure antisocial behaviours as youths gathering in streets and public space[8]. Gough and Franch (2005, p. 156) have argued that many young people still consider the street as the only 'autonomous space they are able to carve out for themselves'. The use of restrictive and punitive policies is creating a hostile environment for young people. Young people are being squeezed out of public space (Travlou *et al.,* 2008, p. 309) because they are not provided with enough space and facilities, and when provided with such facilities, it is often not appropriate for their needs. Many argue for the need to create more activities and space for young people (Burney, 2005; Squires and Stephen, 2005) as a lack of such amenity is often the cause of anti-social behaviour. Boredom is frequently cited as a major reason why young people engage in anti-social behaviour and criminal activities.

Having discussed the difficulties faced by young people due to their use of public space. The next section will look at media controversy, how media coverage of certain youth crime is alarming the public. This is contributing to the strained relationship between the police and black community as police aim to re-establish control following pressure from the press and the community about youth crime.

Media Debate on Youth Issues

There have been debates about media reporting on youth problems in Britain for many decades, and the impact of many inflammatory headlines, which have escalated the tension

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[8] "Anxieties about loss of social control find their focus in loud, uninhibited gatherings of young people in public space. Youths hanging about have become synonymous with disorder and public threat and are routinely used to measure the degree to which people feel uneasy in their neighbourhoods" (Burney, 2005, p. 64).

between young people and the general population. This reporting has caused anxiety within the general population and resulted in a raft of policies by the government to curb youth related crimes. Such reporting is not only confined to tabloid newspapers but also editorials from right wing as well as left wing press, which are sometimes alarming. They are without bias and serve to put forward their ideology (Jones & Holmes, 2011).

The media has become since the 1970's 'moral panic' of street crime an agenda setting (Hallsworth, 2008, p. 137). The origin of media generated 'moral panic' and delinquent youth according to Osgerby (2004, p. 67) can be traced to 1976. It is however argued by Jones and Holmes (2011) that this period was not the first moral panic about subcultures in Britain but it was widely used by Cohen and others, as they were other culminating circumstances. This was an era of rising unemployment, caused by the breakdown of industrial relations due to bleak economic growth during post war Britain. This brought about a shift in social response to subcultures like punk (Osgerby, 2004: 67). The press saw punk as a product of cultural undoing and lawlessness, thus creating anxiety with low intolerance on other subcultures such as New Age travellers, lager louts. This was seen as the cause of social decline.

Some academics (Cohen, 2011) opened a debate about moral panic[9] and stress that the shift in media coverage of youths in the 1970's was inter linked with a broader shift in

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[9] Societies appear to be subject, every now and then, to periods of moral panic. A condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right-thinking people; socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnoses and solutions; ways of coping are evolved or (more often) resorted to; the condition then disappears, submerges or deteriorates and becomes more visible. … Sometimes the panic passes over and is forgotten, except in folklore and collective memory; at other times it has more serious and long-lasting repercussions and might produce such changes as those in legal and social policy or even in the way the society conceives itself. (Cohen, 1980: 9, cited in Jones and Holmes, 2011).

political relation and state apparatus. The rise in social tension and the authoritarian state was not an isolated phenomenon but went hand in hand" (Osgerby, 2004, p. 67). Media reporting of youth crimes, specifically black youth is not only causing alarm to the general population but also inflaming tension between the police, black minority ethnic groups (BME) and within communities.

Media coverage of certain crime incidents portray black youths as the cause of all social problems within inner cities (McLaughlin, 2007). Nonetheless, white youths have also attracted headlines as well. An example of this is the killing of two year old James Bulger and subsequent conviction of two ten year old boys, Jon Venables and Robert Thompson in 1993 (Alex, 1993). Joseph and Gunter (2011) pointed out that media reporting of black youth crime is one sided as they also fail to report issues of racism and inequalities faced by this group. They also point out that left wing press always paint the picture that black culture is inherently 'criminogenic'. However, a Home Office study in 2009 of self-reported offending did not find any significant correlation that associates ethnicity or religious affiliation. This study suggests that black young men are no more likely than any other ethnic group to be involved in criminal activity (Garside, 2010), hence are not all criminals. It also found other evidence to contradict the correlation between black youths and crime. Contrary to left wing press insinuation that black youths are the cause of inner city crime problems. It found that the level of offending and drug use was lower in youths from non-white ethnic backgrounds (Home Office, 2009). Buckingham *et at.* (2014, p. 9) supports this argument by pointing out that the media are seen as those contributing in causing moral panic that blames young people as the cause of societal problems due to misrepresentation. Some of this misrepresentation serves as a dominant ideology. As most media companies are concentrated in private control it is inevitable to avoid sensationalisation and misrepresentation.

Evidence of this is the most recent scandals involving journalists paying public officials for news. Editors from some media houses were involved in a systematic and illegal practise of paying the police for information, and some of this involved the disclosure of private and confidential information to the press for publication. The phone hacking scandal is also another way press obtained information by using private investigators to illegally hack into people's phones and emails for information (Greer, 2012; Levi, 2006). It is estimated that up to three hundred people from royals, politicians to ordinary citizens (Robinson, 2011) were affected. An example of this was Milly Dowler's family. This was a family grieving for the death of their daughter when the press paid a private investigator to hack into the dead girl's voicemail for information.

These scandals have rocked the press establishment and Fleet Street, the epicentre of the press. The most damaging effect has been the closure of one of the tabloid newspapers, News of the World (BBC News, 2011) and these scandals are some examples at the length they would go to in order to make headlines to increase circulation and make large profits. While it is undoubtedly a useful means of information for the masses but one has to be cautious of their hidden agenda.

The emergence of social media means that news and information is not only at people's fingertips but they can also participate in it. It offers opportunities for communication and self-representation for young people who are often eager to embrace such opportunities (Buckingham *et at.*, 2014, p. 10). But the reality is that the mainstream media houses are using their circulation power to spread information that is damaging to young people as it portrays them as perpetrators of all inner city crimes (Brown, 2005).

Issues surrounding police action and how government policies are contributing to the conflict in relationship between the police and black community will be addressed in the next section.

Impact and Consequences of Disproportionality on Minority Youths and Policing Relations

This thesis examines the relationship between the police and young people in general, to find out whether youths from certain ethnic groups such as black youths are treated differently and whether this contributes to the conflict in the relations and community mistrust in the police. The researcher has discussed some of the issues that have contributed to the breakdown in the relationship between the police and black community. This section will look in depth into more of these issues. The issues surrounding the disproportionate use of police powers, and unequal treatment of youths by the police, particularly black youths. The controversial stop and search practices will also be discussed. The effect of these practices on young people, and the issue of race and racism as a discourse within policy and the criminal justice system will be addressed. These issues have severe impact on community relations and cause tension which impacts on the relationship between the police and black youths.

No other piece of legislation has attracted as many concerns as the stop and search powers under the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 (Shiner, 2010; Newburn, 2008; Bowling and Phillip, 2002). However, stop and search practices are nothing new, neither was it the enactment of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 (PACE) that brought concerns about police practices, although it did standardise it. It is nevertheless an old phenomenon that was in existence and used during Victorian times, but has evolved ever since. It was however the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 (PACE) that has standardised this power across all police forces in England and Wales. PACE came about following scandals of wrongful conviction of three youths for murder (Newburn *et al*., 2004), and the Royal

Commission on Criminal procedure (RCCP) was set up to find a way to avoid such miscarriages of justice involving police action. It set out to establish a clear balance between the rights of people suspected of crimes, and police powers (Newburn *et al*., 2004, p. 678). This legislation is formalised into a code of practice, which introduced new safeguards for suspects and also increased police powers. PACE set out codes of practice for the exercise of police powers by all Home Office Police forces in England and Wales.

Before PACE came into force, there were stop and search relating to drugs and firearms offences (Merritt, 2009). Routine stop and search was considered a matter for local policing used by local police command. It was considered a local issue dealt with in accordance with the local command priority and was not standardised until PACE came into force. Stop and search practices throughout the 1970s and early 1980s attracted many criticism (Smith, 1998) and was the major cause of the Brixton riots in 1981 following intensive stop and search of black people (Scarman, 1981). There were concerns from civil liberties groups about the introduction of PACE but it however had some built in protection mechanism such as the introduction of citizen's right when stopped by the police. Any citizen stopped has the right to be told why they have been stopped and evidence of a stop receipt given at the end of a stop that takes place in a public place. It also standardised interview practices and procedures for prisoners detained at a police station to name just a few. It meant that police officers could be dealt with in accordance with the law if they breach the code, they also face potential internal police discipline. It also means that any case brought to the court must stand the scrutiny and any wilful deviation from the code of practice could jeopardise such a case.

An example of this was when the police were found to have exceeded their powers in the 'honey trap case' (Merritt, 2009, p. 38). This is a live piece of legislation where the code is amended periodically without the need for further legislation (ibid, p. 152) and was

considered to be one of the most important changes to policing since the Metropolitan Police Act in 1829 (2009, p. 153).

The debate about stop and search can be categorised into those that argue that BME groups are disproportionately targeted by the police due to racial profiling (Brown 2005; Shiner, 2010; Bowling and Phillips, 2002), and those who suggest that the police are not deliberately targeting BME (MVA and Miller, 2000; Waddington *et al.*, 2004).

There are many police studies (see Phillips and Bowling, 2003; EHRC, 2012; Gau *et al.,* 2010) that supports the argument that police practices are contributing to the over representation of black youths in the criminal justice system due to a deliberate police tactic of targeting black youths and communities. Some have pointed out that police action towards black youths is racist (Phillips and Bowling, 2007), this theme has been supported by (Macpherson, 1999). It is argued that the Police are the gatekeeper of the criminal justice system (Reiner, 1993) and deliberately targeting black youths is criminalising them (Brown, 2005) as they are over represented in stop and search statistics and prison (Mhlanga, 1997). They are more likely to be refused bail, unlikely for their case to be disposed of by way of fine and for their case to be dropped than white youths (Youth Justice Board, 2010). Others have argued that police are not racist and that the over representativeness of black youths is because they commit more crime and that is evident on their over representation within the criminal justice system (Bateman & Pitts, 2005).

Others however, argue that the way the stop and search data is recorded in Britain is flawed because there are differences between residential population and available population (MVA and Miller, 2000; Waddington *et al.,* 2004). Their argument is centred on residential population and available population. Stop and search data are recorded by using the residential population as a bench mark and most (MVA and Miller, 2000) have

argued that such data does not provide all of the information needed to differentiate residential population from available population. Pointing out that since available population have a different racial mix, it will invariably reflect the racial composition of the available population at the time the stop took place (Waddington *et al*., 2004, p. 911). They further argue that the annual racial categories used in the 'Section 95' statistics as being inflexible because they do not allow scope for other sub categories within such typology.

A Home Office research (MVA and Miller, 2000; Waddington *et al.,* 2004, p. 894) challenged the over reliance on residential population as opposed to available population when measuring stop and search. This, they argue, that any disproportionality in stop and search indicates the racial or ethnic groups present or absent in public spaces at that time. As young men tend to be more visible in public spaces than women or elderly, this supports the disproportionality of men, and minority groups as over represented because of their availability in available space. The attempt to explain black peoples criminality in order to support the disproportionality in stop and search has no empirical support (Shiner, 2010) because there has been no clear evidence suggesting that black people commit more crime than whites (2010, p. 944). Equally, suggestions about the available population to explain disproportionality has greater validity but is highly contested by the National Black Police Association, and defensive (ibid).

As is evident in this paper, there are concerns within academic circles (Newburn, 2008; Shiner, 2010; Brown, 2005) and politicians (Theresa May), the former Secretary of State to the Home Office about police tactics, and disproportional use of the controversial Stop and Search powers. Many argue (Shiner, 2010) that police are singling out black youths and harassing them as they are disproportionally overrepresented on stop and search statistics amongst others. It is further argued that the police have been purposefully targeting black

areas and communities for many years and they feel harassed by police action. Such searches alienate communities and are counterproductive in times when the police are trying to win back trust from local communities (Shiner and Delsol, 2013).

There is also the issue of cost effectiveness, as police spend many hours in the office doing paper work from these stops rather than patrolling the streets to catch real criminals. There are also psychological impacts of these stops on those stopped and searched. Concerns on the psychological and emotional effect these stops have on those stopped and searched by the police have been raised (Shiner and Delsol, 2013; Saarikkomäki, 2016). The man-hours that are used up by the police in conducting stop and search estimated at 16 minutes per search, and questions as to the usefulness of such a search when only 9 per cent of all searches lead to an arrest (House of Commons Hansard, 2013). There is evidence to suggest that those stopped and searched by the police will demonstrate hostility and experience a "reinforced sense of grievance and antagonism towards the police" (Waddington *et. al.*, 2004, p. 892; Newburn *et al*., 2004). Moreover, black minority ethnic groups (BME) who have been stopped and searched will have a lower approval rating of the police (Newburn *et al*., 2004). There is also the emotional, and human cost, and effect of these stops on individuals and call to reduce the dispropotionality (EHRC, 2013; 2012; 2010). Concerns that black and Asian men are seven times more likely to be stopped and searched than white men.

There has been commitment by the Home Office to restrict the use of some of these searches and powers under Section 60 of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994. A commitment also confirmed by the former Metropolitan Police Commissioner (Sir Bernard Hogan-Howe), but this does not address all of the concerns about stop and search practices. It is suggested that the best use of stop and search is 'intelligent led' (Ratcliff,

2008) which is productive and actually leads to more arrests than the blanket searches that yields less than 10% out of more than a million searches conducted in Britain every year.

The over-representation of black youths within the criminal justice system raises questions about the nature and extent of discrimination, and racism in the criminal justice system. Reasons for the apparent differential treatment of black people in the criminal justice process remain highly contested. While most research on 'race' and criminal justice issues has produced contradictory findings and attempts to isolate 'race' effect in criminal justice decision-making has been difficult. These issues have caused much tension within the black community and the police. Every now and then, this tension leads to the causes of streets riots (Newburn, 2015), Brixton 1981, Broadwater Farm 1985 and Tottenham riot in 2011 with serious consequences and making any attempt to reconcile these groups difficult. Only then do politicians seek consensus with inquiries and promises to change the status quo. In reality, the divide and difficulties remain.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has looked at social control and the policing of young people since the 1930s. There is evidence to suggest that youth crime has dominated government policy for several decades. Government policies towards young people have been hit and miss, and most often ill conceived. Most are made following pressure from the press, public and for political gain without actual scientific research (Morris and Giller, 1987, cited in Brown, 2005; Joseph & Gunter, 2008).

There have also been changes of ideology over time depending on the policy or dominant theory at the time, from getting tough on crime to increased sentences for offenders, building more prisons and sending vast numbers of youths into prison. This has brought about an unbalanced youth policy, and intervention that discriminates against black youths (Bowling and Phillips, 2002; Bowling and Philips, 2007). The history of inequitable

distribution of resources, and the plights of young black people confined to large urban areas with less services and access to employment, housing, education while police action has been severely criticised over the years as they have adopted a policy of targeting black areas.

Black youth have been discriminated against than any other ethnic groups and over represented within the criminal justice system (Barn, 2001). What has emerged are catalogs of government policies aimed at and targeting black youth. The police have been found to be disproportionally targeting black youth and are racist (Barn, 2001; Macpherson, 1999). An accusation the police have always denied but put this down to a few bad apples rather than the whole force. Failure to accept these findings and put meaningful corrective measures in place to deal with these issues still means that there will be no justice for black youths. There is still difficulty and resistance in reforming the police, and police culture (Adlam & Villiers, 2003; Peachey, 2013).

Sir Robert Peel laid down some basic principles of policing that is important in the effort to make police not only accountable but work closely with the community they serve.[10] It is clear that the issue of race and racism in policing is a highly contested one, while no consensus is reached on this issue policy makers equally avoid addressing fully the issue of race in policy making and the disadvantages within black minority ethnic group (Inman, 2014a). There have been major revisions to primary legislation by policy makers notably (The Race Relations Act 1976; Equality Act 2010) in an effort to address some of these

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[10] To recognise always that the power of the police to fulfill their functions and duties is dependent on public approval of their existence, actions and behaviour and on their ability to secure and maintain public respect. To recognise always that to secure and maintain the respect and approval of the public means also the securing of the willing co-operation of the public in the task of securing observance of laws. To recognise always that to secure and maintain the respect and approval of the public means also the securing of the willing co-operation of the public in the task of securing observance of laws.

issues but racism and discrimination has been driven underground covertly (Wood *et al.*, 2009). Racism within the police force and policing has divided communities, while racist government policies are also blamed for the conflict between the police and black youths. Some of these policies are still inadvertently impacting on Black Minority Ethnic Groups (ITV News, 2015).

After trial by error of policing we are now seeing the return to the most fundamental principles of the nine pillars of policing as advocated by Sir Robert Peel. Government policies should cater for the needs of all and policing by consent. By working with multi agencies not only to tackle crime at the onset but to help by identifying youth at risk that come in contact with the police. Rather than penalise them by locking more youth up, and process them through the criminal justice system, they should instead be given help. The evidence from both sides of the argument about the plights of young black males and the reason why they are overrepresented with criminal justice system is compelling. This matter has been greatly debated within academic circles and equally by policy makers, the researcher acknowledges policy makers efforts in addressing these issues but find the argument about race and racism as the cause of the tension within this group and the structural disadvantages more compelling evidence (Solomos, 1991; Verbruggen, 2012; Bowling and Phillips, 2007).

As seen, it will require changes within government, the Police and the black community to address this problem. Black youths and the police must co-exist and work together within a central government framework on policing but with a local agenda. With this in mind, it means that local policing will have to work in partnership with the local community to allay their fears and distrust so that the police can go about doing their work in peace, and without fear serving equally all sections of the community to 'serve and protect'. The police after all are the 'gate-keepers' of the criminal justice system (Coleman and Norris, 2011, p. 118; Reiner, 1993).

It is clear stop and search has been instrumental on the overrepresentation of black young males in the criminal justice system and on community and police relationship breakdown. It will take some time to assess the impact following the intervention of the former Home Secretary, Theresa May on the need to curb the controversial Stop and Search practices by the police. It is somehow encouraging with the new government initiatives but it is too early to see if it will make any difference on the ground to the treatment of black youths. Senior police officers have often been resistant to changes, but unless they truly embrace these new values and perspectives of a police appropriate to all ethnic groups it will be business as usual. Although some scholars suggest that the new policy would actually diminish police discretion and frustrate these changes, (Bateman and Pitts, 2005). Concerns the police were not exercising their discretion when dealing with black youth prior to this still remains. There are calls for the police to reconnect with the community (Morgan and Newburn, 1997). The issue of social inequalities in employment, school and housing within black community has to be fully addressed in order to start seeing a meaningful dialogue and result.

The methodology underpinning this work will be examined in the next chapter. It will discuss the debates about data collection and other issues surrounding academic research. How the research was carried out and specific choices made as opposed to others in this work and the challenges. Some of these challenges are common in academic research while some were unique circumstances.

Chapter 5

Research Method

Introduction

In previous chapters, we have examined existing literature on youth policy, the hostility and conflict between the police and young people. It has been discovered that there are concerns about the way black minority ethnic groups are policed which has caused this tension (Brown, 2005; Goldson and Muncie, 2006; Brunston, 2007; Shiner, 2010). The Police are accused of using aggressive tactics at the expense of minority youths (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2001; Bowling and Philips, 2002). Although there is evidence in many police studies to support police prejudice as responsible for the inequality in policing experienced by black people (Brunston, 2007; Youth Justice Board, 2010; Delsol and Shiner, 2015), other scholars (Waddington, 1983; 1984) are less inclined to accept it in totality but suggest the behaviours of black people may have been a contributing factor. The researcher has argued that it is difficult to isolate race in policy and in the face of existing literature (McLaughlin and Muncie 2001; Macpherson, 1999; Bateman & Pitts, 2005; Bowling and Philips, 2002), and concerns of disproportionality on the treatment of black youths (Shiner and Delsol, 2013; Brown, 2005). The chapters nonetheless concluded on the reluctance of policy makers and the police to fully address this issue. They have been many missed opportunities in embracing fully the recommendations made during urban unrest (Scarman, 1981; Macpherson, 1999).

