



Ethnic Minority Young People: Differential treatment in the youth justice system

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Tiggey May, Tracey Gyateng and Mike Hough

With the assistance of Bina Bhardwa, Isabella Boyce
and Juan-Carlos Oyanedel

The Institute for Criminal Policy Research
King's College London

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1 Background

This study has examined whether teenagers from ethnic minority groups are treated differently within the youth justice system from white teenagers. It is a partial replication of one conducted by Feilzer and Hood 2004, but it also examined how the 'inflows' into the youth justice system are shaped by policing.

Different ethnic groups are unequally represented within the criminal justice system (CJS).¹ According to the latest government report on *Race and the Criminal Justice System*, 'members of our black communities are seven times more likely than their white counterparts to be stopped and searched, three and a half times more likely to be arrested, and five times more likely to be in prison' (Jones and Singer 2008: viii). While black groups are over-represented in the criminal justice system, there is a pattern of under-representation for some Asian groups.

Feilzer and Hood's study was path-breaking in charting differential treatment of ethnic groups as they *passed through* the youth justice system. In broad terms they found that the differential representation of ethnic minority groups at the point of entry into the system was largely – but not entirely – preserved as young offenders passed through the system. However they did not examine whether differential treatment occurred in the policing processes that led to young people *entering* the system. This leaves open the question whether differences at the point of entry into the system can be attributed to differential treatment by the police, reflecting policing priorities, policies, styles and practice.

¹ Statistics on race in the criminal justice system are collected annually under the Criminal Justice Act 1991 section 95, while there also exists an increasing body of research evidencing disproportionality – for example, May et al (forthcoming), Feilzer and Hood (2004) and Bowling and Phillips (2002).

2 Objectives

The overall aim of this study was to derive a better understanding of the ways in which different ethnic groups were treated within the youth justice system. We aimed (a) to examine how the inflows into the system are created through policing, and (b) whether different ethnic groups receive different treatment as they pass through the system.

The objectives of the study were:

1. To examine how suspects are drawn into the youth justice system, and in particular to assess the relative contributions that proactive and reactive police work make to this population of suspects.
2. To assess whether the main ethnic groups are under-represented or over-represented, relative to the local population, in these inflows.
3. To analyse data from YOTs on young people involved in the criminal justice system and compare the treatment of people from different ethnic groups.
4. To examine, at as many stages of the youth justice process as possible, whether decision-making processes amplify, reduce or leave unchanged observed differences between ethnic groups at inflow.
5. To investigate through interviews and observations the reasons why different groups should be under- or over-represented in the system.
6. To assess whether over-representation of some minority ethnic groups is likely to be a function of direct or indirect discrimination.
7. To make recommendations on ways to minimise unwarranted disproportionality.

Overall the study was broadly successful in meeting Objective 1. Data were collected from stop and search databases and custody records which allowed reasons for arrests to be coded into proactive and reactive forms of policing. Objectives 2 and 3 were completed from the use of case management data from 12 youth offending teams (YOTs) which allowed comparisons to be drawn across the young people drawn into each YOT, and the 10-17 year old population of that YOT area as well as determining whether the outcomes for each ethnic minority was statistically different from the outcomes of young people from white backgrounds.

Objective 4 was partially met: through the analysis of YOT case management data; we were able to see that within the court stage, certain ethnic minorities were more or less likely to

have their cases dealt with by courts rather than by the police and that black young males were more likely to have their cases dropped at court. However we were unable to explain the reasons why certain ethnic minorities were more likely to be dealt with by courts or have cases dropped as we were unable to collect reliable data from the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) management system Compass. This would have allowed us to understand the reasons why cases were forwarded for prosecution, withdrawn or given a pre-court disposal. Identification of young people and their ethnicity within Compass produced an extremely low selection of cases which was not representative of the caseload involved in the areas as known from the number of arrests and data recorded by the YOTs. Further attempts to collect national data by ethnicity and age from external sources confirmed a large amount of missing data for young people in 2006, and that the data could not be analysed by YOT areas.

Interviews took place with 32 young people, 62 police officers and approximately 530 hours were spent observing operational police, which provided the study with view points on the reasons that young people are drawn into the youth justice system and how they are policed, which allowed us to complete Objective 5.

