Understanding and Preventing Youth Crime survey (UPYC) Early Findings

Stop and search in Glasgow and Edinburgh

Dr Kath Murray, University of Edinburgh
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Executive Summary: Key Findings

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

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

The UPYC questionnaire was administered to 2,186 secondary school children in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Sheffield and Birmingham between September 2014 and December 2015. In Glasgow and Edinburgh, 1,286 pupils aged between twelve and sixteen years old took part in the survey, while in Sheffield and Birmingham, 900 children took part.

This report focuses on children's experiences in Glasgow and Edinburgh (some comparisons are drawn with Sheffield and Birmingham). The report examines the overall and varying prevalence of stop and search, police effectiveness, and how children feel about being stopped and searched. The key findings are shown below.

The overall and varying prevalence of stop and search

- Overall, nearly a quarter of children in Glasgow and Edinburgh (23%) said that they had been stopped and searched at least once in their lifetime.
- The overall prevalence of stop and search in Glasgow and Edinburgh (23%) was around three times higher than Sheffield and Birmingham (8%).
- Across the four cities, prevalence ranged from 5% in Birmingham, to 26% in Glasgow.
- Children in Glasgow were more likely to have been searched on multiple occasions, compared to children in Edinburgh. Amongst those children who were searched in the last 12 months, over a fifth (21%) in Glasgow had been searched on six or more occasions, compared to 2% in Edinburgh.

School year/age (Glasgow and Edinburgh)

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

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

Gender (Glasgow and Edinburgh)

- The prevalence of stop and search was slightly higher among boys than girls, at 26% and 21% respectively.
- However, boys were more likely to be searched on multiple occasions. Amongst those who had been searched in the last twelve months, 20% of boys had been stopped and searched six times or more, compared to 11% of girls.
- When controlling for other factors, multivariate analysis showed that boys were around 1.6 times more likely to be stopped and searched than girls.

Ethnicity (Glasgow and Edinburgh)

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

Education and social class (Glasgow and Edinburgh)

- Children who said that they did badly at school were more likely to have been searched, compared to those who said that they performed well at school. Over half (53%) of those who said that their achievement was poor or well below average had been stopped and searched, compared to 13% who said that their achievement was well above average or excellent.
- When controlling for other factors, children who attended state schools were 2.6 times more likely to have been searched, compared to children who attended independent schools. However, self-reported offending rates between these two groups did not vary.

Family support and involvement (Glasgow and Edinburgh)

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

Offending behaviour (Glasgow and Edinburgh)

- Half of the children (50%) in the survey said they had never taken part in a crime, rising to three quarters (75%) when excluding illegally downloading music or films from the internet. Excluding illegal downloads, 9% of children said they had committed an offence on two or more occasions in the last year.
- When controlling for other factors, children who had been involved in a group fight in the last twelve months were 4.6 times more likely to have been stopped and searched, compared to children who had not.

- However, other types of offending, including weapon carrying and drug misuse, were not significantly associated with being stopped and searched.
- The likelihood of being searched was higher amongst children who said that they had committed an offence in the last 12 months, compared to those who had not.
- However, in absolute terms, the number of children who were searched and said they *had not* committed a crime was higher than the number who had been searched and *had* committed a crime.

Alcohol (Glasgow and Edinburgh)

- Children who had drunk alcohol in the last month were 2.5 times more likely to have been stopped and searched, compared to those who had not.
- The demographics of stop and search appeared to be out of kilter with the demographics of stop and search. In general, the prevalence of underage drinking (in the last month) was higher in Edinburgh (compared to Glasgow), amongst girls (compared to boys) and amongst children who attended independent schools (compared to mainstream state schools). Note however, that we do not know whether alcohol was consumed at home, or in public, or how the alcohol was accessed.

Victimisation (Glasgow and Edinburgh)

- Children who said that someone had taken, or tried to take something from them either by force or the threat of force (i.e. robbery) were 2.8 times more likely to have been searched, compared to those who had not.
- Children who said that either they or a friend had been physically attacked on the way home from school on more than one occasion were 6 times more likely to have been searched, compared to those who had not.

The effectiveness of stop and search (Glasgow and Edinburgh)

- Overall, 13% of stop and search encounters in the last twelve months resulted in detection. This finding is consistent with Police Scotland data, which shows that between June and December 2015, 14% of stop searches involving 12 to 16 year olds resulted in detection. By contrast, Police Scotland data show that 24% of all stop searches carried out on persons of all ages in the same period were positive.
- The prevalence of stop and search was higher in neighbourhoods with higher perceived levels of crime and disorder, suggesting that officers generally targeted the 'right places'.
- However, at the individual level, involvement in criminal behaviour was a poor indicator for stop and search. Of those children who had been stopped and searched, 61% said that they had not been involved in offending behaviour in the last 12 months (excluding illegal downloading).

How children feel about being stopped and searched (Glasgow and Edinburgh)

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

I. Introduction

This report presents data and analysis on school children's experiences of stop and search in Glasgow and Edinburgh. The analysis is based on data from the *Understanding and Preventing Youth Crime* (UPYC) survey, a UK wide project that examines children's experiences of crime, victimisation and policing.[2] The Scottish Police Authority (SPA) commissioned the report in order to meet Recommendation 11 of the SPA Scrutiny Review on Stop and Search:[3]

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

The UPYC project is the first quantitative investigation into children's experiences of stop and search in Scotland. Between January and December 2015, a sample of secondary school children in Glasgow and Edinburgh, aged between 12 and 16 years, completed a questionnaire about their everyday lives, their experiences of being a victim of crime and being involved in crime. The children also answered questions about contact with the police, their experiences of stop and search, and their attitudes towards the police. Overall, 1,286 children in Scotland took part: 841 in Glasgow and 445 in Edinburgh. The UPYC survey was also administered in two English cities, Birmingham and Sheffield. In England, 900 children took part: 367 in Birmingham and 533 in Sheffield.

This report focuses on children's experiences in Glasgow and Edinburgh (some comparisons are drawn with Sheffield and Birmingham). The findings provide original and important insights into the overall and varying prevalence of stop and search in Glasgow and Edinburgh, the effectiveness of stop and search, and how children feel about being stopped and searched.

[2] The UPYC project was directed and administered in England by Professor Mike Hough and Lauren Herlitz (Institute for Criminal Policy Research (ICPR), School of Law, Birkbeck University). In Scotland, the study was directed and administered by Professor Susan McVie and Dr Kath Murray (University of Edinburgh).

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

II. The changing landscape of stop and search in Scotland

The UPYC survey took place against a backdrop of major change in Scottish policing, namely the establishment of Police Scotland in April 2013, the roll-out of high volume stop and search on a national basis (from an already high base-line),[4] and subsequent reduction in the tactic from around late 2013 onward. In August 2014, the monthly number of recorded stop searches and seizures in Scotland peaked at around 70,000. By December 2015, his had fallen to fewer than 5,000, a decrease of around 93%. Whilst Police Scotland stop and search data prior to the introduction of the new national database in June 2015 should be treated with caution (HMICS, 2015), it is unequivocally agreed that stop and search levels in Scotland have fallen significantly over the last two years (see **Figure 2**).

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

III. Key findings, legal and policy reform

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

In practice, the widespread and frequent use of stop and search appears to have cast an excessively wide net over children in Glasgow and Edinburgh, leading to high levels of unjustified and intrusive police contact. On the one hand, this approach has led to officers stop and searching at least some of the 'right people'. On the other hand, it has drawn in

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

many more of the 'wrong' people. In part, this is likely to reflect the extensive use of non-statutory stop and search prior to mid-2015, coupled with a volume-based policy approach.

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

At the time of writing, Police Scotland are progressing a wide range of recommendations on stop and search, as put forward by the SPA (10 recommendations), HMICS (23 recommendations), Police Scotland's own review (18 recommendations)[5], the Fife Pilot Evaluation (19 recommendations), and the Report of the Advisory Group on stop and search (10 recommendations). In addition, Police Scotland are developing a one-day training course on stop and search for all officers, to be delivered ahead of the introduction of the Code of Practice in early 2017. Professor Susan McVie has also delivered training to Police Scotland analysts on statistical methods for analysing stop and search data. Drawing on the findings in the report, some broader observations and recommendations on policing children and young people are set out in the next two sections.

IV. Policing children and young people: observations

> 'The biggest challenge and arguably most critical areas for police work with young people is our relationship with them. In order to fully understand the impact of what we do and how we can improve our service to children and young people, we must be able to engage in an open and transparent manner.'
> (National Police Chiefs Council, 2015)

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

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

It is highly unlikely that these observations are unique either to stop and search or to Police Scotland. Older studies conducted in Edinburgh provide evidence of adversarial contact with young people (Anderson et al. 1994; Loader, 1996), and how some children in poorer communities can feel 'over-policed and under-protected' (Anderson et al. 1994). A report commissioned by the Scottish Executive found that some young people felt that they were negatively stereotyped, and that the police were generally seen as 'part of the problem'. There was however, support for community officers, who were viewed as more approachable and effective, compared to 'mainstream' officers (Flint et al.; 2003, 22). Longitudinal evidence from the Edinburgh Study of Youth Transitions and Crime has shown how children from more deprived areas ('the usual suspects') are more likely to be singled out by officers, compared to their more affluent counterparts (McAra and McVie, 2005, 2007). More recently, a small-scale study commissioned by the Centre for Youth and Crime Justice reported poor relationships between the police and vulnerable young people, in part, exacerbated by excessive use of stop and search (Cook, 2015; 8).

