YOUNGSTERS’ ETHNICITY AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TOWARDS PROACTIVE POLICING IN ENGLAND

Iris van Dijk
Shaun Packiarajah

FACULTY OF BEHAVIOURAL, MANAGEMENT AND SOCIAL SCIENCES (BMS)

STUDY PROGRAM
EUROPEAN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

EXAMINATION COMMITTEE
FIRST SUPERVISOR: PROF. DR. BAS DENTERS
SECOND SUPERVISOR: DR. SHAWN DONNELLY
Foreword

This thesis is written as the final part in our completion of European Public Administration at the University of Twente. It represents the culmination of a period of both learning and hard work. We have chosen to look at whether ethnic discrimination by the police is happening in England, and if so the reasons behind it. The subject of this thesis falls within the field of EPA as a police officer’s conduct and behaviour, towards the public, is a form of policy implementation.

We both have a keen interest in human behaviour, and how this can affect the policymaking on the ground and not only how it’s represented through official legislation and political spin. Being students ourselves and also from different ethnic backgrounds, it was intriguing to see how policing instruments could be skewed towards racial profiling. When seeing the opportunity to work on an already established research area, we jumped at the chance to take on such a topic.

With the initial help and guidance of Jörgen Svensson, it only bolstered our already growing interest in the subject, and his help has been invaluable for our thesis. Also Dr van der Kaap took the time to help us with the statistical analysis. This also extends to both of our supervisors, Dr Denters and Dr Donnelly. We would like to thank them for their support throughout this project.

Enschede, 25-06-2015

Iris van Dijk & Shaun Packiarajah
Abstract

This study aims to identify if a young person’s ethnic background has an effect on the amount of proactive police contact (‘Stop and Search’ and ‘Stop and Question’) they have received over the previous twelve months. The focus is upon students at university level in England from the ages of 18 to 25. To achieve this, an anonymous self-report survey was conducted at Goldsmiths, University of London and the data collection occurred in April 2015 with 203 valid participants in total.

The reasoning behind a police officer’s use of Stop and Search and Stop and Question has been evaluated from an extensive literature review and five main explanatory variables have been established: Ethnicity, individual and group delinquency, socioeconomic status and availability. On the basis of this review a model has been developed that interprets the initial relationship of the perceived ethnicity of a youngster and the number of times they have been Stop and Searched & Stop and Questioned by the police. The model demonstrates how the other variables can explain for this relationship.

The results of this study found that there was a significant positive correlation between an ethnic minority youngster and the number of proactive police contacts, even after controlling for other factors. This link is based upon the perceived ethnic look of an individual from a police officer’s perspective. Additional explanatory variables, distinct from the direct ethnicity to proactive policing hypothesis, are based on existing literature and provide alternative explanations of why ethnic minority youths could be contacted more by proactive policing.

The study has established significant ethnic differences in Stop and Search and Stop and Question for youngsters in England. This cannot be explained by the controlled factors within this study, and raises the serious question of racial profiling in the implementation of such measures. England has had a long history with tackling discrimination in policing, and has tough policies in place to prevent it from happening. However this study suggests that these polices may be ineffective. Investigations into the implementation by police officers and the policymakers themselves should be researched further to be able to fully comprehend why this situation is as it is.
# Table of contents

List of figures, models and tables ........................................................................................................ 5

1. **Introduction** .......................................................................................................................... 7
   1.1 Background ................................................................................................................................ 7
   1.2 Aim and relevance of the study ................................................................................................. 8
   1.3 Research question ..................................................................................................................... 9

2. **Theoretical framework** ........................................................................................................... 11
   2.1 Proactive police contact ......................................................................................................... 11
   2.2 Ethnicity .................................................................................................................................. 14
   2.3 Individual delinquency ........................................................................................................... 16
   2.4 Group delinquency .................................................................................................................. 17
   2.5 Socioeconomic status ............................................................................................................. 18
   2.6 Availability ............................................................................................................................. 19
   2.7 Hypotheses and model ............................................................................................................ 21

3. **Methodology** .......................................................................................................................... 24
   3.1 Choice of Research Design ..................................................................................................... 24
       3.1.1 The survey ....................................................................................................................... 24
       3.1.2 Case selection and response ......................................................................................... 25
   3.2 Operationalization and measurement of the variables ........................................................... 26
       3.2.1 Stop and Search and Stop and Question ....................................................................... 26
       3.2.2 Ethnicity .......................................................................................................................... 28
       3.2.3 Individual delinquency and Group delinquency ................................................................. 30
       3.2.4 Socioeconomic status ..................................................................................................... 33
       3.2.5 Availability ..................................................................................................................... 35

4. **Results and Analysis** ............................................................................................................. 37
   4.1 Description of the analysis ....................................................................................................... 37
   4.2 Results ..................................................................................................................................... 38
       4.2.1 Direct effect of ethnicity on the amount of proactive police contact ...................... 39
       4.2.1 Individual delinquency .................................................................................................... 40
       4.2.3 Group delinquency .......................................................................................................... 41
       4.2.4 Socioeconomic status ..................................................................................................... 43
       4.2.5 Availability ..................................................................................................................... 45
List of figures, models and tables

**FIGURE 1:** Individual delinquency
**FIGURE 2:** Group delinquency
**FIGURE 3:** Socioeconomic status
**FIGURE 4:** Availability
**FIGURE 5:** Breakdown of hypothesis 3

**MODEL 1:** Breakdown of proactive police contact
**MODEL 2:** Hypotheses Overview
**MODEL 3:** Ethnicity to Proactive Police Contact
**MODEL 4:** Ethnicity to Proactive Police Contact via Individual Delinquency
**MODEL 5:** Ethnicity to Proactive Police Contact via Group Delinquency
**MODEL 6:** Ethnicity to Proactive Police contact via Socioeconomic Status
**MODEL 7:** Ethnicity to Proactive Police Contact via Availability
**MODEL 8:** Final results of hypotheses
**MODEL 9:** Tested hypotheses for males only
**MODEL 10:** Tested hypotheses for females only

**TABLE 1:** Gender * Stopped and Searched & Stop and Questioned
**TABLE 2:** Gender * How many times in the past 12 months have the police Stopped and Questioned you?
**TABLE 3:** Gender * How many times in the past 12 months have the police Stopped and Searched you?
**TABLE 4:** The individual's perceived ethnicity * Perceived ethnicity from a stranger's perspective
**TABLE 5:** Gender * Perceived ethnicity from a stranger's perspective
**TABLE 6:** Specific ethnicity of an individual if not English * Gender
**TABLE 7:** Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for testing hypotheses (N=203)
**TABLE 8:** Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables (N=203)
**TABLE 9:** Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for testing hypotheses: Males only (N=118)

**TABLE 10:** Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for testing hypotheses: Females only (N=85)

**TABLE 11:** Outcome Principal Component Analysis
1. Introduction

1.1 Background

This study is looking into how proactive policing in particular could be used in a disproportionate manner towards ethnic minority youth in England. The literature states that disproportionality, based on ethnicity, is widespread in the figures for proactive policing (Phillips & Bowling, 2002, p. 1).

The link between police powers and racial profiling has been a controversial topic in England for many decades, and is still high in the minds of the public and politicians alike (Equalities & Commission, 2010). However police contact with the public is a varied concept and can have many different forms. In this study the form of contact focused upon is proactive policing. Proactive policing methods are those which are carried out under the own initiative of a police officer for each and every encounter. These methods have been developed and based upon the Broken Windows theory. This theory states that if smaller crimes are left unnoticed and unpunished, more serious crimes will then occur (Tyler, 2004). Therefore proactive policing methods can be seen as preventative instruments, focusing on combating possible criminal activities before they can develop into actual crimes.

Looking specifically at England and the history of proactive policing, it has been a bumpy path with major changes implemented within the policy framework to minimise the perceived and actual racial bias seen in this kind of policing. PACE (Police and Criminal Evidence Act) of 1984 is one of the pieces legislation under which the majority of Stop and Search and Stop and Question occur under. However there was mass discontent from the public with the way this was being utilised by police, as it was being used against mainly Black and Asian individuals (Equalities & Commission, 2010, p. 12). This previous experience with the challenges of proactive policing and its association with racial discrimination is a core reason for this study’s choice of England. Analysis of what the current situation is for ethnic minority youngsters in England creates the opportunity to examine if there are indications of racial discrimination in the
implementation of proactive policing. From this, in conjunction with other research regarding the proactive policing topic, the best policy implementation can be established.

Proactive policing is comprised of a rather wide range of interventions and this paper will focus on “Stop and Search” and “Stop and Question”. Stop and Search is the power a police officer has to stop a person suspected of carrying out an illegal activity whilst Stop and Question is the power a police officer has to question any individual even if there is no suspicion (both restricted by certain criteria). From this point forward this paper, when addressing proactive policing, will solely focus on these two aspects. Other kinds of proactive policing methods such as police checks and vehicle and traffic violations have been excluded to enable a more expansive analysis of the situation based upon the time and resources available.

1.2 Aim and relevance of the study

*Political and social relevance*

The idea of overrepresentation of ethnic minorities, in terms of proactive policing, has been an issue within England for a long period and documentation from the English police force themselves has proven this fact. Despite the figures stating this trend, the policy measures being researched to tackle this issue are not high upon the priority list of many EU nations (Goodey, 2006). However this is not always the case, as shown in the Netherlands. Here an experiment will take place for half a year from the summer of 2015, in order to tackle discrimination against ethnic minorities by the police. The use of special forms will be introduced in Tilburg to register why people have been stopped, their nationality and ethnic origin (Haenen, 2015). In England the accountability of police forces has risen with the transparency that has been created from the recording of the ethnicity of individuals Stopped and Searched and Stopped and Questioned, but this study will look into its actual effectiveness in practice.

Also the varying level of experience with tackling racial discrimination in proactive policing across nations, opens up an opportunity for study. There may be an interest to look into such issues more deeply to expand public knowledge on the topic. Certain national police forces state
that individual officers can make errors of judgement (Haenen, 2015), yet academic studies can illustrate if there are more systematic trends.

Looking at the British government, this study area is still high on the political agenda, with the current Home Secretary Theresa May of the British Government stating that there is a need to temper the Stop and Search powers of the police in order to reduce the, in her opinion, unfair targeting of certain individuals. Even with these regulations in place she has stated that there are still large amounts of Stop and Search incidents that are not used with reasonable suspicion, making them illegitimate (Travis, 2015). This statement showcases that racial bias could come into play when the regulations are not being followed by the police officer involved.

**Academic relevance**

There is also little strong empirical evidence when looking at the link between ethnic minority youth and crime across multiple geographic locations, with the most extensive reports being compiled in the United States (M. Maguire, Morgan, & Reiner, 2012, p. 499). The data on racial profiling when it comes to proactive police contact in Europe is also rather limited. As ethnic populations and types vary across the continent as well as the political backdrop they occur in, it is important to collect data from a variety of countries (Miller et al., 2008).