Objective 6 was always going to be a difficult question to answer. However, we have intentionally sidestepped making a definite judgement on this question, as we think that this could obstruct the sorts of reform that we advocate. However we have been critical of the adversarial styles of policing of teenagers from ethnic minorities that we often encountered. Lastly, we believe that our findings placed us in a good position to meet Objective 7. We have made a range of recommendations for practitioners, policy makers and further research.

3 Methods

The research strategy combined quantitative and qualitative methods and was carried out over a two-year period between 2007 and 2009. Ethical approval was sought from King's College on all aspects of the research involving human subjects. All quantitative data and semi structured interviews with police officers and young people were analysed using SPSS. The research entailed collecting and analysing data from five core elements:

1. Collection of stop and search data and custody records data from four Basic Command Units in three police forces² areas, to examine how young people are drawn into the youth justice system;
2. Interviews with police officers and observations of police at work in five areas, to explore the relationship between the police and young people;
3. Interviews with young people in two areas, to examine the impact of policing;
4. A quantitative examination of twelve YOTs, (largely replicating Feilzer and Hood's 2004 study) to examine disproportionality and evidence of discrimination;
5. An examination of the decision-making processes that take place at the prosecuting stage, through interviews with Senior Crown Prosecutors in two areas, and analysis of CPS data³

Stop and search data and custody records

We analysed stop and search data and custody records in four police areas chosen from our sample of 12 YOT areas. The YOTs were anonymised and were reported as areas A-L. YOTs were purposively selected to provide a good geographical spread of regions, and to have more than 14 per cent of their caseload from ethnic minority groups. Police data were collected within smaller sub-areas of the YOT area (labelled A1-D1).

In three of the areas the police provided us with electronic stop and search records for the entire Basic Command Unit (BCU) for 2006, from which six months of data was selected to be analysed, but for one area researchers manually collected six months' stop and search data for 2006, by reading stop and search forms and inputting directly into SPSS for the part of the BCU where observational work had been conducted. Custody record information was manually collected for a six-month period in 2006 from all four areas.

² We originally planned to cover five areas, but had to drop one, as it could not provide data in a format comparable to the other four areas.

³ However, problems of data quality ruled out reportable analysis.

Interviews with police officers and observations

In total, 62 police officers were interviewed across five YOT areas. The aim was to examine how officers engaged with young people, their experiences in doing so, their opinions about diversity training, and their views on stop and search. Interviews were not recorded. A further, ten semi-structured interviews were conducted with senior officers in three areas to ascertain thoughts about young people and policing in general and were recorded.

In each area we conducted observational work with operational police officers at different times of the day and on different days. In total we observed 53 shifts across the four areas (Areas A1-D1) equating to approximately 530 hours of observations.

Interviews with young people

We interviewed 32 young people about their experience of being stopped and searched. Young people were recruited from two YOT areas (A and D), chosen because they had, respectively, the highest proportion of black and mixed race teenagers, and Asian teenagers, out of our twelve areas. We also felt it was important to interview young people from the areas where our police interviews and observations had taken place. Young people were selected for an interview if they were aged 17 or under; had experience of being stopped and searched; had at least one conviction and were given vouchers to the value of £15 for participating. Interviews were structured; young people were asked to discuss their offending histories, their experiences and opinions regarding the use of stop and search, and their thoughts about the relationship between young people and the police. Interviews were not recorded.

A quantitative examination of twelve YOTs

Data were collected from the Youth Offending Information System (YOIS), an electronic system used by most YOTs in the country to case-manage and report on young offenders. It is a live management system, and getting the dataset into an analysable form was difficult and took several months. As discussed above, we assembled a purposive sample of twelve YOTs, and extracted data from the YOIS administrative database on all offenders who had committed an offence in 2006 (including disposals recorded up to December 2007).

To enable comparisons to be drawn with Feilzer and Hood's work, we analysed data at a case level. To make analysis comprehensible and communicable, we defined the main offence in a case as the most serious offence (according to the YJB gravity score), and we analysed sentencing outcomes by reference only to the most serious penalty. If the case included breach proceedings, we took account of this. Our procedure for defining cases yielded 18,083⁴ cases in total, relating to 11,623 individuals.

The analysis strategy

Regression analysis was conducted and due to the mainly binary outcomes which were produced, logistic regression was the most appropriate tool. However, due to individuals being able to enter the dataset more than once, which would violate an assumption for logistic regression that the sample was independent, logistic regression with random effects was conducted. It was found for the majority of models produced, controlling for all of the case characteristics, most of the variance that was unique to the individual became insignificant and the random effects model produced similar results to an ordinary logistic regression model.