The consequences of unfair and/or excessive police contact are well documented. In practice, children and young people may be unnecessarily drawn into the criminal justice system, with the risk of exacerbating, rather than reducing offending (McAra and McVie, 2005, 2007). More generally, unfair treatment by officers can damage public support for and confidence in the police, undermine police legitimacy, and reduce compliance with the law (Hough, 2010; Jackson et al., 2012). On the other side of the coin, fair treatment is likely to promote inclusiveness (rather than a sense of 'us and them') and generate public support (Tyler, 1990; Sunshine and Tyler, 2003, Tyler and Blader, 2003; Bradford, 2012).

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

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

V. Policing children and young people: recommendations

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

Looking to operational policy and practice, it is recommended that the Strategy is aligned with the preventative and problem-solving approaches set out the in the ten-year Violence Reduction Unit (VRU) Strategy. Police Scotland should also aim to deploy officers more consistently, visibly and strategically within communities, with a view to rebuilding and/or strengthening local relationships. In terms of more targeted prevention, as recommended by the VRU, Police Scotland (in conjunction with education authorities) could also look to strategically increase the number of campus officers in schools and standardize the campus officer approach.[6] Campus officers can help to develop links between the police and communities (in particular, young people), build trust in the police and provide a role model for young people (VRU, cited in Frondigoun et al., 2013; 5). Research suggests that campus officers are most effectively deployed in schools where 'perceptions of the police are especially negative; pupils are likely to have a lack of positive role models in the community; there are higher numbers of children exhibiting challenging behaviour or at risk; issues from the local community sometimes spill over into the school community; the school is situated in an area with gang activity' (Black et al., 2010; 42). Given that these demographics broadly coincide with areas that have experienced high level of stop and search, campus officers may also help to counteract some of the likely damage caused by excessive police contact.

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

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

VI. Report structure

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

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

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

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

1. Background to the survey and methodology

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

The first wave of the survey (ISRD1) took place between 1990 and 1992 and was a pilot project to chart variations in youth crime across thirteen countries (Junger-Tas et al, 1994). The second wave of the survey (ISRD2) was carried out from 2005 to 2007 and included thirty-one countries, with a revised design. The third wave of the survey (ISRD3) began in 2012, which includes thirty-five countries[7], is due for completion in 2017.

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

Study population and sampling frame

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

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

[7] For a full list of the countries, see http://www.northeastern.edu/isrd/isrd3/

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

Figure 1. UPYC study population and sampling frame

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

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

Questionnaire

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

a) A core set of questions employed by all countries

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

b) Optional sections

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

c) A country-specific module

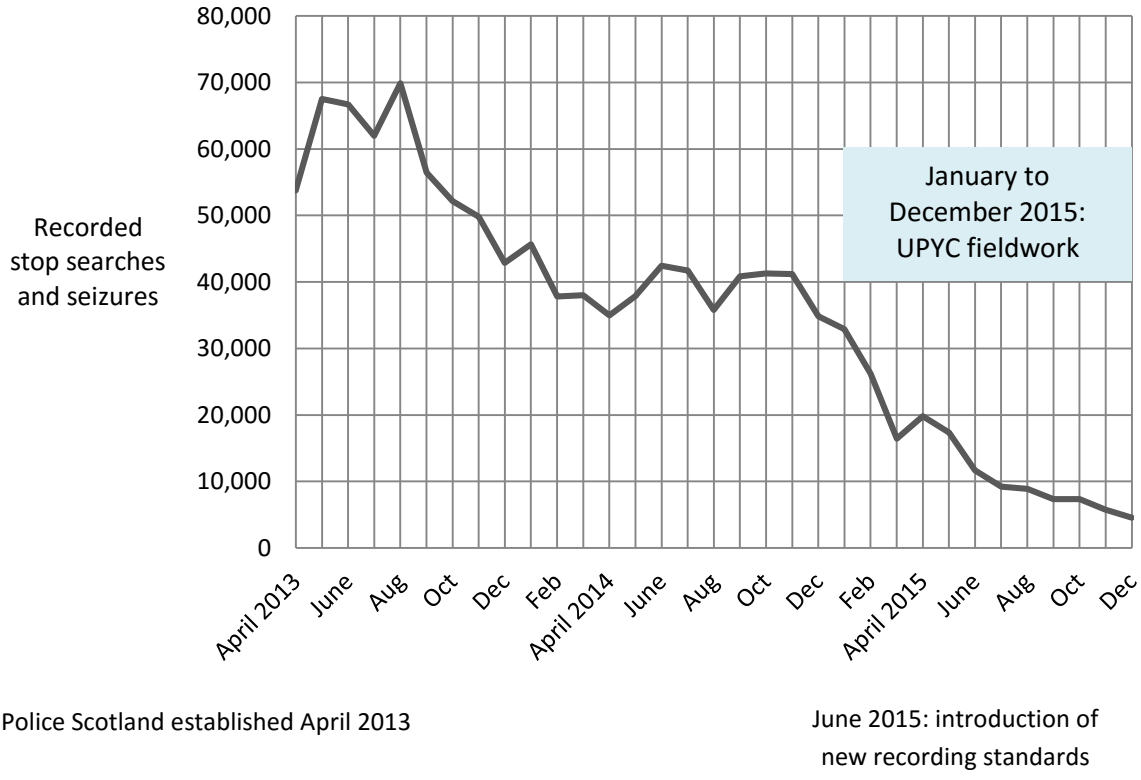
In Scotland and England only, children were asked about their experiences of police stop and search, and their experiences of online victimisation and offending.

Fieldwork

In Scotland, the survey was co-ordinated (contacting schools, arranging dates, providing information) and administered by Dr Murray and Professor McVie, with additional fieldwork support from Dr Paul McGuinness (then based at University of Glasgow). As noted in the introduction, the survey fieldwork took place between January and December 2015, against a backdrop of significant change in Scottish policing, following the establishment of the single police force (Police Scotland) under the Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Act 2012.

Children taking part in the survey were asked about their lifetime experiences of stop and search (had they ever been searched) and in the last twelve months. Respondents who had been searched at least once in the last twelve months were then asked a series of follow-up questions about the last (or only) encounter. **Figure 2** below shows the period of fieldwork set against recorded levels of stop and search and seizures (confiscations)[8] in Scotland between April 2013 and December 2015. Whilst Police Scotland stop and search data prior to the introduction of the upgraded database in June 2015 should be treated cautiously (HMICS, 2015), it is clear that stop and search levels have fallen substantially in this period.

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



[8] Prior to June 2015, officers did not record stop searches and seizures separately.

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

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

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

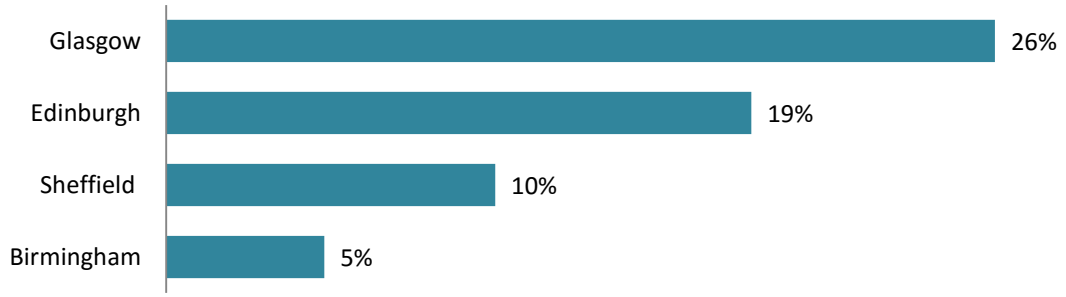
To be clear, the results do not suggest that officers are not stopping and searching children who are involved in offending behaviour. As the report shows, a high proportion of children who said they had committed crimes in the last year had been stopped and searched by officers. Rather, the findings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

2.1. Overall prevalence of stop and search

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

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

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



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

Looking at the two Scottish cities only, amongst those who said that they had been stopped and searched on at least one occasion, around eight out of ten (81%) said that the most recent (or only) encounter took place in the last twelve months. This proportion was higher in Glasgow, compared to Edinburgh, at 84% and 75% respectively (this variation is likely to reflect long-standing differences in stop and search rates between in the two cities, which are higher in Glasgow than Edinburgh (Murray, 2014a). **Figure 4** shows the results.

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

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

2.2. Multiple search encounters

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

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

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

Figure 5 Number of stop and search encounters amongst those searched in in the last 12 months, Glasgow and Edinburgh (%)

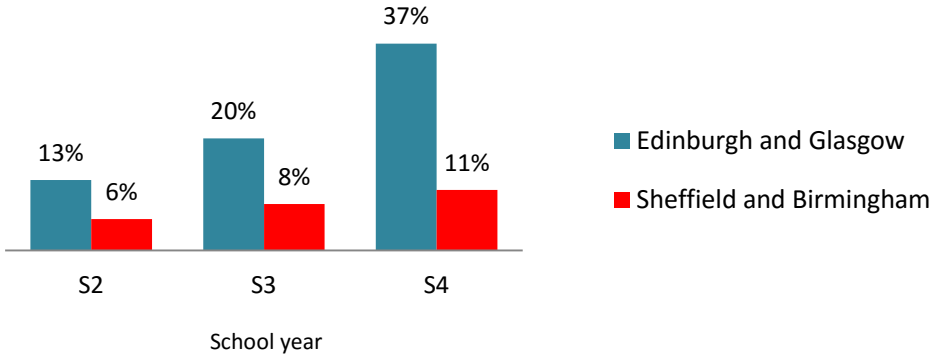
Number of stop search encounters	Glasgow	Edinburgh
One encounter	36%	45%
Two encounters	17%	30%
Three to five encounters	26%	23%
Six or more encounters	21%	2%
Base	160	60

2.3. Age (school year)

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

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

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



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

2.4. Gender

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

In part, we can explain this discrepancy in terms of repeat or multiple searches, which are not readily identifiable within Police Scotland incident data. The UPYC data show that 45% of girls were searched only once in the last twelve months, compared to 34% of boys. A similar proportion of girls and boys were searched twice (20% girls, 21% boys), and the same proportion of girls and boys were searched between three and five times (25%). However, boys were more likely than girls to have been searched six times or more, at 20% and 11% respectively. **Figure 7** shows the results.