**1.3 Research question**

The main research question studied within the paper is:

*Which factors explain the relationship between the ethnic background of young people and their frequency of proactive police contact in England?*

This paper is based upon this central explanatory question, with the aim of developing a causal understanding of the correlation found between the ethnicity of an individual youngster, and their chances of having proactive police contact. This overall question also encompasses multiple variables beyond this initial relationship. Therefore two sub questions have been created to fully portray the aims of this paper:
To what extent does Stop and Search and Stop and Question in England result in young people from ethnic minorities being contacted more frequently by the police than young people without such a background?

To what extent is any such relationship explained by differences in individual delinquency, group delinquency, socioeconomic status and availability?

The first sub question restates the initial relationship between the independent variable, ethnicity of a minority youngster and the extent to which they have more contact with police via proactive policing, the dependent variable. This is followed by the second sub question which explores and explains the influence that other relevant explanatory variables might have on the relationship between ethnicity and being stopped and searched or stopped and questioned by the police. If one of the other variables is indeed illustrating the expected relationship, this infers that this expected trend (youngsters with an ethnic minority background having a higher likelihood of having more proactive police contact) is not intrinsically based on discrimination based upon ‘ethnic looks’.

This study focuses upon the explanations of variables towards the relationship of ethnicity of a young person and the number of proactive police contacts they have encountered. Testing is performed to fully understand and corroborate the factors behind this relationship. Certain variables such as both kinds of delinquency could be a justifiable reason for increased proactive police contact, if ethnic minority youths rate higher in these categories. However socioeconomic status would not able a legitimate reason to do so as class bias should have no place in swaying a police officer’s judgment.
2. Theoretical Framework

When investigating the overall topic of proactive policing and ethnic minority youths, six variables have been identified. All of these have been taken from a previous study from Svennson and Saharso (apart from socioeconomic status). Firstly the variable proactive police contact covers the aspect of proactive policing focused upon in this survey and the legal background behind it. Furthermore the ethnicity section explores the literature linking ethnic minority youngsters to proactive policing.

The sections thereafter all look at variables that can explain the relationship between ethnicity and proactive police contact. First, individual delinquency and group delinquency deal with the link between ethnic youngsters and delinquency. The socioeconomic status variable looks into an ethnic minority youngster’s economic and social position in society. Finally availability illustrates the academic views on ethnic differences between youngsters in regards to their availability on the streets and how this is linked to those who are caught up in proactive policing. All of those factors have a relationship with both a youngster’s ethnicity as well as with proactive police contact, according to existing literature. Their relevance to both ethnicity and proactive police contact will be further explained in this section.

2.1 Proactive police contact

Regarding the situation of proactive policing in England, this paper will be focusing on the instruments of Stop and Question and Stop and Search. These two categories are illustrated in model 1. Looking first at Stop and Question, the police have the power to Stop and Question any individual when in uniform without the need for ‘reasonable grounds’ to do so. This instrument extends to multiple individuals within a group. When a police officer is not in uniform, he or she still has the power to stop an individual and ask questions, as long as the police officer shows them their police identification (GOV.UK, 2014). A police officer has the legal right to ask two kinds of questions: ‘’what are you doing?’’ and ‘’why are you in an area and/or where are you going?’’. Even though a police officer is allowed to Stop and Question an individual or a group at any time, those being asked have the right not to answer.
The second category of proactive policing is Stop and Search. The Police and Criminality Evidence Act of 1994 and other regulations mentioned in the subsequent legal framework section allow a police officer to Stop and Search an individual when there are ‘reasonable grounds’ to do so (GOV.UK, 2014). For instance when a police officer suspects a person of carrying a weapon, stolen property, illegal drugs or items that could be used in a crime (GOV.UK, 2014). However, there are also instances where an individual could be stopped and searched by a police officer without reasonable grounds. This can only happen when approval has been given by a senior police officer. This approval can be given when an individual is in a specified area, carrying a weapon, has used a weapon or when serious hostility could occur.

Before a Stop and Search can be initiated, there is certain information a police officer must convey to the individual involved. This includes the name of the officer and their police station, why they have chosen to search the individual and what they expect to find on them. The legality of the search will also be explained as well as the ability for the individual to receive a record of the search being carried out (GOV.UK, 2014). This also applies when being stopped and questioned, as an individual is also entitled to receive a receipt with details of the stop. This written record of the stop should be handed to the individual at the time of the incident. It includes details such as the reason for the stop and the self-defined ethnicity of the individual. This record is also held by the police. There are times when it may not be possible for the police officer to hand an individual a receipt (for example at a large public event), in this instance a record must be made available within 3 months and the location to obtain it given (Police, 2015).

When Stop and Search does occur there is a procedure in place dictating what a police officer can take from an individual, depending on the circumstances. Outer clothing such as coats, jackets or gloves can be taken off in public. Other items of clothing that have religious significance can be removed once the individual is in private. If there is a need to remove further clothing, the officer involved must be the same gender as the individual being searched (GOV.UK, 2014).
Legal Framework

The legal background for Stop and Search and Stop and Question will be highlighted in this section. This clarifies the framework which police officer’s use to act upon in their duties. Firstly the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984, Misuse of Drugs Act 1871 and the Firearms act 1968 are the three acts from which there must be reasonable suspicion that the individual has stolen objects or is carrying prohibited items in order to be stopped and searched by the police.

Furthermore under the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 (section 60), searches that do not require prior suspicion in individual cases are justified. The authorisation by a senior officer is based on the belief that violent incidents may occur, that individuals are carrying dangerous weapons or are within a specific area.

It is unlawful for the police force, and police officers themselves to both indirectly and directly discriminate whilst performing their duties under the Race Relations Amendment Act of 2000. This gives individuals the ability to complain when they feel that they have been discriminated. The act goes further by stating that the police service has a duty to stop discrimination and
“promote equality of opportunity and good relations” (Equalities & Commission, 2010, p. 17). This in essence means that the levels of “disproportionality in the use of stop and search” (Equalities & Commission, 2010, p. 17) should be tackled.

Moreover this is emphasised in the Equality Act 2010, in which direct and indirect discrimination are forbidden. Direct discrimination in terms of ethnicity is when an individual is treated with less favour on the grounds of their race. Indirect discrimination is the implementation of a rule or policy (Equalities & Commission, 2012) that has a disproportionate effect on certain individuals and cannot be justified. An example of this would be a requirement for police officers to only apply Stop and Search and Stop and Question measures in predominantly ethnic areas with no explanation.

2.2 Ethnicity

The ethnicity of an individual, and its relation to proactive police contact, is the main concept in this study. Proactive police contact is based on the judgement of police officers or their superiors before an actual crime has taken place or when it is suspected that an individual has been involved in a crime. Ethnic profiling itself and other forms of racial discrimination are prohibited in England by multiple legal frameworks. Proactive policing is also seen by many as an instrument that can be prone to racial bias, therefore representing a missed opportunity to reduce crime (Equalities & Commission, 2010, p. 63).

Looking back to previous studies, the relationship between proactive police contact and ethnicity is a much researched one, with a multitude of differing theories and perspectives present. Macpherson has stated in the past that there is historical evidence of systematic racism within the British police force (Rowe, 2013). This was found within the structure of the police force itself such as in policy making and work culture, but also flows through the instruments that are used to enforce the law. The Stephen Lawrence inquiry stated that when a police force is institutionally racist this can also skew an officer's actions (Cluny, 1999). Furthermore, proactive policing has been seen to be disproportionately utilised against ethnic minority youngsters, this is reinforced
by Phillips and Coretta who state that drug searches, as well as other forms of searches, are asymmetrically higher for ethnic minorities in England (Bowling & Phillips, 2007).

Phillips and Coretta, state in the Oxford Handbook of Criminology that ethnic differences span beyond just skin colour. It can be inferred from this that white ethnic minorities also differ to a large degree to the majority white population (M. Maguire et al., 2012, p. 382). Therefore, when looking at the sample selected for the analysis, ethnic minorities who are not obviously foreign could also have differing results in terms of the number of proactive police contact.

Furthermore the idea of a police officer not letting any kind of prejudice into their judgement making is a tenuous one, and creates a situation where perceived ethnicity could play an important role. In England, the use of ‘reasonable grounds’ has been a controversial topic, as it is seen by some as a legal framework that can be warped by the individual police officers interpretation (Holdaway, 2003). This can occur even when prohibited in the legislation itself, due to the leeway given. For Stop and Question no reasonable grounds are necessary to ask questions to a certain individual. This shows that there is even more freedom in a police officer’s decision to Stop and Question an individual in comparison to Stop and Search. The freedom allowed through this kind of wording can mean that in the moment, a police officer can bring his own racial prejudice into their decision making. This is reinforced by Michael Lipsky who mentions the idea of discretion and that street level bureaucrats such as police officers have a large amount of discretion when looking at the ‘nature, amount and quality of benefits and sanctions’ (Lipsky, 2010, p. 13). Lipsky highlights the miscommunication that can occur when trying to establish visual cues of suspicion or disrespect. He states that defining what ‘does or does not constitute a dirty look’ (Lipsky, 2010, p. 14) is very much a subjective matter (Lipsky, 2010). Wu has also stated that additional police tension with ethnic minorities can be created through specific ethnic factors such as language issues, cultural differences and the amount of knowledge pertaining to the justice system (Wu, 2014, p. 135).

The previously discussed literature has shown that proactive policing is used in a disproportionate manner against ethnic minority youngsters. In the literature there are alternative phenomena that explain for this relationship, demonstrating that it is not purely based on
discrimination founded upon ‘’ethnic looks’’. The following sections will look into these alternative explanations.

2.3 Individual delinquency

According to multiple academics, it is an individual’s delinquency, not their ethnicity that explains the difference in the amount of proactive police contacts. It is suggested that the differences in the pattern of stops are simply the result of the differences in criminal involvement, assuming that the differences in criminal involvement are shown in the different patterns of suspicious behaviour (Bowling & Phillips, 2007, p. 948). This argumentation states that young people who have been involved in crime have a higher chance of more frequent proactive police contact than young people who have not been involved in crime. McAra and McVie reinforce this by stating that this prior experience with the police is a very powerful predictor of proactive police contact (McAra & McVie, 2005, p. 21). Additionally Bowling and Phillips mention that there are differences found with delinquency in terms of age, gender but also ethnic origin (Bowling & Phillips, 2007, p. 948). This evidence points towards ethnicity having an effect on a youngster’s level of delinquency, as well as young people being more delinquent having higher level of police contact. Together this lends credence to the idea of ethnic minorities being more delinquent and therefore having higher levels of proactive police contact.

When looking at this kind of preventative police measures, the progression of an individual from smaller criminal activity such as graffiti or vandalism is important. If it is left uncontrolled and unchecked by the police, this can lead to a high chance of being involved in serious crimes (Bowling & Phillips, 2007, p. 787). When criminal activities are left uncontrolled, this leads to more criminal behaviour according to the broken windows theory (Harcourt, 2009). From this conclusion, it could be inferred that individual delinquency on a smaller scale, being left uncontrolled, could lead to more suspicious behaviour that would warrant attention from a police officer.

However there are some counterpoints in the literature when it comes to individual delinquency being the cause of higher levels of proactive police contact. Alpert states that those that have
looked and controlled for level of individual or group delinquency directly related to minorities, have found that disparities still occur. This would point towards ethnic bias playing a role rather than delinquency (Smith & Alpert, 2007, p. 1263).