Regression analysis was conducted to see if the disproportionality between ethnic groups could be explained by variations between groups in factors unrelated, or only indirectly related, to ethnicity. This strategy can go some way to *ruling out* the presence of racial discrimination at a given decision point, but is weaker at *proving* the existence of discrimination. This is because quantitative research is rarely exhaustive in measuring all relevant predictors.

Prosecution process

This element of the research aimed to explore whether at the CPS stage disproportionality was reduced, remained the same or amplified. Interviews were undertaken with seven Senior Crown Prosecutors specialising in youth offending cases in Areas A and D, and an exploration of CPS data for those areas conducted. However as outlined earlier, due to CPS data having a large amount of missing cases, analysis of CPS material could not be undertaken.

⁴ Six per cent of the sample had an unknown or unresolved disposal.

4 Results

A. Entry into the youth justice system

Both government statistics and research confirm that young people from some ethnic minority backgrounds are over-represented in 'inflows' into the youth justice process. What is less clear, however, is *how* young people are first drawn into the system and if there are any patterns of difference between ethnic groups that are established at the inflow, or policing, stage. Data on stop and searches and custody were used to identify whether young people were mainly policed proactively, i.e. the police actively seeking young people and drawing them into the criminal justice system through stop and search, catching them in an act or collecting DNA and forensic evidence, or reactively, i.e. the police responding to reported crimes.

Overall, 3,044 arrests were made on 2,439 individuals for six months in 2006 for the four areas of interest (Appendix Table 1). Area B had the largest number of young people brought into custody. Comparing the policing areas with the YOT areas (see Figure 1), in all four areas, Asian arrestees were under-represented in the youth justice process, with differences between arrestees and population largest in Area D1. Black arrestees were over-represented in Areas A, B and C but under-represented in Area D. Mixed race arrestees were over-represented in Areas C and D; at the time of the research, Areas A and B did not use the mixed race category. White arrestees, like Asians, were under-represented in all of the areas, with the largest difference between arrest and population in Area A.

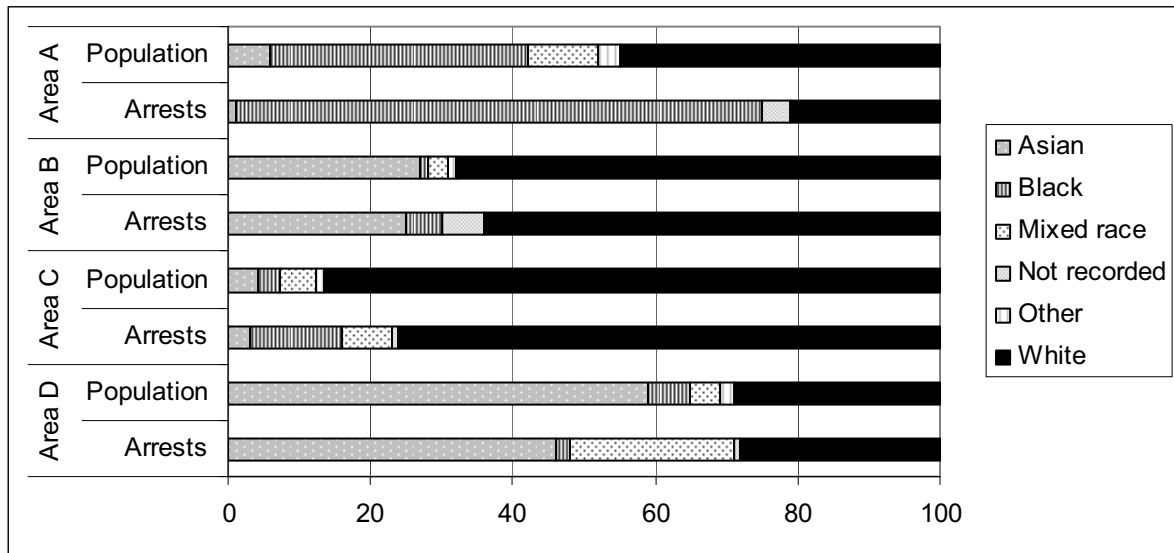
In Areas B1 and C1, a half and two-thirds of arrestees respectively entered the youth justice system as a result of reactive work; proactive work accounted for a much smaller proportion. In Areas A1 and D1, by contrast, proactive policing methods accounted for as many arrests as reactive methods. Although Areas A1 and D1 had the largest ethnic minority populations, there do not appear to be large differences in type of arrests between white arrestees and the largest ethnic minority group in each area.⁵ Bearing in mind the fact that we were unable to fit a large minority of arrests into our classification⁶, the analysis suggests – rather than proves – that only a minority of cases enter the system as a result of *highly discretionary* policing tactics. A complete classification of arrests would probably show that more than half

⁵ Area A1 had a high proportion of black and mixed young people and Area D1 a high proportion of Asians.