No one has ever doubted that there is tension within these two groups, (Ogunsakin, 1997: Mhlanga, 1997), and the scope of this study is to find out the root causes of this problem. It will explore in detail from the perspective of the police and black youth, and how this affects their relationship to co-exist. There has been some research conducted about the broken relationship between the police and black people in England & Wales (Brunston,

2007; Ogunsakin, 1997; Mhlanga, 1997; Williams, 2000). The issue of race within the criminal justice system was evident, and the over-representation of black people within this system raises some questions of fairness. What was also evident in their work was not only the detailed study of both the police and black people, but of the relationship (Ogunsakin, 1997), and what each side perceived of each other, he argues that, for the police it was business as usual, just doing their work and trying to stay safe (1997). It was also evident that the police did not trust black people and above all did not know how to treat them. On the other hand, it emerged that the police were equally careful in the way they treat black people for fear of being called racist or disciplined. This study also revealed different treatment accorded to black people by the police through excessive stop and search (Ogunsakin, 1997; Mhlanga, 1997; Williams, 2000). The over-representation of black people within the criminal justice system was evident, but Mhlanga (1997) also found that although a higher proportion of black people were being singled out by the police than any other ethnic group, they were more likely than any other ethnic group for their case to be dropped. Notwithstanding these points were also found on studies by (Webster, 1995; Reiner, 1993; King and Wincup, 2000), they argue that the black population is still disproportionate within the criminal justice system.

The introductory part of this chapter has briefly introduced the rational for this study and the controversies surrounding the policing of young black people in Britain. The next section will look at plurality of methods and why a particular method was chosen rather than others. The implications of this will also be discussed in the second part of the chapter. The researcher will then discuss his qualifications and why he is suitable to conduct this research. While doing so, he will also reflect on the advantages and disadvantages of conducting research from the inside. He will also discuss the ambiguous role of the author as a police officer and a researcher researching the police and young people during data collection and how this was mitigated. The researcher will move on to

explain ethical considerations and how they underpinned the study. This chapter will then discuss the process used in the data collection.

Methods and the Theoretical Perspective

As pointed out by Booth *et al*. (2008), the aim of the study will have an impact on the methodology to be used, and one of the greatest issues facing social scientists embarking on any type of research project lies in deciding what methods to adopt in the collection of data. Data has been defined as pieces of information describing events, people and other subjects and this may include types, classifications, numbers, and attitudes (Woodcock, 1991). Booth *et al*. (2008) defines research as "whenever we gather information to answer a question that solves a problem" (2008, p. 10).

There are two traditional forms of data collection approaches and analysis, qualitative and quantitative methods. The debate about which method is better (Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2012) in handling data collection has been going on for many years. Each of these approaches has its strengths and weaknesses (Denscombe, 2003; Booth *et al*., 2008: Ogunsarkin, 1997). However, a mixed methods approach has emerged, which is a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods in a singular research. These are different ways of data collection serving different kind of studies, sometimes field, or purpose but all aids in the collection and analysis of data. According to Denscombe (2003) the difference between quantitative and qualitative is not "watertight" because the differences "relates to the treatment of data rather than the research methods" (2003, p. 231). Although quantitative methods are mostly used within scientific fields, thought of as 'hard data', and qualitative as 'soft data' (Booth *et al*., 2008), both of these methods can be deployed in a research as has been used in crime research (Mhlanga, 1997). Booth *et al.* (2008) states that qualitative data are materials that are largely descriptive accounts of events, while quantitative data are material that can be measured and to which numbers can be attached to explain what is

going on. At this juncture, qualitative research is concerned with exploring ideas, reactions and feelings in relation to specific issues. On the other hand quantitative research is concerned with the measurement of a limited set of ideas or reactions (variables). Qualitative research tends to be field based (Becker *et al.*, 2012) as opposed to quantitative research, which can be described as hypotheses testing. Qualitative approaches often involve hypotheses generating.

Bryman (2012) describes qualitative methods as a form of data gathering designed to generate data based on 'inquiry from inside' in contrast to 'inquiry from outside'. The advantage of this method is the ability to ensure that the researcher is more fully and more 'flexibly' involved with those from whom data are being collected. It is thought that qualitative approaches are more suited in situations where the inquiry involves explanations of social activities, processes and past events (Denscombe, 2003). Bryman (2012) whilst confirming this, further stress that qualitative approach seems better suited because it provides a substantial appreciation of the perspectives, culture and worldviews of individuals or groups involved. Qualitative approaches are based on the ability to reflect different theoretical underpinnings and different views to what counts as valid data, this makes it a better proposition for conducting research aimed at exploring human relationships. Meanwhile, Creswell, (2013) points out that it offers prominence to understanding the actions of participants on the basis of their active experience of the real world, and the ways in which their actions arise from and reflect back on experience. For these reasons qualitative research has the potential of producing results, which are very close to the reality for subjects because it is an inquiry from within. Qualitative methods permit the researcher to study selected issues in depth and detail (Creswell, 2012; Bryman, 2012). It also allows a researcher the ability to engage in data collection without being constrained by predetermined categories of analysis, which contributes greatly to the depth, openness, and detail of the enquiry in question. This is in contrast to the quantitative

method, which starts with a theory and tests it against evidence, rather than developing a theory as a result of examining the data. Becker *et al*. (2012) asserts that qualitative methods are the best for collecting, analysing, and explaining data that deals with human behaviour. Whilst qualitative approach may be said to provide a fuller explanation of the phenomena being studied, especially in the study of social events and processes. A quantitative approach on the other hand deal with hard figures, and tends to be more dependable for a comparison of events or in establishing correlations or interrelationships between events (Bryman, 2012). Quantitative methods use standardised measures that fit diverse and various opinions and experiences into predetermined response categories. Accordingly, (Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2012) states that the advantages of quantitative approaches are that they measure the reactions of many people to a limited set of questions. This facilitates comparison and statistical aggregation of the data. Thus giving a broad, generalisable set of findings. In contrast, qualitative methods typically produce a wealth of detailed data about a much smaller number of people and cases.

The differences between qualitative and quantitative to research may make some researchers view the quantitative approach as being less valid than the qualitative approach. Meanwhile, Booth *et al*. (2008) points out, the decision on what approach to use depends on two criteria: researchers seeking 'hard' data will want quantity while those interested in 'depth of reality' will want quality. Therefore, the nature of the problem being investigated would indicate which of the approaches is more suitable. For example, while the qualitative approach may be more suitable for the study of culture of people, the quantitative approach may be more suitable in comparative and correlational studies. This would depend on whether the data is verbal or numerical (Creswell, 2012; Bryman, 2012), if the data is verbal, the methodology is qualitative, and if they are numerical, then it is quantitative. The nature of the data and the problem for research dictate the research methodology (Bryman, 2012).

The use of mixed method approach is growing in popularity. It has emerged due to paradigm wars between quantitative and qualitative researchers (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Doyle *et al.* (2009) asserts that the new approaches; mixed method has emerged to answer questions that cannot be answered by using traditional methods alone. Accordingly, Tashakkori and Creswell (2007, p. 4) define mixed methods as 'the collection and analysis of data and integrating findings to draw inference by using both qualitative and quantitative approaches or methods in a single study' (2007, p. 4). Meanwhile, there is a debate on the use and suitability of mixed methods in a single study. Arguably, such choice depends on the worldview of the researcher, which may be influenced by how they align themselves in the study (*ibid*). Traditionalist (see Sandelowski, 2001) argues that they are different paradigms and is not possible to combine the two, hence are not compatible (Guba and Lincoln, 1988). The debate about quantitative versus qualitative have arguably resulted in thinking that the two approaches are mutually exclusive to one another. Thus, some researchers (Sale, *et al.,* 2002; Stevenson, 2005) argue that competing paradigms are not helpful. Hence Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) propose that a mixed method may be the bridging gap between quantitative and qualitative positions.

Bryman, (2006), and also Greene, *et al.* (1989) identified some of the reasons and benefits of conducting mixed methods research as follows:

Triangulation: It allows greater validity in the study by the corroboration between quantitative and qualitative data.

Completeness: It offers more complete picture of the phenomenon studied by using a combination of research approaches.

Offsetting weaknesses and providing stronger inferences: it is argued (see Bryman, 2006) that mixed methods neutralises the limitation of each approach, therefore, provide a more accurate inferences.

Answering differing research questions: It helps to answer a research question that cannot be answered by quantitative or qualitative methods alone, and "provide tools to meet the aims and objectives of the study" (Doyle et al., 2009, p. 178).

Although the mixed methods approaches offers a researcher an opportunity to gain more understanding of the research problem (Creswell and Clark, 2007). There is however, some criticism about this approach. Some of the criticism is about the incompatibility of using both approaches in a study. Methodological purists argue strongly against the use of both approaches in a research as they have different ontological and epistemological origins (Doyle *et al*., 2009, p. 183). While Guba (1987, p. 31) identifies the differences between quantitative and qualitative approach by pointing out that the use of one in a research precludes the other. However, Onwuegbuzie (2002) argues that the "purists view of the dichotomies between positivist and pos-positivist philosophies as false dichotomies" (Doyle et al., 2009, p. 183). Other criticism, or weaknesses of mixed methods, although practical in nature, is the difficulty that can arise when a researcher carry out a mixed methods study when both quantitative and qualitative phases are undertaken concurrently. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) point out that in such cases, a research team would be needed to help in such a task. Consequently, Ivankova *et al*. (2006) asserts that the question of time and resources to carry out distinct phases may be a problem in a mixed methods study. Creswell (1994) meanwhile asserts that research is guided by the enquiry that underlies the research activities rather than being restricted only to the traditional approaches in data collection (Doyle et al., 2009, p. 176).

Method Employed

A mixed method research involving the use of quantitative and qualitative method was used in this study. The researcher was interested in the collection and analysis of data and integrating findings to draw inference by using both approaches in this study. He is

interested in in-depth reality of the people being researched (Creswell, 2012) and to be able to make correlation and comparisons between groups.

The quantitative aspect of this work was to go beyond the more generic use of national statistics to generalise about the street based encounter between the police and young black people. With local focus, it examines the local police and young black people within a local area of study. To fully understand the local area in scope of the study, it builds a picture of the local area by showing not only the diversity but also the challenges. It compares some local issues in Hammersmith & Fulham to the London average in terms of crime, unemployment, stop and search, and education. Using quantitative data from borough level statistics, the Met, Mayor's Office, Office of National Statistics, and official reports.

One key feature about Hammersmith & Fulham is that, it is a more affluent borough than some of it neighbours. However, it shares some characteristics with other London boroughs in terms of crime. Crime committed predominantly by young people from poorer neighbourhoods. There is an economic divide and notable inequalities between the rich part of the borough and poorer neighbourhoods. Another point worth mentioning is that, young people from these affluent areas are not so visible in the street like perhaps young people from poorer estates and neighbourhoods. They are less likely to attract police attention, in contrast to young people from poorer areas who are more visible by hanging around in the street and attract more police scrutiny. The activities and behaviours of these urban poor young people creates anxiety for the rich people from affluent areas who then put pressure on the local council and the police to crack down on the urban poor of the local areas.

While this quantitative data allows us to understand the overall context of the local area in scope of the study, it however, does not tell us about how the police and young people make sense of each other's behaviour during street-based encounters. Accordingly, qualitative interviews and subsequent data analysis allow us to understand this aspect. By bringing together these complementary data and analysis to make sense. To better understand the issues surrounding the encounter between young people and the police within a local area. This complementary study complements each other. This is because qualitative interviews alone would not have offered much understanding of the structural context within which police officers and young people form their views during street-based encounters.

The researcher wanted to explore the issues about the street-based encounters between the police and young people. To do this, it was felt that a case study research, which involves a mixture of data, and a mixture of methods to analyse the data was appropriate. A quantitative method was used for descriptive analysis and to make inferential statistics to assess the relationship between independent and dependent variables. Qualitative on the other hand was used to explore "patterns of meaning, belief, behaviours and practices of participants" (Schrauf, 2016, p. 5).

The researcher will now focus specifically on the methodology used in this work. This study does not claim to be representative of the experiences of police officers and young black and other ethnic groups (Sharp and Atherton, 2007, p. 747) as there were only limited samples employed within the study. However, a minimum numbers of participants to ensure credibility and trustworthy findings was achieved. It is suggested a minimum of ten to twenty participants in an interview research to achieve this (Saldana 2011, p. 34). The purpose of this section is to outline the working parameters used in the research.

The aim of this study as stated earlier (see chapter 1) is also to look at the conflicting relationship between the police and young black men. In order to address these particular issues, the predominant methodology used was face-to-face interviews with a number of individuals. Having considered all other methods such as questionnaires, the researcher considered interviews as the most effective data collection method for this research. In view of this, it is important to look at why this method was chosen as opposed to other methods and the reasons they were deemed not suited for the research. Having done this, the researcher will explain how this method was used in this study.

It was apparent from the onset of the study that it will deal with sensitive issues involving an often-emotive subject about retrospective encounters between the police and young people. It then became apparent that the most appropriate research method for generating valid data which will not only include the overt behaviour of the subjects under study, but also their subjective experiences of what they felt, and acted was face-to-face interviews (Gillham, 2010; Edwards and Holland, 2013). According to Robson, (1993) interview is a conversation with a purpose. This kind of conversation is initiated by the interviewer for the purpose of obtaining research relevant information (Booth *et al*., 2008). In order to achieve that aim, personal interview methods were utilised to get a first-hand account of the police's relationship with young people, and from young people about the police. That is to say that the study listened first hand to how police and young people perceive each other and recount their encounter and experiences. This involved interviewing police officers inside multiple police stations and in public places. Young people on the other hand were interviewed in a local authority youth offending teams (YOTs) office, a local school and a university premises. This is in tune with (Bryman, 2012; Crewell, 2012; Denscombe, 2003) that the best way to study behaviour and process is in their natural setting, looking at how people act, react and interact in a variety of settings in different situations.

Other methods such as focus groups and self-completed questionnaires were excluded as either impractical due to the subject matter and sensitivity involved, and due to low response rate which could affect the quality of the data and research (Briant, 2013). This process involved face-to-face, semi-structured interviews, and the use of open-ended focus questions in order to understand the central phenomenon in the study. Semi-structured interviews were thought to be most suited because it provides some latitudes to the interviewer who has formulated sets of questions in advance and modify their order based on what is perceived as important (Booth *et al.*, 2008). This is confirmed by Saldana (2011), who points out that semi-structured interviews allow the interviewer the freedom to go into a deeper depth. Structured interviews were rejected because they are too rigid. This is because the interviewer conducts the interview according to predetermined questions asked and recorded such answers on a standardised form.

Interviews can be carried out through a structured, semi-structured or unstructured method (Booth *et al.*, 2008). The semi structured interview approach was thought the best compared to other methods such as telephone interviews because the interaction between the interviewees is likely to yield the best information when co-operating with each other. Unstructured interviews were also discounted to prevent gathering of irrelevant data (Creswell, 2012; Bryman, 2013). Due to the sensitivity of the topic and the difficulty in finding police participants willing to participate in the study, it was decided that field notes were most appropriate. This was to elicit trust and flow of information than having a tape recorder, which could inhibit such processes. Field notes were used to capture the verbal data, and also to note more information captured during and after the interview. Moreover, the researcher was also aware that not all participants would be willing to be tape recorded during the interview. The interview process was then rigorously analysed by coding the data as well "as being transparent about the strengths and weaknesses of the methods of collection" (Bowling, 1998, p. 14). Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS)

computer software was used for this purpose.

This study is based on retrospective accounts of encounters that happened on the street between the police and young people. The researcher was not present but is trying to uncover the intricacies of these encounters. Observational studies have been conducted into police work and their patrols (see Ilan, 2016; Waddington *et al.,* 2004; MVA and Miller, 2000). The issue of trust of the subject, police officers, and how their behaviour may be modified in the presence of a researcher researching them has been highlighted in the work of (King and Wincup, 2000, p. 219). It has been argued (ibid) that such studies are labour intensive and time consuming which questions their feasibility. Conversely, such studies are vital as they provide a bedrock for future studies, it allows researchers to see what goes on during police patrols, and captures the challenging environment that the police sometimes work in.

The interactions between young black people, other minority groups and the police have been widely documented in Britain (Phillips and Bowling, 2003; Sharp and Atherton, 2007; Foster *et al*., 2005) and in the United States (Brunston and Miller, 2006; Gau e*t al*., 2010)). Study on the impact of policing on their behaviour (Terrill and Reisig, 2003). Equally more compelling studies about youth crime and policing in general involving black youth and other ethnic groups have been extensively documented in academic literature (Wright, 2002; Wills, 2009; Bateman and Pitts, 2009; Bowling and Phillips, 2002; Brown, 2005; Hallsworth, 2008).

This chapter examines the characteristics of researching the police and draw on available literatures. There is history of recounting policing experience (Brown 1996) and the study of the relationship between the police and black people (Brunston and Miller, 2010; Sharp and Atherton, 2007). This study looks at "not just the context and circumstances of events,

but also their meanings to individuals involved" (Brunston and Miller, 2006, p. 614). The researcher explored this work further because there was a gap in the literature about the relationship between young black and white males, and police officers within London, a large urban area in Britain. This is an area with a population of approximately 7 million people according to the Office of National Statistics (Census 2011, ONS) and with a large proportion of diverse ethnic groups. There are other police forces operating in London such as the City of London Police and British Transport Police (BTP), but this study only focused on the London Metropolitan Police Service (MPS or Met Police). The areas in scope of the study were only those under the control of the London Metropolitan Police Service, the largest police force in Britain with over thirty thousand officers[1].

The initial aim of the study was to focus on people within youth groups of ages between 10 and 25. The reason for this was to cover the age of criminal responsibility from the age of ten, which is the legal age a child can be charged with a criminal offence in England & Wales through to adulthood,[2] as indicated above, and as will be seen throughout this work, this is a significant departure from previous studies. It was however difficult to access young people in the age group 10-11 as they were not many known to the youth offending teams in the local area of the study. It was anticipated that there may not be enough data for the age group between 10 to 15. As is evident through the work of (King and Wincup, 2008) it was difficult to access hard to reach groups for this research.

A further concern aside from access to this age group was the difficulty of accessing a responsible adult or guardian, as minors were supposed to be supervised during the

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[1] https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/police-workforce-england-and-wales-31-march-2013/police-workforce-england-and-wales-31-march-2013 (Accessed: 21 April 2015).

[2] https://www.gov.uk/age-of-criminal-responsibility (Accessed: 21 April 2016).

interview. The researcher however mitigated these concerns by liaising with, youth offending teams (YOTs) who acted as guardians during visits.

The researcher was also able to use (YOTs) interpreter to interview a young male who did not speak very good English.

The Author

The researcher is currently serving as a police officer in a Home Office police force with over ten years of service. He has lived and worked in London for over twenty five years, and also worked within three local authorities in London within enforcement and community safety roles. His practical experience has been public engaging roles dealing with the public face to face either as a police or council officer. He was pivotal on the development of enforcement procedures and processes within two of the three local authorities he worked. Through his work and collaboration with other colleagues, the local authority he worked for in South West London, a Conservative run Borough was credited as the highest performing local authority in England & Wales for issuing the most fixed penalty notices for littering under the environmental and anti-social offences (Johnston, 2001). Aside from practical experience and engagement with the public, the researcher is best placed to conduct this research because of his position as an inside insider.

The term "inside insider" researcher has featured in (King & Wincup, 2000, p. 220; Ganga and Scott, 2006) [3] and is used to describe someone or groups that have access to the police policy mechanisms, or has a direct involvement with the research setting (Robson, 2002). Loxley and Seery (2008) defines this as, "a social science research carried out by a member of the group sharing the same characteristics" (2008, p. 16). There are not many

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[3] "The terms 'insiders', 'semi-outsiders' and 'outsiders' were used (Savage *et aI*., 2000, p. 18) to show the closed nature of the judicial policy network and the circumstances when it is open to 'outsiders'. " Also see (Grant, 1995; Brown, 1996; Braithwaite, 2005, p. 45).

academic literatures on insider research but when it does the argument is mostly against it (Brannick and Coghlan, 2007, p. 59). This is in contrast with a research where the researcher places himself as an objective insider. The debate about inside outsider dynamic where insider is viewed 'positively' as opposed to outsider status as 'problematic' (Ganga & Scott, 2006) both present ethical considerations.