2.4 Group delinquency

Expanding on the concept of delinquency, other researchers argue that group delinquency is the most important factor in explaining the differences in proactive police contacts. This is due to the idea that the delinquency of an individual’s friends can affect themselves in terms of attention and suspicion from a police officer. This in turn raises the chance of the individual having a higher level of proactive police contact even if they themselves are not delinquent.

McAra and McVie argue that when a young person has a friend or friends who have had proactive police contact in the past, this youngster is twice as likely to also have had such proactive police contact compared to a person without such a friend (McAra & McVie, 2005). When only one of the group members acts suspiciously, this can increase the chances of police contact for all involved in the group (Walsh & Taylor, 2007).

Whilst having friends with delinquent behaviour could increase the chance of proactive police contact, group delinquency could in fact provide a legitimate ground for implementation of such measures. When looking at group delinquency and proactive policing, Hagan notes that the perception of injustice from minorities can actually breed criminal behaviour (Hagan, Shedd, & Payne, 2005). Across multiple studies there has been irregular action against minorities in comparison to their share of the population. Even if other factors are initially responsible, this can cause cyclical feelings within ethnic minority groups that the odds are not in their favour. Hagan (2005) portrays this as a cross generational phenomena whereby the children in ethnic minority families would be more delinquent than their parents. When looking at this case study it is relevant in terms of the ethnic groupings found within England. However this could also work within a group dynamic, spreading through friendship groups that contain multiple persons of ethnic minority background. When a member of the group perceives that another member is being treated unfairly, they could act rebellious even if the cause of his friend’s misfortune was
not racially based (Hagan et al., 2005, p. 2). This can therefore lead to ethnic minority youngsters acting out as a group and become more delinquent.

2.5 Socioeconomic status

Another factor that could explain the differences in the frequency of proactive police contact between youngsters with different ethnic backgrounds is their socioeconomic status (SES). SES itself is an umbrella term that encompasses multiple factors. It is important for this study as it could provide a potential explanation for the underlying aspects that cause ethnic minorities to have higher police contacts, with Harcourt stating that proactive policing discrepancies could be due to socioeconomic factors (Harcourt, 2009). When looking at the common measurements used for SES the key variables are “income, education and occupation” (Grundy & Holt, 2001, p. 896).

When looking at the British population the ‘Households Below Average Income’ report states that those living in an ethnic household in Britain are more likely to have a low income, and are consequently more probable to have a have a lower SES (Carr, Councell, Higgs, & Singh, 2014). Therefore, the minority youth sample this study is based upon are more likely to have a lower SES for the most part, in comparison to the rest of the population, leading to higher levels of proactive police contact.

According to McAra & McVie, enforcing social discipline is also a key “informal objective of policing” (McAra & McVie, 2005, p. 7). Taken from this view, the police have the motivation of enforcing social discipline towards those with lower SES and therefore this would lead to the conclusion that certain ethnic minority groups with an overall lower SES have more frequent proactive police contact (McAra & McVie, 2005).

Police officers also create distinctions between young people based around their socioeconomic status (McAra & McVie, 2005). They judge those who in their eyes ‘deserve’ more punishment and those who do not, based on socioeconomic status. This points towards “class bias” on the part of police (McAra & McVie, 2005, p. 2). This bias directly relates to this study of Stop and
Search and Stop and Question, as they both rely upon a police officer’s judgement of an individual. This is the case according to Sampson (1986) as a police officer focuses on those that “conform to the image of the stereotypical…” individual. This infers the visual description of what a police officer perceives as lower class (Sampson, 1986, p. 887). However what this means in practice is rather harder to explicitly state.

Sampson also notes that that availability of individuals as well as the level of SES the neighbourhood in which an individual is in can have a large effect on the change of being contacted by the police (Sampson, 1986, p. 877). This body of research suggests a link between SES and the possibility of proactive police contacts, but also links it to other variables tested such as delinquency and availability. Therefore this concept will be utilised to interpret if such a relationship is seen between ethnicity and proactive police contact.

2.6 Availability

Often it is the resident population of an area that is taken into account when analysing proactive policing figures. However, certain academics argue that the number of individuals who are available on the streets should instead be taken into account and its relationship with the amount of proactive police contact. Availability is seen to be higher for an individual who is said to “spend more time in public places” (Miller & Consultancy, 2000, p. 6).

Waddington et al (2004) argue that the difference seen in proactive police contacts towards ethnic minorities is explained by the level of ‘availability’ they have on the streets themselves (Waddington, Stenson, & Don, 2004). Maguire et al. claim that it that the discrepancy in police stops can be explained as the consequence of some people being more frequently available in public spaces (A. M. Maguire et al., 2008). Miller states that ethnic minorities have “different characteristics” than local people in the area leading them to be more available on the streets, in turn causing a higher chance of proactive police contact (Miller & Consultancy, 2000, p. 6). Ben Bowling and Coretta Phillips mention that these differences depend on several structural factors which are known to be associated with the ethnic origin, like homelessness, unemployment and exclusion from school (Bowling & Phillips, 2007).
These factors contribute to availability on the streets being a worthwhile concept to explore in trying to establish the strength of influence ethnicity truly has on the amount of proactive police contact on ethnic minority youths.
2.7 Hypotheses and model

In order to answer the research question, a model has been established. Model 2 illustrates the connection between the variables defined within the paper. The model shows the links between the six variables which were explained in the sections previously.

The first hypothesis will test the relationship between ethnicity and proactive police contact. When this hypothesis has been tested, the first sub question will be answered. Looking at this hypothesis, it could be established if there is a significant correlation between the respondents’ perceived ethnicity and the number of proactive police contacts they have had in the past 12 months. If this first hypothesis is confirmed, the main question remains whether this could be explained by one of the other explanatory factors. The first hypothesis is as follows:
**H1**: Being perceived as an ethnic minority youth by a police officer increases the likelihood of one having more frequent proactive police contact than a youngster without such a perceived ethnic background

Rather than a direct effect of ethnicity on proactive police contact, ethnicity might have indirect effects on the amount of proactive police contacts via four different paths. Every path exists of two hypotheses. The first hypothesis concerns the relationship from the variable ethnicity towards an explanatory variable, and the second hypothesis concerns the relationship from that explanatory variable to proactive police contact. In order to see whether one of the other variables indeed explains for more proactive police contact for ethnic minority youngsters, the full path existing of the two hypotheses, need to be confirmed. The validation of these pairings will therefore answer the second sub question.

The first path is made up of H2 and H3 and involves the explanatory variable, individual delinquency:

**H2**: A youngster who is perceived as an ethnic minority youth by a police officer is more likely to have higher individual delinquency compared to a youngster without such a perceived ethnic background

**H3**: Being more individually delinquent increases the likelihood of a youngster having more frequent proactive police contact

The second path is made up of H4 and H5 and involves the explanatory variable, group delinquency:

**H4**: A youngster who is perceived as an ethnic minority youth by a police officer is more likely to have friend(s) that have a higher level of delinquency than a youngster without such a perceived ethnic background.

**H5**: Having friend(s) with a higher level of delinquency increases the likelihood of a youngster having more frequent proactive police contact
The third path is made up of H6 and H7 and involves the explanatory variable, socioeconomic status:

**H₆:** A youngster who is perceived as an ethnic minority youth by a police officer is more likely to have a lower socioeconomic status than a youngster without such a perceived ethnic background.

**H₇:** Having a lower socioeconomic status increases the likelihood of a youngster having more frequent proactive police contact

The fourth path is made up of H8 and H9 and involves the explanatory variable, availability:

**H₈:** A youngster who is perceived as an ethnic minority youth by a police officer is likely to be more available on the street than a youngster without such a perceived ethnic background

**H₉:** Spending more time on the streets increases the likelihood of a youngster to have more frequent proactive police contact
3. Methodology

3.1 Choice of Research Design

The research question formulated in the paper is explanatory and is further subdivided into two additional sub-questions enabling further investigation into additional variables. Since this design is cross sectional, the starting point for this study is based on causal propositions with the use of empirical data to test causal relationships. To accomplish this, the empirical data has been collected by means of a self-report survey. Jupp mentions the specific applicability of this kind of study when the topic is crime, in particular juvenile delinquency (Jupp, 2006, p. 276). From a logistical point of view, a larger more extensive data collection method would have been unfeasible in the time period available, as well as with the resources at hand.

This survey data collection occurred between the 20th and 24th of April 2015. The majority of the survey consists of quantitative data collection, with minor qualitative elements to add to the overall completeness of the data collection. The survey, whilst taken at a single point in time, contains questions regarding 12 months prior to the point of collection, therefore relying on a respondent’s memory.

3.1.1 The survey

The survey constructed for this paper is broken down into five main sections. This was to create a clear structure for the respondent as well as separate the topic areas of the questions being asked. Section A relates to general background information on the respondent such as their age, gender and perceived ethnicity. Section B contains questions related to the variable proactive police contact and asks multiple questions regarding the amount of police contact the respondent has had in the previous 12 month period. Section C relates to both the delinquency variables and contains questions regarding criminal activities committed by the individual themselves, as well what their friends have committed within the previous 12 months. Section D focuses upon the socioeconomic status of the respondent whilst finally section E covers the variable availability on
the streets by asking how many hours per week a respondent spends performing certain activities on average.

The majority of the survey (sections A, B, C, E) is based upon a previously constructed survey created by Svensson and Saharso (Svensson, Sollie, & Saharso, 2012). When possible, their survey has been translated directly for the use within this study. However changes were necessary for multiple reasons. Since the original survey was based on the Netherlands, aspects needed to be adapted for the sample in England. Also the high number of respondents aimed for this study, and the setting for data collection necessitated that the survey be as brief as possible (Choi & Pak, 2005). This has led to the survey used in this study being much shorter to suit these needs. Since socioeconomic status was not included in the survey of Svensson & Saharso this has been constructed for the purpose of this study following the previous needs using existing literature.

The survey itself was printed and each respondent filled out their answers by hand. Due to the sensitive nature of certain parts of the survey, all respondents were handed a sealable envelope in which they could put their finished survey once completed to ensure the privacy and anonymity of their answers.

3.1.2 Case selection and response

The data collection for this paper occurred in April 2015, as mentioned previously. The location for this was Goldsmiths, University of London. The exact location was within the foyer of the university library where students were approached as they entered or left the building. As individuals were queried on whether they would like to fill in a survey based on them entering or exiting the building, this data collection is based on a convenience sample. The reason for using this kind of design was due to the time and resource restrictions in place. This method allows for a large amount of data to be collected for the analysis in a short amount of time. Due to the limited personal and resources available for data collection, refusal rates were not taken into account. Implementing this would have meant recording of this additional data, impacting the study by reducing the total number of respondents contacted.
When looking at the response from the data collection, 203 students were within the target age of 18-25. The mean age of these respondents is 21 years old (21.24) with a standard deviation of 1.963.