Figure 7 Number of stop and search encounters amongst those searched in in the last 12 months, by gender (%) Glasgow and Edinburgh

Number of stop search encounters	Girls	Boys
One	45%	34%
Two	20%	21%
Three to Five	25%	25%
Six or more	11%	20%

Base: Girls (92) Boys (127)

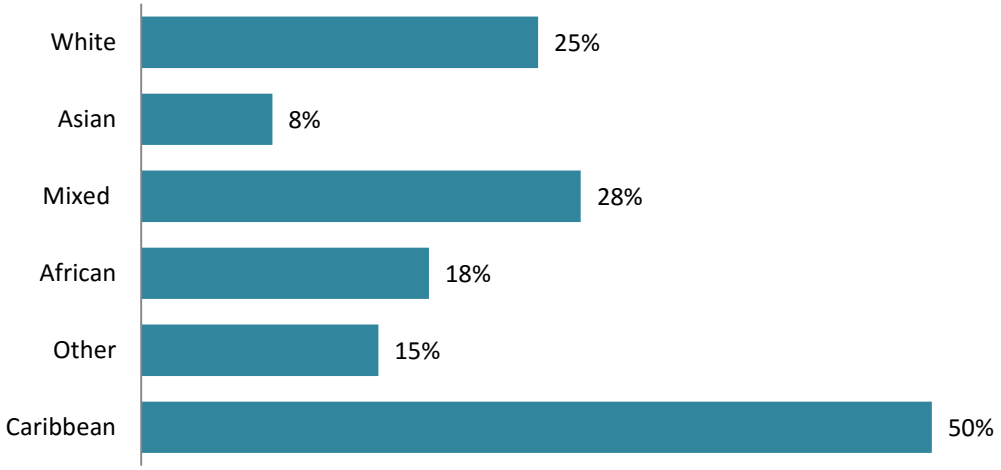
The extent to which gender influences the probability of being stopped and searched by the police becomes more significant when we examine the impact of multiple factors, rather than gender in isolation. When controlling for a range of factors, multivariate analysis shows that boys were around 1.6 times more likely to be stopped and searched than girls (see **Section 2.11**).

2.5. Ethnicity

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

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

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



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

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

2.6. Educational factors and social class

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

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

2.6.1 Independent and mainstream state schools

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

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

Base: 1,143 respondents

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

2.6.2 Educational attainment

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

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

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

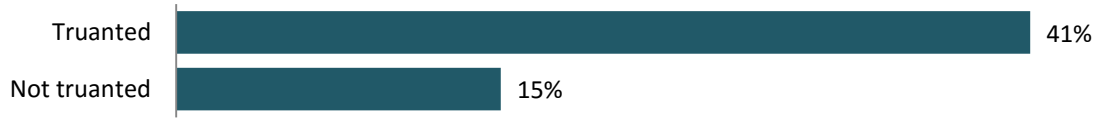
Perceived school achievement	% stopped and searched
Poor or well below average	53%
Below average	37%
Average	30%
Above average	23%
Well above average or excellent	13%

Base: 1,135 respondents

2.6.3 Truancy

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

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



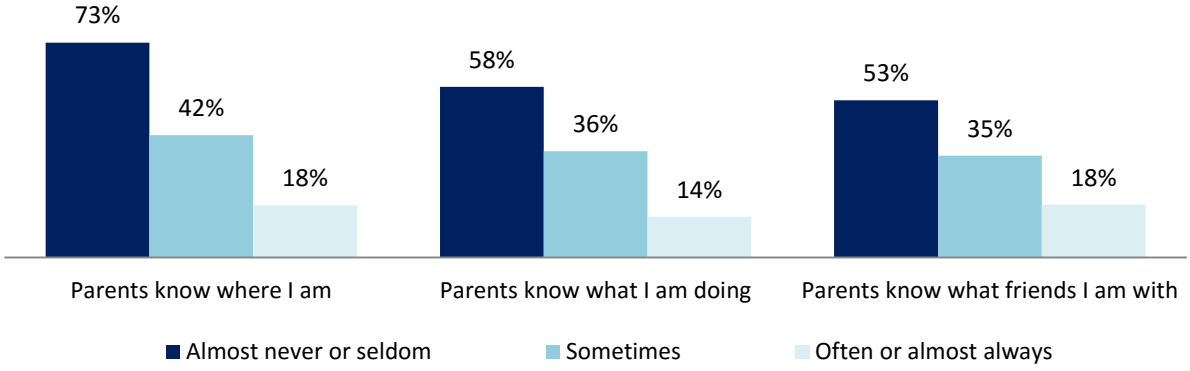
Base: 1,137 respondents

2.7. Family support and child vulnerability

The prevalence of stop and search was associated with levels of family support and relatedly, child vulnerability. Children whose parents rarely knew or asked about their whereabouts, what they were doing, or whom they were with were more likely to have been searched , compared to those parents with higher levels of parental/carer involvement. Less than half of children who had been stopped and searched in the last year had told their parents about the last (or only) encounter (46%).

Nearly three quarters (73%) of those who said that their parents almost never or seldom knew where they were had been stopped and searched in the last twelve months, compared to 18% who said that their parents always knew where they were. Similarly, children whose parents did not know what they were doing or who they were with, were more likely to be searched, compared to those whose parents knew what they were doing, and with whom. **Figure 12** shows the results.

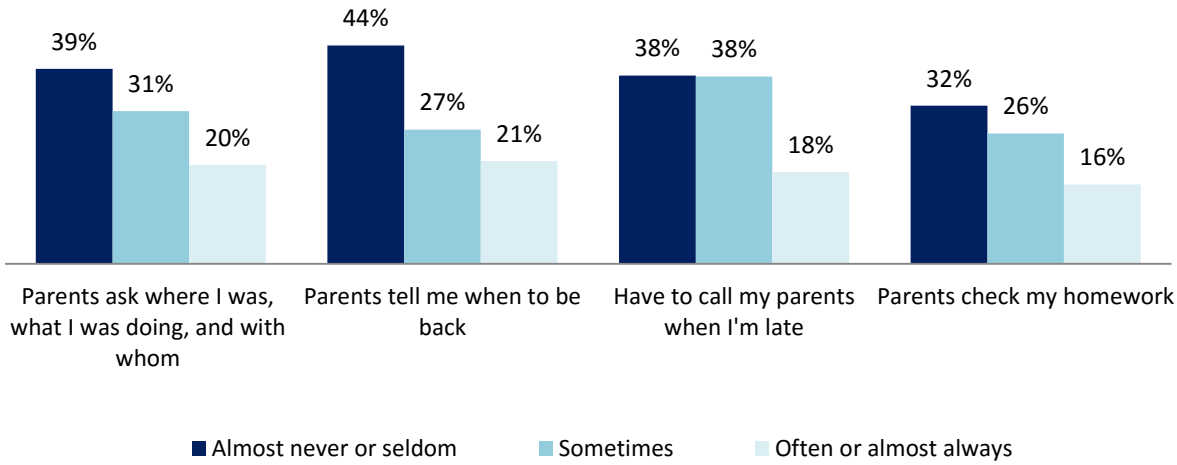
Figure 12 Lifetime prevalence of stop and search by parental/carer knowledge of child's whereabouts (%) Glasgow and Edinburgh



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

Children with higher levels of parental involvement were also less likely to be searched, compared to those with lower levels of parental involvement. For example, 44% of children whose parents almost never told them when they should come home had been searched, compared to 21% of children whose parents almost always told them when they should come home. Similarly, children whose parents often or always asked about their whereabouts, and checked their homework were less likely to be searched, compared to children whose parents rarely asked about their whereabouts, or checked their homework. **Figure 13** shows the results.