The critique about the dynamic of inside insider research has caused much debate about objectivity and validity. Positivists question the objectivity of insider research as the result may be distorted, on the other hand postmodernism and critical realist argues that complete objectivity is impossible in research (Brannick and Coghlan, 2007). Postmodernism critique point out the importance of understanding the researchers context as part of the study narrative (Corbin-Dwyer and Buckle, 2009, p. 55). Braithwaite (2005) argues that being 'inside' does not guarantee access to information or people. However, there are also advantages as seen in the work of (Ganga and Scott, 2006) while Chavez (2008) discusses the disadvantages of inside insider researcher, explaining the challenges of over familiarity with the community being researched, and amongst others, bias in selecting participants. However, an inside insider researcher has the advantage of being best placed and in a position to gain access to key people within the organisation, and confidence from fellow police officers involved in the study.

Braithwaite (2005) also acknowledges that although an insider researcher is in a unique position that may contribute to his ability to conduct such research. It also impacts on the research as some officers may be sceptical to fully co-operate. There may also be an issue with data collected from those who participate. There is potential for officer's to withhold the truth and not recount the full story during interview. Other disadvantages as an inside insider conducting this kind of research is what (Saldana, 2011, p. 34) considers as "convenience sampling" where an inexperienced researcher asks their friends to participate

in their project. This may also be the case if an inside insider police officer asks a friend in this case a fellow police officer to participate to feel secure with people they already know. However, it is equally problematic when an inside insider police officer asks a fellow police officer, not close friend to participate, there is danger in making assumptions about what you feel you already know about them or what they are saying during interviews as it may relate to your own experience as an officer.

The researcher mitigated this by choosing participants from officers he is not close to; moreover, the research was also conducted in different locations and police stations where the researcher inside insider is unfamiliar. The researcher also mitigated the issue of non co-operation of police officers by sourcing other officers who were willing to co-operate, and by being honest and fully informing participants of his position as a student and the reason for this study.

The last sections have looked at the debates about research methods, and the qualifications of the author. The next section will look at ethical considerations that may impinge on the study.

Ethical Considerations

Professional ethical standards in research were initiated both at international, domestic and research driven institutions to avoid ethical abuse and experiments that cause alarm to citizens. Examples of historical abuse are the 1932 U.S. Public Health Service Syphilis studies involving black men in Alabama and the Nazi experiments with Jews in Europe during the Second World War (Friesen, 2010, pp. 113-114). These standards seek to promote the protection of people taking part in any research from physical and psychological harm. It also includes informed consent, freedom of coercion, privacy and confidentiality amongst others. All these have been adhered to and addressed in this research, Moreover, the researcher has satisfied the university ethics committee criteria and

given permission to carry out this research with human subjects from the University Social Science and Humanities Research Ethics Review panel (Appendix 2).

Ethical issues have been considered from the outset of the research as it is important to gain gatekeepers permission, while the anonymity of participants and how the research findings will be used was also taken into consideration. In conducting this research, the university has assigned two supervisors to guide the researcher throughout the thesis stage. Having sought and gained the approval to conduct this research from the university ethics committee, he also sought and obtained the approval to conduct the research with police officers from the London Metropolitan Police Service ethics department, and for young people from (YOTs). In addition, informed consent was sought from all participants before each interview (Appendix 3). As the research is about recounting past experience, there could be an issue with relapse whereby the participant relives their past experience and this may cause them discomfort or harm. The researcher has a duty of care towards all participants to ensure no harm comes to them. This was mitigated by being "attuned during all stages of the study to ensure that no harm and minimal discomfort comes to anyone" (Saldana, 2011, p. 25). The researcher will stop all interviews if there is any sign of discomfort and ask the participant if help should be sought and or advise them to see their general practitioner (GP) if no immediate help is needed but a participant is suspected to be overwhelmed during interview. It is also important for the researcher to safeguard their safety without putting their lives in danger. This may arise in going into an unfamiliar neighborhood or property to interview participants. All interviews were conducted in a public place and the researcher informed the next of kin of his movement during interviews.

Although the researcher has access to more confidential documents and information not meant for the public. There is always the temptation to spy and look at documents beyond

what is apparent or provided. The researcher is guided by the university ethics and employer's code of conducts including computer audit and conduct. All information and documents used in this study were provided and authorised by each organisation, and any information used was from source, directly from individuals concerned in this study. There is also the issue of power relationship that may occur within 'inside insider' research but this was not anticipated within the study with police officers as it involved an officer researching officers and senior management. Power relationship (Gillham, 2010; Saldana, 2011) could be problematic if a senior officer is researching a lower ranking officer. There could be bias or coercion to conform in such research because a senior officer is conducting it. They could also be a power relationship issue when interviewing young people as a police officer. However, the researcher mitigated this by showing courtesy, being respectful, and by being honest and transparent explaining to them that this is a private study. It is important not to pass judgement on what the participant says, and be sympathetic and an emphatic listener (Friesen, 2010). He has devised a letter of introduction to all potential candidates setting out the reason for the study as which is purely academic, his relationship at the time of the interview as a researcher, and how the data will be used for academic purposes but also by the police to improve relationships with young people. The letter also explains to them that they can withdraw from the study at any time if they change their mind. The researcher also provided all participants with evidence to show that there is university ethics clearance for the study to go ahead and inform them that their names will be kept anonymous.

The Sample

The researcher will discuss the sampling process for the study in this section. First, the police, then followed by a young people sample. In total 35 people participated in this study. Comprising of eighteen police officers and seventeen young people.

The Police Sample

Metropolitan Police Service

This section will begin with background information of the police service, and the local commands the study took place. Then followed with more information on police sample.

There are 43[4] police forces in England and Wales with a total of just under 127,000 officers; this includes those on career break, sick leave or parental leave as at March 2015 (House of Commons Library 2016). The London Metropolitan Police Service (MET) is one of the largest police forces in Britain with 31,793 police officers. It polices London, which has a population of more than 7 million people (Census 2011, ONS) and covers an area more than 620 square miles.

Police officers, a generic term used for the purpose of this research covers all current serving officers of all ages and genders. It also comprises police officers of all ranks within the force and those that have volunteered to participate in the research. Police officers were selected based on whether they fit the criteria of the study. As the study sought to uncover the root cause of the hostility between young people, specifically young black youths, officers were selected only from white and black ethnic backgrounds.

Eighteen police officers took part in this study and were selected to cover the London Metropolitan Police (Met) diverse background. There were twelve males, of these; six were from white ethnic group, and six from black ethnic group. Six females also took part, comprising of four females from black ethnic group and two from white ethnic group. They were between the age of 28 and 52. The ranks of police participants included 10 Constables; 5 sergeants; 1 superintendent, and 2 Chief Superintendent (Borough

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[4] https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/police-workforce-england-and-wales (Accessed: 13 Sept 2016).

Commanders). There were a mixture of entry level ranked officers (Constable), to managers (Sergeants) and senior managers (Superintendent and Chief Superintendent). The majority of respondents from the MET police categories were below the age of 42.

The study was conducted between January 2016 and June 2016. Access to participants was sourced through various gatekeepers, and in the police initially through the research unit that deals with all research concerning the Metropolitan Police Service as a whole, including staff and properties. Access to the organisation to conduct this research was straightforward and granted permission by the force, but it was a very slow process thereafter to enlist a willing police officer to participate in a face to face interview. Several attempts were made over a period of six months without success. Having enlisted the help of the Borough Commanders in Lambeth, Hammersmith & Fulham, and also the Metropolitan Black Police Association (MBPA), it was then straightforward and many officers responded to Borough Command Unit (BCU) email volunteering to participate, while some were approached directly by the researcher. (MBPA) officers also made contact directly volunteering to participate and individual appointments were made to interview participants inside police stations and other police buildings while a few were interviewed in public places such as cafés.

As previously mentioned the study initially sought to examine police attitudes towards young people within two areas of the Metropolitan Police Boroughs Command control in London; Lambeth, and Hammersmith and Fulham. However, there was a slight change of plan when it became apparent that this was not feasible as there wouldn't be enough of a willing ethnic mix of police officers to satisfy the criteria of the study, which was to study officers from black, and white ethnic groups. Although significant numbers of officers who participated in the study were drawn from police stations within the two areas (Hammersmith & Fulham, and Lambeth), some officers were also drawn from other

Metropolitan Police Service areas around London. The two main areas chosen were deemed suitable for this study because of its diverse ethnic population.

The interview questions (Appendix 4) were largely about their work. The researcher looked at variables such as officers age, years of service, where they live, education, and to an extent their perception of social class and education in policing to find out if these have any influence or effect on their work and impacted on the way they treat young people. Officers interviewed live around London and in neighbouring counties, some in affluent and non-affluent areas. Significant numbers of officers who participated in the study work in the two Boroughs selected for this study, and these boroughs have significant numbers of black ethnic minority males, and some minority ethnic officers. There is no way for the researcher to know whether all the participants opened up to recount the whole truth about their encounters with young people. The researcher has questioned and in some cases re-interviewed some participants whose account needed more clarification. As Delsol & Shiner (2015) point out, the study methods used "inevitably affect the behaviour of those" being interviewed and "cannot provide access to hidden thought processes" but it aids an understanding "through their action and talk" during the interview (2015, p. 58).

It is evident in other studies that officers may not open up as they fear such information could be used against them in the future (Briant, 2013), others have argued that it is in the officers' interest to open up about their work experience and issues that affect them (Ogunsarkin, 1997). This includes work related psychological issues like emotional distress and stress that police officers are exposed to routinely during patrols. This varies from fatal road traffic accidents, murder, suicide and day to day fights encountered trying to restrain a suspect. Work related psychological issues are a concern in many walks of life and a concern in modern day Britain. Many people from all areas of life live more stressful lives today. Some of this is work related, while in other circumstances are family related

and compounded by work pressure. Many employers understand the cost of stress related illness and time off work and are trying to help staff cope with these situations in order to minimise financial cost. Police are no exception, and Smallwood & Wade (2013) note that work related "burnout is a serious issue that goes beyond simple stress'' (2013, p. 97; Rossi *et al*., 2016). They also point out that, "burnout is often about losing motivation and feeling unappreciated" (ibid).

Young People Sample

As previously indicated earlier in this chapter, the initial plan of the study was to seek participants from the youth's category between the age of criminal responsibility in England and Wales which is currently at 10 to adulthood. As it was difficult to reach the age group between 10 to 12, the researcher had to change the plan of the study slightly.

Sample of young people for this study was sourced from various sources. Access to young people were facilitated by the local police in (H&F) through the Youth Offending Teams. They also facilitated access to a school to interview some young people in a local school. The researcher also attended a university event and personally invited young people within the age group in scope of the study to take part in the study. In total seventeen young people from black and white ethnic backgrounds were interviewed for this study (Interview questions in appendix 5). Eleven participants, which was the majority of young people interviewed live in Hammersmith and Fulham; two from the London Borough of Hounslow; one from Lewisham, and three from Haringey. The interview questions were about their relationship with the police, their experiences with stop and search, and variables such as neighbourhood tension, and whether they get along with the police or other groups.

A further breakdown by ethnicity of all the young people who participated show 6 black males; 5 white males; 4 black females and 2 white females. Participants were aged between 13 and 25 years old. Ninety-five percent of all youth's participants had a history of offending and contact with the police and criminal justice system. Having sought and gained access to both police officers and young people for this study. The sample of officers and young people was not random. Officers were selected based on their availability. Young people were mostly selected amongst youths who have had previous encounters with the police and criminal justice system. Subjects were purposefully selected, that is, those who were deemed to fit certain criteria for the study such as gender and ethnic origin and would provide valuable data (Saldana, 2007, p. 33; Phillips and Webster, 2014, p. 105).

Having initially been given permission to access young people for this study by a youth charity youth selections were also not straightforward. A timetable was provided for them and agreed that the study would commence in June 2015. They were approached in June with a view to commence the study but they declined to cooperate. It was felt at this juncture that a change of plan was needed in order to keep the study plan on track. Contact was made with a liaison officer who was initially nominated by the charity to act between the researcher and the charity in order to facilitate the study. By now, the youth coordinator had left the charity. Following discussions, the youth coordinator agreed to put the researcher in touch with some young people. This never materialised so the researcher then sought access through the local police (H&F) who facilitated access to a local school and the Youth Offending Teams (YOTs). The researcher also attended a university event and personally invited young people within the age group in scope of the study to take part.

The researcher does not want to generalise due to limited sampled population, but he is also aware of the potentials for unreliable data being collected.

Lessons Learnt

In retrospect, the research would have been conducted differently as setbacks during data collection brought severe delays some of which were anticipated, some of which were not. Delays are not unusual in research (Booth *et al*., 2008) but due to the nature of the delays and to some extent the inexperience of the researcher they were not all anticipated and planned for in the timeframe. Two setbacks were encountered that had a significant impact on the timeframe. In spite of many messages, circulars and emails seeking participants from the Police not one officer volunteered. The biggest setback however was from the youth charity as they were very supportive initially and willing to help straightaway. They were however informed that the study would take place in June 2015. When contacted to start the research as initially agreed, they declined. Had the researcher known this, the research would have been carried out straight away when initially given permission to do so, but this might have meant a delay on other areas of work. Moreover, the research was already planned out detailing works to follow before the fieldwork. There was a change on the theoretical framework to mitigate this. Moreover, the input from the researcher's supervisors meant that the researcher was guided to successfully accomplish his goals.

Chapter Summary

In concluding this chapter, it has discussed various approaches that can be used in a research. The two dominant approaches to research is the use of quantitative or qualitative methods. The purist view of the dichotomy between positivist and non-positivist is prevalent. Mixed methods, a combination of both approaches; quantitative and qualitative in a study gives a researcher the opportunity to answer questions that cannot be addressed by using a singular method. A review of literature has found that there is no consensus between positivist and non-positivist on the use of mixed methods in a singular research. What is evident is that quantitative, qualitative or using both approached as a mixed method have its strengths and weaknesses.

A mixed method was chosen for this study to help the researcher in the collection and analysis of the data, and in integrating the findings to draw inferences by using both methods (Tashakkori and Creswell, 2007, p. 4). This method is guided by the assumptions that allow the researcher to mix quantitative and qualitative approaches throughout the research process (Hanson *et al.,* 2005). Although the approach chosen for this study is decided because it is deemed appropriate, but the researcher admits that it is not without its pitfalls (Booth *et al.*, 2008). Every attempt has been made to mitigate and cope with any pitfalls.

There were major setbacks that delayed the fieldwork and thus had a major implication on the completion of this study. However, the researcher was resourceful and found another way to progress on to the fieldwork stage. This was a case study based on fieldwork and used face to face interview as the main method. It is evident that it is not easy to embark on academic research. It is daunting for a novice and equally challenging for an experienced researcher (Creswell, 2012). It entails thorough planning from sourcing the data, to identifying which methods to use in the collection and analysis of data using qualitative or quantitative methods. Meanwhile, ethical considerations were important in this research as in any academic research. The researcher had to seek gatekeeper's permission and had to be open and transparent with each participant. This was more so on the fact that the researcher was a serving police officer. This was however mitigated by informing the participants that my role was solely as a researcher, while anonymity of participants would be guaranteed.

Meanwhile, in the next chapter, the current debates about stop and search, the geographical area and how local democracy evolves in the case study areas are discussed. It will look at the interaction between the Police and other multi-agencies involved in crime prevention within the case study area. This chapter will also discuss the statistical data underpinning

the case study area. This sets the background to the study findings on chapter 7.

Chapter 6

The Local Geographical Context of Police Stops

Introduction

Thus far, it has been shown that there are issues in the way young black males are policed in Britain. Hence, the thesis is about the street-based encounters between the police and young people, to understand the conflict in relationship between these two groups.

It has been shown in this study that stop and search continues to be controversial and often cited as the reason for community tension. It continues to be at a centre stage and more so as recent evidence suggests rising crime in the last two years. There has been an intense debate recently. With mainstream newspapers, politicians - Amber Rudd, (Weaver and Mason, 2017) and Met police Commissioner – Cressida Dick (BBC, 2017) that support stop and search. While other groups Stopwatch, and race relations experts oppose it in its current practice. There has been a major policy shift concerning stop and search during the last coalition government with the intervention of Theresa May (Travis, 2014). Theresa May's liberal line when she was the Home Secretary that high levels of stops of young black males is evidence of racial discrimination and ordered for a reduction in stop and search. However, some right wing journalists and politicians claim the sharp reduction in stops indicates weakness by the police and leads to rising crime.

Evidence suggests that some hardened young criminals are not afraid of the police or deterred by prison. This is more so with those in gangs who carry out knife attacks and murder in broad day light in the street with no fear of being caught and no regard for the public around them (Gillett, 2017). Other brazen attitudes of these young criminals is the use of stolen mopeds that they use in robbery. When the police intervene, they drive at excessive speed knowing too well that the police would not give chase, as doing so would

put them and the public in danger. This is perceived to be brazen, territorial gang activity, challenging the police and rule of law that should be targeted. Evidence on street crime such as crimes of violence and related offences suggest that they are concentrated in poorer neighbourhoods with large concentrations of ethnic minorities (Gunter, 2011; Brown, 2005; Miller *et al.*, 2000).

Thus, the proponents of stop and search oppose such reduction and are concerned about the effect of the Broken Window theory [1]. They argue that reducing stops encourages more young people into committing crime. And makes it harder to apprehend offenders because there is a reduction in stops even though crime is rising. It is further argued that, if the police withdraw and do not tackle young people who engage or are about to engage in offending the danger is that the area could go into a spiral of decline, making young people who are into gangs feel that they are above the law and take over these neighbourhoods. Law-abiding citizens living in such areas could feel unsafe and make them want to move out of such neighbourhoods. This would then leave the gangs to fill the gap and take over the area. In such a scenario, it is claimed by the broken window theory that such neighbourhoods can go into a spiral of decline. Creating no go areas with little community leadership and effective challenge to gangs and offenders.

Studies such as the broken window theory supports stop and search as a way to tackle street disorder and crime. Kelling and Cole (1996) found that this approach was a catalyst for a 90 per cent drop in New York subway in 1990. However, others argue that it was improved economy and decrease in drug use that drove a decline in crime rather than the broken window theory. Meanwhile Gau *et al.* (2014) also support a literal reading of a

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[1] Broken windows theory was used as a metaphor for disorder within communities. This theory links disorder and antisocial behaviours within a community to subsequent occurrences of serious crime. They argue that all crime should be targeted at the onset to avoid escalation (Kelling & Wilson, 1982).

broken window theory where disorder is a signal of social breakdown. This is why police management and the former Home Secretary Amber Rudd supports the use of stop and search. They argue that it is a useful tool to tackle street crime and the rising knife and acid attacks. There has been a rise of almost a third from the same period in 2016 for the numbers of people stabbed to death in London (Townsend, 2017).

Some academics and race relations experts (Miller *et al*., 2000; Delsol & Shiner, 2015; Bowling & Phillips, 2001; 2002; EHRC, 2010) assert that stop and search practices in its current form is discriminatory against minority ethnic groups and should be scaled back. They further argue that it is counter-productive when police are trying to win back the support of the community. Tackling street crime such as knife and acid attacks would be a challenge because "communities won't trust the police" (Omar Khan)[2]. More so, almost 1 million people are searched annually but only about 9% of such searches result in arrests. They advocate for intelligence-led stop and search, which is less discriminatory and actually yield greater arrest rates. Earlier research (Quinton *et al.,* 2000) suggested that effective use of intelligence could improve fairness in stop and search. An example is the arrest of a man carrying knives near the Houses of Parliament from intelligence led stop and search operation in 2017 (Dodd and Mason, 2017).

The introductory part of this chapter has briefly discussed the current debates and issues surrounding stop and search. The next section will look into local democracy. It will focus on the role of the local council, the Councillors and its partners in crime prevention within the London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham. It will also look at how government legislation on law and order is interpreted into local agenda. This includes examining the geographical areas and the statistical data of where the study was conducted, and to some

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[2] Omar Khan is a director of Runnymede Trust. A racial equality think tank.

extent compare data to London averages in terms of crime, education and stop and search. The chapter will be concluded with a brief summary.

This is not a systematic comparison of the two boroughs rather the main focus is on Hammersmith and Fulham (H&F). The contrasting statistics with the Met and Lambeth in particular is a way of highlighting the particular characteristics of H&F and the challenges of policing it poses, especially as perceived by local officers on the ground.

The Local Crime Prevention Strategy

The local crime prevention strategy is operated within a national framework, thus, the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 drives the local crime prevention strategy. The aim of the Act is in tackling and preventing youth crime. It placed responsibility on statutory and non-statutory services across England and Wales youth justice system to work mutually with other agencies to reduce crime and disorder. This Act led to the establishment of the Youth Justice Board. The aim of the board is to prevent offending and reoffending by young people. They oversee the work of the Youth Offending Teams (YOTs), which is a local multi-agency team within local government areas that brings professionals from social services, probation, health, the police and education together under one roof to address issues concerning a young person. With a strategy set up with local priorities that can address any number of issues aimed at reducing crime depending on local needs.