3.2 Operationalization and measurement of the variables

3.2.1 Stop and Search and Stop and Question

*Operationalization*

For the variable proactive police contact, it is very important to distinguish between several types of police contact. The focus of this study is on proactive police contact, which is made up of Stop and Search and Stop and Question for this study. It is therefore mainly interesting to look at how many times a youngster has been Stopped and Searched or Stopped and Questioned by the police. Other kinds of proactive policing methods (included in Svensson & Saharso’s survey) such as police checks, vehicle and traffic violations under the road traffic act have been excluded (Equalities & Commission, 2010, p. 15). It was judged that this would enable a more expansive analysis of the situation based upon the time and resources available.

All questions referenced regarding proactive police contact can be found in Section B of the survey within the appendix. In order to distinguish between all the types of police contact, and make a strong distinction for respondents, section B starts with question ‘a’, asking about all possible kinds of police contact that a person has had in the past 12 months. The question covers all forms of police contacts, including both citizen and police initiated contact. The second question (‘b’) then asks how many times a person is stopped and searched by the police. Question ‘c’ and ‘d’ then focus on the Stop and Question, with question ‘c’ covering the first question possible to be asked by a police officer, and question ‘d’ covering the second inquiry possible of a Stop and Question encounter. In order to make sure that the focus of the second, third and fourth question are on police initiated contacts and not the other way around, a fifth question was established. This question takes a look at how many times the respondent itself contacted the police.
To answer these questions, the respondents were asked to fill in how many times they have experienced the event described within each question over the past 12 months. The validity and reliability for respondents to fill in the number of occurrences is justified as it is taken directly from Svensson & Saharso’s structure.

For this paper, only the questions regarding the number of Stop and Search (‘b’) and Stop and Question incidents (‘c’ and ‘d’) are of analytical importance. All three of these questions are open and therefore there is no theoretical maximum. Questions regarding all forms of police contact and respondent initiated police contact (‘a’ and ‘e’) were constructed to act as a precaution against the respondent misunderstanding what kind of contact they have had with the police.

**Measurement**

This scale is made up of three items, with the minimum score being 0 with no theoretical maximum. When looking at the results, it can be seen in table 1 within the appendix that from all 203 respondents, 58 have been stopped and searched or stopped and questioned by the police at least once in the last year, amounting to 28.6 percent. From the 118 male respondents, 74 were not stopped and searched or stopped and questioned by the police, while 44 have had such contact with the police amounting to 37.3 percent. From the 85 female respondents, this division was 71 and 14 respectively, which equates to 16.5 percent having experienced this kind of police contact.

Table 2 and 3 in the appendix illustrate the division between Stop and Search and Stop and Question among the respondents. The number of contacts for Stop and Question has been calculated together, whilst Stop and Search was already an item on its own. Table 2 illustrates that in total 52 youngsters have been stopped and questioned in the past year, from which 39 are male and 13 are female. From this combination, the range of occurrence was from one to six times. Table 3 demonstrates that in total 26 youngsters have been stopped and searched in the past 12 months, from which 24 are males and two are females.
When looking at the three items of relevance to this research for proactive policing, the Cronbach’s Alpha stated is 0.703, which is an acceptable level. This means that the internal consistency of the items is sufficient.

3.2.2 Ethnicity

Operationalization

Proactive policing means that the actions taken by a police officer are carried out under their own initiative. This implies that it is important to examine how a police officer would perceive a youngster as opposed to how they perceive themselves. An example could be an individual who feels that their ethnicity is English yet the perception outwardly could be ambiguous. For this research it would be optimal to ask police officers to observe how they would perceive the respondents; either as ethnic youngsters or as English youngsters. Due to the limited time period for this research, this was not manageable. Therefore, an alternative option has been searched for. The choice has been made to make a distinction in the survey by the means of two questions. The questions have been taken from Svensson & Saharso’s survey, and this study is using its justification as the evidence for its relevance in this study. There has been a slight change to the format of the question from the original survey with the self-perceived nature of ethnicity separated into both A3 and A5 instead of a singular question.

The first question A3, which is related to the respondent’s ethnicity, states whether the respondent’s perceive themselves as an English or non-English youngster. This question is not important for the analysis part of this study, but it is added because it clarifies the distinction between what their self-perceived ethnicity is and how they are perceived by a stranger.

Question A4 is important as it takes the point of view of a stranger when looking at the respondent’s ethnicity. The question has the options of ‘as an English youngster’ or ‘as a non-English youngster’ as the two available answers. The decision was made to ask how a stranger would see them on the street instead of asking how a police officer would see them on the streets, which was the case by Svensson & Saharso. The reason for this is that when the word ‘police officer’ is added to the question, this could lead to bias. This could spark a prejudice from the
respondent based on their view of the police or be classed as a leading question that could influence the respondent’s answer (Choi & Pak, 2005, p. 4).

The last question related to ethnicity is question A5. Respondents were asked to fill in this question if they had filled in non-English at either or both A3 or A4 previously. This question asked what ethnic background the respondent related themselves to the most. The answers given are based on recommended ethnic group questions for the use on a survey in England by the Office of National Statistics of the UK (Statistics, 2013).

There are certain options such Irish and Welsh in the selection. Phillips and Coretta state in the Oxford Handbook of Criminology that ethnic differences span beyond just skin colour. Those without visible differences in ethnicity from an outside perspective, differ to a large degree to the English majority. Therefore ethnic minorities who are not obviously foreign, like Irish or the Welsh minorities should also be included as a non-English ethnic group option in this question. Also an open option for ‘other’ was provided in which the respondents could fill in to which other ethnic minority they feel they belong, if it was not mentioned in the answer options.

For this research, question A4 is of great importance. Question A3 is added to make a clear difference between how the respondents perceive themselves and how a stranger would perceive them on the streets. Question A5 can be used for further analyse when looking into the separate ethnic background of individuals. The answers to questions A3 and A5 will not be analysed in this study.

**Measurement**

Table 4 in the appendix shows the division between the youngsters’ own perceived ethnicity and how they believe they are perceived by a stranger. Although the results of how the youngsters perceive themselves are not of importance for the analysis, it is interesting to note the division in the data. The table shows that the majority of the 203 respondents, namely 158 respondents perceive themselves the same way as they would be perceived by a stranger. From those 158, 96 perceive themselves, and are perceived by others as English. There were 62 respondents who perceived themselves as non-English and are also perceived as non-English by strangers.
Furthermore, there are 16 respondents who perceive themselves as English while they are being perceived as non-English by strangers and 29 respondents perceive themselves as non-English while they are perceived as English by strangers.

Table 5 focuses solely on the respondents’ perceived ethnicity by a stranger and gender. As shown in table 5, of the 203 respondents, 118 are male and 85 are female. Focusing on the male respondents, 79 (66.9 percent) are perceived as English by a stranger while 39 (33.1 percent) of the male respondents are perceived as non-English by a stranger. From the 85 female respondents, 46 (54.1 percent) are perceived as English by a stranger while 39 (45.9 percent) are perceived as non-English by a stranger.

Of the 78 youngsters who stated that they are perceived as non-English by a stranger, almost all (72) filled in one of the categories mentioned in the survey question (A5), which asks which ethnic minority they relate themselves to the most. As seen in table 6, when looking at the division of youngsters who are perceived as non-English, the majority of them are African with the ethnicities of Chinese, Pakistani and Indian following respectively. Furthermore, table 2 also shows the gender breakdown per ethnicity group. The largest group of ethnic minorities for males is Africans followed by Pakistani and White and Black Caribbean. For females this is Chinese, African followed by Indian and Caribbean respectively.

Furthermore, for question A5, an ‘other’ option was added. There were respondents who filled in non-English in questions A3 or A4 who noted down alternative ethnicities in the ‘other’ option. These have been carefully analysed and the decision was made to not take those into account. This was due to the fact that there was no specific ethnic background mentioned that occurred frequently.

3.2.3 Individual delinquency and Group delinquency

Operationalization

The indicators for the individual delinquency and group delinquency variables are taken from the survey established by Svensson and Saharso. The questions and indicators for this study can be
found in section D of the survey in the appendix. The main difference in this study’s survey is that some indicators have been condensed together to shorten the length of the survey as much as possible to collect a large sample and avoid ‘response fatigue’, which is when a respondent becomes uninterested with a long survey (Choi & Pak, 2005, p. 7). An example for this is the ‘damaging things from others on purpose’ and ‘daub walls, fences, bus shelters and the alike with ink or paint’ which are all separate items in Svensson and Saharso’s survey, while for this survey one item has been made of the two named ‘Vandalism (damaging property, graffiti)’. Furthermore, this survey has added three extra options to fill in ‘other illegal activities’ to increase validity in case there was a particular activity not accounted for in the predetermined questions. However they were not used in the final analysis as the activities noted down were too infrequent or not belonged to a pre-existing category. If this was the case, the activity was attributed to the existing item. When looking at individual delinquency, the question was asked ‘How many times have you done this activity in the past 12 months?’ The answer options were ‘never’, ‘once’ or ‘twice or more’. This differs from the way Svensson and Saharso had constructed it, as they only had ‘no’ or ‘yes’ options available for individual delinquency. The choice to expand on those options was to allow a more extensive score to be given. A youngster who has ‘never’ committed the crime given will get a score of 0, while a youngster who has once committed the crime will get a score of 1 and finally a young person who has committed the crime twice or more will get a score of 2. The mean of all the scores for every indicator will be calculated and will be rescaled so that the final score is between 0-10 by multiplying the mean by 10 and then dividing by 2.

For group delinquency, the question was asked ‘Have any of your friends done this activity in the past 12 months?’. Here the options ‘no’ and ‘yes’ were given. Here, the ‘no’ will count as 0 and the ‘yes’ will count as 1. Just like individual delinquency, the mean of all the scores for every indicator will be calculated and then multiplied by 10. Then a final group delinquency total will be given which will have scores between 0 and 10. Furthermore for both these calculations, allowances for one missing value has been taken into account as this is seen as an acceptable amount of missing data (Shrive, Stuart, Quan, & Ghali, 2006).
Once the survey was conducted, it was decided to exclude the item ‘truancy’ from the individual delinquency and group delinquency scale. The reason for this is that there were many respondents who did not know what truancy is and asked questions about it. In order to ensure the validity of the scales, this item was taken out before the analysis was performed.

**Measurement**

Both individual delinquency and group delinquency scales are made up of a count consisting of 8 items in total. Due to the different coding however the theoretical range of the scales are also different. For individual delinquency this is 0-16 and for group delinquency this is 0-8. As mentioned before these have both been rescaled to fit a range of 0-10. Prior to any statistical methods to corroborate the hypotheses, the use of factor analysis was implemented. Factor analysis are the steps used to “simplify complex sets of quantitative data” through the checking of correlations between the studied variables. This can then “reveal the small number of factors which can explain the correlation” (Jupp, 2006, p. 114). A Principal Component Analysis (a type of factor analysis) was performed on the variables ‘individual delinquency’ and ‘group delinquency’. Whilst some interesting ideas came from this, it was not consequential to the method of measurement in this study. The results of this factor analysis are shown in the Principal Component Analysis section in the appendix.