⁶ Arrests which could not be classified included arrests from intelligence reports, warrants and breaches, records which contained no information about the circumstances of arrest

were reactive. However, this is not to suggest that officers' hands are completely tied in reactive cases and Appendix Table 2 shows that there are differences by ethnicity within areas in how they are drawn into the youth justice system.

Figure 1: Ethnicity of arrested young people compared with those in the local population



Note: 10-17 population figures are local authority estimates for 2006 derived from 2001 census statistics.

The proportion of young people arrested after being stopped and searched was similar across all areas, however in area A1, the majority of young people arrested after stop and searches were black, which did not reflect the YOT population but was reflective of the arrest population as collated from custody records (see Appendix Table 3).

Case disposals

More than a third of the proactive arrests and almost a half (48%) of the reactive arrests were disposed of by way of no further action (NFA). Thirty one per cent of young people who were arrested as a result of proactive policing methods were charged with the offence compared to 18% of those who entered the system as a result of reactive policing methods (see Appendix Table 4).

For both the reactive and proactive arrests more black or mixed race young people were charged with the offence they were arrested for than white or Asian teenagers. Fewer black and mixed race teenagers were dealt with by way of no further action than white or Asian teenagers. The number of young people issued with a final warning (106 in total) in the six-

month period appears particularly low; this may suggest that the police and other agencies are successfully diverting young people away from the youth justice system, or that police officers are tending to focus their attention on those known to them who, upon arrest, would be ineligible for a final warning if they have already been arrested on two previous occasions (see Appendix Table 5.)

Area A1 had the lowest proportion of cases ending in no further action, and the smallest proportion of cases receiving a reprimand or final warning. One explanation could be that area A1 targets known offenders who were no longer eligible for a reprimand or final warning. Area B1 had the lowest proportion of young people charged, so while it drew in the largest amount of young people compared with other areas, only a small proportion of cases were actually charged. Further discussion on types of disposals young people receive is made later in this section.

Styles of Policing

More reliance was made on reactive policing work than pro-active work in some areas, and there were differences in the way that different ethnic groups were policed. Using information gathered from police and young people interviews, and observations made by researchers carried out with ten policing teams across the four Basic Command Units (BCUs)⁷ we were able to illustrate the different types of policing carried out in each of the areas based on well known classifications Banton (1964), J.Q. Wilson (1968), Muir (1977) and Packer (1968).

We classified styles of policing that we observed under two main headings:

- Adversarial policing/street control
- Rule of law/procedural justice

Adversarial policing/street control

This style of policing emphasises the control and management of those who are thought to be most heavily involved in offending. It focuses simultaneously both on crime control and on the assertion of control over those who pose a challenge to police authority. It is prevalent in high-crime areas, but as we have evidenced, it is not the only style of policing adopted in such areas. Where offending is concentrated – or believed to be concentrated – amongst particular groups, there is a tendency for these groups to attract differential police treatment.

⁷ The teams included uniformed response teams, neighbourhood policing teams and specialist units which had been set up to tackle street robbery, youth gang crime and street crime.

Stop and search tends to be enthusiastically embraced by officers adopting this type of policing. Not surprisingly, given that the rationale is to demonstrate control over the streets, the same small group of people who challenge police authority tend to be the focus of police action. We formed the clear impression that in these areas the police persistently stopped the same groups of young people – often known to them by name. This style of policing tends neither to foster – nor to value – good relations with those who are policed in this way.

The adversarial style was particularly prevalent within certain teams in Area A1, our busy inner-city area, where the relationship between the police and young black people was shaped by a history of friction, which dated back at least to the early 1980s. Adversarial policing was adopted by the two teams of specialist officers in Area A1 whose remit was to disrupt the illegal activities of young people and to be seen to take command of the local area. It was not a style adopted by the local neighbourhood policing team in Area A1 (whom we also observed), whose style focused more on consensual, responsive policing.