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



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

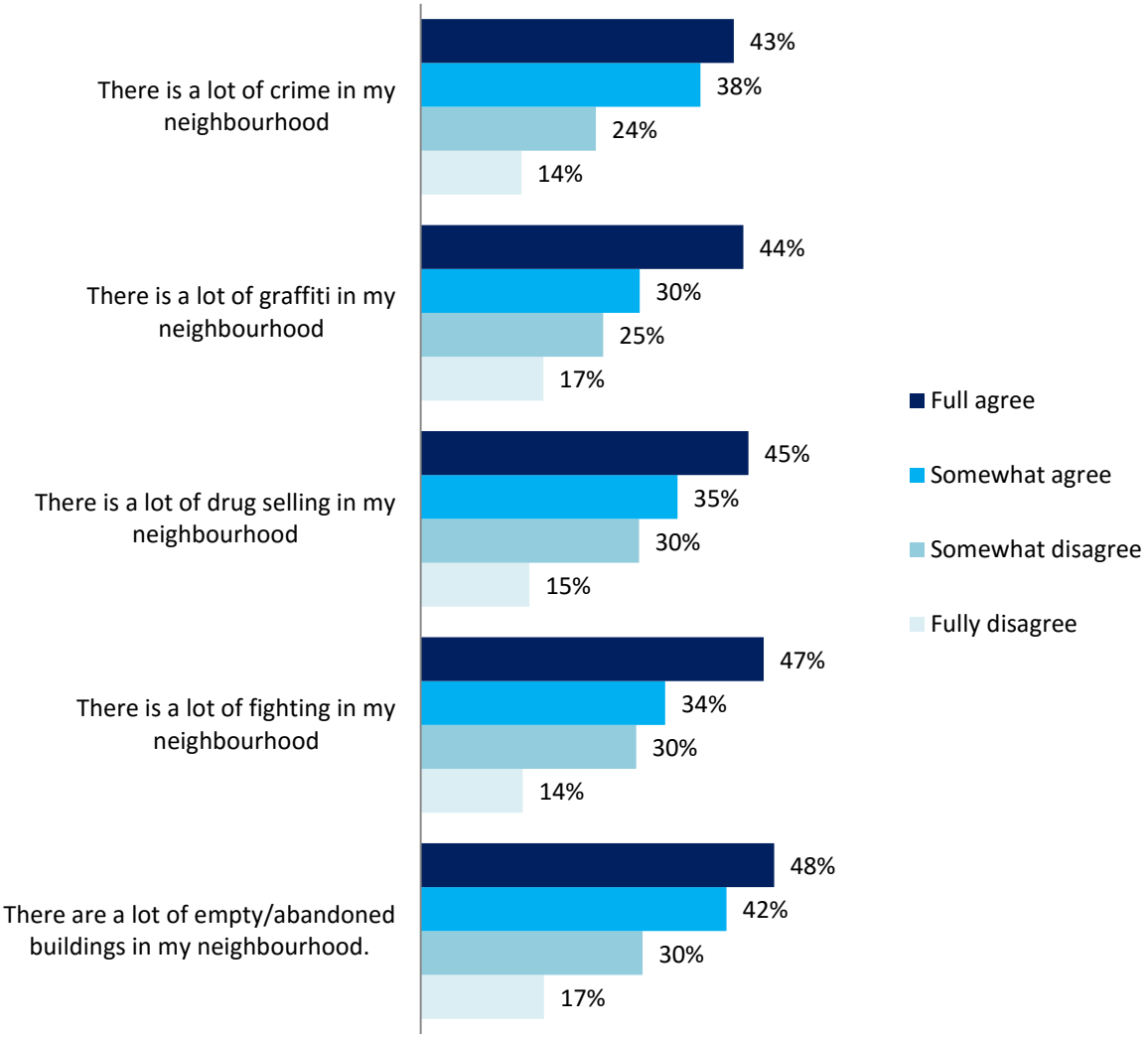
2.8. Perceived levels of neighbourhood/school crime and disorder

Children taking part in the survey were asked a series of questions about their perceptions of crime and disorder in their local neighbourhood, and in their school.

The likelihood of being stopped and searched was higher amongst children who said that they lived in a neighbourhood with higher levels of crime and disorder (as measured by perceived levels of neighbourhood crime, graffiti, drug-selling, fighting and empty/abandoned buildings). For example, around two fifths (43%) of children who fully agreed that there was a lot of crime in the area had been stopped and searched in the last 12 months, compared to 14% who fully disagreed. Similarly, nearly half (48%) who fully agreed that there were many empty or abandoned buildings in their neighbourhood had been searched, compared to 17% of those who fully disagreed.

These results suggest that police stop and search activity appears to be broadly focused in the right place in terms of targeting *areas* with higher levels of crime and disorder. **Figures 14** show the results.

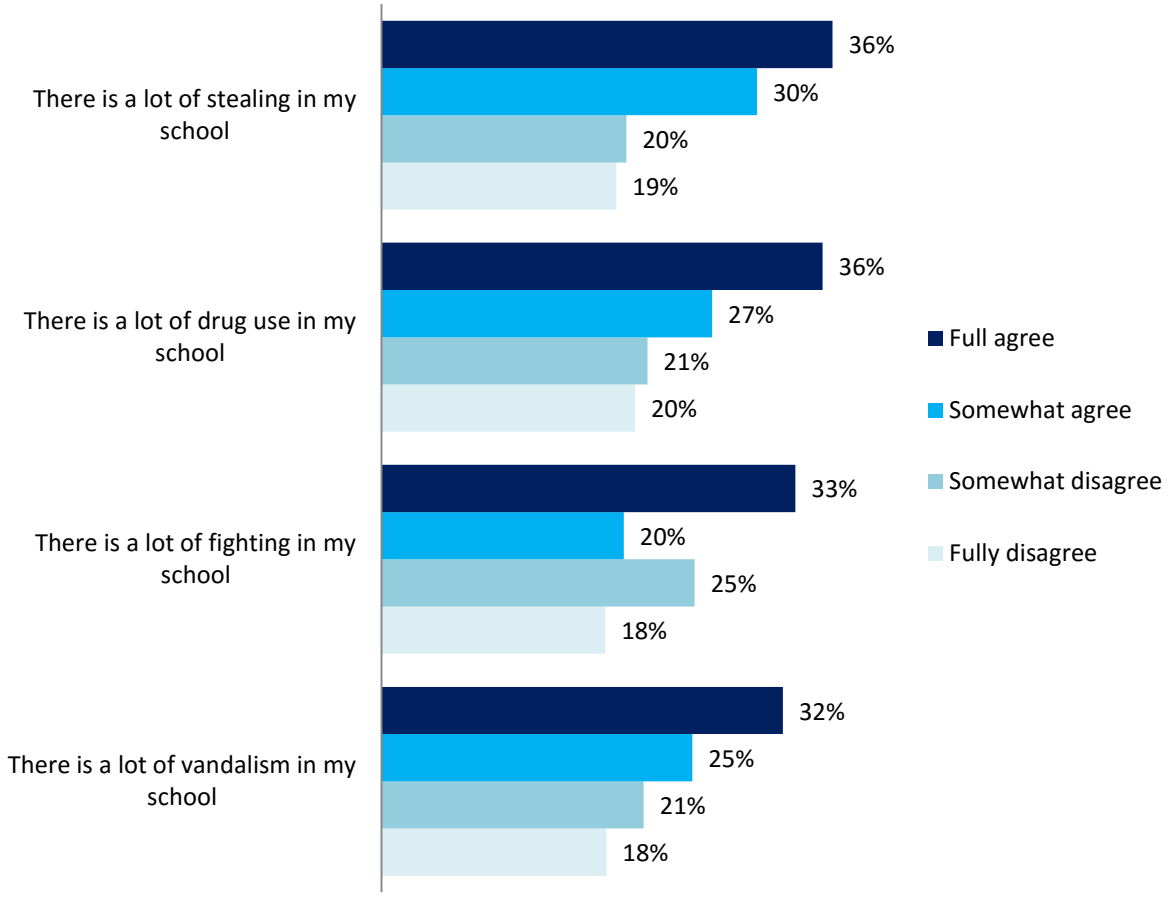
Figure 14 Lifetime prevalence of stop and search, by respondent's perceptions of neighbourhood crime and disorder (%) Glasgow and Edinburgh



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

The likelihood of being searched was also higher amongst children who said that they attended a school with higher levels of crime and disorder (as measured by perceived levels of stealing, drug-use, fighting and vandalism). For example, a third (36%) who fully agreed that there was a lot of stealing in their school had been searched, compared to a fifth (19%) who fully disagreed that there was a lot of stealing in their school. Similarly, a third (32%) of those who fully agreed there was a lot of vandalism in their school had been searched, compared to 18% who fully disagreed. **Figures 15** shows the results.

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



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

2.9. Children's involvement in offending

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

Half of the children surveyed (50%) said that they had taken part in a crime at some point in their lives. This fell to 25% when excluding illegally downloading music or films from the internet (which is unrelated to stop and search). Within the last twelve months, 39% said they had taken part in at least one crime, falling to 19% when excluding illegal downloading. Nine per cent of children said they had committed at least two crimes in the last twelve months, excluding illegal downloading. **Figure 16** shows the results.

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

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

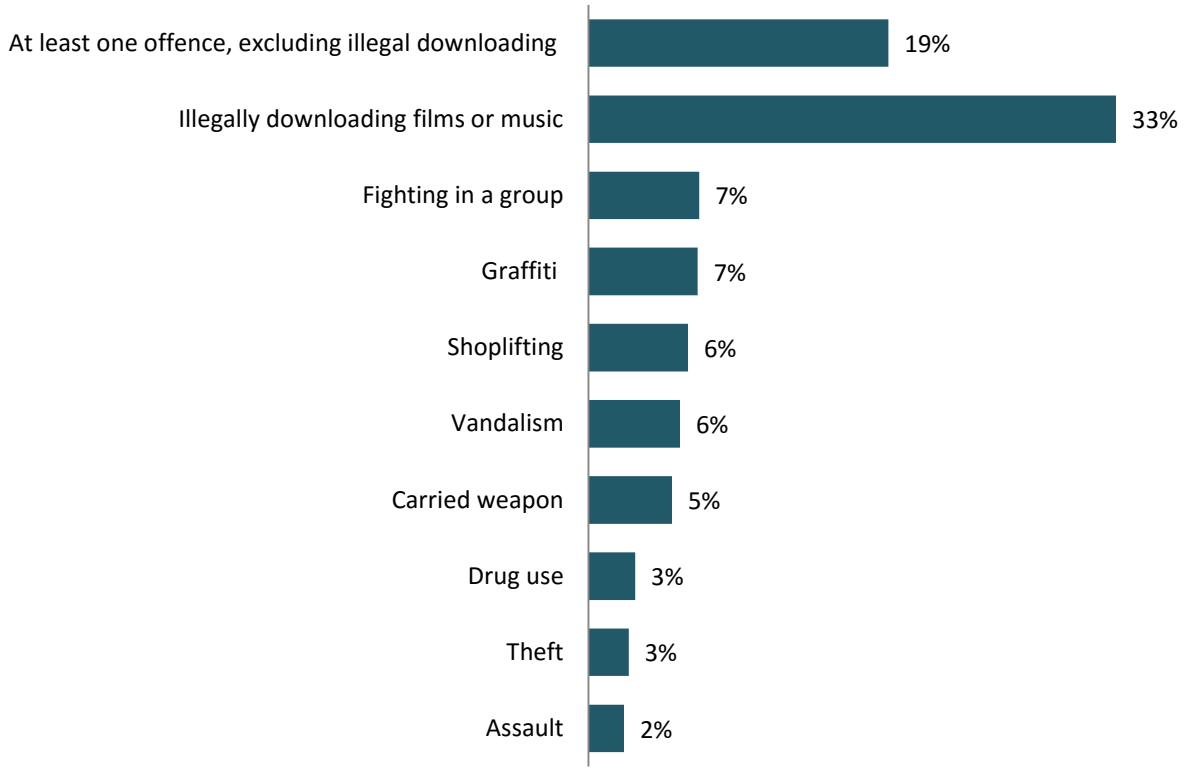
Totals do not add to 100% due to rounding

