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A descriptive analysis of the criminal records of individuals stopped and searched in one year by

Bedfordshire Police on suspicion of drugs crimes under the Misuse of Drugs Act 1971

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Abstract

Stop and search is a controversial policing tactic that is syNonymous with the unjustified deployment by the police among minority communities. Researchers have examined the disproportionality, 'hit rates' and the effect upon incidents of crime, drawing on the deterrence effects rather that specific deterrence. To estimate the specific deterrence effect of stop and search there is a need to examine the criminal activities of those who are stopped and searched. The study provides a descriptive analysis of the prevalence, frequency, and severity of suspected criminal activities by persons stopped and searched on suspicion of drugs offences in Bedfordshire between an intake year of 1st July 2019 to 30th June 2020. It examined; the crimes that were alleged in the 365 days prior to and 365 days after each person was searched; how this was distributed across race; the proportion of offences of serious violence and the crimes of those stopped and searched by a proactive policing unit. The study addresses an important gap in knowledge highlighted by the Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary in the report: disproportionate use of police powers, that the majority of stops and searches are for low level possession of drugs; not representative of any police service strategic objectives and is disproportionately deployed upon minority communities. The study revealed that most individuals were not suspected of any crime before or after they were stopped, while only half of all offences were indicative of organised crime. Violence against the person, theft and drug offences were the most prevalent crimes. Most 'suspects' prior to stop and search continued criminal activity and Whites were more likely to become defiant and Non-White to become more cautious. Harm was highly concentred, as 75% of harm was suspected by just 3% of those stopped and searched. The prevalence, frequency and severity of offending was broadly evenly distributed across race, yet Non-Whites were 3 times more likely to be stopped and searched than Whites. Stop and search deployed on a premise of deterrence requires that officers review the quality of intelligence and decision to exercise their power as only a minority of those stopped and

search for drug crimes were previously suspected of any drug crime. Procedural justice training has the potential to increase police-citizen interactions and can address elements of defiance. Offender focussed deterrence with precision on high harm offenders and at hotspots of violence crime has the potential to have harm and increase the efficiency and effectiveness of policing efforts while improving policing legitimacy.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In a 2021 report on 'disproportionate use of police powers', Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary, Fire and Rescue Service (HMICFRS) found that minority groups were over-represented in stop and search statistics. HMICFRS asked forces to take action to analyse, explain and address the disproportionality. Yet police disproportionality is not a new issue; both Scarman (1981) and Macpherson (1998) inquiries identified issues of racism, unfairness, and injustice within the British policing. More recently, the Lammy review (2017) identified disproportionality and discrimination across the entire criminal justice system.

Disproportionality and discrimination are central themes in the 'Black Lives Matter' (BLM) social movement on advancing the rights and protection of black communities in the UK, US and Canada (Black lives matter 2021). Anglo-American incidents of police discrimination gained global prominence with the tragic murder of George Floyd by a Minneapolis City police officer in 2020, leading to worldwide protests regarding police injustice (Campbell 2021). While police injustice manifests in many forms, police use of stop and search is an important site of disproportionate use of police powers.

The Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 (PACE) code of practice regulates police powers and protects public rights. Code A governs the exercise by police officers of statutory powers of stop and search, an important tool in the prevention and detection of crime. The purpose of stop and search is primarily to allay or confirm suspicion without the need to exercise the power of arrest. The power must be used without discrimination, harassment, or victimisation. The Act requires supervision by senior officers to ensure proportionate and necessary deployment of the power. Code A applies to the conduct of stop and search exercised under many aspects of legislation including firearms, fraud and terrorism however study focusses on stop and searches conducted for drug crimes.

One of the key Acts of Parliament that Code A governs is S.23 of the Misuse of Drugs Act 1971. If a constable has reasonable grounds to suspect that any person is in possession of a controlled drug in contravention of this Act or of any regulations made thereunder, the constable may—

(a) search that person, and detain him for the purpose of searching him;

(b) search any vehicle or vessel in which the constable suspects that the drug may be found, and for that purpose require the person in control of the vehicle or vessel to stop it;

(c) seize and detain, for the purposes of proceedings under this Act, anything found in the course of the search which appears to the constable to be evidence of an offence under this Act.