Teenagers in Area A1 tended to view the police in a particularly negative light. Some drew on their own personal experience, whilst for others, vicarious experience – the encounters that their friends or relatives had with the police – was important. Young people, on the whole, did not view the specialist officers and the job they did as particularly important, nor did they respect many of the officers they encountered.

The police in Area A1 had identified various young people – mainly black teenagers – as criminally active or engaged in gang activity. This group was targeted in stop and search tactics and was otherwise subject to rigorous enforcement. Our interpretation of this was that these tactics were being deployed to demonstrate who was in control of the streets. In some cases, the police demanded rather than negotiated respect and compliance. Equally, however, those who were the object of this policing tended to goad the police, especially if they had a crowd to play to. They appeared to enjoy the attention and the adversarial relationship, often inviting confrontation and setting out to antagonise officers.

Rule of law/procedural justice

Whilst we observed adversarial styles of policing, to greater or lesser extent, in all four areas, few officers were committed exclusively to adversarial tactics; officers in all four areas also exercised - to a greater or lesser degree – a more consensual style of policing designed to secure greater commitment to the rule of law through ‘procedural justice’. Procedural justice involves treating all those involved in police interactions with decency and respect, and according to the rules set out in law and in codes of practice (Tyler and Huo, 2002; Tyler, 2003, 2007). This style of policing was particularly prevalent in Area C1 where we observed a uniformed response team and a specialist young person’s inspector conducting a

reprimand and final warning clinic, but it was also the style of all the neighbourhood policing teams we observed.

Informal policing v 'net-widening'

During our observations we encountered a number of operational officers who believed that the pressure to meet arrest targets often led them and their colleagues to stop and search and arrest young people for minor crimes, in particular minor public order and criminal damage offences, which previously would have been dealt with informally.

The use of stop and search has always been a highly contentious issue, especially in areas where there are significant black and minority ethnic communities. During our observations officers in Area A1 used the tactic to a much greater extent than in any of the other areas we visited. Stop and search was generally viewed by the young people interviewed as over zealous and aggressive and by the police observed and interviewed as being necessary. Only four out of 62 officers had doubts about stop and search being used as an information gathering tool.

Overall, the qualitative work brought to life the complexity of police/public encounters in the sort of high-crime areas included in this study. On the one hand, the more professional 'rule of law' style of policing that characterised Area C1 is obviously preferable in principle to the abrasive, adversarial approaches that we often observed. On the other hand the latter were situated in contexts in which:

- Genuinely required police action
- In circumstances where police were sometimes constrained by the actions of others
- Who brought their own stereotypes and prejudices to the encounter,
- Reflecting long histories of difficult relations between police and public.

Any strategy for change needs to recognise such realities, whilst emphasising that in some areas facing very similar problems, such as Area C1, police leadership has managed to make the shift successfully from 'adversarial' to 'rule of law' policing styles.

B. YOT data analysis

As discussed, there is disproportionate representation of some ethnic minority groups within the criminal justice system in general and the youth justice system in particular. Comparing our YOT samples to the relevant 10-to-17-year-old population for the YOT areas, white and Asian offenders were generally under-represented. In all areas, black offenders were over-

represented, and half of all areas had an over-representation of mixed race offenders (see Appendix Tables 6 and 7). This was similar to patterns observed in young people arrest data.

Significant differences in the types of disposals

A lower proportion of black and mixed race young males received a pre-court disposal than white males, whilst a higher proportion of young Asian males received a pre-court disposal than white offenders. These differences were statistically significant ($p < .01$). Young mixed race women and those of unknown ethnicity received a statistically lower proportion of pre-court disposals, while young Asian women received a statistically higher proportion when compared to young white women. However, no statistically significant differences were found between young black and white women (see Appendix Table 8).

Significant differences between ethnic minority groups and white boys at the sentencing stage (see Appendix Table 9) were:

- Asian boys received a higher proportion of referral orders, and a lower proportion of community sentences that were available to all age groups, than white boys.
- black boys had a higher proportion of cases acquitted, or for which there was no case to answer, than white boys.
- black boys received a higher proportion of custodial sentences, and a lower proportion of community sentences that were available to all age groups, than white boys.
- mixed race boys had a higher proportion of cases acquitted, or for which there was no case to answer, than white boys.
- mixed race boys received a higher proportion of community sentences that were available to all age groups, and a lower proportion of referral orders, than white boys.