In figure 1 within the appendix it can be seen that the majority of respondents have an individual delinquency level between 0 and 4 with 203 valid results. The most common value seen is 2.50 and 1.25 amounting to 15.8 percent of the total valid sample population, with 0.00 (13.8 percent) and 0.63 (13.8 percent) following respectively. The mean value is approximately 2.22, with a standard deviation of 1.73.

In figure 2 in the appendix it can be seen that the majority of respondents have a group delinquency level between 1 and 5, with valid results of 188 of the 203 in total. The most common value seen is 3.75 amounting to 22.3 percent of the total valid sample population, with 5.00 (16.5 percent) and 2.50 (16.5 percent) following respectively. Furthermore, the Cronbach’s Alpha for all the items without truancy is 0.608 for individual delinquency and 0.603 for group delinquency.
3.2.4 Socioeconomic status

Operationalization

For the variable Socioeconomic status it was important to try and cover the key aspects of the concept in as concise method as possible, whilst also taking into account the sample population the paper focused upon. Since Svensson & Saharso did not utilise the socioeconomic status of individuals, the construction of the questions was based on existing literature. Due to the brief nature of the survey, the construction of a complex scale would have been impossible. Therefore key aspects of SES from the literature ‘income, education and occupation’ have been used to establish an approximation of this concept for each respondent (Grundy & Holt, 2001). The survey has utilised the occupation of a respondent’s parents and their parent’s educational level. All socioeconomic questions are found within Section D of the survey found in the appendix.

Firstly since the sample was based on university students, there was a prominent influence of the parental income, occupation and education levels. When looking at the income of students, it has been chosen not to take into account the amount they earn themselves. This was due to the large amount that the loans and grants that the British government provides. Also from the total amount of full time students, only 52 percent have a job during term time, with those that do work having this income only account for 15 percent of their total income. Also the amount of time available for working depends on the course being studied by the student. When someone has more time to work and works more hours, this person can earn more (Pollard, 2013, pp. 16-17). The position of being an undergraduate or postgraduate student would mean that a student would not have an income that would be used to solely sustain themselves. Due to the difficulty in accurately obtaining parental income from their children, and the invalidity of asking for a student’s income this query has been dropped from the series of potential questions (GOV.UK., 2015).

The sample population is focused upon current students and therefore they have not finished their education as of yet. This means that their final level of educational attainment cannot be stated. Therefore this study has chosen to focus upon the level of educational attainment of their parents (Currie, Elton, Todd, & Platt, 1997). When evaluating the educational level of the parents of a
respondent, the survey used six categories which can be seen in Section D of the survey in the appendix (part D3 & D4). These categories are taken from the Office of National Statistics guidelines (Statistics, 2004). Question D3 asks for the mother’s educational level, whilst D4 asks for the father’s.

The different occupational levels for parents are taken from a report from Ipos, a market research company to differentiate between the different levels of SES from these categories of occupation (MediaCT, 2009). Seven choices are available; with an option for unknown available if the occupation of a parent is not known. D1 and D2 are the relevant questions to this area, asking the occupation of the respondent’s mother and father’s occupation respectively.

When looking at occupation, the method used would be to group categories together with a simple summation of the scores and then a mean is taken. If one of the parents has an occupation as ‘unknown’ or ‘homemaker’ then the score from the parent whose data is available would be used for the spouse’s occupation. Homemaker is counted as unknown as the SES of an individual under this category is ambiguous. Education levels would follow the same procedure for occupation apart, with any missing data being dealt with by using the data from the available spouse. The mean is then taken from either both parents, or only one if that is all that is available. SPSS is used to determine if only one answer was missing. If both were missing, this respondent was not counted. These two means (occupation and education) are then added together, and rescaled to fit between 0 and 10 to form the scale of SES.

The differing levels for coding for the occupational groups came from Ipos Mori, and their classification of job status (MediaCT, 2009). For the coding of occupation the scale starts at ‘Professional’ (4), ‘Managerial’ (3), ‘Clerical’ and ‘Skilled manual’ (2), Semi and Unskilled manual (1) and ends with Homemaker/Unknown (0). For the coding section of education the scale begins with ‘Higher Education & professional/vocational equivalents’ (5), ‘A level, vocational level 3 and equivalents (4), GCSE/O Level grade A* - C, ‘Vocational level 2 and equivalents’ (3), ‘Qualification at level 1 and below’ (2), ‘No qualifications’ (1) and lastly ‘Other qualifications: level unknown (including foreign qualifications) (0).
**Measurement**

The SES scale is therefore made up of a count consisting of 4 items from the survey. The theoretical range before rescaling would be 0-9. As mentioned before these have been rescaled to a range 0-10. Figure 3 in the appendix shows that the number of valid results is 189 of the 203 in total. The highest frequency score seen is 10 representing 17.5 percent of the total valid respondents. The mean is 7.96 with a standard deviation of 1.78. Furthermore, the Cronbach’s alpha of the four measures of SES included in the scale is 0.629.

**3.2.5 Availability**

**Operationalization**

In regards to the variable availability the question ‘how many hours on average per week does the respondent spend on certain activities?’ was utilised. This can be found within section E of the survey in the appendix.

The wording of the question used in this paper has taken its basis from Svensson & Saharso. This establishes an academic backing to its validity and reliability. There has been an extension of certain questions used within that survey. The items in the survey related to a respondent's time spent working (‘g’ and ‘h’), as well as sports & hobbies (‘e’ and ‘f’) have been separated to inside and outside to make sure that the respondent is actually available to be proactively contacted by the police. However the wording of the items could have been more specific, as the exact location of outdoor activities could affect the chance of proactive police contact compared to others. Therefore it was decided not to take them into account within the analysis.

When looking at the suitability of all items, ‘c’ and ‘d’ were chosen for the analysis, due to the highest likelihood that these activities would allow an individual to be contacted by proactive policing measures. Certain items such as ‘a’ and ‘g’ were possibilities for use, but were too ambiguous to be valid for availability. For example, going to university does not specify the mode of transport. Looking to the future, rewording the items to increase the validity of these items would be advisable.
One change made to the structure of this question within the survey was to create ordinal categories of time, instead of asking the respondent to fill out an exact number. This change was made to allow the respondent to get through the survey more quickly (Choi & Pak, 2005, p. 7), and mitigate random answers due to not knowing exact hours for a particular activity. The limit for the highest category was set to sixteen hours or more as this was deemed substantial enough to indicate an activity with a high level of availability. A higher number would have increased the hours per category or required additional categories to be used. In the final results, for the relevant items C and D only 2 percent (4 respondents) and 4 percent (8 respondents) respectively chose the highest category, meaning that this chosen maximum category was not too small for the activities of analytical relevance. A second change was to add a non-applicable choice to each item in the question as certain activities may not apply to all individuals. This would reduce the risk of missing data and random answers.

In calculating the availability of each respondent each category of answer was coded from 0-6: N/A - 0, ‘1-3 hours’ - 1, ‘4-6 hours’ - 2, ‘7-9 hours’ - 3, ‘10-12 hours’ - 4, ‘13-15 hours’ - 5, ’16 or more hours’ – 6. The availability scale is therefore made up of a count consisting of 2 items from the survey. The mean of the two items have been calculated, and then multiplied by (10/6) to create a scale ranging from 0-10 for availability. When calculating this, respondents were eliminated if they had missing data in one of these items.

Measurement
For this scale there are four items in total with a theoretical range of 0-10 (before rescaling of 0-12). Looking at the results in figure 4 in the appendix, the mean for the availability score is 3.50 with a standard deviation of 1.82 approximately. The total number without missing data for availability was 198, and therefore five respondents with any missing data in this scale have not been counted.

In terms of figures, the numbers are clustered approximately around the 1.6 to 6 on the scale. 24.2 percent had a score of 2.50 whilst 3.33 (18.7 percent) and 1.67 (17.2 percent) followed respectively. Finally looking at the Cronbach’s alpha, the score is 0.542 for the two items of the availability scale.
4. Results and analysis

4.1 Description of the analysis

The recording of the data and the statistical analysis were completed using SPSS version 22. The main statistical analysis is based upon hierarchical multiple regression models. The hierarchical multiple regression variant enables the analysis of multiple predictor independent variables and a single dependent variable in a linear relationship (Jupp, 2006, p. 23). This allows the study of one independent variable whilst controlling for the other independent variables. This was carried out in such a way that the overall ethnicity could be looked into with regards to proactive policing whilst controlling for the other variables (H1). Alternative multiple regression models were utilised to look into the relationships seen in hypotheses 3, 5, 7 and 9 where proactive policing is not included.
4.2 Results

Table 7 illustrates the results of 5 regression models that will be discussed in the following subsections. In section 4.2.1 first the direct effect of ethnicity on the amount of proactive police contact (Hypothesis 1) will be discussed. Subsequently, the possible indirect effects of ethnicity via individual delinquency (4.2.2, H2 + H3), group delinquency (4.2.3 H4 + H5), SES (4.2.4 H6 + H8) and availability (4.2.5 H8 + H9) will be discussed.

### Table 7: Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for testing hypotheses (N=203)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model 1</th>
<th>Model 2</th>
<th>Model 3</th>
<th>Model 4</th>
<th>Model 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H1, H3, H5, H7, H9</td>
<td>Proactive police contact</td>
<td>H2 Individual delinquency</td>
<td>H4 Group delinquency</td>
<td>H6 SES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>H8 Availability</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Ethnicity   | 0.257 (0.0005) | 0.037 (0.259) | -0.111 (0.0555) | -0.254 (0.0005) | -0.011 (0.4445) |
| Individual delinquency | 0.231 (0.014) |                  |                  |                  |                  |
| Group delinquency  | 0.024 (0.407) |                  |                  |                  |                  |
| Socioeconomic status | -0.015 (0.419) |                  |                  |                  |                  |
| Availability    | -0.036 (0.3215) |                  |                  |                  |                  |

| R square | 0.115 | 0.512 | 0.500 | 0.068 | 0.132 |

Note: The coefficients in the body of the table are standardized regression coefficients; between brackets: significance levels for one-tailed tests; significant effects at 0.05 level are printed in bold.

The outcome of the PPC scores ranged from 0-7, with the majority of respondents having 0-4. However there were a few outliers having scores of 5, 6 and 7. The same Hierarchical Regression Analysis for testing the hypotheses was performed, with these outliers included into the score of 4, making it a scale from 0-4. It was found that eliminating the outliers with this method had no consequential effect on the outcomes previously established for the hypotheses.
4.2.1 Direct effect of ethnicity on the amount of proactive police contact

The direct effect of ethnicity on the amount of proactive police contact has been tested by means of hypothesis 1:

\[ H_1: \text{Being perceived as an ethnic minority youth by a police officer increases the likelihood of one having more frequent proactive police contact than a youngster without such a perceived ethnic background} \]

As shown in table 7, the standardized coefficient between ethnicity and proactive police contact is 0.257, when controlled for the other independent variables (individual delinquency, group delinquency, SES and availability). The significance is 0.0005, based on a confidence level of 95 percent. This means that the result is significant and therefore confirms the first hypothesis.