The Police Reform Act 2002 strengthened the powers that Police Officers and Police Community Support Officers (PCSO) had when tackling youth anti-social related crime by giving them, amongst other things, the power to seize a vehicle being used in an anti-social manner. The Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014 also strengthened police powers by giving the police, relevant agencies and local authorities a much simpler and faster way to deal with crimes relating to anti-social behaviour. The Anti-social Behaviour,

Crime and Policing Act 2014 legislation, which is aimed at reducing youth crime, related anti-social behaviour covers the following six areas;

- Injunctions
- Criminal Behaviour Orders
- Dispersal Powers
- Community Protection Notices
- Public Spaces Protection Orders
- Closure of Premises associated with nuisance or disorder etc

It gives greater powers to the police and multi agencies to target youth crime and provide support for young people to access services during the early intervention stage.

The attention will now be focused on how these are implemented at the local level in London and the area in scope of this study.

Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime

The Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC) lead a policy framework for crime and safety London wide and publishes the Police and Crime Plan for London. This is a five-year plan with set strategy for safety in London[3]. This is done by listening to Londoners and its partners on issues most important to the people and businesses in London. By working with partner agencies such as criminal justice – courts, probation, prison, NHS and Local Councils to implement the action plan. The current plan identified five priorities for London:

- A better police service for London

- A better criminal justice service for London

- Keeping children and young people safe

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[3] https://www.london.gov.uk/what-we-do/mayors-office-policing-and-crime-mopac/police-and-crime-plan-safer-city-all-londoners (Accessed: 06 Oct 2017).

- Tackling Violence Against Women and Girls

- Standing together against hatred and intolerance

Within this context MOPAC have set two clear ambitions for the police and partner agencies to make London:

> "A safer city for everyone in London, no matter who you are or where you live, and extra protection and support for the most vulnerable people and places in London" (MOPAC Police & Crime Plan 2017).

Local Democracy – Hammersmith and Fulham

This section will explore local democracy and how crime and safety measures are implemented within a local area. The decision making process within a local authority, and the multi agency teams within the local area.

In local democracy, Council elections are held every four years to elect local Councillors. The majority of the council elects the leader, who appoints a cabinet. The leader can choose a portfolio for a cabinet member. The Councillors, and the executive make local decisions. They set the policy in the local area. The role of the council senior officers (Chief executive & Chief Officers) is to advise the cabinet and scrutiny committees for policies.

They also implement policies adopted within the local area. Some local services such as the YOS are shared[4] in H&F with other borough[5] under a tri-borough agreement to improve efficiency and delivery of service due to central government cuts in their finances.

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[4] Tri-borough launched a shared services in 2012 comprises of education, family services.

[5] The tri-borough comprises of London Borough of Hammersmith & Fulham; Royal Borough of Kensington & Chelsea, and City of Westminster.

Individual councils remain independent in some services and cater for the needs and priorities of the local people in their area.

The youth offending teams (YOTs) in H&F comprises of a multi-agency team from the police, social services, probation, education and health. They work as a team and each partner can refer a young person to the services. Some of the young people who participated in this study accessed these services through schools and the police. Some however were through the probation service to help them in order to reduce offending or keep them out of crime. As police work as part of the YOTS there is a constant process of information sharing within this multi-agency. Many instances of stop and search or account conducted by the police are driven by information from partners such as schools or the NHS.

Community Safety & Environment Team

The community safety and the anti-social behaviour unit work with partners to reduce crime and fear of crime in the borough. They work with crime and disorder reduction partnership such as British Transport Police, Metropolitan Police Service, Hammersmith & Fulham Primary Care Service, Metropolitan Police, London Fire Brigade, National Probation Service, Third Sector, gang and serious Youth Violence Partnership, and the London Ambulance Service to achieve this [6]. This team advises the committee members of the council and implement policies aimed at crime reduction and support for vulnerable people within its area.

The Community Safety, Environment and Residents Services Policy and Accountability Committee in H&F meet once every month. It comprises of the local Councillors, the Police and Council Officers. They set a five year priority for safety in the local area. As part of the Home Office strategy to end gangs and youth violence H&F has made tackling

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[6] www.lbhf.gov.uk/crime/community-safety-unit (Accessed: 06 Oct 2017).

gangs and other gang related offences a priority. The current strategies in tackling gang violence and exploitation in the borough have identified the following priorities;

- Prevention, Diversion and early intervention

- Engagement

- Enforcement

- Gang exit and resettlement

- Child sexual exploitation (CSE) and gangs

- Information sharing, governance and partnership working (Hammersmith & Fulham ending gang violence and exploitation strategy, 2016) [7].

Although this study is not specifically about youth gangs but rather youth crime in general, the London Borough of Hammersmith & Fulham however has issues with gangs and gang related crime. This is centred on the White City Estate in the North of the Borough. Some are also in the South Fulham area such as Gibbs Green, Fulham Court and Clem Attlee Estate. It however, has a low level of youth violence and serious youth violence compared to the London average. Through partnership and information sharing it identifies those at risk by the use of Matrix[8] and SAVVY[9] amongst others. Intelligence-led policing (see chapter four) is derived from the intelligence gathered from Police local knowledge, crime prevention partners and members of the public from this borough.

The debate about the use of intelligence-led approach in stop and search to reduce the disproportionality on BAME population has been a recurrent theme in this work. While many police forces gather and use intelligence to facilitate the work of officers. This study

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[7] Ending gang violence and exploitation partnership strategy synopsis.

[8] Gang's matrix is the database of gang's highest risk of nominals in H&F borough tracked by the police.

[9] SAVVY matrix is the scoring assessment for violence and vulnerability.

has found that, it is a routine for intelligence briefing to take place at the beginning of every shift. The decision to stop a young person for the purpose of conducting a search could be intelligence driven. This could be through information from the police control room, daily briefing or a member of the public stopping an officer on the street to report a crime. However, it was also confirmed through interviewing police participants that there are stops that are entirely officer driven. This could be through their experience of the local area. They may initiate a stop because they see a person or something out of character for the area. This has been supported by Delsol & Shiner, (2015) about officers used of thump as to whether to initiate a stop or not.

The Home Office in collaboration with the College of Policing published the Best Use of Stop and Search Scheme (BUSS) in 2014 (HMIC, 2016). The aim of the scheme was to bring greater transparency and community involvement in the use of stop and search powers under section 60 of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994. Section 60 Criminal Justice & Public Order Act 1994 (s.6o):

> Is where an authorising officer reasonably believes that serious violence may take place or that persons are carrying dangerous instruments or offensive weapons without good reason they may authorise powers for officers in uniform to stop and search any person or vehicle within a defined area and time period (Stop and Search Monitoring Mechanism, Lambeth Borough Monitoring Report, March 2016. MOPAC).

Effectively to reduce stop and search powers under Section 60 by raising the level of authorisation required to the rank of chief superintendent and above. It mandated the authorising officer for the use of stop and search under Section 60 to reasonably believe a serious violence 'would take place' rather than 'may take place', and limiting initial authorisation to 15 hours. Evidence suggests there has been a reduction on the total volume of stops and search but three years on from the scheme, the numbers of BAME stopped and searched is still higher than other ethnic groups. Chainey & Macdonald (2012)

conducted a study for the National Policing Improvement Agency (NPIA). It found that searches were concentrated in hotspot areas and that recorded searches were not consistent with what could be expected from a fully intelligence-led approach (2012). The result of searches in these hotspot areas did not result in higher arrest rates and could be due to deviation from intelligence-led approach.

However, targeted policing in general has been found to be effective at reducing crime in hotspot areas (Weisburd *et al*., 2010). These hotspot areas often have a higher proportion of BAME population. This support (MVA & Miller, 2000) argument of available population but while there is validity to this argument many empirical researches (EHRC, 2010) did not support it. Many obstacles were identified that impact on the quality of stops which has the propensity to add to the disproportionality. It found that officers were not using detailed intelligence amongst others. This pointed to officers not understanding what constitute intelligence because they sometimes act on low-grade information without regards to the quality of such information. Officers tended to pay more attention to intelligence about offenders they already knew and many searches occurred outside hotspot areas.

A Geographical variation in the large stop and search volume across the case study area is consistent with previous studies (Miller *et al.,* 2000).

Prior to analysing and discussing the study findings in the next chapter (Chapter 7), it was important to examine the geographical areas of the predominant police command where the study took place. Also areas where most of the young people who also participated in this study live. This section will discuss a brief history of the boroughs, current social statistical data about employment, crime rates, population density, schooling information and numbers of young people receiving benefits. It is important to note that young people interviewed for this study lived in areas all over London.

The London Borough of Lambeth (LBC), and Hammersmith and Fulham (H&F) are 24 hour Boroughs with thriving day and night time economies policed by the MPS as with the rest of London. The London Metropolitan Police Service is a highly valued police force most revered internationally, a reputation it has to uphold in addition to policing London. The two local areas in scope of the study as the rest of London have a rich mix of diversity. The Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) however, still struggles to numerically reflect London's diverse communities (Brathwaite, 2005). An issue acknowledged by MPS governance, although it now mirrors itself through the diversity and background of its officers such as the "Black Police Association (BPA), Christian police, Gay Police and other diverse associations" (Brathwaite, 2005, p. 1).

Geographical Area of Lambeth

Map 1. London Borough of Lambeth

Brixton in Lambeth (Map. 1) has historical significance with black people and this is evident in the population of black people in the Borough (Appendix 6). It is claimed to be the epicentre in London of the uprising culminating in the Brixton riots and civil disturbances in 1980 where black people protested against police practices and perceived

discrimination against them (Scarman, 1981). A period broadly categorised by Waddington (1992) as a second phase in civil disturbances in the United Kingdom. It has the highest concentration of black minority ethnic groups (BME) at 25.9% (Census 2011, ONS), see appendix 6. This makes it ideal for the study as it presents the right mix, and suited the aims of the study.

The London Borough of Lambeth is an 'inner city area', (Map. 1) defined by Simmons *et al.* (2002) as "high population density, low owner occupation and low proportion of professionals" (Sanders, 2004, p. 56) and is a south London borough with a population of 303,086 (Census 2011, ONS). Lambeth is situated between Westminster in the North and Wandsworth in the West, Southwark in the East and Croydon in the South. It is one of the largest geographical areas of any inner London borough with a high population density, low owner occupation, and low proportion of professionals. As in other London boroughs, it is divided into smaller local areas. Waterloo and Vauxhall located on the north end of the borough bordering Westminster, and Streatham in the south bordering Croydon borough. Its distinctive landmarks include Waterloo station, The London Eye, the Oval Cricket ground, the South Bank arts complex and Lambeth Palace, the Archbishop of Canterbury's residence. It has a complex social mix with White ethic groups at 57.1% of the population while black ethnic groups account for 25.9%. If mixed white and black Africans or Caribbean's are included in the black ethnic group, it brings the total black ethnic group to a total of 30% of the local population (appendix 6).

There is a high unemployment rate for residents within the age group 16-74. There were 14,255 people unemployed as of April 2015, and this accounted for 6% of the population (Census 2011, ONS). Within the youth category age 16 - 24, they were 1.2% unemployed. The number of people of working age claiming a key benefit was higher than the London average of 15%, Lambeth was 17% in August 2010 (*ibid*). Educational achievement in

GCE/A/AS result at Level 3 between 16-18 years old was 1,445 in September 2013. Overall absence in all schools was at 4.7% compared to the London average of 4.8% in Sept12-Aug13 (*ibid*)). However, unauthorised absence was the same as the London average of 1.1%. Over a three year period between October 2012 to October 2015 in Lambeth, 35,917 people of all ethnic backgrounds were stopped and searched. Of this number, black males were disproportionately overrepresented. Meanwhile the numbers of people stopped and searched between August 2014 to July 2015 was 11, 742, the highest in London. Lambeth also had the highest numbers of people detained in custody at 10.428 in Oct 14-Sept15 (MOPAC Challenge 2015)[10].

To put this in context, in March 2017 there were 1.206 stop and searches with arrest rate of 17.5% compared to H&F of 470 with arrest rates of 20.9%. The arrest rate by ethnic appearance indicates white at 28.9%, and black at 65.4% for the same period. In the 12 months Apr15 – Mar 16 it shows white at 30.9% and black at 64.3%. This brings the total under PACE and other Stop and search for Mar15 – Mar16 to 14.143.

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[10] MOPAC Stop and Search data

Stop and search statistics (PACE, S60, Other) [11] from the MET for year ending March 2016 were 14.143. The highest compared to all other London boroughs. Lambeth had 1057 searched under S.60 compared to Hammersmith and Fulham of 379 for 2015/16.

This is the highest number of people stopped and searched despite only 17.5% leading to arrests. Ethnic appearance by 1,000 head of population of all searches excluding S.60 has white at 24.3% while black at 91% (MOPAC Stop and Search Monitoring Mechanism, 2016). The overall crime and safety figure for Lambeth April 12 to March 13 was 24.507. This figure is derived from summing up total crime for that period. Lambeth is in 45th position in 2009's ranking of the economic deprivation index. An improvement from 2007's ranking of 24 (Position ranking 1 = most deprived local authority district) [12].

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[11] *PACE and Other Stop and Searches*

Stop and Searches under PACE (Police and Criminal Evidence Act), S23 Drugs Act, S47 Firearms Act plus a very small number not included in the other categories (e.g.s27(1) Aviation Security Act 1982 or S7 Sporting Events (Control of Alcohol) Act 1985). *Section 60 Criminal Justice & Public Order Act 1994 (s.6o)* Where an authorising officer reasonably believes that serious violence may take place or that persons are carrying dangerous instruments or offensive weapons without good reason they may authorise powers for officers in uniform to stop and search any person or vehicle within a defined area and time period *Stop and Account* Where an officer requests a person in a public place to account for their actions, their behaviour, their presence in an area or their possession of anything.

Stop and Search (S&S)

This is when a police officer stops a member of the public and searches them. The police can only detain members of the public in order to carry out a search when certain conditions have been met. Search powers fall under different areas of legislation which include searching for

• Stolen property
• Prohibited articles namely offensive weapons or anything used for burglary, theft, deception or criminal damage
• Drugs
• Guns

(Stop and Search Monitoring Mechanism, Lambeth Borough Monitoring Report, March 2016. MOPAC).

[12]

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/36446/Tracking_Neighbourhoods_Stats_Release.pdf (Accessed: 02 Sept 2016).

Crime rates in London are rising and this is seen in the overall increase of 1.15% in 12 months to March 2017 London wide. The assistant Commissioner for the MET, whilst acknowledging the increase, pointed out that this is "against the backdrop of significant reductions in resources" (Martin Hewitt, 2017). He further stressed that, the increase is still lower than it was 10 years ago.

According to the MET crime data dashboard, Lambeth is above average crime area compared to Hammersmith & Fulham with a total of 37,844 criminal offences recorded for the year ending 2016/17 [13]. Crime data from the MET shows that the recorded crime count for all MET boroughs has gone up in the 12 months to March 2017 compared to the previous 12 months by 0.07%. Key figures for crime and safety in Lambeth are shown in appendix 7. This shows notifiable offences recorded by the police in Lambeth year to April 2017. The MET data for Lambeth on stop and search from May 2016 to March 2017 was the highest of all London boroughs at 11.738 (appendix 8), percentage of total search volume of 8.7%[14]. Broken down by gender, this shows males overrepresented in stop and search data than females. Males at 10,905 while females at 721 (graph 5). The top ten London Boroughs with the highest recorded stop and search volume is shown in graph 6. Black males were overrepresented in all stop and search; this was also the case in Hammersmith and Fulham. Graph 7, shows how these two borough compare in stop and search while graph 8 indicates the age category.

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[13] https://www.met.police.uk/stats-and-data/crime-data-dashboard/ (Accessed: 20 May 2017).

[14] https://www.met.police.uk/stats-and-data/stop-and-search-dashboard/ (Accessed: 03 May 2017).