Purpose of study

Stop and search tactics face a legitimacy challenge. First there are concerns about racial disparities. Thus, some researchers have examined whether the use of stop and search across different racial groups is even or disproportionate (e.g., Lammy 2017; Epp et al 2014). There is also a concern about the effectiveness of these tactics. This is sometimes measured in terms of 'hit rates'; that is, the proportion of stop and searches that result in arrests. Others have conducted randomised control trials to estimate the effects of enhanced stop and searches over incidents of crime (e.g., Sherman and Rogan 1995). These studies draw attention to the deterrence effects of stop and search. However, the focus has been on general deterrence rather than specific deterrence. Specific deterrence strategies focus on changing the criminal choices of known offenders (Bottoms and von Hirsch 2010). If stop and search influences individuals, it is likely to be those stopped and searched rather than the generality of the population. In order to estimate such effects, we need to examine the criminal activities of these individuals independent of the stop and search.

The purpose of this study is to provide a descriptive analysis of the prevalence, frequency and severity of suspected criminal activities by persons stopped and searched in Bedfordshire between an intake year of 1st July 2019 to 30th June 2020. For the first time in the stop and search literature,

we examine the criminal profiles of these individuals before and after the date of each person's initial stop and search for drug crimes. The analysis explores racial disparities by comparing criminal profiles of Whites and Non-Whites. The process will be repeated by examining only those persons stopped for drug crimes by a proactive gang violence team called Sparkler. Lastly, the process will be repeated for all those persons who are suspected of committing serious violence.

The study contributes to addressing an important knowledge gap that HMICFRS highlighted in the 2021 report: Disproportionate use of police powers; a lack of understanding by police forces in England and Wales of who is stopped and searched and the grounds for the stop. While most police forces cited gang violence, county lines and organised crime as the motivation, an analysis of a sample of stop and search records across all forces found that the majority of searches were in fact for low level possession of drugs and therefore not representative of the strategic priorities (Shiner et al 2018; HMICFRS 2021). The HMICFRS also found that there was a racial disparity in stop and search with black and minority groups more likely to be stopped and searched than Whites.

The rest of the thesis is structured as follows: it begins with a literature review discussing policing by consent and legitimacy followed by a review of the evidence of the effectiveness of stop and search. It then discusses the current government emphasis on stop and search in a violent crime context and how government strategies draw a nexus between violence, gangs, organised crime, drugs and county lines drug supply. A summary of evidence-based tactics in reducing violent crime is followed by a review of the history of disproportionate deployment of stop and search and concludes with a review of the latest assessment which raises concerns about levels of stop and searches for low level possession of drug offences and how this is disproportionately deployed within minority communities.

In summary the research uses major crime types, volume and Cambridge Crime Harm (CHI) index as a harm measure to provide a description the harm associated with individuals stopped and searched for drug crimes in Bedfordshire and how it is distributed across race. The analysis will provide an

understanding of how focussed stop and searches for drugs crimes are across crime types, particularly serious violence and how changes when deployed by a proactive policing team. The research may provide opportunities to identify and restrict the inefficient or ineffective deployment of stop and search upon individuals of comparatively low harm, focus on precision deployment of police resources to high harm individuals and redeploy resources to evidence-based practices to reduce violent crime.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The mission of the police service is based upon a foundation of 'Peelian' principles. The nineteenth century guidelines remain relevant to modern policing confirming that the police must prevent crime and disorder, use no more force than is necessary, secure the respect and consent of the public and offering an individual service to all members of the public without regard to their background or position in society (Loader 2016). If the Peelian principles were the foundations then the cornerstone of the British Policing is the Idea of policing by public consent; that is to say,

compliance with the law and cooperation with the police are based on the consent of the public secured by the behaviour of the police that secures public approval (Home office 2021).