Consequently, as was expected, being perceived as an ethnic minority youth by a police officer increases the likelihood of having more proactive police contact. In model 3 this is illustrated by the green arrow from the ethnicity (independent variable) to proactive police contact (dependent variable).

When looking at the R square of this model, the value stated is 0.115. This means that 11.5 percent of the variance in the dependent variable, in this case proactive police contact, is explained by all the other independent variables within the model. This means that still 88.5 percent of the variance is not explained by this model. Hypotheses 3, 5, 7, 9 are tested using the same model and therefore the R square is the same for each.
4.2.2 Individual delinquency

To see whether individual delinquency could explain for the relationship found between ethnicity and the amount of proactive police contacts, the path via individual delinquency has been tested using hypotheses H2 and H3.

**H2: A youngster who is perceived as an ethnic minority youth by a police officer is more likely to have higher individual delinquency compared to a youngster without such a perceived ethnic background**

As shown in the table, the standardized coefficient between ethnicity and individual delinquency is 0.037, when controlled for the other independent variables (group delinquency, SES and availability). The significance is 0.259, based on a confidence level of 95 percent. This means that the result is not significant and therefore the second hypothesis is disconfirmed.

Therefore it cannot be confirmed that youngsters who are perceived as ethnic minority youths are more likely to have higher individual delinquency compared to youngster without such a perceived ethnic background. In model 4 this is illustrated by the red arrow from ethnicity (independent variable) to individual delinquency (dependent variable).

When looking at the R square of this model, the value stated is 0.512. This means that 51.2 percent of the variance in the dependent variable, in this case individual delinquency, is explained by all the variables in the model apart from proactive police contact.

**H3: Being more individually delinquent increases the likelihood of a youngster having more frequent proactive police contact**

As shown in the table, the standardized coefficient between individual delinquency and proactive police contact is 0.231, when controlled for the other independent variables (ethnicity, group delinquency, SES and availability). The significance is 0.014, based on a confidence level of 95 percent. This means that the result is significant; therefore the third hypothesis is confirmed.
This therefore means that it can be stated that when a youngster had a higher level of individual delinquency, this increases the likelihood of having more proactive police contact. In model 4 this is illustrated by the green arrow from individual delinquency (independent variable) to proactive police contact (dependent variable).²

**Model 4: Ethnicity to Proactive Police Contact via Individual Delinquency**

So therefore although hypothesis 3 is corroborated, there is no indirect effect of ethnicity on proactive police contact via individual delinquency because hypothesis 2 was disconfirmed.

### 4.2.3 Group delinquency

To see whether group delinquency could explain for the relationship found between ethnicity and the amount of proactive police contacts, the path via group delinquency has been tested using hypotheses H4 and H5.

**H₄**: A youngster who is perceived as an ethnic minority youth by a police officer is more likely to have friend(s) that have a higher level of delinquency than a youngster without such a perceived ethnic background.

---

² A further analysis was performed on H3, separating out perceived ethnic youngsters from English youngsters. This can be found in the Appendix in the ‘Further analysis of Hypothesis 3: Individual delinquency to Proactive police contact’ section.
As shown in the table, the standardized coefficient between ethnicity and group delinquency is -0.111, when controlled for the other independent variables (individual delinquency, SES and availability). The significance is 0.0555, based on a confidence level of 95 percent. The result is not significant and therefore the fourth hypothesis is disconfirmed.

This therefore means it cannot be confirmed that youngsters who are perceived as ethnic minority youths by police officers are more likely to have friend(s) that have a higher level of delinquency than a youngster without such a perceived ethnic background. In model 5 this is illustrated by the red arrow from the ethnicity (independent variable) to group delinquency (dependent variable).

When looking at the R square of this model, the value stated is 0.500. This means that 50 percent of the variance in the dependent variable, in this case group delinquency is explained by all the variables in the model apart from proactive police contact.

**H₅: Having friend(s) with a higher level of delinquency increases the likelihood of a youngster having more frequent proactive police contact**

As shown in the table, the standardized coefficient between group delinquency and proactive police contact is 0.024, when controlled for the other independent variables (ethnicity, individual delinquency, SES and availability). The significance is 0.407, based on a confidence level of 95 percent. This means that the result is not significant and the fifth hypothesis is disconfirmed.

The fifth hypothesis is disconfirmed and therefore it cannot be proven that having friend(s) with higher delinquency increases the likelihood of having more proactive police contact. In model 5 this is illustrated by the red arrow from the group delinquency (independent variable) to proactive police contact (dependent variable).
As both hypotheses 4 and 5 cannot be corroborated, there is no indirect effect of ethnicity on proactive police contact via group delinquency.

### 4.2.4 Socioeconomic status

To see whether socioeconomic status could explain for the relationship found between ethnicity and the amount of proactive police contacts, the path via socioeconomic status has been tested using hypotheses H6 and H7.

\[ H_6: \text{A youngster who is perceived as an ethnic minority youth by a police officer is more likely to have a lower socioeconomic status than a youngster without such a perceived ethnic background.} \]

As shown in the table, the standardized coefficient between ethnicity and socioeconomic status is -0.254, when controlled for the other independent variables (individual delinquency, group delinquency and availability). The significance is 0.0005, based on a confidence level of 95 percent. This means that the result is significant and the sixth hypothesis is confirmed.

This therefore means that a youngster who is perceived as an ethnic minority youth by a police officer is more likely to have a lower socioeconomic status than a youngster without such a
perceived ethnic background. In model 6 this is illustrated by the green arrow from the ethnicity (independent variable) to socioeconomic status (dependent variable).

When looking at the R square of this model, the value stated is 0.068. This means that 6.8 percent of the variance in the dependent variable, in this case socioeconomic status, is explained by all the variables in the model apart from proactive policing.

**H7: Having a lower socioeconomic status increases the likelihood of a youngster having more frequent proactive police contact**

As shown in the table, the standardized coefficient between socioeconomic status and proactive police contact is -0.015, when controlled for the other variables (ethnicity, individual delinquency, group delinquency and availability). The significance is 0.419, based on a confidence level of 95 percent. This means that the result is not significant.

Hence it cannot be proven that having a lower socioeconomic background increases the likelihood of having more proactive police contact. Therefore the seventh hypothesis is disconfirmed. In model 6 this is illustrated by the red arrow from the socioeconomic status (independent variable) to proactive police contact (dependent variable).

### Model 6: Ethnicity to Socioeconomic status
So consequently although hypothesis 6 is corroborated, there is no indirect effect of ethnicity on the amount of proactive police contact via socioeconomic status because hypothesis 7 was disconfirmed.

### 4.2.5 Availability

To see whether availability could explain for the relationship found between ethnicity and the amount of proactive police contacts, the path via availability has been tested using hypotheses H8 and H9.

**H8: A youngster who is perceived as an ethnic minority youth by a police officer is more likely to be available on the street than a youngster without such a perceived ethnic background**

As shown in the table, the standardized coefficient between ethnicity and availability on the street is -0.011, when controlled for the other independent variables (individual delinquency, group delinquency and SES). The significance is 0.132, based on a confidence level of 95 percent. This means that the result is not significant and therefore hypothesis eight is disconfirmed.

Hence it cannot be proven that being perceived as an ethnic minority youngster increases the likelihood of being more available on the street. In model 7 this is illustrated by the red arrow from the ethnicity (independent variable) to availability (dependent variable).

When looking at the R square of this model, the value stated is 0.132. This means that 13.2 percent of the variance in the dependent variable, in this case availability on the street, is explained by all the variables in the model apart from proactive police contact.

**H9: Spending more time on the streets increases the likelihood of a youngster more frequent proactive police contact**

As shown in the table, the standardized coefficient between availability on the streets and proactive police contact is -0.036, when controlled for the other independent variables (ethnicity, individual delinquency, group delinquency and SES). The significance is 0.3215, based on a
confidence level of 95 percent. This means that the result is not significant and therefore hypothesis nine is disconfirmed.

Thus it cannot be proven that having higher availability on the streets increases the likelihood of having more proactive police contact, and therefore the ninth hypothesis is disconfirmed. In model 7 this is illustrated by the red arrow from the availability (independent variable) to proactive police contact (dependent variable).

**Model 7: Ethnicity to Proactive Police Contact via Availability**

As both hypotheses 8 and 9 cannot be corroborated, there is no indirect effect of ethnicity on proactive police contact via availability.

**4.3 Overview results**

During the analysis the dependent variable of proactive police contact was firstly defined and narrowed down to Stop and Search and Stop and Question for the data collection and analysis to be feasible. The historical and theoretical backgrounds were researched in regards to proactive policing, as well as the other related variables investigated. There is no question from the literature that ethnic minorities have a higher number of proactive police contacts in proportion to the overall ratio they represent in the total population. But is this based solely on their ethnicity, and could this be implying a racial bias in Stop and Search and Stop and Question in this study? Or is this correlation not a direct effect of ethnicity as such – suggesting discrimination on the
part of police officers – but an indirect effect of ethnicity via factors like delinquency that explain why ethnicity is associated with high proactive police contact?

The hierarchical linear regression analysis used enabled the controlling of multiple predictor independent variables when looking at trends. Model 8 illustrates the model with the tested hypotheses. The hypotheses which are coloured green are the hypotheses which are statistically significant and thereby confirmed. The hypotheses which are coloured red are the ones which are not statistically significant and which are therefore disconfirmed. With regard to sub question 1 the analysis indicates that H1 is confirmed, which means that when an individual is perceived as an ethnic minority youth by a police officer, this increases the likelihood of having more proactive police contact.

With regard to sub question 2, pertaining to the effects of other factors, only hypotheses 3 and 6 have been confirmed. Hypothesis 3 infers that when a youngster is more individually delinquent, this person also has a higher chance of being more often stopped and searched or stopped and questioned by the police. This reinforces McAra and Mcvie’s viewpoint that this variable plays an important role as a predictor of those who end up on the receiving end of proactive policing victims (McAra & McVie, 2005). Hypothesis 6 shows that a youngster who is perceived as an ethnic minority youth by a police officer is more likely to have a lower socioeconomic status than a youngster without such a perceived ethnic background, concurring with the ‘Households below average income’ report (Carr et al., 2014). Whilst not providing a link fully from ethnicity to proactive police contact through those variables, both these significant hypotheses provide a confirmation of the previous theoretical predictions in place.

This implies that the correlation between ethnicity and PPC is only explained by the direct effect (H1 in 4.2.1) of ethnicity. There are no indirect effects of ethnicity via (individual or group) delinquency (4.2.2/4.2.3), SES (4.2.4) or availability (4.2.5). This could possibly place a large question mark over the extensive policymaking efforts the British government and police force itself has exerted to stop racial biasing. This racial bias could be associated with the difference seen in the legislation and the actual implementation of this legislation by police officers (Lipsky, 2010).
The strong opinions about racial discrimination in policing holds true in this study, as seen within the survey. This was apparent in the last question posed (E2) which asked the respondent if they had any more remarks. This open ended question, as well as the general conversations whilst performing the data collection, led to some interesting comments about the subject area. The majority who made comments felt that there was a level of ethnic discrimination in the way that proactive policing measures were dealt out towards young people.