There were fewer significant differences between white and ethnic minority girls in the sample:

- mixed race girls had a lower proportion of referral orders than white girls.
- girls of unknown ethnicity had a lower proportion of community sentences that were available to all ages than white girls.

There were also differences between areas in the types of disposals given to young people. Area B had the largest amount of young people in the youth justice system compared to all

other YOTs in the sample, but was more likely to dispose of the young people pre court. The proportion of all disposals which were given pre-court for boys ranged from 16% (Area G) to 45% (Area B). For girls it ranged from 33% (Area L) to 69% (Area B).

Accounting for disproportionality

Unequal representation was still apparent at some of the stages of the youth justice system, even when characteristics of the case, such as type of offence and seriousness, and the YOT area in which the young person was dealt with were controlled for. This indicates that certain stages of the youth justice system may be discriminatory against ethnic minorities. Regression analysis was conducted to model the different disposals given to young people throughout the youth justice system, providing a small replication of the analysis conducted by Feilzer and Hood (2004).

Mixed race teenagers had higher chances than whites of being prosecuted at court than given a reprimand or final warning, and of receiving a community sentence rather than a first-tier penalty. Asian girls were less likely to be prosecuted at court. Black and Asian young people had a higher chance of being remanded into secure accommodation. Using a smaller sample of individuals for whom Asset⁸ data was available, the findings for Asians were no longer significant at the 5 per cent level, but mixed race young people were also found, with blacks, to be more likely to be remanded than white young people. At court, young black men had a higher chance of having their case dismissed than receiving a sentence compared with whites.

Not all modelled stages showed differences between ethnic minority and white young people. No ethnic group was significantly more likely than another to receive a referral order rather than another first-tier penalty, or to receive a custodial sentence compared rather than another court sentence. However, the finding of non-significant ethnic differences for receiving a custodial sentence may be explained by two factors: the young person being given a remand, which was shown to be higher for ethnic minorities than whites, and the greater likelihood in certain areas that a young person would be sent to custody. The influence that areas have on the type of disposal received confirms Feilzer and Hood's findings, and is known as justice by geography. By identifying characteristics of four of the areas included in the sample, we were able to better understand the inflow of young people into the youth justice system. These can be used to partly explain some of the differences recorded within this chapter.

5. Activities, Outputs and Impacts

A draft final report has been prepared and due for submission in mid August to the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC). It is expected that the dissemination process will involve:

- publication of a concise summary and a final report;
- production of three peer reviewed journal articles;
- production of articles within: mainstream media, criminal justice publications such as Police Review, Criminal Justice Management etc and equalities publications e.g Catalyst
- dissemination of findings to young people through key websites
- presentation of findings to the press; key stakeholder groups including CJA, regional and national government policy heads and EHRC and ESRC representatives; and House of Commons parliamentary briefing.

⁸ Asset is an assessment tool used by YOTs to identify the main factors which influence a young offender's risk of reoffending and to act as an indicator of the child's needs

6. Future Research Priorities

Further investigation would usefully be pursued in the following areas:

- whether and why some ethnic groups are disproportionately involved in offending – as opposed to disproportionately policed;
- further examination of operational police officers' views on stop and search to understand what works and what is ignored;
- the reasons for variations across area in disposals; and
- examination of CPS decision-making, to see whether this amplifies, reduces or preserves differences between ethnic groups.

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Appendix A: Tables

Table 1: The number of young people and arrests by area

	Area A1	Area B1	Area C1	Area D1	Total
Young people	365	858	607	609	2,439
Arrests	427	1,138	757	722	3,044

Table 2: Proactive and reactive arrests by area (Per cent)

Area	Entry into the YJS	Asian	Black	Mixed race	White	Total
Area A1	Proactive	-	31	Not recorded	34	31
	Reactive	20	30	Not recorded	31	30
	Other	80	39	Not recorded	35	39
	Total	100%	100%	N/A	100%	100%
Area B1	Proactive	18	7	Not recorded	11	13
	Reactive	41	39	Not recorded	51	48
	Other	41	54	Not recorded	38	39
	Total	100%	100%	N/A	100%	100%
Area C1	Proactive	5	22	21	19	19
	Reactive	70	48	61	65	63
	Other	25	30	18	16	18
	Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Area D1	Proactive	32	44	35	41	35
	Reactive	36	19	30	30	33
	Other	32	37	35	29	32
	Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 3: Arrests following stop searches, by ethnicity