2.9.1 Prevalence of offending types in the last 12 months

The most common type of crime in the last twelve months was illegal downloading, which was reported by a third of children (33%). Prevalence rates for the other crime types were much lower (less than one in ten). For example, 7% said that they had been involved in a group fight and graffiti respectively, 6% said that they had shoplifted or been involved in vandalism, and 5% said that they had carried a weapon.[9] **Figure 17** shows the results for the most common types of crimes asked about in the survey.

[9] The survey asks about 'a weapon, such as a stick, knife, gun or chain'.

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



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

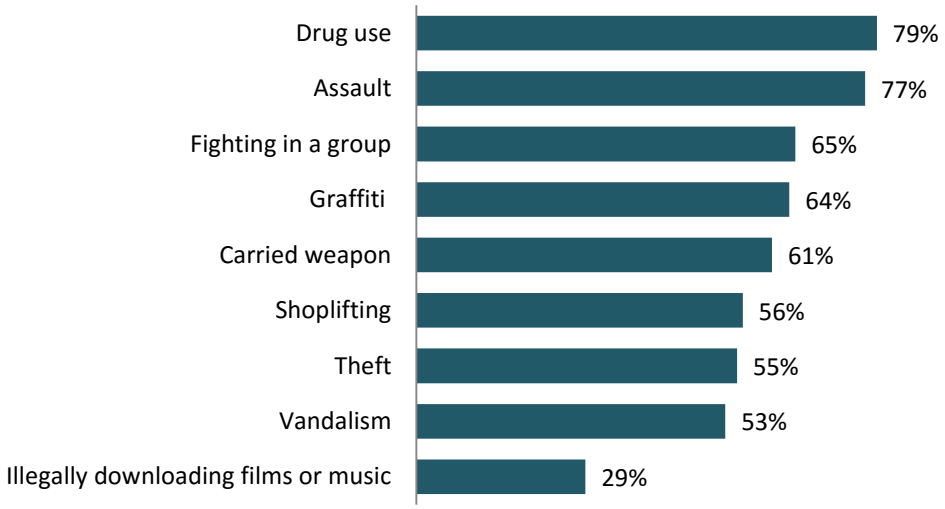
For most types of crime asked about in the survey, the prevalence amongst children did not vary by city. The only exceptions to this were assault and shoplifting. The prevalence of assault was higher in Glasgow than Edinburgh, at 3% and 1% respectively, whilst the prevalence of shoplifting was higher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

2.9.2 Offending and the prevalence of stop and search

A high proportion of children who said that they had committed a crime in the last twelve months had been stopped and searched by the police at some point.

Looking at the different types of crime, two thirds (65%) of children who had been involved in a group fight had been stopped and searched, while eight in ten (79%) of those who had used illegal drugs had been searched. **Figure 18** shows the results. Note that these findings should be viewed with caution, given the small base sizes.

Figure 18 Rates of stop and search amongst children who had offended in the last 12 months (%) Glasgow and Edinburgh



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

At first glance, the high proportions presented in **Figure 18** suggest that previous involvement in offending acts as a strong indicator of being stopped and searched. However, these findings should be interpreted cautiously. In relative terms, the likelihood of being stopped and searched was higher amongst children who said that they had offended in the last twelve months, compared to children who had not. However, many children who had *not* offended were also searched. Indeed, in absolute terms, the actual number of children who said they *hadn't* offended, but had nonetheless been searched was higher than the number of children who said they had offended and had been searched (see also **Part 3**).

2.9.3 Underage drinking

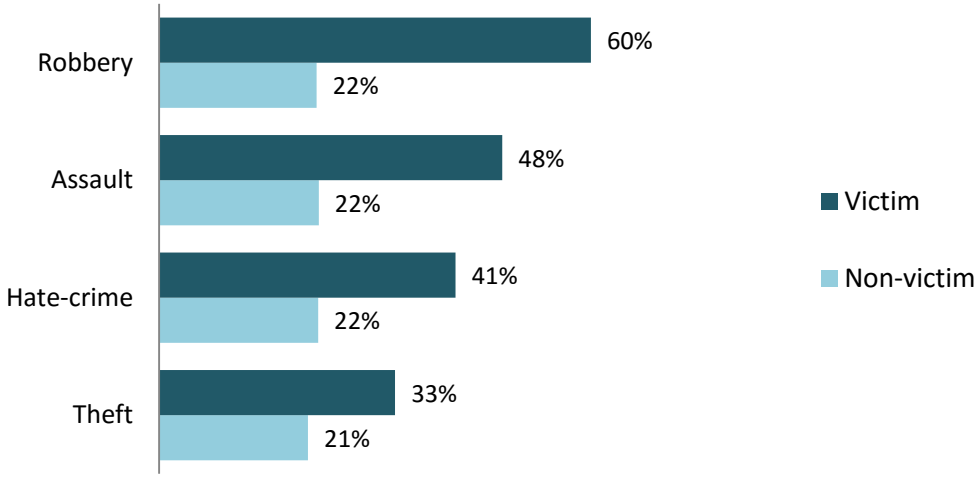
Overall, four in ten children (40%) who said that they had drunk alcohol in the last month had been stopped and searched, compared to a 23% average. Looking at the prevalence of underage drinking, just over a third (35%) of children said that they had drunk alcohol in the last month. This ranged from 21% in S2, to 49% in S4.

In general, the demographics of underage drinking appeared to be out of kilter with the demographics of stop and search. For example, the prevalence of drinking in the last month was higher in Edinburgh, compared to Glasgow, at 64% and 44% respectively. The prevalence of underage drinking was also higher amongst girls, compared to boys (at 40% and 30% respectively), and amongst children who attended independent schools, compared to mainstream state schools (at 50% and 34% respectively). Note however, that we do not know whether alcohol was consumed at home, or in public, or how the alcohol was accessed.

2.10. Victimization

Children taking part in the survey were asked if they had been the victim of certain types of crime in the last twelve months, including robbery, assault, theft and hate-crime (see footnote for definitions).[10] In each of these categories, the prevalence of stop and search was significantly higher amongst children who said that they had been victimised on at least one occasion, compared to those who had not. **Figure 19** shows the results.

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



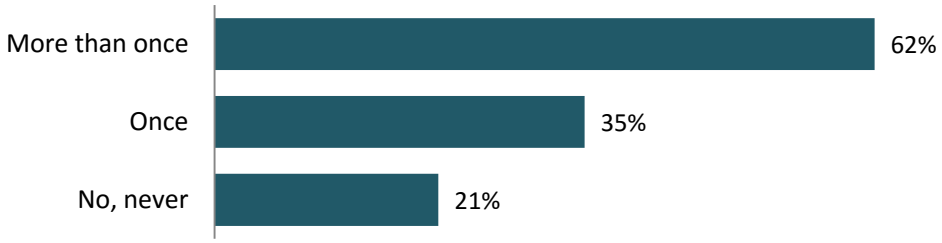
Bases: Robbery (1,134) Assault (1,133) Hate-crime (1,131) Theft (1,122)

The children were also asked if either they, or a friend, had ever been physically attacked on the way home from school.[11] Children who said that they had been attacked either once or more than once in were more likely to have been searched by the police, compared to children who had not. Nearly two thirds of those who had been victimized more than once (62%) had been stopped and searched by the police. **Figure 20** shows the results.

[10] The questions were:
[Robbery] 'Did any of the following things ever happen to you? Someone wanted you to give them money or something else (like a watch, shoes, cell phone) and threatened you if you refused?
[Assault] Someone hit you violently or hurt you – so much that you needed to see a doctor?
[Theft] Something was stolen from you?
[Hate-crime] Someone threatened you with violence or committed physical violence against you because of your religion, the language you speak, the colour of your skin, your social or ethnic background, or for similar reasons?

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

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



Base: 1,122 respondents

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

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

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

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

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

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

To be clear, the results do not suggest that officers are failing to stop and search children that are involved in offending. As we saw earlier, a relatively high proportion of those who had said that they had committed crimes had been searched (see **Figure 18**). Rather, the findings indicate that many children who were not involved in offending were *also* singled out for police attention.