Model 8: Final results of hypotheses

3 In order to check for multicollinearity, the tolerance and the variance inflation factor was checked during the testing. The rule of thumb values taken for this were below 0.2 for the tolerance and above 0.5 for the VIF (Menard, 1995). In the study it was found that none of these values were at worrying levels, and therefore the variables were not too closely related to each other. In the appendix in table 8 the correlation matrix of all the explanatory variables has been added.
4.3.1 Gender division

Another aspect of the data which can be investigated is gender. It is interesting to see whether there are differences between males and females in terms of the model. In order to examine this, the same hierarchical regression analysis has been performed twice; once for both females and males. The results from both hierarchical regression analyses are shown in the appendix. Table 9 in the appendix shows the results for males only. The results show that specifically for males hypotheses H1 and H6 are confirmed, while the other hypotheses are all disconfirmed. Table 10 in the appendix shows that for females that only H3 is confirmed while all other hypotheses are disconfirmed.

Models 9 and 10 demonstrate the tested hypotheses for females and males only. When looking at these models it can be seen that the significant relationships are split between the two genders. From a statistical perspective this means that such relationships can be explored and exposed to be stronger or weaker across the genders separately, whereas together the effect can be dampened. This has proven to be the case for males, as in H1 and H6 the coefficient is stronger whereas for females H3 is stronger. Whilst there have been differences between the genders, they have only been in the previously statistically significant hypotheses. However the most interesting point discovered is that H1 is only significant for males, therefore implying that there is racial discrimination towards men. Furthermore the effect for females is weaker and not significant meaning that there is weaker or no racial discrimination for females. No additional hypotheses have been proven significant, and crucially no pairings have been established. Therefore gender does not change the inconclusive nature of these results for the sub question.

Model 9: Tested hypotheses for males only

Model 10: Tested hypotheses for females only
5. Limitations and recommendations

This study’s research design does have certain downsides. In terms of validity, the study relies upon the respondent’s memory. Whilst efforts were taken to minimise the time periods involved, this could still have been an issue with certain respondents. If this research could be expanded, further rigour could be spent on this point with alternative sources to compare respondents answers to see if they indeed match up (Jupp, 2006, p. 276). Moreover non-response bias is also a threat, with certain applicants not providing proper information resulting in missing data, but fortunately not to a serious extent. Enabling privacy for the respondents, using sealed envelopes, acted as a ‘double edged sword’. On the one hand it ensured privacy, but on the other hand this may have encouraged missing data through the concealment of the respondent answers when being handed back.

An important limitation of this study was sampling bias due to the data collection location. Since the sole data collection was at a university, the study therefore only took into account university students. However the variables researched took into account the whole population of youngsters. Whilst using this single location enabled the collection of a large number of respondents for the survey within the age range needed, it could have skewed the results somewhat. An example of this is seen in the SES results, where a large number of respondents were towards the higher end of SES. But in this research even though students overall had a high SES, there was still evidence of racial discrimination. In all likelihood, results would not be much better or even worse amongst a more representative sample. Still, when looking towards future research, there could be an emphasis on data collection from a more representative method.

When looking at the range of variables chosen to include within the study, there may have been some aspects that could be included in further research to create a more extensive look at the topic. Miller et al. (2008) state that in actual fact, the locations of Stop and Search often occur where ethnic minorities are more available on the street (Miller et al., 2008). This would explain the overrepresentation (when looking at their ratio within the total number of people living within an area) of ethnic minorities being contacted through this form of policing, and also diminishes the notion that racial bias is the driving factor of this inconsistency. Therefore further studies
could look into concentration of proactive policing in terms of differing locations and include this in the analysis.

When looking at the delinquency variables during this study, the existing literature on the topic stated that both group and individual delinquency would be unidimensional phenomena. However after collecting the data, further analysis into the items related to delinquency found that this may not be the case. A Principal Components Analysis has been performed to identify if there were any underlying components. The results of this illustrated that delinquent acts could be broken up into three main categories based around the severity of the act: High, Medium and Low. Therefore looking towards future research, that utilise delinquent acts in this kind of study, it may prove fruitful to perform a more differentiated analysis of the types of delinquency to see if this would provide a relevant alternative perspective.

The operationalization is also not without limitations. As most of the variables were operationalized into survey questions by Svensson & Saharso, the questions could be translated into English and copied into this survey. The first general concern was that the survey from Svensson and Saharso was rather long and in order to fulfil the criteria of at least 200 valid respondents within the limited time period in London, it was chosen to shorten it. Shortening the survey is of course not without risk. When the number of items to measure a concept is decreased, this also decreases the reliability. For the delinquency variables, several items which were independent in Svensson & Saharso’s survey were merged together into one item in this survey. An example is the using and selling of drugs. When a youngster has used drugs several times and not sold drugs, this person might tick ‘twice or more’ while when this was given in two items, this person would only have ticked the one about using drugs. Therefore the validity of the survey decreased. In order to increase the validity of this research or for further research, it would be better to include sufficient items to cover the complete concept and increase the time period available for data collection. The second general concern are limitations in the measurement of some key variables. The main problem is measuring the ethnicity variable. For this research the perceived ethnicity by a police officer is the ideal measurement of ethnicity. But as this was not possible due to the limited resources and time available, the option was chosen to ask a

---

4 The full Principal Component Analysis can be found in the appendix
respondent about how they would be perceived by a stranger, either as someone with an ethnic or non-ethnic background. As this decreases the validity of this research, for future research it would be better to ask a police officer about how they would perceive the respondents.

In question C1, where group delinquency is measured by the question ‘Have any of your friends done this activity in the past 12 months?’ only the answer options ‘no’ and ‘yes’ have been given. Whilst this may cause a reduction in the validity of the group delinquency scale, it was a sacrifice needed to reduce the length of the survey. To make a more extensive scale of results, one could change the question in a similar way that Svensson & Saharso have done in their research by asking ‘How many of your friends have done this activity in the past 12 months?’. Furthermore, in question C1, item c asked about ‘truancy’. Many respondents asked while filling out the survey about what ‘truancy’ exactly means and also some people mentioned that in the section open for remarks and questions (E2). As this item was not clear to many respondents, this could lead to invalid results. Therefore it was chosen to leave this item out and also for further research it is recommended to clarify this item. Furthermore, in question C1, item f states ‘‘fight with someone’’. In the section open for remarks and questions (E2) one respondent asked whether this fight was ‘‘physical’’ or ‘‘mental’’. Although it was assumed that respondents would think as ‘‘physical’’, one could just to clarify change this into ‘‘physically fighting with someone’’.
6. Conclusion

The analysis from this study has established that the first sub question from the overall research question has been found to be supported by the data. Significant evidence points towards ethnic minority youths having higher amounts of proactive police contacts solely due to their perceived ethnicity. The second sub question however, that looked for the significance of group/individual delinquency, SES and availability in the previous mentioned relationship could not be validated.

These results suggest that there is a direct ethnicity effect that explains for the amount of proactive police contact that ethnic minority youths perceive. However the model used may not have all possible variables that are related to this relationship (as indicated in the R squared values). This area should therefore be further explored to gain insight into the variables to see how and with what strength they affect the overall relationship of ethnic minority youngsters receiving more proactive police contact than non-ethnic minorities. It is very important to look whether this relationship can be explained by certain factors or whether this relationship is the consequence of racial bias. The European Union Minorities and discrimination survey states that individuals who feel that they have been stopped due to their ethnicity will have a lower level in trust for the police. Whilst this may seem obvious at first glance, the consequences of such figures are that ‘‘they do not report… incidents to the police’’ (Rights, 2010). This highlights the importance of finding the reasons behind this relationship. Only when the exact reason(s) behind this relationship are found, actual and perceived discrimination in proactive police contacts can be combatted by finding a fitting solution.

This study is only a starting point, and more research is needed to fully expand on the trends found. The geographic location was based on a single collection point, and a more extensive research design could look at different locations. This diversification could also be extended to the sample of respondents, with a location for data collection that would be more representative of the entire population. Differing perspectives with the type of analysis could include a more differentiated analysis of effects of different types of delinquency. This could also be expanded to include the policy making procedure and police officer’s attitudes within the analysis.
Furthermore the types of proactive policing measures used in the analysis (due to restrictions of the study design or country focused on) could also play a role in the differing results.

A further extension of this study could move the focus towards the police force itself, and if there are factors acting as possible precursors to the discrimination in proactive policing measures. The nature of the police force, and the work ethos it encourages could play a huge part in the implementation of proactive policing measures and the discrimination encountered within this study. Lipsky argues that the actions executed could differ from the legislation’s aims that lie behind them. This could also help identify the link that Lipsky saw between the regulations in England and the actual police contact on the ground (Lipsky, 2010). Mutsaers concurs with Lipsky in terms of the debureaucratisation of police officers in the Netherlands (Haenen, 2015). He states that the reduction in regulations from higher levels of governance, increase the individual freedom of police officer’s actions and thereby can increase levels of discrimination towards ethnic minorities.

Whatever the future research entails or the current missteps in regulation; the major conclusion from this study is the evidence that proactive police contact can be said to be more likely to affect ethnic minority youth based solely on the ethnicity they belong to. According to ‘The Role and Responsibilities of the Police Force’ report:

The purpose of the police service is to uphold the law fairly and firmly; … to protect, help and reassure the community; and to be seen to do this with integrity, common sense and sound judgement.

(Police_Foundation, 1996)

This study’s data suggests the English police force is falling short of the ideal it sets out for itself, and this cannot be allowed to continue unchallenged into the future.
7. References


8. Appendix

Figure 1: Individual delinquency

Figure 2: Group delinquency
Figure 3: Socioeconomic status

Figure 4: Availability
Further analysis of Hypothesis 3: Individual delinquency to Proactive police contact

When looking at hypothesis 3, a further analysis has been performed to illustrate the difference between those youngsters perceived to be ethnic and those who are not, with regards to the number of proactive police contacts they have had. The results show that the positive relationship is much stronger when only focusing on those who are perceived as non-English. In fact figure 5 below illustrates that English individuals contribute very little to this relationship. Therefore this infers that overall trend between individual delinquency and proactive police contact is stronger than can be seen through just the value seen in table 7 for those perceived ethnic respondents. This therefore could mean that further research could provide an deeper look into this difference in relationship. With such a profound difference between the two groups, further insight would be valuable to explain such disparities and enable more research into the underlying causes.