Offence	Asian	Black	Mixed Race	Other/Not Known	White	Total	Total stop searches	Percent arrest stop searches
Area A1	-	40	NA	-	12	52	699	7.4
Area B1	26	7	5	8	88	126	1607	7.8
Area C1	-	8	1	5	6	15	203	7.4
Area D1	56	4	2	24	13	75	1174	6.4

Table 4: Proactive and reactive case disposals by ethnicity

A. Proactive arrests					
Disposal	Asian	Black	Mixed race	White	Total
Charge	25	39	33	29	31
Reprimand	16	8	11	14	13
Final Warning	3	1	4	4	3
NFA	41	28	39	38	37
Other ⁹	15	24	13	15	16
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	158	130¹⁰	70	301	659

⁹ 'Other' includes transfers to other forces, those detained under the Mental Health Act, court summons and fixed penalty notices,

¹⁰ One young black person did not have a disposal recorded.

B. Reactive arrests					
Charge	17	23	25	16	18
Reprimand	17	9	17	16	15
Final Warning	3	2	5	7	5
NFA	55	42	45	47	48
Other	9	24	8	15	14
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	245	172	87	837	1,341

Note: Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding.

Table 5: Arrest case disposals by area and ethnicity¹¹

Area	Disposal	Asian	Black	Mixed race	White	Total
Area A1	Charge	20	34	-	28	33
	Reprimand	-	4	-	9	5
	Final Warning	-	0	-	1	0
	NFA	20	28	-	35	29
	Other	60	34	-	27	33
	Total	100	100	-	100	100
	N	5	314	-	89	408
Area B1	Charge	11	15	-	18	16
	Reprimand	17	13	-	16	16
	Final Warning	5	-	-	5	5
	NFA	54	55	-	51	52
	Other	13	17	-	9	10
	Total	100	100	-	100	100
	N	242	53	-	699	994
Area C1	Charge	15	26	30	26	26
	Reprimand	20	12	13	13	13
	Final Warning	-	5	10	6	6
	NFA	60	49	43	43	45
	Other	5	8	5	12	11
	Total	100	100	100	100	100
	N	20	102	61	544	727
Area D1	Charge	33	25	35	31	33
	Reprimand	13	19	10	12	12
	Final Warning	1	-	1	3	2
	NFA	47	44	43	45	45
	Other	6	13	11	8	8
	Total	100	100	100	100	100
	N	342	16	159	191	708

Note: Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding.
 Excludes 109 cases where the outcome was not recorded

¹¹ Five cases were missing.

Table 6: ONS estimated 10-17 year old male population 2006 compared to male cases

Area	Asian		Black		Chinese/Other		Mixed		Unknown		White	
	Population	Cases	Population	Cases	Population	Cases	Population	Cases	Population	Cases	Population	Cases
Area A	6.6	1.1	34.2	69.8	2.6	0.6	10.1	7.9	-	3.7	46.5	16.9
Area B	27.1	18.3	1.2	3.2	0.7	0.0	3.5	3.5	-	-	67.6	75.0
Area C	4.4	1.7	3.2	8.8	1.2	0.1	5.2	7.6	-	2.5	85.9	79.4
Area D	58.4	55.7	6.1	6.7	2.6	0.4	3.7	10.5	-	0.1	29.2	26.6
Area E	16.9	6.2	4.9	15.0	0.7	0.2	7.3	6.9	-	2.0	70.1	69.7
Area F	13.1	4.5	28.7	54.2	3.5	0.5	7.4	11.4	-	2.6	47.4	26.9
Area G	11.3	4.4	2.0	6.4	0.8	0.1	4.8	3.6	-	24.9	81.1	60.7
Area H	25.2	13.9	8.0	11.0	1.3	0.7	6.3	7.7	-	3.3	59.2	63.4
Area I	39.7	23.2	22.9	33.6	3.0	0.5	5.8	7.5	-	3.0	28.5	32.3
Area J	18.8	5.4	0.8	2.6	0.5	-	2.8	3.2	-	13.7	77.1	75.2
Area K	7.0	2.5	2.3	12.0	1.1	0.1	4.0	4.3	-	3.1	85.6	78.0
Area L	10.0	3.1	14.1	41.2	2.3	0.6	7.9	9.1	-	1.0	65.8	45.0
Total	20.1	11.4	9.1	19.2	1.5	0.3	5.4	6.4	-	4.5	63.9	58.2