Overall, children searched by the police were more likely to be boys, in their mid-teens, with lower levels of family support and living in areas with higher levels of crime and disorder. These findings are also consistent with data from the Edinburgh Study of Youth Transitions and Crime (McAra and McVie, 2005). These children were also more likely to attend a state school, less likely to do well at school, and more likely to have been a victim of some types of violent crime. **Figure 21** shows the findings, followed by a discussion of the individual factors in the model.

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

Factors predicting being stopped and searched by the police	Wald statistic	Odds ratio (OR)	Significance		95% confidence intervals for OR	
					Lower	Upper
Demographic factors						
City: Glasgow (Edinburgh = ref.)	4.0	1.5	0.046	*	1.0	2.4
School year (ref. = S2)						
S3	2.9	1.6	0.087	NS	0.9	2.8
S4	27.3	4.1	0.000	***	2.4	6.9
Gender: Male (Female = ref.)	5.7	1.6	0.017	**	1.1	2.5
Ethnicity (ref. = white)						
Mixed	1.0	0.6	0.325	NS	0.2	1.7
Asian	8.1	0.1	0.005	**	0.0	0.5
African	0.9	0.4	0.342	NS	0.1	2.4
Caribbean	0.8	2.8	0.360	NS	0.3	26.0
Other	1.8	0.2	0.177	NS	0.0	2.1
Education and social class						
State school (Independent school = ref.)	4.6	2.6	0.031	*	1.1	6.1
Self-reported school achievement scale (low to high)	7.5	0.8	0.006	**	0.7	0.9
Truancy (not truanted = ref.)	5.0	1.6	0.025	*	1.1	2.4
Family support and child vulnerability						
Parental support scale (low to high)	6.6	1.0	0.010	*	0.9	1.0
Perceptions of neighbour/school crime and disorder						
Neighbourhood crime and disorder scale (low to high)	14.7	1.1	0.000	***	1.0	1.2
School crime and disorder scale (low to high)	0.4	1.0	0.524	NS	0.9	1.0
Offending and alcohol consumption (none = ref.)						
Assaulted someone in the last year	1.8	3.2	0.175	NS	0.6	17.2
Used drugs in the last year	2.8	2.9	0.092	NS	0.8	10.1
Involved in graffiti in the last year	2.6	2.0	0.105	NS	0.9	4.8
Carried a weapon in the last year	0.1	1.1	0.821	NS	0.4	2.9
Involved in vandalism in the last year	1.7	0.5	0.194	NS	0.2	1.4
Shoplifted in the last year	0.3	1.2	0.588	NS	0.6	2.7
Involved in theft in last year	0.0	1.0	0.963	NS	0.3	3.1
In a group fight in the last year	12.9	4.6	0.000	***	2.0	10.6
Drank alcohol in the last month (did not = ref.)	18.3	2.5	0.000	***	1.6	3.7

Self-reported victimisation						
Victim of robbery (not a victim = ref.)	4.2	2.8	0.041	*	1.0	7.7
Victim of assault (not a victim = ref.)	0.0	1.0	0.999	NS	0.4	2.6
Victim of theft (not a victim = ref.)	0.9	1.2	0.335	NS	0.8	1.9
Victim of hate crime (not a victim = ref.)	1.2	1.6	0.283	NS	0.7	3.8
Victimized on way home from school (not = ref.)						
Once	0.1	0.9	0.808	NS	0.5	1.8
More than once	7.3	6.0	0.007	**	1.6	21.6
Constant	3.5	0.1	0.061			

Nagelkerke R^2 = .417
*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; NS = not significant

Geography

When simultaneously controlling for the other factors in the model, the odds of being stopped and search in Glasgow are 1.6 times greater, compared to Edinburgh. This finding is consistent with existing research that shows significant variation in stop and search rates between the two cities (Murray, 2014a).

Demographic factors: age, gender and ethnicity

Amongst the demographic factors, school year (as a proxy for age) emerges as a strong predictor of stop and search. The difference between S2 and S3 is not statistically significant (at the 95% level). However, the odds of being stopped and searched in S4 are 4.1 times greater, compared to children in S2. The effect of gender is moderate, with the odds of being stopped and searched 1.6 times greater for boys, compared to girls. When controlling for other factors, the odds of being stopped and searched are lower for Asian children, compared to White children (odds ratio 0.1). Otherwise, there are no statistically significant differences across the different ethnic groups.

Educational factors and social class

School type (independent or mainstream state) acts as a reasonably strong predictor of stop and search. The odds of being stopped and searched amongst children who attend a mainstream state school are 2.6 times greater, compared to children who attend an independent school. The probability of being stopped and searched is also associated with self-reported educational attainment, whereby children who rank themselves towards the lower end of the scale are increasingly more likely to be stopped and searched by the police. The odds of being searched amongst children who have truanted in the last year are 1.6 times greater, compared to those who have not. These findings are important insofar they may also be read as a proxy for social class, which is otherwise difficult to pin down in relation to stop and search.

Family support and involvement

In order to gauge the effect of family support and involvement, a scale was constructed from eight variables that asked about different aspects of family support and involvement (for example, whether parents/carers knew their child's whereabouts and who they were with, and asked their child what they had been doing).[12] Overall, children with higher levels of family support and involvement were increasingly *less* likely to be stopped and searched by the police (and vice-versa).

Perceived levels of neighbourhood/school crime and disorder

Neighbourhood crime and disorder (as perceived by respondents) is significantly associated with the probability of being stopped and searched. For the purposes of testing, a scale was constructed from five variables that asked children if there was a lot of crime, drug selling, fighting, abandoned and/or empty buildings and graffiti. [13] Overall, children who live in areas with higher levels of crime and disorder are increasingly more likely to be stopped and searched. A similar scale was constructed to test the effect of crime and disorder within schools on the probability of being searched (based on stealing, fighting, drug use and vandalism),[14] however this was not statistically significant.

Offending behaviour and alcohol consumption

In most cases, offending behaviour (as defined by the types of crime asked about in the survey) does not act as a significant predictor of stop and search. Looking at the different crime types in the survey, only fighting in a group successfully predicts the likelihood of being searched: the odds of being searched are 4.6 times greater amongst children who were involved in a group fight in the last twelve months, compared to those who were not.

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[12] Family and support was tested using a scale constructed from the following questions: *How often do the following statements apply to you?* [Almost always, Often, Sometimes, Hardly ever, Almost never]
My parents know where I am when I go out; My parents know what I am doing when I go out; My parents know what friends I am with when I go out; If I have been out, my parents ask me what I did, where I went, and who I spent time with; If I go out in the evening my parents tell me when I have to be back home by; If I am out and it gets late I have to call my parents and let them know; My parents check if I have done my homework; My parents check that I only watch films/DVDs allowed for my age-group

[13] Neighbourhood crime and disorder was tested using a scale constructed from the following questions: *How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about your neighborhood?* [Fully agree, Somewhat agree, Somewhat disagree, Fully disagree]
There is a lot of crime in my neighbourhood; There is a lot of drug selling in my neighbourhood; There is a lot of fighting in my neighbourhood; There are a lot of empty and abandoned buildings in my neighbourhood; There is a lot of graffiti in my neighbourhood.

[14] Crime and disorder in school was tested using a scale constructed from the following questions: *How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements about your school?* [Fully agree, Somewhat agree, Somewhat disagree, Fully disagree]
There is a lot of stealing in my school; There is a lot of fighting in my school; Many things are broken or vandalized in my school; There is a lot of drug use in my school.

Strikingly, neither carrying a weapon nor drug use act as a significant predictor of stop and search. Alcohol consumption in the last month does however act as a significant predictor. The odds of being searched are 2.5 times greater amongst children who have drunk alcohol in the last month, compared to those who have not.

Victimisation

Finally, some types of victimization act as a significant predictor of stop and search. The odds of being stopped and searched are 2.8 times greater amongst children who said that someone had taken, or tried to take something from them either by force or the threat of force (i.e. robbery), compared to those who had not. Similarly, the odds of being stopped and searched are 6.0 times greater amongst children who said that either they or a friend had been physically attacked on the way home from school on more than one occasion, compared to those who had not.

3. The effectiveness of stop and search

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

Stop and search is intended as an investigative power, designed to allay or confirm suspicion, without resorting to arrest (Lustgarten, 2002). The majority of stop and search powers in Scotland are subject to reasonable suspicion[15] and follow a similar formula whereby the police may stop and search a person if they suspect that an offence has, is, or is about to be committed, or that the person is in possession of a prohibited article (Lennon and Murray, 2016; Lennon, 2016). In this context, an officer should have reasonable grounds or suspicion for the search, the aim of which is to safeguard against arbitrary or unfair practice. Note also that statutory powers should be used to detect specific crimes, rather than as a general tool to prevent crime or control anti-social behaviour.