Policing legitimacy

Policing by consent speaks to the much broader issue of legitimacy in policing. Tyler (2006) describes legitimacy according to a normative perspective: legitimacy refers to authority that people feel obliged to obey because its actions are fair. According to Bottoms and Tankebe (2012,2017) legitimacy is a multidimensional concept made of perceptions of lawfulness, effectiveness, procedural justice, and distributive justice. By lawfulness, police compliance with the rule of law: that is, officers conform to the rules and that power should be acquired and exercised in accordance with the established rules, either customary or conventional in form.

Whatever the chosen priorities, police should be reasonably effective in achieving results and if not a loss of legitimacy may follow. Research of vigilante violence supports this theory as vigilantism usually occurs in the context of an ineffective or failing police response, where citizens concern for personal safety leads to individuals taking measures to protect themselves and their families (Nivette 2016). In areas with a high crime rate such as South Africa, studies found that while procedural justice was important, police effectiveness remained the citizens priority (Bradford et al 2014).

Procedural justice (or procedural fairness) is the fairness of the processes employed to reach specific outcomes or decisions. The quality of decision-making (a recognition of an individual's rights) and the quality of treatment (a recognition of his or her humanity) leads an individual to feel valued. While procedural justice is often more focussed upon individual perceptions of fairness, the way in which justice is distributed by the police across minority groups can have far reaching consequences, even if the individual police and citizen interaction was procedurally fair. Perceived excessive use of police power has led to resentment among ethnic minority groups and led to open confrontation with the police (Scarman 1981). The police use of stop and search which disproportionately targeted

young black men in Brixton, London, led to the 1981 riot; in the United States, the death of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri who was shot dead by a police officer led to civil unrest. The reaction to Brown's murder was in part due to concerns of distributive justice where in 2015 African Americans were killed by police at 7.22 per million compared to 2.94 per million for White Americans (Gray 2016).

Distributive justice is not confined to over-policing, as exemplified in England by the Rotherham child abuse scandal, where victims were treated with contempt and given no priority despite a number of independent reports highlighting the scale of problem (Jay 2014). Perhaps the highest prolife example of under enforcement was the police handing of the investigation into the murder of Stephen Lawrence, a young black man stabbed to death in London in 1993, where the family of Lawrence complained that the police did not take the investigation seriously, contributing to the failure to initially achieve a conviction. The MacPherson commission of enquiry confirmed aspects of the family's complaint and found that professional incompetence and institutional racism accounted for the police failure to secure murder convictions.

In conclusion, lawfulness, effectiveness, procedural justice, and distributive justice is central to legitimacy and legitimacy is central to policing by consent and compliance with law and order. Evidence shows that legitimacy encourages compliance with the law and cooperation with the police (Tyler 2006; Jackson et al 2012; Walters and Bolger 2019). Sherman's (1993) defiance theory highlighted additional consequences of as lack of fairness and legitimacy: where enforcement or punishment is deemed as unjust or excessive, people tend to reject the shame associated with the conduct and become defiant. Such defiance, Sherman argues, can increase future crime.

Why do the police use stop and search & does it work?

The deployment of stop and search is perhaps the least constrained coercive power of government, yet its deployment involves deprivation of liberty, privacy, and freedom of movement (Epp et al 2014). Bowling and Phillips (2007) describe that a power that is so disproportionate and

discriminatory requires appropriate safeguards and accountability. Stop and search is framed in legislation as an investigatory tool; without it, an officer would arrest a person due to the reasonable suspicion that a crime had been committed. The power exists to allow officers an opportunity to allay their suspicions. While the power is deemed necessary in principle (Bradford et al 2014) especially when deployed in searching for items such as stolen goods (HMICFRS 2021), it is widely viewed that stop and search is used as preventative tool, intelligence gathering tool, a method for moving on groups or as a method of order maintenance and social control (Bradford and Loader 2015; Tiratelli et al 2018; Shiner et al 2018).