Graph 5. Lambeth Stop and search Data by Gender

Stop and Search by Gender

■ Male ■ Female
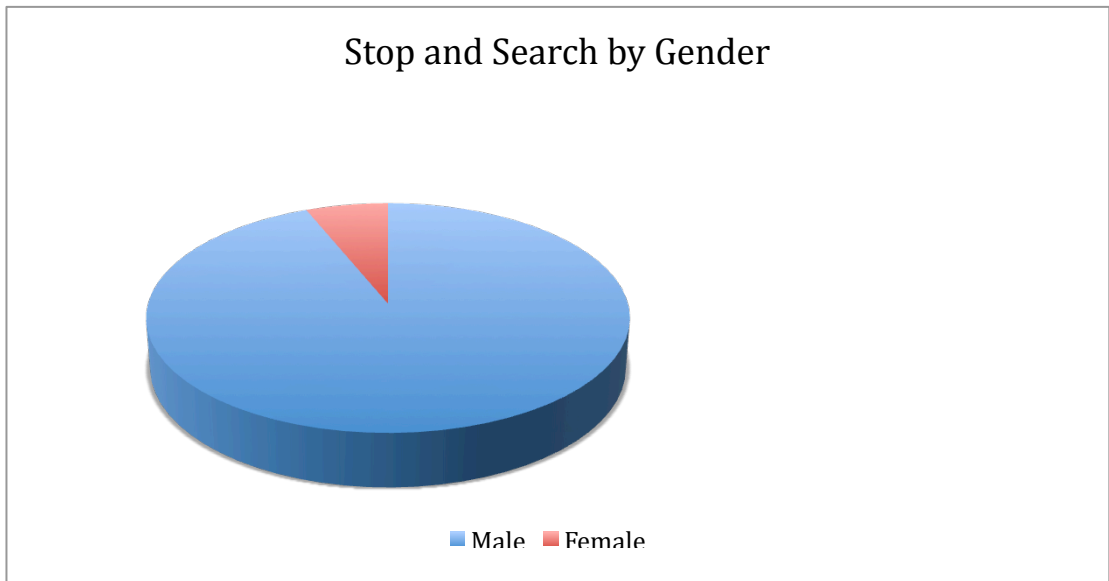
Graph 6. MPS top ten Borough in Stop and Search volume May 2016 – April 2017
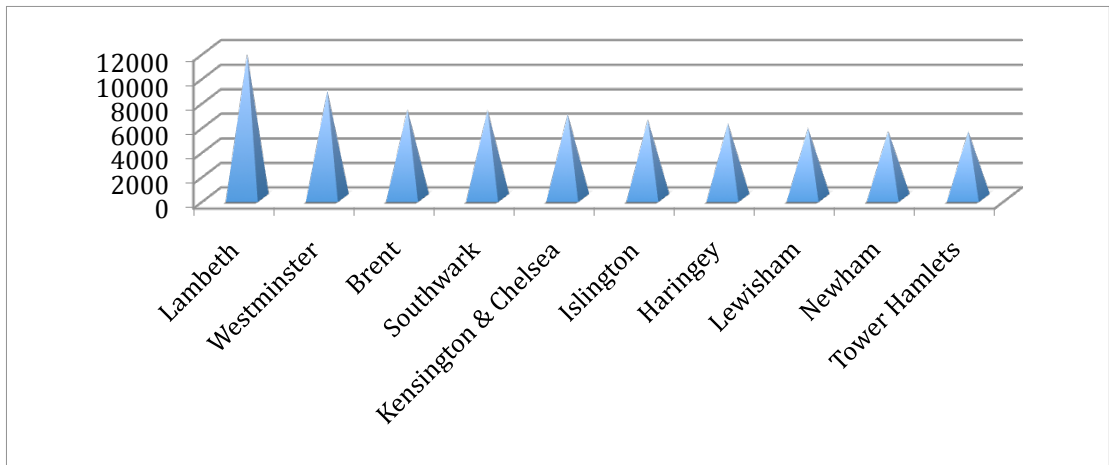
Graph 7. Borough Comparison on Stop and Search by Demographics (May 2016- end April 2017.
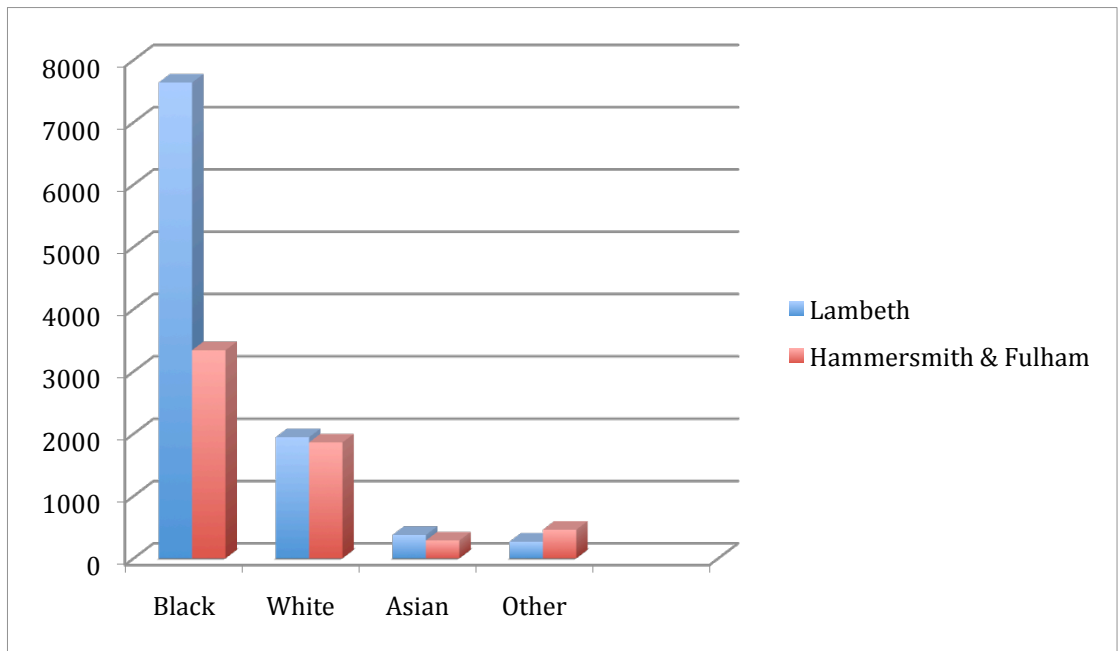
Graph 8. Stop and Search by Age Group
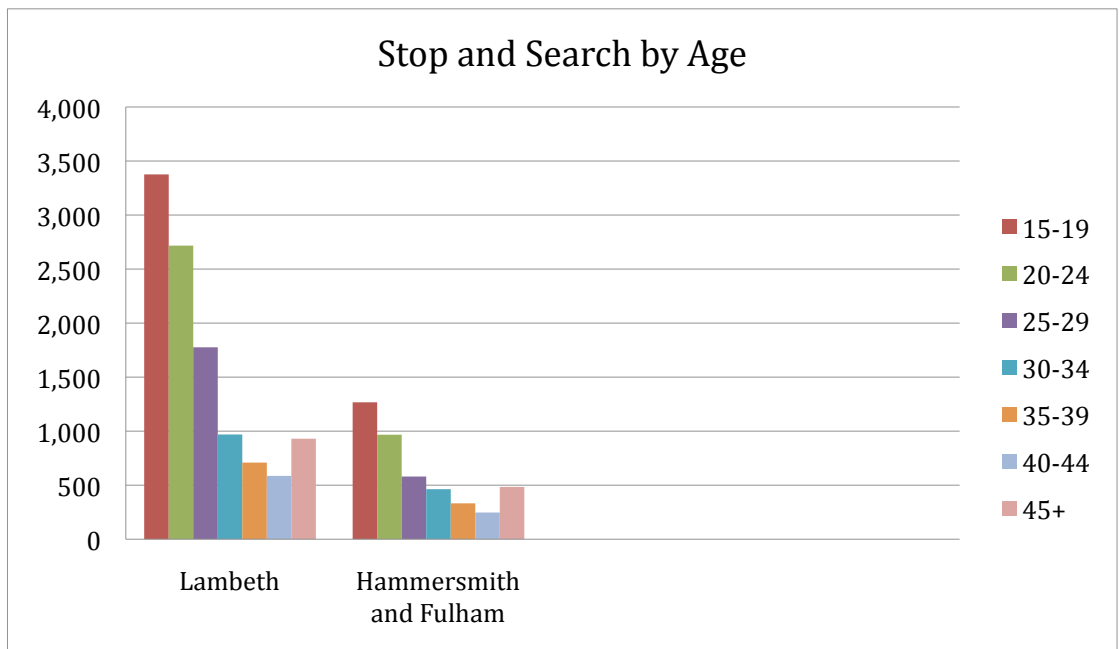
Geographical Area of Hammersmith and Fulham

Map 2. London Borough of Hammersmith & Fulham

Hammersmith and Fulham, on the other hand while having a varied racial mix, is also a more affluent Borough compared to Lambeth. Notwithstanding the study, draws many participants from these two Boroughs, the study also interviewed police officers from other Borough commands around London. All police participants were drawn from this single force (MET Police).

Hammersmith and Fulham is one of the 13 inner London Boroughs bordering with six London Boroughs (Map. 2); North bordering Brent; Kensington and Chelsea to the East; Wandsworth and Richmond Upon Thames to the South; and Ealing and Hounslow to the West. It has a population of 182, 493 (Census 2011, ONS). Population breakdown by ethnicity; all white groups at 68.1%[15]. The main ethnic minority group is black at 11.8[16].

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[15] This figure is obtained by adding up white English, Irish, Gypsy or Irish Travellers and other white together.

[16] The total is derived from adding up Black African, Caribbean, and black other.

This increases to 14.1 when mixed white and black African/Caribbean's are included. The 2011 Census indicates that 35.6% of households are owner occupied, compared to the London wide figure of 49.5% (Ognjenovic, 2014). The majority of the young people interviewed for this study live in this borough. The employment rate of persons aged 16-64 is 70.3%, higher than the London average of 69.5 whilst the unemployment rate within this age group is 8.9% (April12-Mar13 figure), the same as the London average. Fifteen percent of all people of working age were claiming key benefits in August 2010 (Census 2011, ONS).

This is based on the Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings (ASHE) data from the Office of National Statistics[17]. However, the figure used is only an estimate of employee's gross pay without taking into account self-employment. It is ranked 75 in the Economic Deprivation Index (EDI); 1 being the most deprived. Concerning educational achievement, 60.6% of pupils achieving 5+ A* - C GCSEs or equivalent, including English and mathematics. The GCE/A/AS results at Level 3 between 16-18 years old in Sept13-Aug14 were 659. Overall absence in all schools was at 5.2%, the highest compared to London average of 4.8% and higher than Lambeth in Sep12-Aug13 (ONS). Unauthorised absence was 1.2%, higher than Lambeth and London average of 1.1%.

The numbers of people stopped and searched in H&F between August 2014 to July 2015 was 11, 742. The crime and safety figures for Hammersmith and Fulham Apr12 to Mar13 were 13.044. Again, this figure is derived from summing up total crime for that period. Hammersmith & Fulham is a below average crime area compared to Lambeth. Recorded crime count has gone up to 22,656 in the 12 months to March 2017 compared to the previous 12 months, an increase of 0.89%. Appendix 9 shows key figures for crime and

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[17]

https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/earningsandworkinghours/datasets/placeofresidencebylocalauthorityashetable8 (Accessed: 17 February 2017).

safety of all recorded notifiable crime year to April 2017. MET data on stop and search for May 2016 to March 2017 was 4,351, with a percentage of total search volume of 3.5%, very low compared to Lambeth volume. London wide stop and search figures for 2016-2017 are shown in appendix 8. Graph 9 shows how the two boroughs in scope of this study compared to the London average while graph 7 compares the two boroughs.

Graph 9. London Average Stop and Search Figures Comparing to the study area
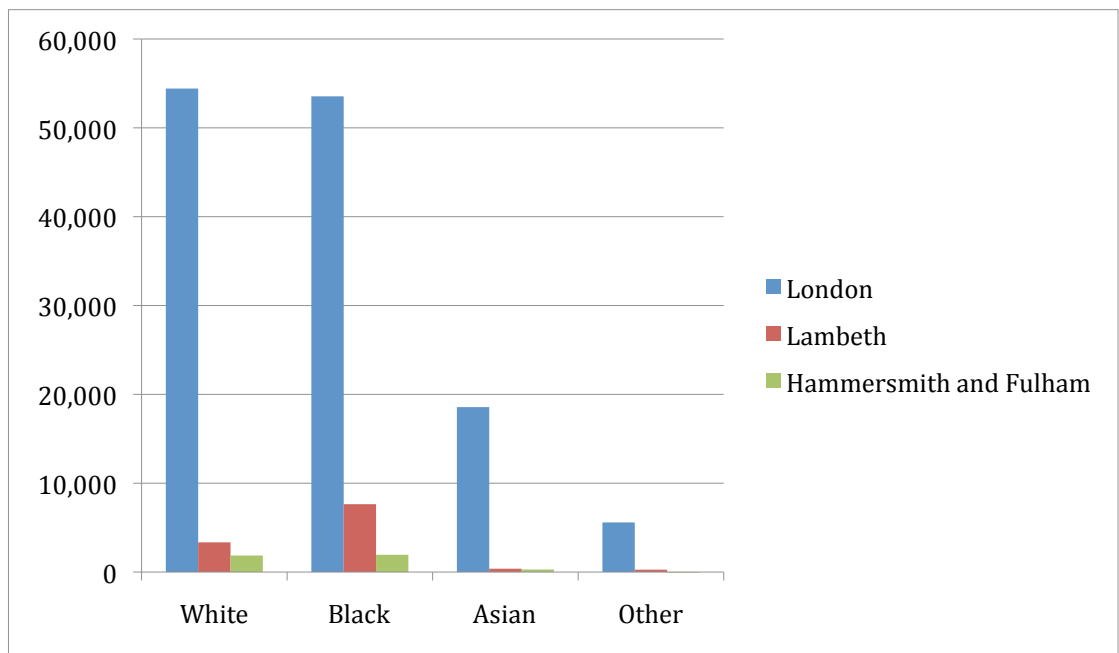
Chapter Summary

This chapter has looked into how crime prevention and enforcement strategy is developed and implemented within a local area. It involves not only the police but also other crime reduction partners whose aim is to target, reduce youth crime and provide support for young people in need. It is clear that while the two local areas in the case study vary in size they face the same challenges as a 24-hour society when it comes to young people and street crime. Notwithstanding these areas are policed by the same police force, they are however differences in the application of stop and search and the outcome (Miller *et al*.,

2000). The statistical data in this chapter has shown a higher volume of stop and search in Lambeth than in Hammersmith & Fulham.

Stop and search continues to be controversial and has gathered much debate in recent months due to rising crime. However, the Home Office challenged the police three years ago to reduce the number of stop and search (Travis, 2014). This was in response to concerns of disproportionality as young black and Asian men were three times more likely to be stopped and search than other ethnic groups. Notwithstanding three years has past, the volume is still disproportionate even though there has been some reduction on the number of searches. This is why those against a blanket stop and search approach (EHRC, 2010) call for a reduction, and the use of Intelligence-led policing as a way forward.

The use of an intelligence-led approach has been found to increase arrest rates from stops (Weisburd *et al*., 2010) and is seen as a way to reduce the disproportionality. Those in favour on the other hand, argue that such reduction would portray the police as weak, and increase crime rate among young people and the fear of crime within the general population. Meanwhile, some difficulties have been uncovered in the use and application of stop and search by the police. They have been found to target hotspot areas where there is more concentration of black young people (Miller *et al*., 2000). It has also been found that they disregard the full intelligence approach to targeting offenders already known to them. This raises the question of fairness in the system.

The next chapter will discuss and analyse the data from both young people and the police about their street-based encounters.

Chapter 7

The Experience of Police and Youth Encounters

Introduction

This chapter analyse, and discusses the findings of the combined sample and also compare the data with previous studies. It will analyse the face-to-face interview with police officers and young people about their encounter, street based interaction. As the thesis is about street-based encounter between the police and young people, it is important to speak to the people involved in, to hear from them first hand.

The key findings of the study will feature in this chapter. Followed by the analyses of police data, then the data on young people. The findings of the case study will be compared with previous studies, and the contribution of research will also be discussed.

In order to address the research questions as indicated in the methodology (chapter 5). A face to face interview using open-ended questions was used in the data collection to look at street based interaction of the relationship between the police and young people.

A total of thirty-five people were interviewed for this study, comprising of 18 police officers and 17 young people. Participants were purposefully selected from black and white ethnic backgrounds.

As earlier indicated in this study. Access to police officers for this study was initially sourced through the Met Research Unit who granted permission to access officers and property. Consequently, sample of young people was sourced from local Youth Offending Teams, a local school and a university.

- There are some differences in the way the police treat young white males and black minority ethnic group during patrol.

- There is some evidence of discrimination during stop and search involving black young people.

- Officer's age, years of service, educational background and social class had some impact on the way they treat young people during stop and search.

- Intelligence led and predominantly calls from the control room initiated the contact with young people for the majority of officers that took part in the study.

- Significant numbers of police officers interviewed adopt a certain coping mechanism and technique to deal with people, and that includes young people during patrols.

Key Findings – Young People

- Majority of all participants from all ethnic groups who participated in this research had prior encounters with the police. That is to say, they are known to the police or within the criminal justice system

- Young people of all ethnic groups within white and black minority ethnic groups demonstrate significant levels of hostility towards the police.

- Majority of youths from black minority ethnic groups think police are racist.

- Significant numbers of all youths who participated in the study dislike the police because of police actions towards them.

- Most of the young people who had prior contact with the police are from the most deprived parts of the Boroughs where there is less access to services such as employment and availability of good schools. In London, these are mainly people from black minority ethnic group.

- The majority of youths say they would cooperate or see police more favourably if they were treated fairly and with respect.

Police analysis

As already pointed out, a total of eighteen police officers participated in this study (see table 3). These included officers of all rank as seen on table 4, while the age of participants are shown on table 5. Meanwhile, table 6 shows the breakdown of the officers and the MET borough they work in.

Table 3. The full overview of the composition of officers

Age	Gender	Ethnicity	Rank	Education	Years in Service	Borough Town
33	Male	Black British	Sergeant	A/Level	6	Richmond
39	Male	White British	Sergeant	Degree	13	Watford
29	Male	Black British	Constable	NVQ	8	Southwark
28	Female	White British	Constable	NVQ	4	Bromley
29	Female	White European	Constable	Degree	3	Staines
41	Male	White British	Constable	Diploma	10	Staines
50	Male	White British	Constable	O/Level	30	Ashford
51	Female	Black British	Constable	A/Level	29	Leatherhead
49	Female	Black Caribbean	Sergeant	A/Level	25	Croydon
52	Male	Black British	Chief Superintendent	Degree	28	Herefordshire
47	Male	White British	Chief Superintendent	O/Level	28	Kent
40	Male	White British	Superintendent	Degree	2	Wandsworth
35	Female	Black Caribbean	Sergeant	Degree	8	Putney
35	Male	Black British	Sergeant	Degree	15	Haringay
41	Female	Black African	Constable	Degree	15	Southwark
38	Male	Black African	Constable	Diploma	6	Grays, Essex
26	Male	Black British	Constable	Degree	8	Haringay
38	Male	White British	Constable	Degree	5	Merton

Table 4. Rank of police officers

Officers	Number	Percent (%)
Constable	10	55.56
Sergeant	5	27.75
Superintendent	1	5.56
Chief Superintendent	2	11.11

Table 5. Age of police participants

Gender	18 - 25	26 - 35	36 - 42	43 - 50	51+
Male	0	4	5	1	2
Female	0	3	1	1	1

Table 6. Police by Met Borough

Hammersmith & Fulham	Lambeth	Heathrow	New Scotland Yard	Hendon	Catford	Haringey	Redbridge
9	3	1	1	1	1	1	1

Questions 1-7 (Appendix 4) were basic classification questions such as their age, gender, ethnic background, length of service and rank (Dowey-Crowther & Fussey, 2013). It also serves as a preliminary query in order to make interviewees feel comfortable during the interview. It is nonetheless, a validating question for the study.

In order to protect the identity of individuals who participated in the study, a pseudonym was used when quoting participants in this work. In question 1, interviewees were asked how long they have been police officers. Of all interviewees, the minimum years of service was 2 while 30 was the highest number of years in service as a police officer. In question 2 when asked what their rank was, 10 identified themselves as constable, 5 as sergeants, 1 as superintendent and 2 as chief superintendents (Borough Commanders). When asked about their age in question 3, the lowest age was 28 while the highest age was 52.

There has been other research about neighbourhood tensions concerning youth crime and gangs (Isaacs *et al*., 2014; Pitts, 2013). Officers were asked whether they noticed tension between different ethnic groups of youths in their Borough. Ninety-nine percent of those interviewed acknowledged there is tension between gangs rather than on ethnic lines. When asked further what difference this makes to their work, again, significant numbers accept this as the reality of young people's lives and the era we live in. They also feel it is their responsibility to do something about youth tension and gangs.

Ethnic Tension between youths

There is no evidence in this study to suggest that there is ethnic tension between young people. What is apparent is that there is tension between youths that is not about ethnicity or race but rather about boundary lines. Most are gang related and involve fighting to control their area, and this can be white against white or black against black. For example, one officer refers to "white boys against Somali boys or Somalis against Somalis" (George, police participant).

This also confirms young people's view. This is what some young people said about the tension within their neighbourhood:

> "I have a problem because at the end of the day, no one really feels safe, especially at night" (Max, youth participant).
> "Its about area against area but not about race. There are gangs don't get me wrong, but its about area or zone versus area or zone". (Brian, youth participant).

This statement was also the predominant view of police officers interviewed.

EO: Do you see or notice tension between different ethnic groups of youths in this borough?

Officer Joe: Yes, but is more gang related than on ethnic line.

Officer Lucy: Yes, they are territorial

Officer John: Yes, but it's not about ethnicity but it is more about territorial control and more intermixed with no racial line

Officer Kenneth: Sometimes.

EO: What do you mean?

Officer Kenneth: Occasionally we have groups of youth. Mostly black youths males gangs, occasionally, we may also have white boys in gangs, the issue is postcode within gangs.

The White City Estate is a prominent area and hotspot for policing in Hammersmith & Fulham. This is where the tension is more pronounced as pointed out by officer George:

> "Yes, but they are very low level of tension compared to other boroughs in London. In some areas like White City it's Somalian versus Somalians but nothing major. But, there are issues with Islamophobia as in the rest of London, what is evident in my borough as in London wide is economic division. Lower ranking residents living in council estates victimising the rich area and people by stealing their cars or burgling their properties" (Officer George).

However, there were fewer officers that attributed tension between police and BME groups to the way police undertake racial profiling, and how they heavy headedly deal with youths on the White City Estate as the cause of the tension between the police and young people. According to officer Heidi, "Yes." When asked further by the interviewer what she meant, she had this to say:

> "We have groups of youth. Mostly black youths, male's gangs Somalian youth like in White City estate against other black youth or white youth. I also see that white officers who attend scenes in this area go in too heavy on these kids without understanding of them or their culture" (Heidi).

There appears to be some evidence of discrimination or racial bias witnessed by a police officer about police conduct. This features in the interviews with some young people who says police are racist and discriminating against them because they are black. These are some of the responses from young people interviewed about police action towards them

"They are racist because they will stop black boys randomly without a reason, (Cleo)."
While Joshua had this to say " they are like the security of the state but sometimes they are
bully (Joshua)." Meanwhile, police officer Poppy gave a clearer indication of police
discrimination, which has been supported by many police studies (see Bowling & Philips,
2007; Bhavani *et al.*, 2005; Bradford, 2014).

Officer Poppy whilst confirming this point also went further:

> "Yes, between police officers who are only stopping mainly young black males, although
> some of them were wearing hoodie and so were the white boys. Another one was when they
> stopped a young black boy on a bicycle, about 9 years old; the police thought he nicked the
> bike" (Poppy).

This was an emerging theme from the interviews but this concern is not new as it is much
debated in other police studies. This came from both white and black police officers but
nonetheless, a recurrent concern about the way police treat young black people (Brown,
2005; Bateman and Pitts, 2005; Joseph and Gunter, 2011).

Whilst ninety-five percent of all officers interviewed say these tensions make no difference
to their work few acknowledged the implications of these tensions:

> "it presents a difficult situation for us when they come over to our borough as we don't know
> who they are or the potential trouble they can cause" (Officer Joe).
> "It makes me very aware of the focus of young people and how they are limiting themselves
> and capability in terms of area control due to gang affiliation as they are confined to their
> areas" (Officer Steven).
> "Yes, it makes my job difficult because when they see me, probably because I am a female
> police officer they act in a way or behave in a way as if they are asking you to arrest them,
> sometimes they will drive fast, talk loud in order to attract your attention" (Officer Lucy).