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

At the time of writing, officers in Scotland may also search a person on a non-statutory basis, which does not require reasonable suspicion and is premised on consent, rather than legal authority. Non-statutory stop and search is due to be abolished in Scotland in 2017, under the Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 2016, and is currently being phased out by Police Scotland.[16]

[15] The core statutory stop and search powers are:

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

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

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

3.2. Effectiveness and detection

This part of the report looks at the effectiveness of stop and search, as measured by detection rates. In other words, the value of stop and search as an investigative tool, rather than a general deterrent.[17]

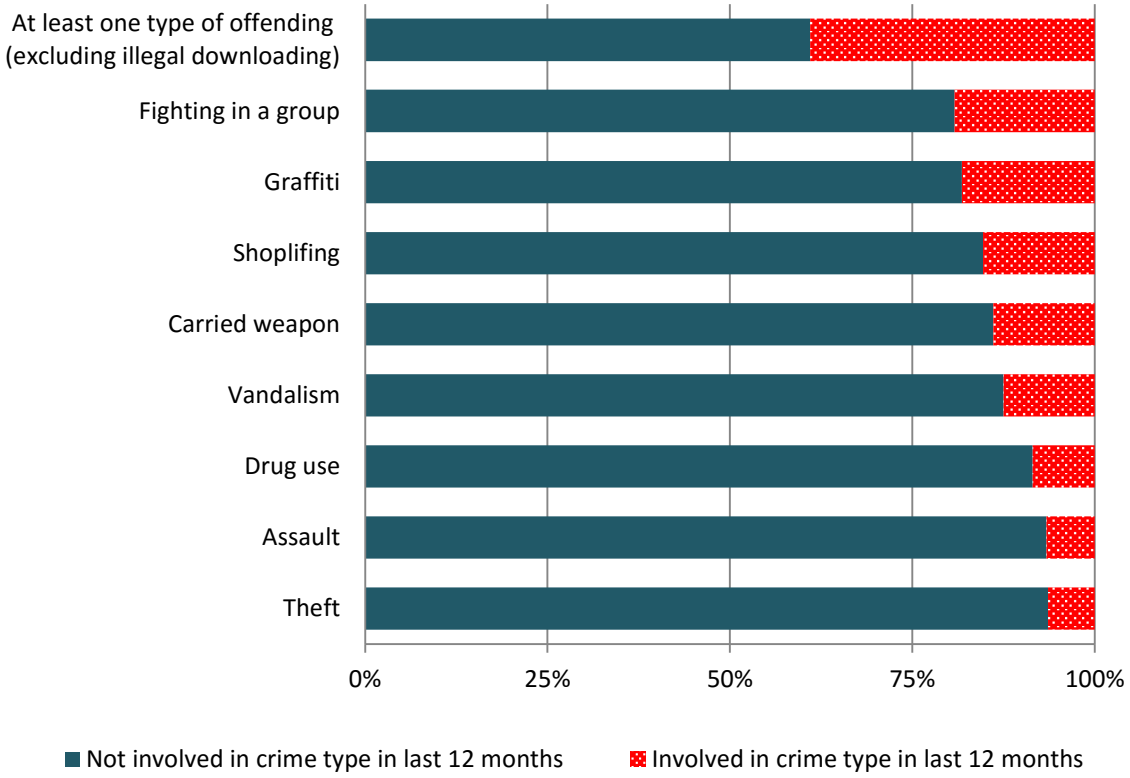
The overall detection rate among those children stopped and searched in the last twelve months was comparatively low, at 13%. This finding is consistent with Police Scotland data, which shows that between June and December 2015, 14% of stop and search encounters involving 12 to 16 year olds resulted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

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

Again, these findings are likely to reflect the extensive use of non-statutory stop and search prior to mid-2015, and relatedly, the way in which stop and search was adopted as a general preventative policy tool, rather than an investigative police *power* aimed at detection (Murray, 2014a). **Figure 22** shows the results.

[17] Evidence on the deterrent effect of stop and search (and the associated costs in terms of police legitimacy and legal compliance) is unclear. For example, recent work by Weisburd et al. (2016) suggests the level of stop and search 'needed to produce meaningful crime reductions are costly in terms of police time and are potentially harmful to police legitimacy.' See also Apel, 2015.

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



Bases: At least one type, excluding illegal downloading (267) Fighting in a group (260) Graffiti (258) Shoplifting (261) Vandalism (256) Carried weapon (259) Drugs (259) Assault (2570) Theft (265). Figure excludes bicycle theft, breaking into a car, housebreaking, car theft and extortion

4. Fairness and procedural Justice

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

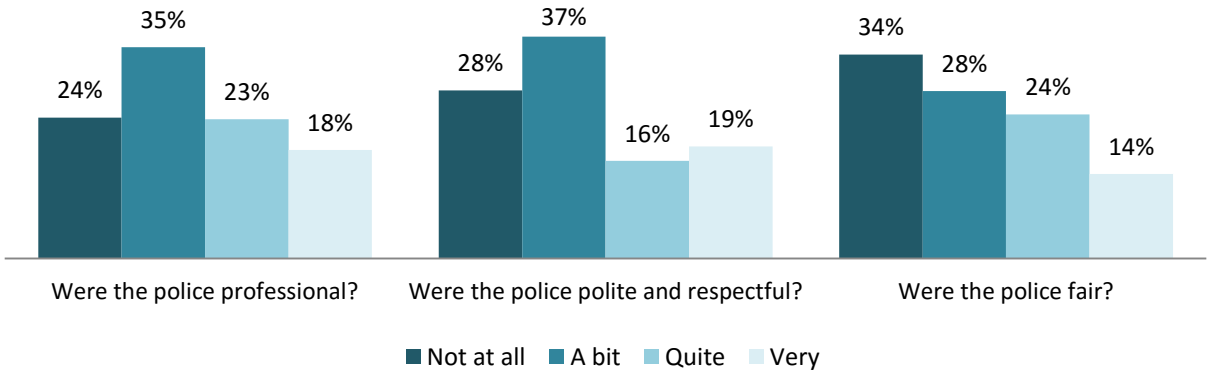
These factors are important on two counts. First, research evidence indicates that there is in-principle public support for stop and search, provided it is used fairly, respectfully and the grounds are explained (Stone and Pettigrew, 2000; Jackson et al., 2012, Myhill and Bradford, 2012). Second, looking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

4.1. The quality of stop and search encounters

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

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

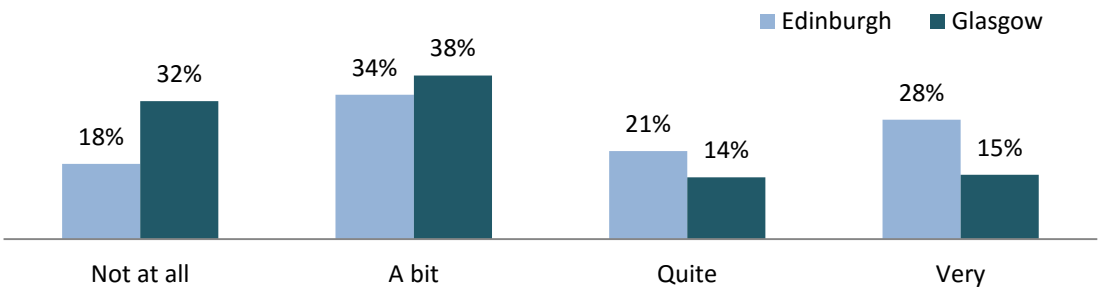
Figure 23 Last stop and search encounter: were the police professional? (%) Glasgow and Edinburgh



Base: 233 respondents

There were no statistically significant differences between pupil's perceptions of police fairness or professionalism between Glasgow and Edinburgh. However, children in Glasgow were less likely to say that the police were polite and respectful, compared to children in Edinburgh. The proportion of children in Edinburgh who said that the officers were polite and respectful was nearly double that in Glasgow, at 28% and 15% respectively. At the other end of the scale, a third of children in Glasgow (32%) said that the police were not at all polite and respectful, compared to 18% in Edinburgh. **Figure 24** shows these results.

Figure 24 Last stop and search encounter: were the police polite and respectful, by city (%)



Base: Edinburgh (68) Glasgow (167)

4.2. Explaining decision-making

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

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

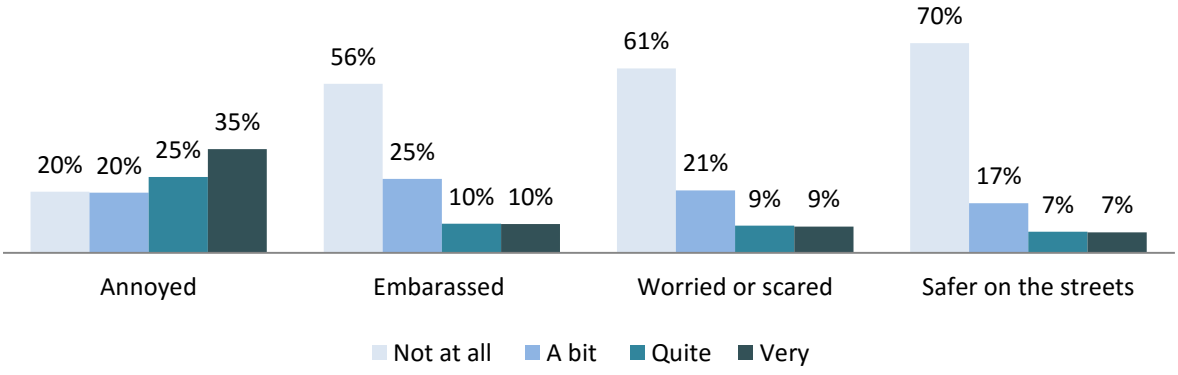
4.3. How children felt about being stopped and searched

The children were also asked how they felt about the last (or only) encounter: whether they felt annoyed, embarrassed, worried or scared, or safer on the streets. Response options ranged from 'not at all' to 'very'. The most common reaction was annoyance. Over a third of children (35%) said that they felt 'very' annoyed, and a quarter (25%) said they felt 'quite' annoyed. Fewer children said that they felt either 'quite' or 'very' embarrassed (10% respectively). Similarly, fewer children said that they felt 'quite' or 'very' worried and scared (9% respectively).

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

Even fewer children said that being searched made them feel either 'quite' or 'very' safe (7% respectively), whilst seven out of ten (70%) said that being searched by the police did not make them feel at all safer on the streets. **Figure 25** shows the findings.