Figure 5: Breakdown of hypothesis 3
### Table 1: Gender * Stopped and Searched & Stop and Questioned

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Stopped and Searched and Stop Questioned</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td>74</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td>71</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>145</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 2: Gender * How many times in the past 12 months have the police Stopped and Questioned you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>How many times in the past 12 months have the police Stopped and Questioned you?</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td>79</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td>72</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>151</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 3: Gender * How many times in the past 12 months have the police Stopped and Searched you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>How many times in the past 12 months have the police Stopped and Searched you?</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td>94</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td>83</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>177</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4: The individual's perceived ethnicity * Perceived ethnicity from a stranger's perspective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Perceived ethnicity from a stranger's perspective</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-English</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>125</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Gender * Perceived ethnicity from a stranger's perspective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Perceived ethnicity from a stranger's perspective</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-English</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>125</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 6: Specific ethnicity of an individual if not English * Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Specific ethnicity of an individual if not English</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male (N)</td>
<td>Male (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladeshi</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caribbean</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistani</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White and Asian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White and Black Caribbean</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welsh</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White and Black African</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 8: Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables (N=203)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent variable</th>
<th>Individual delinquency</th>
<th>Group delinquency</th>
<th>Socioeconomic status</th>
<th>Availability on the streets</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individual delinquency</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.670 (0.000)</td>
<td>-0.052 (0.312)</td>
<td>0.300 (0.0015)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group delinquency</td>
<td>0.654 (0.000)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.046 (0.3305)</td>
<td>0.082 (0.2105)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socioeconomic status</td>
<td>-0.027 (0.312)</td>
<td>0.025 (0.3305)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.009 (0.452)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Availability on the streets</td>
<td>0.168 (0.0015)</td>
<td>0.047 (0.2105)</td>
<td>0.010 (0.452)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The coefficients in the body of the table are standardized regression coefficients; between brackets: significance levels for one-tailed tests; significant effects at 0.05 level are printed in bold.
Table 9: *Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for testing hypotheses: Males only (N=118)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Model 1 H1, H3, H5, H7, H9 Proactive police contact</th>
<th>Model 2 H2 Individual delinquency</th>
<th>Model 3 H4 Group delinquency</th>
<th>Model 4 H6 SES</th>
<th>Model 5 H8 Availability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
<td>0.359 (0.000)</td>
<td>0.092 (0.096)</td>
<td>-0.126 (0.044)</td>
<td>-0.299 (0.0015)</td>
<td>-0.009 (0.462)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual delinquency</td>
<td>0.083 (0.282)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group delinquency</td>
<td>0.014 (0.918)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socioeconomic status</td>
<td>-0.147 (0.0675)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Availability</td>
<td>0.095 (0.1785)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R square</td>
<td>0.204</td>
<td>0.584</td>
<td>0.541</td>
<td>0.103</td>
<td>0.187</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The coefficients in the body of the table are standardized regression coefficients; between brackets: significance levels for one-tailed tests; significant effects at 0.05 level are printed in bold.

5 Whilst statistically significant according to the standardized coefficients and its significance level, the confidence interval included zero within the interval therefore rendering it not significant.
Table 10: Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for testing hypotheses: Females only (N=85)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Model 1</th>
<th>Model 2</th>
<th>Model 3</th>
<th>Model 4</th>
<th>Model 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H1, H3, H5, H7, H9</td>
<td>H2</td>
<td>H4</td>
<td>H6</td>
<td>H8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proactive police contact</td>
<td>Proactive delinquency</td>
<td>Individual delinquency</td>
<td>Group delinquency</td>
<td>SES</td>
<td>Availability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
<td>0.137 (0.1155)</td>
<td>-0.086 (0.188)</td>
<td>0.400 (0.2265)</td>
<td>-0.184 (0.065)</td>
<td>-0.022 (0.4265)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual delinquency</td>
<td>0.432 (0.0015)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group delinquency</td>
<td>-0.024 (0.4345)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socioeconomic status</td>
<td>0.180 (0.0565)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Availability</td>
<td>-0.204 (0.041)^6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R square</td>
<td>0.200</td>
<td>0.407</td>
<td>0.434</td>
<td>0.064</td>
<td>0.121</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The coefficients in the body of the table are standardized regression coefficients; between brackets: significance levels for one-tailed tests; significant effects at 0.05 level are printed in bold.

^6 Whilst statistically significant according to the standardized coefficients and its significance level, the confidence interval included zero within the interval therefore rendering it not significant.
**Principal Components Analysis**

When looking into the results from the survey, a Principal Components Analysis was performed. This form of factor analysis was appropriate for the study’s dataset, as there are over a 100 respondents with at least twice as many respondents as variables. The aim of this analysis was to explain the correlations between the items of a variable with as few factors (underlying trends) as possible. For example when looking at a single scale variable, items could be seen to be grouped at two extremes, indicating two separate dimensions within this one variable.

The results given in table 11 illustrate that there are three factors underlying this variable. ‘Using and selling drugs’ (item a), ‘Travelling with the bus or train without paying’ (Item b) and ‘Being drunk in public’ (item I) were found to be grouped together. Furthermore ‘Stealing something or trying to steal something’ (Item e) and ‘Vandalism’ (item d) were closely related and finally ‘Fight with someone’ (item f) and ‘Carrying a weapon’ (item g).

When evaluating these kinds of activities, the logical trend between such groupings would be the severity of the act. Categories could consequently be stated as such: High, medium and low severity. The most serious crimes are those that involve criminal acts which are against the law and also involve the potential for violence, therefore being the most unlikely to be committed. However one item, ‘Lying about your age to buy cigarettes or alcohol’ was correlated to multiple factors. The most logical idea would be to place it within the medium severity category, as it involves breaking the law but not the threat of, or actual violence. When looking at fighting and carrying a weapon, the literature states that the (potential) violence involved is the reason for placing it at the most serious end of delinquent acts (Ramchand, MacDonald, Haviland, & Morral, 2009). Drug related crimes rank below this, again in keeping with the study’s PCA analysis.

The conclusions that can be drawn are limited however due to the item construction used and the demographic of the sample. University students have vastly different lifestyles to those who are not in Higher Education at that age. Even so, the subject a student is studying can have a large

---

7 During this analysis a loading (correlation coefficient between the cases and factors) of 0.3 or more was taken as meaningful when interpreting a factor (Jupp, 2006, p. 114).
impact on levels of certain delinquencies such as drug and alcohol intake (Webb, Ashton, Kelly, & Kamali, 1997). For this research it is chosen not to take these findings further into account. Nevertheless in the future this could be an interesting area to investigate further to for example establish separate scales to better investigate the variable fully. This could also clarify if trends would emerge in the data when these three categories are exposed.

Table 11: *Outcome Principal Component Analysis*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rotated Component Matrix*</th>
<th>Component</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individual delinquency:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>using or selling drugs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual delinquency:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>being drunk in public</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual delinquency:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>travelling with the bus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or train without paying</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual delinquency:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stealing something or</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trying to steal something</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual delinquency:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vandalism (damaging</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>property, graffiti)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual delinquency:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lying about your age to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buy cigarettes or alcohol</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual delinquency:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carrying a weapon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual delinquency:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fight with someone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.
   a. Rotation converged in 6 iterations.
Thank you for participating in this research.

We are researching proactive policing in England. First we will ask you some general questions, followed by some questions about your experiences with the police in the past 12 months.

The survey is anonymous; you do not have to fill in your name and your name will not be noted down anywhere. We have provided a sealable envelope, for you to place your completed questionnaire in, ensuring your privacy. If there are any questions you prefer not to answer, you do not have to answer them.

A. Background questions

A1 How old are you? (fill in): ....... years old

A2 Gender
   ○ Male
   ○ Female

A3 Do you have an English background or a non-English background?
   ○ English
   ○ Non-English

A4 How do you think a stranger would see you on the street?
   ○ As an English youngster
   ○ As a non-English youngster
Only answer A5 if you ticked ‘non-English’ In A3 or A4!

A5 If you perceive yourself as non-English or believe a stranger to do so, what ethnic background do you relate yourself to most?

- African
- Arab
- Bangladeshi
- Caribbean
- Pakistani
- White and Asian
- White and Black Caribbean
- Chinese
- Gypsy or Irish Traveller
- Irish
- Indian
- Welsh
- White and Black African
- Other (fill in):……………………………………………………………

A6 What is your level of education?

- Higher Education & professional/vocational equivalents
- A levels, vocational level 3 and equivalents
- GCSE/O Level grade A*-C, Vocational level 2 and equivalents
- Qualifications at level 1 and below
- Other qualifications: level unknown (including foreign qualifications)
- No qualifications

B. Questions about police contact

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B1</th>
<th>Fill in how often (approximately) the following situations have occurred during the past twelve months</th>
<th>Fill in</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>How many times in the past 12 months did you have any contact with the police? (all forms of contacts together, for all reasons)</td>
<td>...... times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>How many times in the past 12 months did the police stop and search you? (either alone or with a group of friends)</td>
<td>...... times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>How many times in the past 12 months have the police come to you to ask why you’re in a particular area and/or where you are going? (either alone or with a group of friends)</td>
<td>...... times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>How many times in the past 12 months have the police came to you to ask you what you’re doing? (either alone or with a group of friends)</td>
<td>...... times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>How many times in the past 12 months did you (either yourself or together with others) contact the police? (For example reporting a theft)</td>
<td>...... times</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### C. Forbidden activities

We want to know whether you and your friends have engaged in certain prohibited activities. If you do not wish to answer these questions, we fully understand. However we would like to remind you that this survey is **completely anonymous**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>How many times have you done this activity in the past 12 months?</th>
<th>Have any of your friends done this activity in the past 12 months?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Never</td>
<td>Once</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>Using or selling drugs</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>Travelling with the bus of train without paying</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>Truancy</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>Vandalism (damaging property, graffiti)</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>Stealing something or trying to steal something</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>Fight with someone</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>Lying about your age to buy cigarettes or alcohol</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h.</td>
<td>Carrying a weapon</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.</td>
<td>Being drunk in public</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j.</td>
<td>Other illegal activities: 1.</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k.</td>
<td>Other illegal activities: 2.</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l.</td>
<td>Other illegal activities: 3.</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
D. Socioeconomic status

D1 What is your father’s occupation?
- Professional
- Managerial
- Clerical
- Skilled manual
- Semi-skilled manual
- Unskilled manual
- Homemaker
- Unknown

D2 What is your mother’s occupation?
- Professional
- Managerial
- Clerical
- Skilled manual
- Semi-skilled manual
- Unskilled manual
- Homemaker
- Unknown

D3 What is the educational level of your mother?
- Higher Education & professional/vocational equivalents
- A levels, vocational level 3 and equivalents
- GCSE/O Level grade A*-C, Vocational level 2 and equivalents
- Qualifications at level 1 and below
- Other qualifications: level unknown (including foreign qualifications)
- No qualifications

D4 What is the educational level of your father?
- Higher Education & professional/vocational equivalents
- A levels, vocational level 3 and equivalents
- GCSE/O Level grade A*-C, Vocational level 2 and equivalents
- Qualifications at level 1 and below
- Other qualifications: level unknown (including foreign qualifications)
- No qualifications

D5 What is your self-rated level of health?
- Very healthy
- Average level of health
- Not very healthy
In this section we would like you to choose how many hours, on average, you spend on each of these activities per week.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1-3 hours</th>
<th>4-6 hours</th>
<th>7-9 hours</th>
<th>10-12 hours</th>
<th>13-15 hours</th>
<th>16 or more</th>
<th>N/A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Going to University</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Studying for university</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Nightlife (visiting youth centres, pubs etc.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Being outside, on the street or in shopping centres</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Sports and hobbies occurring inside</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Sports and hobbies occurring outside</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Working at a job (outside)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Working at a job (inside)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is the end of the survey. Do you have any questions or remarks?

........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................