> "Clearly from a police perspective it is important to reduce this tension. Detecting a crime is
> difficult as they do not want to cooperate with the police but we still have to investigate"
> (Officer Richard).

"None really, as a police officer I just do my job, but it saddens me to know there are tension between African and Caribbean youths" (Officer Emily).

However, officer Poppy reiterated her concerns about the way some of her colleagues treat these BAME youths:

"Maybe because I am Polish, there are not many people of Polish background in the police. I do not like to see other people being mistreated" (Poppy).

What this means is that there is evidence of some discrimination against young people from Black Asian Minority Ethnic groups. This is supported by interviews from some police officers and young people about police action and the treatment of BAME during street-based interaction. It is also evident that both the police and young people are aware of the tension within groups of young people in their neighbourhood. The police however see this as their duty to reduce such conflict within their area of control.

Perception of Education and Social Class in the Police

Historically, education has not been an issue in the police force as most officers come from working class backgrounds and few have a degree. However, there have been some changes in the last decade where a higher proportion of officers hold higher diplomas or degrees, and recently the police as an organisation has started to recruit graduate officers in addition to recruiting those without a degree. Although this is a new phenomenon, it has resulted in resentment by non-graduate officers that see graduate officers achieving faster promotion to managerial positions. The general feeling amongst officers interviewed is that education is important in the police force as long as the officers can better themselves rather than two tiers of officer's.

Education has less of an impact in the role of a police officer and the perception of education and social class is not much of a problem within the police rather the rank

system is what differentiates officers. However, young people think that officer's educational background and social class have some impact on the way they treat young people during police stop.

This is what Isaac (Youth participant) had to say when asked whether he thought that a police officer with a higher education and social class would deal with a young person differently in the street based encounter. "Yes, the young police officers are worst, maybe they have no class or good education", (Isaac):

> "Yes, they are because police wouldn't stop us if we were wearing a suit and had a posh accent. About education if you are illiterate the police can manipulate you because you do not know the law" (Brian, youth participant).

Meanwhile, officers think that this is not a divider but rather officers would normally sit with officers while sergeants with sergeants rather than division on education or social class. There was some evidence from young people to suggest that officers' social standing, social class or level of education has an effect on how they interact with young people. Police officers are mainly from working class backgrounds, and they are predominantly policing the working class population.

Progression in Police forces in Britain is still from the bottom up in terms of ranking system. The police have, however, in the last few years introduced direct entry Inspector and Sergeant fast track. This is where people from outside the force are recruited alongside internal promotion of serving Sergeants and Inspectors. Even with this new fast track, it is still structured the same way it has always been. That is, 'walking the beat' as is known within the force and 'moving on within the rank', much has not changed. With this structure, everyone starts from the bottom irrespective of their educational achievement or social class. Some police officers are not happy about the new changes, more so, about the

fast track graduate officers. Even though they walk the beat and start from the bottom, they feel that these groups are set up and primed for future management, creating two tiers of officers in the process. This is synonymous with the point made by some police officers:

"I have not really noticed any differences, these groups tend to go for promotion so tend to go for leadership and so lose sight of what is really going on" on the other hand, officer Richard and other officers had this to say about social class and educational achievement within the police (Scarlett).

"We interact right across the board with everybody, so this doesn't occur as we have to work as a team but within I think social class and education within the society matters" (Richard).

"There are no visible differences of social class and educational qualification in the police. It's about rank and file where you will find segregation within ranks as sergeant would sit or gather with other sergeants in the office. Education is not a divider as there is no visible difference within the police" (Emily).

"The police service has been dominated by white working class people, but the complexity of the job now requires, I think should be drawn from people of different background, with degree, to draw highly skilled people, it has until now been recruited from working class people" (Edward).

"There is overrepresentation of white middle class background in the police which is one of the challenges" (Steven).

Officer Elizabeth explains the difficulty and complexity of policing with the direct entry recruitment and how this poses challenges to policing on the street:

"I find that direct entry officers are all from middle class backgrounds, some of which are educated. I have experienced a member of my team who is middle class and educated and lives in an affluent area, but can't relate well with all kinds of people and scenarios on the street. He is inflexible and does not interact with young people with understanding" (Elizabeth).

These findings point to the gradual changes to the way police recruit officers as more and more officers are being recruited with educational qualification as standard and as direct

entry in some recruitment drive. They appear to be some issues as some officers see this as a two tier police officers doing the same work, where those with a degree are prime for future management post, thus bring resentment. Although, many recognise that educational qualification is not a divider and has no bearing in the way they interact with each other but young people however think, educational qualification and social class of an officer have an impact in the way they treat a young person in the street during police – youth encounter.

Stop and Search or Encounters with Young People

The majority of officers who participated in the study view stop and search positively. It however presents issues for officer safety as many young people do not comply with police instruction and some will resist arrest, which leads to struggle and a forceful restraint. This can lead to injuries on both sides but officers see this as part of their job. They feel that stop and search is a useful tool to take knives off the street. This is consistent with senior management's view.

Police stop and search involves many procedures as pointed out in this work. They stop people they suspect or that match the description of a suspect or person of interest that they need to speak to. Whilst police stop can be intelligence driven such as researched information about a suspect or crime, via CCTV as events may have been captured on CCTV, a call via police radio or a stop by an officer while on patrol when suspecting a person. Significant numbers of all participants in this study indicate that stops and searches or stops that they were involved in was intelligence lead. Examples as explained by officer James:

> "We were patrolling a park and had an Intel about ongoing issues of youth gangs meeting up in the park. We then saw a stationary vehicle parked on the roadside with two males inside, one black and one white. We approached them and conducted a stop and account of what they

were doing at that location at that time. I explained the reasons about gangs meeting point as the reason for checks" (James).

Officer Poppy explains: we stopped a boy who was trying to break into a car; a young black boy was seen on CCTV so we were called on the radio to attend.

EO: How many of you attended?

Poppy: Two

EO: What happened when you arrived?

Poppy: He was searched and arrested for going equipped for theft

EO: How old was he? Mid twenty's

Heidi: we went to the White City Estate, there were mixed group of kids age about 17 years. Having explained the reason of attendance and search. I wanted to search one of them but he wouldn't let me. He was aggressive. In the end I searched him but found nothing on him. They were about 10 – 13 young people on site.

EO: Why did you attend site?

Heidi: We were doing a drug sweep in the area

David: I stopped some young males in a corridor inside a block of flats and arrested two of them for smoking cannabis and there were no issues.

EO: What ethnicity were they?

David: They were two black males of which one was Somalian while the other was mixed race, and one was white male. I arrested one mixed race male for smoking cannabis.

EO: Why did you stop them?

David: I was on targeted patrol in the area when a resident informed us that youths were smoking in the corridor so we went to have a look and saw them smoking cannabis.

Officer accounts of stop and search or stop and account presents officer safety issues, whether it is intelligent led or officer initiated. Officer Harry explains the complexity:

"We were out and about on foot patrol in the street when we got a call on the radio about a group of black youths going around with knife. We attended the area and stopped the group and identified the person circulated. All of a sudden all the rest of the group pulled out their mobile phone and started filming us, at the same time they started to surround us, and other passers by, some white people also came by and started accusing us of being racist, there was a lot of hostility" (Harry)

There were however, some stops initiated by officers whilst on duty as recounted by officer James and other police officers:

"Whilst we were on a mobile patrol in a marked police vehicle, my colleague saw a vehicle that was driving at a very high speed. We decided to stop the driver. We stopped the driver and informed him of the reason for stopping him, informed him we are going to conduct a check on him and asked him to come out of the car. As soon as he exited the car we saw something that looked like a bit of loose cannabis leaf. I then informed him that he would be detained for a search. No more drugs were found although he admitted to smoking drugs" (James).

While officer Jack had this to say:

"A gentleman who was a gang member so I stopped to engage with him. He is often happy to engage with me but on this occasion he didn't want to engage which raises suspicion. Moreover, I saw him hiding something in his hand so we searched him and found a knife and also an uncut rock of cocaine so he was arrested" (Jack).

Officer Joe: I arrested an Arabic male who was in possession of a stolen phone, a blocked mobile phone.

EO: Why did you stop him?

Officer Joe:

He was cycling on the pavement in an area where they were incidents of theft of mobile phone by snatching. The way he was cycling and behaving made me stop him as he looked like someone going equipped for stealing. I found a stolen mobile phone and he was arrested (Joe).

Officer William: A really young lad about 12 years old,

EO: Where were you or where did this happen?

Officer William:

We were driving along the road when we came across a 12 year old boy pushing a motorbike a vespa along the pavement, we called his attention and went out of the car to talk to him but he dropped the vespa and ran away, we gave chase and arrested him and enquiries revealed that he had stolen the vespa (William).

EO: What ethnicity was he?

Officer William: He was a black Somalian boy.

Another such example continued officer William:

"we were on a routine patrol along the street when we came across a car that had one of the backlights not working so we stopped the car" (William, police participant).

EO: How many of you were in the car?

Officer William: Two of us. Whilst chatting with him further checks revealed that he had stolen the car and after chatting with him he told us he had stolen the car. It also revealed that he had no driving licence, no insurance and he was also wanted on bail so he was arrested.

EO: What ethnicity was he?

Officer William: Black male

The significance of these findings is that while police view and use stop and search as a valuable tool for them to target young people who they suspect for various reasons. It is still targeting predominantly black young people in poorer neighbourhoods, while some black young people are resistant to frequently being stopped and searched, it presents safety issues for the officers as officers can quickly be outnumbered and things can go wrong. The study has also uncovered that officers are preoccupied with targeting nominals known to them. This confirms Miller *et al*., (2000) argument that maybe officers do not understand what intelligence is so sometimes target nominals previously known to them. This is why most youth participants in this study think that the police are purposely

targeting them. "I don't like them (police) at all, I don't like talking to them. Is it because am black they stop me?" (Jack, youth participant). "When I see them I feel like they are always watching me. They stop me for no reason (Brian, youth participant).

Coping Mechanisms during Patrols

The majority of all police officers interviewed in this study have and adopt a coping mechanism whilst out on the street and when engaging with members of the public. Some adopt a different approach when dealing with a young people or young people from a black ethnic minority background. This is because, they think BME youths are likely to be difficult. Significant numbers of officers employ a certain type of technique when dealing with a young person. Some officers treat young people as they would want others to treat them at that age. Others however match aggression with aggression, while others try to avoid conflict by trying to diffuse the situation explaining and calming as explained by officer James and others:

> "I am aware that we stop many ethnic minorities. I am also aware that they do not have trust in the police because they often believe the police are targeting them. So I make it a habit to explain how circumstances look to trained and untrained eyes, to show that we are operating legally by explaining the legislative powers that we use to look into these circumstances" (James).

Heidi also uses such techniques "I go in and listen to them, try to understand them rather than making them feel threatened" (Officer Heidi)

Harry: "Yes, I change my body language and tone if am dealing with someone older and treat them more respectfully but if I see a young person of my age I treat them like peers" (Officer Harry).

Officer Scarlett:

> Yes, I talk to them in a way as if I was talking to my own children, even if they come onto me in a confrontational manner. I will be polite, calm and respectful and I usually find that this

calms them down. Then we can chat and I try to listen to them, to what they are saying. They are more likely to engage with me when I listen to their concerns" (Officer Scarlett).

Although officer Richard explained that, he has no fixed techniques but psychologically primed to do so by his reply:

"No, I try to communicate and remain calm when I interact with people and try to avoid shouting and escalating any situation. However, when I was an armed officer you were trained to shout at people" (Richard).

Some officers did not explicitly admit that they adopt any kind of coping mechanism or technique during stop but they somehow do so inadvertently as explained by officer Steven:

"Not at all, I will be reluctant to use a fixed technique. I deal with young people and everyone politely and assess the situation, just being aware of the risk" (Steven).

Officer Lola, "I wouldn't say that I have a technique but I talk to them, you chat on their level" (Lola).

A summary of what this means is that police officers adopt a certain coping mechanism when dealing with the public. However, not all the officers interviewed for the study admitted to this fact. This is more so when dealing with a young person, specifically black minority ethnic group, as they perceive them to be likely difficult during police stop. Although officers interviewed did not single out BME as being difficult but youths in general, but the researcher being a serving police office thinks this is the case and have experienced this attitude. This attitude is also supported by academic studies (see Francis, 2018).

The next section will analyse the data collected from interviews with young people to assess the street-based relationship with the police during stop.

Data analysis on young people

Seventeen young people participated in this study as indicated in chapter 5 (see table 7). They comprise of all gender (table 8) ranging from 13-25 years old (table 9). Table 10 shows the number of young people that participated in the study and which London Borough they live in.

Table 7. Young People Categories

Age	Gender	Ethnicity	Education	Borough Town
15	Female	Black British	GCSE	Shepherds Bush
16	Female	Black British	GCSE	Chiswick
15	Female	Mixed-Black	GCSE	Fulham
16	Female	Mixed-Black	GCSE	White City
14	Female	White British	GCSE	Fulham
14	Female	White British	GCSE	Fulham
24	Male	Black African	A/Level	Tottenham
25	Male	Black African	A/Level	Tottenham
23	Male	Black African	A/Level	Tottenham
21	Male	Black African	A/Level	Lewisham
17	Male	White British	None	Fulham
17	Male	White European	GCSE	Hounslow
16	Male	Black American	GCSE	Shepherds Bush
17	Male	White British	None	East Acton
15	Male	White British	GCSE	White City
16	Male	Black African	None	Shepherds Bush
17	Male	White British	GCSE	Fulham

Table 8. Youth Participants by Gender

Ethnicity	Gender	Total
Black	Male	6
Black	Female	4
White	Male	5
White	Female	2

Table 9. Age of youth participants

Gender	13 15	16 18	19 21	22 25
Male	1	6	1	3
Female	4	2	0	0

Table 10. London Boroughs where youth participants live

Hammersmith & Fulham	Hounslow	Lewisham	Haringey
11	2	1	3

Previous Encounters with the Police

When young people were asked if they had previous contact with the police. 82.4% have had such contact, while 17.6% had no contact. This means, majority of the young people interviewed for this study had prior encounters with the police and were known within the criminal justice system. It could be argued that their responses reflect the experiences that they have had with the police. However, respondents from the few young people who had no prior contact also expressed the same dissatisfaction about the police.

Those who do not like the police due to past personal experience

Police attitudes and actions towards them was the most prevalent reason and is what young people are most concerned with. They feel the police are abusing their powers, heavy-handedly intimidating, victimising, bullying and harassing them. They demand respect and want to be treated fairly. The majority also say they would be compliant if police officers treated them fairly and with respect. These are some of the extracts from the interviews.

EO: What does police represent to you?

Jack: I don't like them at all, I don't like talking to them.

EO: Why is that?

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Jack: Why am I talking to them for? Is it because am black they stop me?

EO: Do you normally get along with the police? By this, I mean how do you see them?

Jack: I don't like them, no.

EO: What does police represent to you?

Mohammed: I hate the police.

EO: Why do you hate the police?

Mohammed: I just hate them

EO: Do you normally get along with the police? By this, I mean how do you see them?

Mohammed: Not at all.

EO: What does police represent to you?

Charlotte: *Offensive.*

EO: What do you mean?

Charlotte: Because I have been told by my friends that she was stopped because she was polish, and also because of my experience with them.

EO: Do you normally get along with the police? By this, I mean how do you see them?

Charlotte: No

EO: Why?

Charlotte: Because they arrested me before.

EO: What does police represent to you?

Joshua: They are like the security of the state but sometimes they are bully

EO: Do you normally get along with the police? By this, I mean how do you see them?

Joshua: No, I try to avoid them.

EO: What does police represent to you?

Brian: To be honest, when I think of police I feel unhappy because of the way they treat me. When I see them I feel like they are always watching me. There are some nice police officers but most of them are scumbags, they always stop me for no reason.

EO: Do you normally get along with the police? By this, I mean how do you see them?

Brian: To be honest, few of them are nice but if they come with attitude then I will react to them. It's about how they approach you.

EO: What does police represent to you?

Leo: I don't know…they are there to help people but only certain people…if you know what I mean

EO: What do you mean by that?

Leo: They round you up quickly. If you are a young person, they will want to strip search you and also because of my previous history with the police, they would always want to do strip search on me.

Those who don't like the police but have had no personal experience with them

The views of those who had no contact with the police but dislike them are based mostly on hearsay rather than from personal experience. This is because stop and search effect goes beyond what took place in the street as those stopped would recount their experiences to their peers and family members which enhance negative opinions about the police (Bradford, 2014; Saarikkomaki, 2016).

An example is Isabelle who has had no prior contact but has a strong opinion against the police even though she says that she normally gets along well with the police.

EO: Have you had an encounter with the police? With this, I mean any dealing with the police, whether because you were stopped, questioned or reported?

Isabelle: No

EO: What does police represent to you?

Isabelle: I see police as discriminatory.

EO: What do you mean?

Isabelle: I have some friends and family members who have been stopped for no reason.

EO: How do you know this?

Isabelle: My uncle told me that he got stopped because he was driving a nice car. My friends also told me he got stopped because of his clothing, the way he dressed

EO: Do you normally get along with the police? By this, I mean how do you see them?

Isabelle: yes.

EO: Have you had an encounter with the police? With this, I mean any dealing with the police, whether because you were stopped, questioned or reported?

Chloe: No

EO: What does police represent to you?

Chloe: They are racist.

EO: What do you mean?

Chloe: Because they will stop black boys randomly without a reason

EO: How do you know this?

Chloe: I have witnessed it, and my friends also tell me

EO: Do you normally get along with the police? By this, I mean how do you see them?

Chloe: yes.

EO: What does police represent to you?

Max: I think they have a job to do but some of them don't do it correctly.

EO: What do you mean by that?

Max: Because you find some police officers in your area that got to know you and they take it as a duty to make life difficult.

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EO: Do you normally get along with the police? By this I mean how do you see them?

Max: Not really. I feel that they are always looking for confrontation.

EO: What does police represent to you?

Kenneth: They are the police.

EO: What do you mean?

Kenneth: They are there to protect but some of them are causing problem for young people because sometimes you can be walking on the street and they just stop you like that.

EO: Do you normally get along with the police? By this, I mean how do you see them?

Kenneth: Yes.

These opinions are based on experiences of friends or family members, and from witnessing such incidents themselves. People in this group, although few of them demonstrate hostility, have already made up their mind about the police even though they have not had an encounter with the police. Crawford (2009) notes that:

> "The impact of such [bad] encounters often extends beyond those directly involved. Tales of bad experiences with police were more likely to inform talk among networks of friends, such that these stories circulated as local folklore, influencing the way other youths came to perceive the police (Crawford 2009, p.17)".

There is evidence in available police literature to support the debate about the effect of police stop on individuals. A stop on the street transcends and affects the person stopped emotionally and psychologically; it equally affects their relationship with friends and family (Saarikkomaki, 2016). Peoples emotional state, anger is a common feeling when they feel disrectpectfully treated (Krehbiel and Cropanzano, 2000). This is not to say that police officers do no experience emotional state during an encounter. They however need to control their emotions (Van Stokkom, 2011) to avoid the escalation of the situation. Tyler (2000) also suggests that fair treatment is a predictor of trust in the police,

furthermore, Bradford *et al.* (2013) while reaffirming this, also notes that people would accept police decisions if it is legitimate and respectful. These are some of the extracts on how young people felt after being stopped by the police.

EO: how did you feel about being stopped?

Mohammed: I have no respect for them.

Isaac: I was in distraught, it's an abuse of power.

Brian: I was annoyed because I have been searched, rubbed down, cuffed for no reason while I was just walking about on the street.

James: I felt very angry because before that incident I had never been in trouble with the police. I felt I have been treated unfairly and unreasonably.

Jack: I was angry.

EO: why do you say that?

Jack: Because of the way I was treated, and also because they beat me up.

Youths' Perception of the Impact of Education and Social Class on Police dealing with a Young Person

They was some evidence from young people to confirm that the education and social class of a police officer have some impact in policing and influence the way officers treat a young person. They perceive that officers with good education would treat a young person fairer than those without, while some say those with higher social class would treat a young person fairly. Some however, say they would treat young people unfairly and would look down on them. They also feel that those with higher social class would only treat their class better.