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Table 7: ONS estimated 10-17 year old female population 2006 compared to female cases

Area	Asian		Black		Chinese/Other		Mixed		Unknown		White	
	Population	Cases	Population	Cases	Population	Cases	Population	Cases	Population	Cases	Population	Cases
Area A	5.6	1.8	37.2	63.2	2.7	0.4	10.3	6.7	-	3.6	44.3	24.2
Area B	27.0	7.9	1.2	3.9	0.6	-	3.4	3.1	-	-	67.8	85.1
Area C	4.0	1.7	2.8	5.9	1.2	0.5	5.2	10.1	-	2.2	86.8	79.6
Area D	59.8	29.0	5.7	8.9	2.2	2.4	3.9	8.9	-	-	28.4	50.8
Area E	16.4	5.4	5.1	17.6	0.6	0.4	7.1	1.3	-	1.7	70.7	73.6
Area F	12.7	2.7	29.0	53.4	3.0	-	7.8	9.5	-	2.7	47.5	31.8
Area G	11.4	1.6	1.7	4.5	0.9	-	5.0	5.3	-	11.4	80.9	77.2
Area H	24.2	7.5	8.4	12.4	1.2	0.3	6.0	10.5	-	3.3	60.2	66.0
Area I	40.4	15.9	23.6	30.6	2.6	-	6.2	15.9	-	3.2	27.2	34.4
Area J	18.8	2.5	0.5	0.7	0.4	-	3.1	5.7	-	18.3	77.2	72.8
Area K	6.6	2.1	2.4	7.9	1.0	1.5	4.1	4.8	-	4.5	86.0	79.1
Area L	10.0	1.7	14.9	34.5	2.1	0.6	7.8	7.3	-	-	65.2	55.9
Total	20.0	5.8	9.4	14.9	1.4	0.4	5.5	6.6	-	3.9	63.7	68.5

Table 8: Proportion of offenders receiving a pre-court disposal by ethnicity

Pre-court	Asian	Black	Chinese/ Other ¹²	Mixed	Unknown	White	Total
Young men (Per cent)							
Police Reprimand	71*	61	82	62	76*	63	64
Final Warning	29*	39	18	38	22*	37	36
Fixed Penalty Notice	-	-	-	-	2	<1	<1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	577	637	11	135	123	2601	4084
Proportion of all cases dealt with at pre-court stage	37*	25*	31	16*	20*	33	30
Young women (Per cent)							
Police Reprimand	80*	75	43	72	89*	71	72
Final Warning	20*	25	57	28	11*	29	28
Fixed Penalty Notice	-	<1	-	-	-	-	<1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	142	263	7	68	47	1263	1790
Proportion of all cases dealt with at pre-court stage	71*	53	54	31*	38*	55	53

* Indicates a significant difference (at the 95% level) when compared to white offenders.

Table 9: Proportion of young people receiving a court disposal by ethnicity

Court	Asian	Black	Chinese/ Other	Mixed	Unknown	White	Total
Young men (Per cent)							
Discontinued/Withdrawn	10	10	4	9	9	9	9
No Case To Answer/Acquitted	7	11*	8	8*	13*	6	8
Referral Order	28*	19	20	16*	21	20	20
First-tier Penalties	19	17	32	16	32*	19	19
Community Sentences available to all ages	15*	18*	20	26*	15*	22	21
Community Sentences available to ages 16+	7	7	4	7	4*	6	6
Custody	6	9*	8	9	3*	7	8
Other	8	8	4	10	3*	10	9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	964	1885	25	720	495	5385	9474
Young women (Per cent)							
Discontinued/Withdrawn	12	14	-	13	17	10	11
No Case To Answer/Acquitted	5	8	17	8	8	5	6
Referral Order	33	28	50	23*	39	31	31
First-tier Penalties	12	11	-	13	14	13	12
Community Sentences available to all ages	19	21	17	29	12*	22	22
Community Sentences available to ages 16+	7	5	-	1	1	3	3
Custody	2	6	-	5	-	3	3
Other	9	8	17	9	8	11	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	57	232	6	150	76	1049	1570

* Indicates a significant difference (p<.05) when compared to white young people.

¹² Due to small sample sizes for the Chinese/Other ethnic group, statistical tests of significance were not conducted.