Figure 25 How did children feel about being stopped and searched? (%) Glasgow and Edinburgh



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

4.4. Children's views of the police

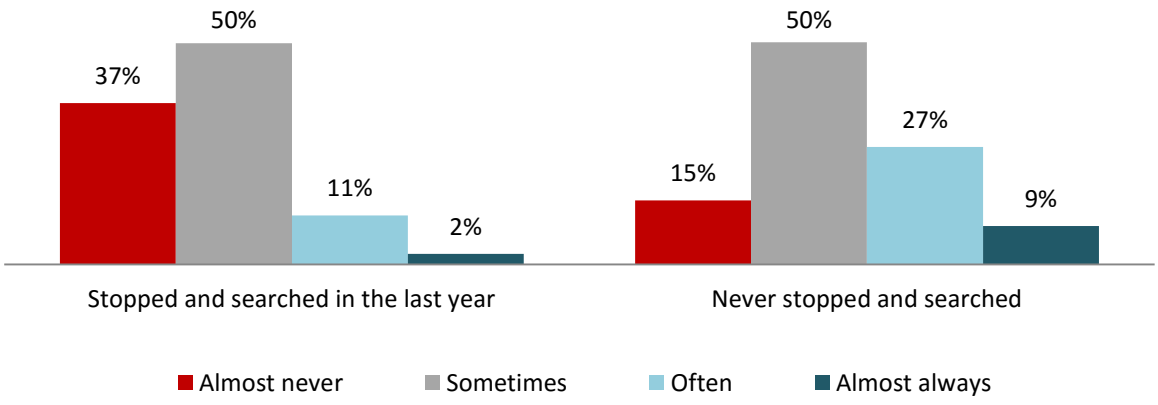
Children in S3 and S4 were asked an additional series of questions on police fairness, for example, whether they felt that the police treated young people with respect, made fair decisions and appreciated young people's views.

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

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

Respectful treatment: More than a third of children (37%) who had been searched said they thought the police 'almost never' treated young people with respect, compared to 15% who had not been searched. Relatedly, the proportion of children who thought the police 'almost always' treated young people with respect was higher amongst those who had not been searched, compared to those who had, at 9% and 2% respectively. **Figure 26** shows the results.

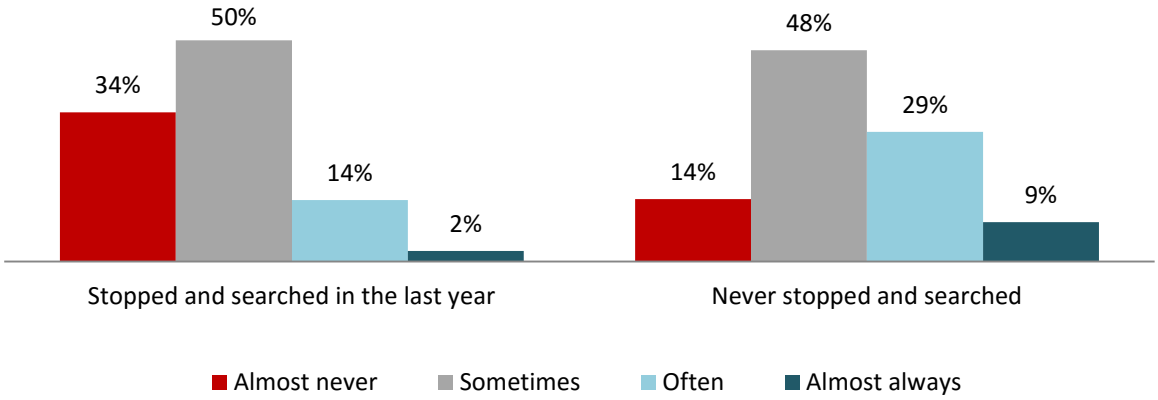
Figure 26 Whether the police generally treat young people with respect, by experience of stop and search (%) Glasgow and Edinburgh



Base: 762 respondents

Fair decision-making: Around a third (34%) of children who had been stopped and searched thought that the police 'almost never' made fair decisions when dealing with young people, compared to 14% who had not been searched. **Figure 27** shows the results.

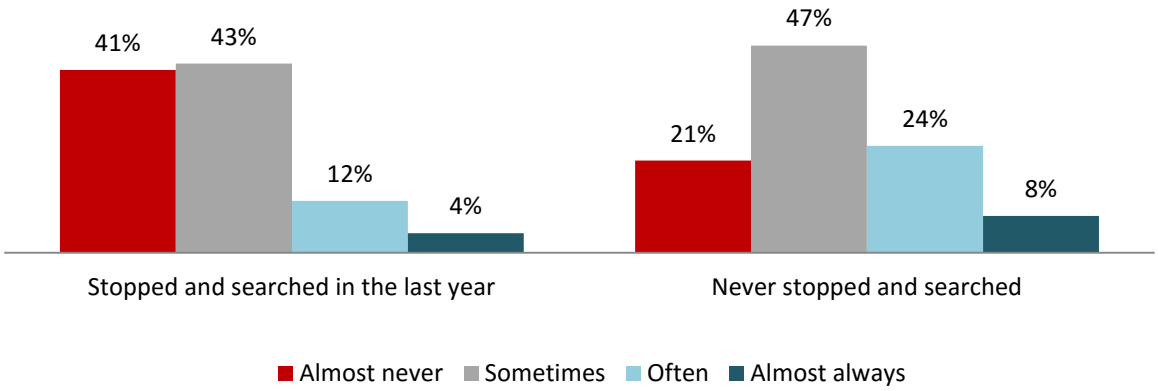
Figure 27 How often do the police make fair decisions when dealing with young people, by experience of stop and search (%) Glasgow and Edinburgh



Base: 760 respondents

Explaining decision-making: The proportion of children who said that the police 'almost always' explained their decisions was twice as high amongst those who had not been searched, compared to those who had, at 8% and 4% respectively. Conversely, 41% of those who had been searched said that the police 'almost never' explain their decisions, compared to 21% of those had not been searched. **Figure 28** shows the results.

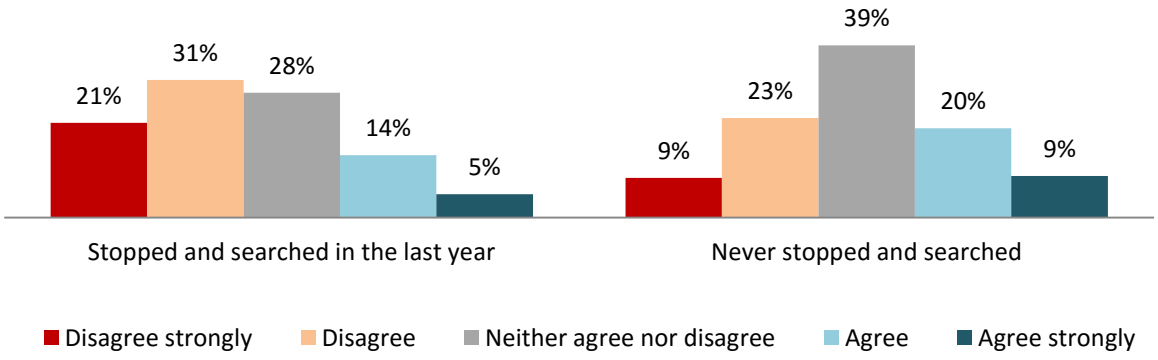
Figure 28 Whether the police explain their decisions, by experience of stop and search (%)Glasgow and Edinburgh



Base: 757 respondents

Understanding young people: A higher proportion of those who had not been searched 'agreed strongly' that the police appreciate what young people think, compared to those had been searched, at 9% and 5% respectively. Conversely, around a fifth (21%) of those who had been searched 'disagreed strongly' that the police appreciate what young people think, compared to 9% of those who had not been searched. **Figure 29** shows the results.

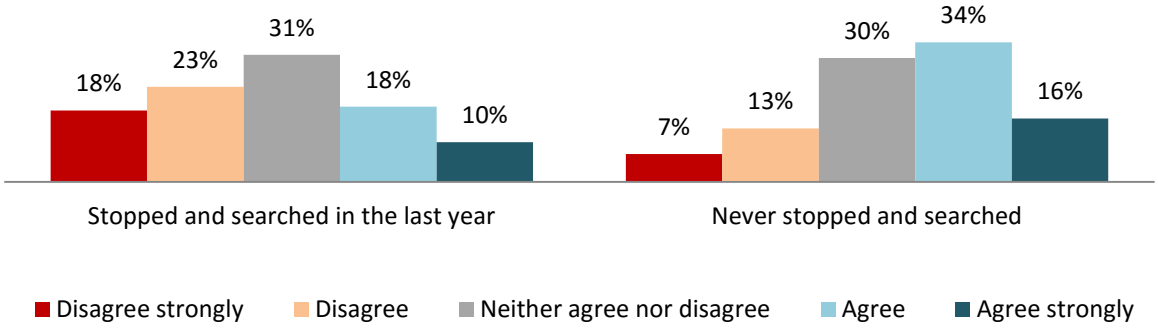
Figure 29 Whether the police are appreciative of what young people think, by experience of stop and search (%) Glasgow and Edinburgh



Base: 750 respondents

Support for the police: Finally, overall support for the police (strongly agreed) was higher amongst those who had not been searched, compared to those who had been searched, at 16% and 10% respectively. Conversely, 18% of those had been searched were not supportive of the police (strongly disagreed) , compared to 7% of those who had not been searched. **Figure 30** shows the results.

Figure 30 Whether generally supportive of what the police do, by experience of stop and search (%) Glasgow and Edinburgh



Base: 750 respondents

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