These are some of the extracts from the interviews:

EO: What is your perception about social class and education? Does that change the way they deal with people or the police?

Brian: Yes, they are because police wouldn't stop us if we were wearing a suit and had a posh accent. About education if you are illiterate the police can manipulate you because you do not know the law

James: No.

Mohammed: No.

Max: No, anyone can talk to and deal with people nice not that your posh or got higher education.

Isaac: Yes,
EO: why do you say that?

Isaac: The young police officers are worst, maybe they have no class or good education.

Leo: Yes, if your smart and speak they way they like to hear they react better.
If they know your not educated or something they react bad
Charlotte: *Yes.*
EO: Why do you say that?
Charlotte: Because those with higher education and social background know how to talk and deal with people in a nice manner.

Victoria: Yes.
EO: Why do you say that?
Victoria: If you are in a higher class then you know better to deal with people.

The significance of this is that, many young people attribute officer's higher education to fair treatment of young people during police and youth encounter. However, while some said the same is true for an officer with a higher social class to treat a young person fairer "If you are in a higher class then you know better to deal with people" (Victoria):

> "Because those with higher education and social background know how to talk and deal with people in a nice manner" (Charlotte).

Some however, said they would only treat people of their class better and poor people badly, while some said it made no difference "No, anyone can talk to and deal with people nice not that your posh or got higher education" (Max). Thus, there was no consensus on this point. What is evidence is that some young people perceived that a police officer with a higher educational qualification would treat a young person fairly during street-based interaction.

Neighbourhood Tension

When young people were asked if there is tension within groups in their neighbourhood the majority said, there is no tension even though only a few would go out of their neighbourhood at night. Few acknowledge there are gang issues and would mind their own business without getting involved. This is the extract of interviews with some of the young people on this topic.

EO: Is there any tension within groups in your neighbourhood?

Mohammed: None

EO: Do you get along with other groups in your neighbourhood?

Mohammed: Yes, but I keep to myself

EO: How do you see other groups?

Mohammed: No problem.

EO: Is there any tension within groups in your neighbourhood?

Kenneth: Yes.

EO: Do you get along with other groups in your neighbourhood?

Kenneth: Yes.

EO: How do you see other groups?

Kenneth: I stay away from them.

EO: Why is that?

Kenneth: Because I have seen some kids 16-17 years old getting into trouble for girls.

EO: Is there any tension within groups in your neighbourhood?

Max: Yes.

EO: Do you get along with other groups in your neighbourhood?

Max: Yes

EO: How do you see other groups?

Max: Ok, I keep to myself.

EO: How do you experience life in your neighbourhood?

Max: I have a problem because at the end of the day no one really feels safe, especially at night time.

EO: Is there any tension within groups in your neighbourhood?

Jack*:* No

EO: Do you get along with other groups in your neighbourhood?

Jack: Yes

EO: How do you see other groups?

Jack*:* Cool

EO: Is there any tension within groups in your neighbourhood?

Brian: It's about area against area but not about race. There are gangs don't get me wrong, but it's about area or zone versus area or zone.

EO: Do you get along with other groups in your neighbourhood?

Brian: Yes.

EO: How do you see other groups?

Brian: Ok.

EO: Is there any tension within groups in your neighbourhood?

Leo: There is, but am not really involved.

EO: Do you get along with other groups in your neighbourhood?

Leo: Yes and no.

EO: What do you mean by that?

Leo: I have a lots of people am friendly with, and also have many people am not friends with

EO: How do you see other groups?

Leo: I don't really see people that much.

EO: Is there any tension within groups in your neighbourhood?

Victoria: Yes, there is.

EO: How does this make you feel?

Victoria: It makes me feel unsafe.

EO: Do you get along with other groups in your neighbourhood?

Victoria: Yes.

EO: How do you see other groups?

Victoria: Normal, they are few gangs.

The encounter between young people and the police in this study comprises all encounters whether it is intelligence driven or police officer initiated. Officers use "rule of thumb" to make a decision whether to initiate contact or not with a young person (Delsol & Shiner, 2015, p. 58). Police perceive young people as troublesome and that they make their work more difficult due to their visibility and this proves a challenge to them. However, officers interviewed did not perceive young people in their borough as being any different from other areas but they are mentally prepared when called to attend incidents involving young people. There is some evidence in this study to suggest that they perceive young people as troublesome, most particularly, black people.

The general theme from young people interviewed is that the police are singling them out by frequent stop and search. Black young people also allege police racism as the reason why they are frequently being stopped and searched. The issue of race and discrimination has featured in many police studies and inquiries to support this view (Lammy Report, 2017; Bradford *et al.,* 2013; Brunston, 2007; Macpherson, 1999). However, the view of police officers, more so from top management is in favour of stop and search. Opponents of blanket stop and search (Equality and Human Rights Commissioner 2010; 2012 & 2013; Delsol & Shiner, 2015; Bowling & Phillips, 2001) argue that a blanket stop and search is discriminatory. It is controversial and causes the divide and erodes community confidence in the police. They want a reduction in blanket stop and search and in favour of intelligent led stop and search.

Police management supports stop and search and encourages their officer's to apply it because they believe it is an effective way to take knives and other offensive weapons off of the streets and away from young people (Townsend, 2017). Officers equally support this and see it as their duty to protect local people, and also protect young people from harm. Stop and search practices have been so contentious with some in favour of its use while others against it. It has nevertheless caused conflict within black communities and the reason for the hostility exerted by many young black men towards the police. Officer's account of their assessment and dealings with a young person within the study areas uncovered some controversy. Some evidence that police are targeting poorer neighbourhoods predominantly with BAME groups, harassing them in a discriminatory way perceived as discrimination or racial bias. Thus, the emerging comment from some of the officers, although few in number was that the attitudes of some Police Officers when dealing with young people is the reason for the conflict with young people. This was significant acknowledgement from some police officers of police discriminatory practices

towards BAME group. However, this concern is nothing new as it has featured in many police and youth studies (Youth Justice Board, 2010; Shiner, 2010).

Revisiting the Research Questions

The researcher returns to the research questions and aims to compare findings to other police studies.

Are there fundamental issues in the policing of young people in Britain?

This study has shown and also confirms the body of literature on police studies that there are issues with how young people are policed in Britain (Shiner, 2010; McLaughlin, 2007; Bowling and Philips, 2002; Brown, 2005). This is more evident on the treatment of BAME, black young people (Shiner and Delsol, 2013; Brunston, 2007; Brunston & Miller, 2006; McLaughlin and Muncie, 2001).

Are young black males treated differently to other ethnic groups such as young white males?

Again, the body of literature confirms this is the case due to the overrepresentation of black young people within the criminal justice system (House of Commons Library 2017; Bowling and Phillips, 2007; Mhlanga, 1997; Youth Justice Board 2010). The Equality and Human Rights Commission on Stop and Think report also found that:

> "officers were also more likely to give white youths more lenient reprimands or fines, while black and mixed race youths were more likely to be charged with crimes. This was the case even when the alleged crimes and the individuals' criminal histories were similar (Equality and Human Rights Commission 2010)."

They was some evidence in this study to support this. However, the lack of much evidence to support this assertion could be due to the limited scope of the study, or the officers

interviewed did not open up to recount the true facts of their encounters with young (BME) persons (Delsol and Shiner, 2015).

Is there hostility between young black males and the police?

Many police studies (Brunston, 2007; McLaughlin and Muncie 2001; Macpherson, 1999; Bateman & Pitts, 2005; Bowling and Philips, 2002) have confirmed there is tension and hostility between the police and the black community. They attribute this to the way the police are policing the black community (Shiner and Delsol, 2013; Brown, 2005). There is evidence in this study to confirm this tension. Both the police and young people interviewed acknowledge there is hostility and tension between them.

What are police officer's perception of social class and education in their role, and whether these attributes also influence the way black youths perceive the police?

There was no conclusive evidence in this study to support this point from the police perspective. However, young people interviewed supported the fact that officer's educational background does affect the way they treat young people during police stop. It found no conclusive evidence from young people on the effect of officer's social class during stop. Some young people thought that officer's social class influences the way that the police deal with young people, whilst some did not support this view entirely.

How do Police Officers perceive black youths?

As in other police studies, police perceive young people as troublesome (Brown, 2005). There was some evidence in this study to support that police officers perceive young black people differently from any other ethnic groups, hence they police BME group more robustly than other ethnic groups. This is what one of the police participant had to say:

> "We have groups of youth. Mostly black youths, male's gangs Somalian youth like in White City estate against other black youth or white youth. I also see that white officers who attend

scenes in this area go in too heavy on these kids without understanding of them or their culture" (Heidi, a police officer).

What do young black males think are the problems that impact the relationship between them and the Police?

Stop and search is the biggest issue that impacts negatively on the relationship between young black males and the police. This study supports other police literature on the matter (McLaughlin, 2007; Bowling and Philips, 2002; Waddington *et al.*, 2004; Newburn *et al.,* 2004). Young people think that the police are singling them out, are racist, harassing them, and above all do not treat them with respect. This is what Brian had to say about being stopped by the police:

"I was annoyed because I have been searched, rubbed down, cuffed for no reason while I was just walking about on the street" (Brian, youth participant).

This confirms available literature about fair treatment and compliance (Saarikkomäki, 2016; Brunston and Miller, 2006). Other studies (e.g. Murphy, 2011; Jackson *et al.*, 2012) show citizen's perception of procedural justice of being treated fairly by the police makes them feel they are respected in society (Saarikkomaki, 2016). Treating citizens unfairly sends a wrong message of not being valued (Jackson *et al.*, 2012. p.1052). Fair treatment is also important to avoid conflict and leads to successful encounters (Saarikkomaki, 2016), while most encounters that young people have with the police is often portrayed as confrontational (Saarikkomaki and Kivivouri, 2013). The study also found some evidence of racism. "between police officers who are only stopping mainly young black males" (Poppy, police participant), she later continued by saying "I do not like to see other people being mistreated" (Poppy). This was consistent with the Lammy report (2017), which confirms racial bias within the criminal justice system (Lammy Review Report, 2017). Race bias or racism is one impacting factor young people say they often experience during

police stops. They cite this as one of the issues that affects their relationship with the police.

What can be done to resolve the tension?

This study finds that reduction in the stop and search practices would help in improving the situation, but this must be done by close liaison with the communities. The issue of perceived racism and stop and search causes tension within the black community (Newburn, 2015), but by treating young people fairly irrespective of their background can improve the quality of stop experiences (Saarikkomäki, 2016). Revisiting the safeguards in PACE to minimise concerns and reduce stereotyping and generalising by officers, and holding officers accountable for all stops. Education by liaising with schools and youth centres to engage with young people. Most young people understand and know that the police are in a position of power but would like fair treatment as pointed out by Rosina:

> "As young people, we know what the police are here for. We know that they are there to protect us, to keep us safe and so forth. We know that there is a level of authority that they have. I already know your authority, I do not need you to assert it even more." Rosina St James Youth Ambassador, Safer London Foundation (Stop and Search Working Group 2013).

There have been positive initiatives by the Equality and Human Rights Commission in 2010 with 'Stop and Think' to address stop and search concerns, and the MET to cut back on the number of stop and search with 'Stop it' in 2012 program. The assessment on the impact of the Met's program was examined by the Stop and Search Working Group in 2013 and found that:

> "the volume of stop and search has reduced by over 40 percent in just two years, and arrest rates have improved; they were consistently around 15 percent during 2013. Section 60 stops have fallen even further, by over 90 per cent (Stop and Search Working Group in 2013)."

There are some promising examples of 'role play' between the police and young people where both parties could see things from a police perspective and at the same time police

seeing things from a youths perspective to learn and improve stop and search. Stop and Search Working Group commends such project:

> "Many community projects have therefore recognised the importance of bringing together young people and the police informally and on a more equal basis than their traditional street encounters. The aim is to build more positive relationships and tackle negative assumptions. Evaluations have shown that these projects bring benefits to both young people and police officers. For example, three-quarters of police officers who took part in the Second Wave program that we visited reported having a better understanding of the impact of stereotyping; improved confidence when communicating with young people; and stronger relationships with young people as a result of the program (Stop and Search Working Group 2013).

There are also other prominent community projects working in partnership between young people and the police to breach the gap and improve the relationship. These are projects such as Stop and Search Legal Project; Safer London Foundation; Newham Monitoring Project to name but a few. What is important is to maintain this level of engagement. The Government are known to target issues adhoc, or provide funding for a limited time but such projects should have no funding time limit, as these issues are endemic and need continuous focus. Maintaining a long lasting focus and funding on these kinds or projects "would go some way to tackling the negative perceptions from both sides" (Quinton, 2011; Stop and Search Working Group 2013).

Chapter Summary

The research has established that there is hostility not only on the part of black youths but also equally from white youths towards the police due to the way they feel treated and their experiences with the police. They feel that the police are racist towards black people and hate young people. Evidence of racism in the police towards young black males has been documented (Delsol & Shiner, 2015; Macpherson, 1999), it was also supported in the findings. The study found some evidence to support that the police are racist or purposely

targeting young black males during a police stop. This was a theoretical study trying to add to the debate without generalising with such a small sample.

The majority of the officers interviewed were alerted to incidents involving young people via intelligence. This means that a call will come through the police radio and officers will respond and attend the incident. Other forms of intelligence were targeted area patrols either to identify, arrest or visibility keep watch to avoid trouble within groups or crime within the community. There were however, instances where officers initiated a stop during patrol either because they recognise a person known previously to the police, or because they come across young people whose behaviour demands more scrutiny during a patrol. Notwithstanding how the contact was initiated, the study concluded that there are some evidence of racism, or perhaps, perception of racism, in support of what Lammy (2017) considered as racial bias.

Other studies have identified the use of generalisations and stereotyping as pointed out by Cecilia Goodwin "A police officer may say 'we stop black people because nine times out of ten they will have drugs" (Equality and Human Rights Commission 2010). There are other instances where unconscious discrimination may arise in the way young black males are disposed through the criminal justice system, by using less discretion where black youths are concerned (Bowling & Phillips, 2001; Brown, 2005).

The question then, is why are many young black males still predominantly overrepresented within the criminal justice system? Either police are racist and are purposely targeting black youths (Shiner & Delsol, 2013; Brown, 2005), using their discretion sparingly where a black youth is involved (Bowling & Phillips, 2007), or a presence of racial bias and discrimination (Lammy report, 2017). There is need for greater debate in this matter in order to identify the prevalent reason why black young males are still disproportionately

over represented within the criminal justice system. However, police did acknowledge that there is an issue on how they are perceived by the black community. What was evident is that both groups acknowledged that they need to work together to bridge the gap in their differences, and a mutual ground in order to solve issues within the community. The police felt that most young people on the street pose challenges to both themselves and other people. Black youths also felt that the police are targeting them because of their race. This is explained by the disproportionality of black youths in the criminal justice system. This is supported by available literature, (Delsol & Shiner, 2015).

Stop and search has been highly critical and controversial with academics and politicians demanding a different approach to reduce incidence of stop and search. It is cited as the course of community tension and lack of confidence in the police. However, with an increase in crime generally, specifically knife crime and acid attacks in the past year, many are advocating for more stop and search. While the controversy surrounding the use of stop and search and debates continues, disproportionate numbers of BAME young people continue to be overrepresented within the criminal justice system.

The researcher finds that there is more to this than racism that contributes to this disproportionality. This is open for debate but structural discrimination may also impact on why BME are disproportionate. However, there must be continuous engagement between the police and ethnic minority communities. Continuous support and funding is important to maintain groups that would breach the gap between the police and the ethnic minorities. After all, the cost of civil riots and clearing up aftermath is much greater. Not to mention the widening of the divide after such tension.

Contribution of the Research

The overarching assumption of this research was that of placing the experiences and perceptions of young black youths and the police officers interviewed central to this research. The researcher's justification for this was that, this was essential to the development and adds to the understanding of the issues that affect them to co-exist. Other studies (Crowther-Dowey & Fussey, 2013; Cromwell & Olson, 2003; Cromwell, 2010; Caless, 2011) assert that the only way to discover the reality of crime is to talk to the people who know about it. As well as the people affected by policing.

The key contributions of this research are threefold. Firstly, through the analysis of the theoretical, rather than representative sample about police dealings with young people. By moving beyond the general analysis of statistics, policy and practice as found in other studies to a more micro focus on a particular police setting. It is hoped that other researchers will follow suit by doing other complementary local case studies. These then, will gradually accumulate a body of rich local empirical data, which may in the long run contribute to research about which we may be more confident in generalising more broadly.

Secondly, the research can add conceptual weight to the existing literature in the understanding of how policing is not causing issues within just the black community, and for the police to better understand the community they serve. The researcher believes this study offers the understanding of developing policies that can help address the tension between the police and young people through the commentaries of young people themselves.

Thirdly, the methodological contributions by offering the perspective of working with the police and young people in a large urban area; within school in a flexible and in participation with young people. By putting young people's experiences and commentaries at the centre of policy to give them a voice and reduce the tension within community.

Additionally, this work will help both policy makers and the police to develop policies to improve the relationship.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

The aim of this research was to explore the relationship between the police and young black youths. This aim was shaped by perceived hostilities of young black males towards the police, and of the police within black communities that impact on their relationship (Sallah, 2011; Brown, 2005). It was done by exploring policy, and how this influences police work, and by exploring the perceptions of police officers via face to face interviews, and how this in turn affects the treatment of black youths. Equally, young black people's experiences and perception of the police was examined through interviews. The study looked at both the police and young black youths in order to understand issues that affect the relationship between these groups. By doing so, it has also looked at issues impacting young people in Britain.

It has been documented in this study how the UK government policy and practice, and to some extent media have not only been critical of young people but the government have consistently made policies that impact negatively on them. There have also been major policy changes in favour of young people in Britain. However, the main function of the police still revolves around the policing of the working class. It was organised more than a century ago to police the working class, and this has not changed (Emsley, 2005). This is still the case in 21st century Britain where police are accused of policing poor neighbourhoods by using controversial tactics such as stop and search (Shiner, 2010).

Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 (PACE) has been the most contentious piece of legislation in Britain as it standardised Stop and search, which practices, have been controversial. Those against it argue that blanket searches are discriminatory as it criminalises BME youths, while those in favour see it as a useful tool to tackle street crime.

What is evident is that stop and search has divided communities and eroded confidence in the police. Therefore, there should be a rethink of practices and the use of stop and search due to the controversy and plight of young black men who are processed through the criminal justice system in vast numbers annually (Hallsworth, 2008; Audit Commission, 1996).

The local study in this thesis (see Chapter 6 & 7) is focused on two local areas policed by the MET police but with varying outcomes for the local young people in terms of local statistics on stop and search. It has highlighted the difficulties in policing and balancing central government demands with that of the local people with local democracy, partnership and lobby groups. The case study has highlighted the impact of stop and search and the tension it causes. Stop and search continues to dominate media headlines in recent months. This was at the backdrop of data indicating increases in crime, specifically street crimes and the new increase in knife crime and acid attacks in recent years.

This chapter will assess chapter six and seven to find out whether the findings supports the thesis aims. The case study in chapter six and seven was about a local study. This was to assess a particular area of policing within a local area in London.

The crime and safety policy is driven by government legislation but is led in London by the Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC). The Police do not work in a social, political or economical vacuum (Colin & James, 2012, p. 273) but as part of a multi-agency whose aim is to reduce crime, re-offending and support young people in need. This team involves working with local crime reduction partners including local councils to identify targets and priorities for their areas and implement them. The police are the gatekeepers of the criminal justice system and where young people access the system

(Coleman & Norris, 2011, p. 118). Their role in the over-representation of young black people within the criminal justice system raises concerns.

The findings in this study show that there is still tension within some ethnic communities, particularly in relation to the treatment of young black men by the police. It found that stop and search practices are at the centre of the problem as more young black men are being stopped and searched by the police than any other ethnic group. This was also the view of Theresa May when she was the Home Secretary (House of Commons Library, 2013). This results in the amount of black people processed through the criminal justice system. Both the police and young people acknowledge that there is tension that impacts on them to co-exist. This affects the police when doing their job and are careful when dealing with black young people to avoid any escalation of tension during stops. It also affects them as such encounters make it difficult to get cooperation from black communities who feel the police are purposely targeting black youths. Black young people also express anger at the way they are being treated. They feel police are not treating them with respect and purposely targeting them, profiling them because of their race.

What is also evident is that both the police and young people would like to improve this situation, which has not only caused tension on both sides but often leads to stressful encounters (Saarikkomäki, 2016). Meanwhile, while both groups recognised this issue and the challenges to resolve it, instead of working together to address them, they are pointing fingers at each other. For the police, it is the attitude of black youths during stops that is a problem:

> "…there were mixed group of kids age about 17 years. I wanted to search one of them but he wouldn't let me. He was aggressive." (Heidi, police participant).

Young black men on the other hand pointed out the same about the police but went further to accuse them of being racist and harassing them "They are racist, because they will stop black boys randomly without a reason" (Chloe, Youth participant).

This thesis also finds that even though the same police force, police the two local areas in the case study there are differences in terms of the numbers of black people being stopped and searched. In spite of both police commanders strongly in favour of their officers using stop and search. The reason for this variation is not clear, H&F had far less black young people stopped and searched than Lambeth. The police did not feel they are doing anything wrong. They see it as their duty to stop as many young people they suspect of committing an offence. In this, they see their role as the agent of the state to maintain the rule of law, and protect its citizens from harm and safeguard their property. They however, express some disappointment at the outcome of stops when many of these stops are always frustrating for both the police and the young person involved. It can cause injury on both sides, and each of these encounters further alienate black young people and makes it difficult for the police to get much cooperation from the black community. The case study supported the hypothesis that there is hostility between the police and young black men.

This supports other police studies (Brunston, 2007; Bowling & Philips, 2002), and found stop and search to be the reason for this hostility (Shiner and Delsol, 2013). It supported the question as to whether the police treat black people differently from white young people during stops. While previous research and many police studies (Shiner and Delsol, 2013; Brunston, 2007) tend to support this view. Many police officers interviewed for this study did not feel they treat black young people differently from young people of other ethnic groups. However, significant numbers of black young men think this is the case. They feel the reason is because of their race. What was evident was that the police view all young people as troublesome (Brown, 2005) and are particularly prepared mentally for any

encounter involving a young person. There was some evidence of racism uncovered, which is consistent with other police studies and the Lammy report about the issue of race bias within the criminal justice system (Lammy report, 2017). Previous research has also shown that it is difficult to "pinpoint evidence of discrimination purely on the grounds of race" (William, 2000, p. 10). Most stops involving a young person were intelligence-led, directed by the police control room for officers to attend. It is clear that stop and search is one of the main factors for the hostility and breakdown of relationship between the police and black communities.

Young people whilst being critical of the police would like to cooperate with the police if they are treated fairly and with respect. They display a very high level of hostility towards the police, which was the case from both black and white young people. This study supports other police studies (Saarikkomäki, 2016; Brunston and Miller, 2014) on the psychological effect that a police encounter has on a young person during stop and search. The effect of a stop transcends beyond and affects the young person and any person that has subsequent contact with them. It is frequently expressed in anger by saying 'they spoil my day'.

This research, which involves a mixture of data, and a mixture of methods to analyse the data have supported many of the hypotheses set out in this study. There are fundamental issues in the policing of young people in Britain, specifically black youths. It found stop and search continues to impact negatively on young people in Britain. This is more evident in the treatment of black youths who are overrepresented within the criminal justice system. Again, stop and search was cited as the main factor young black males think are the problems that impact on the relationship between them and the Police (see Chapter 7). However, there was no support from police participants that police perceive black people as troublesome. Rather it found all young people as troublesome but not a particular ethnic

group. Meanwhile, young black people who participated in this study think they perceive black young people as troublesome. This has been supported by other police studies (Brown, 2005). It is clear that stop and search is one of the main factors in the hostility, therefore, the study supported the view on what can be done to resolve the tension between police and young people. The police acknowledge the tension and are keen to work to resolve it. There is also the willingness from young people and BME communities to resolve it.

It supported some of the findings on whether attributes such as officers educational and social class affects the way they treat young people. While some young people support that it has an influence, but there was no support from the police. Officers did not think these attributes affects the way they interact with other officers with higher educational background and social class. Although these had no effect on how they relate to other colleagues, career wise, people with higher educational background and social class was found to progress quickly through the rank than those without those attributes.

This study appears to indicate that the gap between the police and young people continues to widen. This is more so on the change of government policy where politicians and police management advocate for more stop and search to curb rising knife and acid attacks (Townsend, 2017), both of which are associated with youth crime. Evident from this study and other policing literature supports that black young people will continue to be overrepresented within the criminal justice system because they will be apprehended more for street crimes through the use of stop and search (Shaw, 2015; Gau *et al.,* 2010; Bowling and Philips, 2002; Shiner, 2010). The finding also appears to indicate that the police would like to continue with the status quo without much effort to work with young people and black communities to address the fundamental issues concerning the breakdown of trust. While young people and Minority ethnic communities would want to

see a change in this power dynamic, it is for the police as the agent of the state to set the grounds for the change. It has to be a continuous effort and change in policing from top management to officers to make it work.

What this means to the researcher is that irrespective of much rhetoric and changes in stop and search, it is clear that it continues to attract much debate and it's use discriminates against black ethnic minorities (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2010). Therefore, a coordinated and continuous action is needed to address these issues and challenges. This would not be an easy task to bring the two sides together. It needs to be locally focused, but within a national framework. Funding for similar projects in the past have been allocated at time specific and cut back even where such projects were showing positive results. This is an endemic issue and great challenge that requires coordinated and long term funding to address some of these issues. These issues lead to community tension which have culminated in riots, with damage to properties and businesses costing taxpayers millions of pounds to rebuild aside from the widening gap to reconcile with communities after such riots.

The researcher finds that irrespective of any reduction in the incidents of stop and search conducted by the police in the future, black young people will continue to be overrepresented because of race bias (Lammy report, 2017; Brunston & Miller, 2007). Their 'visibility' [1] or because of their 'criminality' [2] as argued by some academic's and politician's. No matter the rhetoric, it is not sustainable and cannot be justified why a

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[1] Available population at the time of stop was an argument put forward by (MVA and Miller, 2000. Waddington *et al*., 2004) to justify the overrepresentations of black people in stop and search statistics (see Chapter 3).

[2] Others (see Bateman and Pitts, 2005) explain that black young people commit more crime and that reflects on the overrepresentation. While Shiner (2010) cautioned about generalisations as no justification for such overrepresentation. They argue that the issue of race and discrimination is in play thus the alarming numbers of black young people subjected to police stop.

certain ethnic group is overrepresented within all levels of the criminal justice system in Britain (House of Commons Library, 2017) than others while accounting to only about 3.3 per cent of the total population of more than 56 million (Census 2011, ONS).

Overall, the researcher finds that there is an element of discrimination or what Lammy (2017) termed 'Race bias' during police stop. It is not surprising that despite more than thirty-five years since Lord Scarman's inquiry into the Brixton Riot and twenty-four years since Macpherson's inquiry into the murder of Stephen Lawrence, stop and search and policing of young black males still dominate headlines and continuous debates, yet not much progress has been made to fully resolve this issue. There should be a rethink in policy and localised projects aimed at bringing the police and young people to work together regularly to address their differences and improve cooperation.

What this means to me as a serving police officer in addition to those highlighted in this work is that it would be difficult to eradicate racism within the police force as long as there is imbalance on the cultural mix of the workforce. The police must implement McPherson's recommendations to increase not only the numbers of recruits from ethnic minorities and more so, recruitment of Black Asian Minority Ethnic groups to senior management roles. The police have found it difficult to implement this recommendation fully as whilst there have been improvements in the number of ethnic minorities recruited to the police, they have found it harder to recruit from minority backgrounds because of the hostility. Simply put, the majority of the black community do not trust the police.

There are other issues of structural discrimination; inadequate infrastructure, and unemployment in areas dominated by urban poor that makes them a target for police patrol and control. The whole police stereotype and patrol mindset has to change but again, this is difficult as long as there is imbalance on the police ethnic workforce, and failure of police

management to embrace change and fully implement past recommendations on community

cohesion.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Tower Hamlet Indices of Deprivation 2015. Local Authority District Summaries for London

Local Authority District name (2013)	IMD - Average rank	IMD - Rank of average rank	IMD - Average score	IMD - Rank of average score	IMD - Proportion of LSOAs in most deprived 10% nationally	IMD - Rank of proportion of LSOAs in most deprived 10% nationally
City of London	11769.0	226	13.6	231	0.0	200
Barking and Dagenham	26045.9	3	34.6	12	0.0	137
Barnet	15235.3	157	17.8	172	0.0	189
Bexley	13505.2	195	16.2	191	0.0	200
Brent	21519.9	39	26.7	68	0.1	100
Bromley	12023.4	220	15.2	208	0.0	154
Camden	19916.9	69	25.0	84	0.1	131
Croydon	19008.4	91	23.6	96	0.0	158
Ealing	19304.1	87	23.6	99	0.0	143
Enfield	20771.4	53	27.0	64	0.1	82
Greenwich	20887.1	50	25.5	78	0.0	173
Hackney	26066.0	2	35.3	11	0.2	49
Hammersmith and Fulham	19835.8	76	24.4	92	0.1	117
Haringey	23053.3	21	31.0	30	0.2	44
Harrow	12509.7	213	14.3	219	0.0	200
Havering	14990.9	166	17.9	167	0.0	195
Hillingdon	15409.4	153	18.1	162	0.0	200
Hounslow	19324.7	86	22.5	117	0.0	182
Islington	24687.4	13	32.5	24	0.1	61
Kensington and Chelsea	18551.5	99	23.4	104	0.1	84
Kingston upon Thames	9361.5	278	11.1	278	0.0	200
Lambeth	23004.2	22	28.9	44	0.1	113
Lewisham	22695.1	26	28.6	48	0.0	136
Merton	12597.1	212	14.9	213	0.0	200
Newham	25360.0	8	32.9	23	0.1	103
Redbridge	17495.5	119	20.2	138	0.0	196
Richmond upon Thames	8109.9	296	10.0	294	0.0	200
Southwark	22982.7	23	29.5	40	0.0	135
Sutton	12063.6	217	14.6	215	0.0	194
Tower Hamlets	*25486.4*	*6*	*35.7*	*10*	*0.2*	*24*
Waltham Forest	23744.5	15	30.2	35	0.1	89
Wandsworth	15774.7	147	18.3	158	0.0	197
Westminster	21304.4	43	27.7	57	0.1	64

The LSOA with a rank of 1 is the most deprived and the LSOA with a rank of 32,844 is the least deprived.

Source: Adapted from the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG). Available at:

http://data.london.gov.uk/dataset/indices-of-deprivation-2015/resource/1c37ea6e-3399-4e14-a572-

72a029b8e585. Accessed: 26 June 2016

Appendix 2. University Ethics Approval

LONDON
metropolitan
university

To whom it may concern

11th February, 2016

I hereby confirm that Eddie Otoyo, who studies for a professional doctorate in Criminology at this university (student no. 07766218044), has received research ethics clearance for his project 'The Encounter between the Police and Youth during Police Stop'. Mr Otoyo is cleared to carry out research with human subjects as detailed in his application to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Review Panel.

Professor Klaus Fischer
Chair of the Research Ethics Review Panel
Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities

Email: k.fischer@londonmet.ac.uk

Appendix 3. Informed Consent Form

Informed Consent Form

Project Title: The Encounter between Police and Youths During
Police Stop

Researcher: Eddie Otoyo, eddiedaviesnet@hotmail.com

Supervisor: Professor Kevin Stenson, London Metropolitan
University 166-220 Holloway Road, London N7 8DB,

Project Overview

The research project is carried out by a London Metropolitan University
Professional Doctorate student investigating the encounter that takes place
between the police and youths during police stop. The questions ask will
include some of your views on this encounter, and what happened.

The purpose of this research is to gain a wider understanding into the
encounter and interactions that take place during police stop. It would look at
circumstances leading to the person being stopped and what happens during
the stop. It will also seek account of this stop from the police and youth
perspectives. This aspect of research will lead to a better understanding of
such encounter.

The interview is voluntary and you can withdraw at any time if you wish. The
interview will take approximately 20 minutes and requires you to answer
series of short questions. The answers that you give will be confidential which
means that you will be anonymous and no personal data will be presented in
the research findings or passed on to anyone else. This means that no
comment made by you will be directly attributed to you in my final thesis
submission. The responses that you give will be held securely on a password-
protected computer and used as part of this doctoral thesis. All information
gathered during this interview will be destroyed following the submission of
this work.

**I have read the above and understand the basis of this research and
agree to be interviewed in respect of this work.**

Name of interviewee/carer: _____

Signature of interviewee/carer: _____

Signature of interviewer: _____

Date: _____

Appendix 4. The Police Interview Questions

1.   How long have you been a police officer?

2.   What rank are you now?

3.   What is your year of birth?

4.   What is your gender?

5.   Which Borough or area do you live in?

6.   What is the highest level of your education achievement?

7.   What ethnicity do you identify yourself as?

8.   Do you see or notice tension between different ethnic groups of youths in your Borough?

9.   What difference does this make to your work?

10.   What is your perception about social class and education in the role of police officer?

11.   Tell me about your three last stops or encounter with a young person during patrol.

12.   Do you have or adopt a certain mechanism or technique on how to deal with young people during stop?

Appendix 5. Youths Interview Questions

1.   How old are you?

2.   What area of London do you live in?

3.   What level of education have you attained?

4.   What ethnicity do you identify yourself as?

5.   What is your gender?

6.   Have you had an encounter with the police? With this, I mean any dealing with the police, whether because you were stopped, questioned or reported?

7.   If you have had this event, can we talk about it? What happened?

8.   What does police represent to you?

9.   What is your perception about social class and education? Does that change the way they deal with people?

10.   Do you normally get along with the police? By this I mean how do you see them?

11.   Do you get along with other groups in your neighbourhood?

12.   How do you see other groups?

13.   Is there any tension within groups in your neighbourhood?

Appendix 6. Ethnic Population Lambeth 2011

Variable	Measure	Date	Lambeth	London
			London Borough	Region
All Usual Residents	Count	Mar-11	303086	8173941
White; English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish/British	Count	Mar-11	118250	3669284
White; English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish/British	Percentage	Mar-11	39	44.9
White; Irish	Count	Mar-11	7456	175974
White; Irish	Percentage	Mar-11	2.5	2.2
White; Gypsy or Irish Traveller	Count	Mar-11	195	8196
White; Gypsy or Irish Traveller	Percentage	Mar-11	0.1	0.1
White; Other White	Count	Mar-11	47124	1033981
White; Other White	Percentage	Mar-11	15.5	12.6
Mixed/Multiple Ethnic Groups; White and Black Caribbean	Count	Mar-11	8302	119425
Mixed/Multiple Ethnic Groups; White and Black Caribbean	Percentage	Mar-11	2.7	1.5
Mixed/Multiple Ethnic Groups; White and Black African	Count	Mar-11	4301	65479
Mixed/Multiple Ethnic Groups; White and Black African	Percentage	Mar-11	1.4	0.8
Mixed/Multiple Ethnic Groups; White and Asian	Count	Mar-11	3574	101500
Mixed/Multiple Ethnic Groups; White and Asian	Percentage	Mar-11	1.2	1.2
Mixed/Multiple Ethnic Groups; Other Mixed	Count	Mar-11	6983	118875
Mixed/Multiple Ethnic Groups; Other Mixed	Percentage	Mar-11	2.3	1.5
Asian/Asian British; Indian	Count	Mar-11	4983	542857
Asian/Asian British; Indian	Percentage	Mar-11	1.6	6.6
Asian/Asian British; Pakistani	Count	Mar-11	3072	223797
Asian/Asian British; Pakistani	Percentage	Mar-11	1	2.7
Asian/Asian British; Bangladeshi	Count	Mar-11	2221	222127
Asian/Asian British; Bangladeshi	Percentage	Mar-11	0.7	2.7
Asian/Asian British; Chinese	Count	Mar-11	4573	124250
Asian/Asian British; Chinese	Percentage	Mar-11	1.5	1.5
Asian/Asian British; Other Asian	Count	Mar-11	6089	398515
Asian/Asian British; Other Asian	Percentage	Mar-11	2	4.9
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British; African	Count	Mar-11	35187	573931
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British; African	Percentage	Mar-11	11.6	7
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British; Caribbean	Count	Mar-11	28886	344597
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British; Caribbean	Percentage	Mar-11	9.5	4.2
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British; Other Black	Count	Mar-11	14469	170112
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British; Other Black	Percentage	Mar-11	4.8	2.1
Other Ethnic Group; Arab	Count	Mar-11	1728	106020
Other Ethnic Group; Arab	Percentage	Mar-11	0.6	1.3
Other Ethnic Group; Any Other Ethnic Group	Count	Mar-11	5693	175021
Other Ethnic Group; Any Other Ethnic Group	Percentage	Mar-11	1.9	2.1

Source: Census 2011 data, Office of National Statistics

Appendix 7. Key Figures for crime and Safety for Lambeth April 2017

				Lambeth	London
				London Borough	Region
Notifiable Offences Recorded by the Police	Violence with Injury	Count	Apr12-Mar13	2871	58009
Notifiable Offences Recorded by the Police	Violence without Injury (Includes Harassment and Assault)	Count	Apr12-Mar13	2815	67703
Notifiable Offences Recorded by the Police	Robbery	Count	Apr12-Mar13	2625	34813
Notifiable Offences Recorded by the Police	Theft from the Person	Count	Apr12-Mar13	3955	49597
Notifiable Offences Recorded by the Police	Criminal Damage and Arson	Count	Apr12-Mar13	2407	59100
Notifiable Offences Recorded by the Police	Domestic Burglary	Count	Apr12-Mar13	2575	60702
Notifiable Offences Recorded by the Police	Non Domestic Burglary	Count	Apr12-Mar13	1175	32302
Notifiable Offences Recorded by the Police	Vehicle Offences (Includes Theft of and from Vehicles)	Count	Apr12-Mar13	3558	95686
Notifiable Offences Recorded by the Police	Drug Offences	Count	Apr12-Mar13	2047	51824
Notifiable Offences Recorded by the Police	Sexual Offences	Count	Apr12-Mar13	479	9686

Source: Adapted from Census 2011 data. Office of National Statistics.

Appendix 8. Proportion of All Stop & Search by Borough May 2016 – April 2017

MPS Borough	Volume
Lambeth	11738
Westminster	8736
Brent	7213
Southwark	7170
Kensington & Chelsea	6837
Islington	6381
Haringey	6087
Lewisham	5707
Newham	5455
Tower Hamlets	5429
Camden	4803
Hammersmith & Fulham	4621
Croydon	4145
Hackney	4068
Ealing	3952
Waltham Forest	3897
Hounslow	3703
Enfield	3135
Bromley	2963
Barking & Dagenham	2853
Greenwich	2826
Hillingdon	2617
Barnet	2570
Redbridge	2419
Wandsworth	2383
Kingston upon Thames	2244
Merton	2040
Bexley	1980
Harrow	1743
Havering	1462
Sutton	1404
Richmond upon Thames	1389
Aviation Policing	582

Source: stop and search data adapted from MET police dashboard. Available at.

https://www.met.police.uk/stats-and-data/stop-and-search-dashboard/. Accessed: 02 June 2017.

Appendix 9. Key Figures for crime and Safety Hammersmith and Fulham April 2017

				Hammersmith and Fulham	London
				London Borough	Region
Notifiable Offences Recorded by the Police	Violence with Injury	Count	Apr12-Mar13	1432	58009
Notifiable Offences Recorded by the Police	Violence without Injury (Includes Harassment and Assault)	Count	Apr12-Mar13	1779	67703
Notifiable Offences Recorded by the Police	Robbery	Count	Apr12-Mar13	699	34813
Notifiable Offences Recorded by the Police	Theft from the Person	Count	Apr12-Mar13	1151	49597
Notifiable Offences Recorded by the Police	Criminal Damage and Arson	Count	Apr12-Mar13	1352	59100
Notifiable Offences Recorded by the Police	Domestic Burglary	Count	Apr12-Mar13	1114	60702
Notifiable Offences Recorded by the Police	Non Domestic Burglary	Count	Apr12-Mar13	595	32302
Notifiable Offences Recorded by the Police	Vehicle Offences (Includes Theft of and from Vehicles)	Count	Apr12-Mar13	2876	95686
Notifiable Offences Recorded by the Police	Drug Offences	Count	Apr12-Mar13	1788	51824
Notifiable Offences Recorded by the Police	Sexual Offences	Count	Apr12-Mar13	258	9686

Source: Crime and Safety data, adapted from Office of National Statistics.