The evidence on the effectiveness of stop and search is limited due to small number of experimental studies (Bradford and Loader 2015). One of the earliest studies was Boydstun's (1975) San Diego field interrogation experiment. It was a quasi-experiment of the suppression effects on crimes including violence and robbery that involved the deployment of specially trained officers to pre-determined treatment areas to conduct field interrogations including the use of stop and search, while control areas received no intervention. When these trained officers were removed from the treatment areas, crime rose significantly until the officers returned to the area and crime significantly reduced.

Another important contribution is the Kansas City gun experiment (Sherman and Rogan 1995). Unlike the Boydstun's study, this was a randomised control trial that identified two neighbourhoods with higher-than-average gun crime and homicide rates. While the control neighbourhood received only standard levels of police patrol, a specially trained unit of police officers was deployed to the treatment neighbourhood to conduct traffic stops that could include stop and frisk on grounds of officer safety or when a reasonable suspicion was formed through questions and interactions with the subject of the stop. A reduction in firearms discharges, firearm possession and homicide were identified in the treatment area while the control area remained consistent with pre-experiment crime levels.

San Diego and Kansas experiments involved city block sized crackdowns that included the use of stop and search (Sherman 1990). McCandless et al (2016) analysis of operation BLUNT 2, a London Metropolitan Police initiative that saw a substantial increase in weapon searches across London. Thirty-two London boroughs were graded on the intelligence assessment of their knife crime problem with resources being prioritised to tier one areas. Nine offences were analysed as might have reasonably been expected to have been affected by an increase in weapon searches. No statistically significant reduction in crime was identified during the operation, concluding that weapon searches were not effective at reducing borough level crime. Bradford and Loader (2015) support this finding by concluding that there is no hydraulic relationship between an increase in stop and search and crime control or deterrence.

Tiratelli et al (2018) explored the deterrence effect of stop and search across ten years of data stops conducted by the Metropolitan police between 2004 and 2014. They found a weak association with some types of crimes such as burglary and Non-domestic serious violence and no evidence of effects on robbery, theft, vehicle crime or criminal damage. While there was a relationship between stop and search and drugs, that as stop and search increased in an area the drugs offending reduced, other plausible causal mechanisms that explained the relationship could not be ruled out. For example, as drug dealers became aware of an increased risk of apprehension, they modified their behaviour to avoid detection such as carry less drugs, use different drug runners, hide drugs in different locations or move out of the affected area altogether. As drug dealing tends to be a proactively detected crime, the knock on effect of drug dealers changing their behaviour, thus reducing the amount of drug crimes that are detected. In conclusion stop and search was found to have at best a marginal effect on crime problems.

By contrast, Weisburd et al (2016) explored the impact of the deployment of stop, question, and frisk (SQF) by the New York Police department at a micrographic level. SQF tended to be deployed with precision at street intersection hotspots of gun crime and had a modest deterrent effect in the

proceeding days although in the absence of a randomised control trial caution is warranted. Apel's (2016) assessment of Weisburd's analysis confirmed the need for caution, finding that the deployment of SQF was as part of a package of crime prevention measures of which there was no data measuring the type or frequency of their use, leading to the absence of the incremental benefit of SQF compared to the alternatives. Apel also highlighted that with a success rate of less than 6%, SQF was an inefficient tactic with unintended consequences, concluding that an aggressive SQF policy may cause innocent residents or passers-by in the vicinity of the hotspot may deliberately modify their behaviour due to fear of being stopped by the police. Less potential victims reduce the opportunities for potential offenders leading to less victimisations, while SQF upon innocent residents erodes citizen willingness to report crimes to the police or cooperate in criminal investigations.

Stop and search for drugs in a violent crime context

Bradford and Loader (2015) argue that despite the troubled history of stop and search, there remains a need for the police to use the tactic at the very least to allay the suspicions of the officer and avoid the unnecessary arrest and detention of citizens, such as stopping a suspected burglar and searching them to find stolen goods or implements used to gain entry. The pendulum of government strategy has swung in favour (Bradford and Loader 2015) and against (Tiratelli 2018, Shiner et al 2018) stop and search of recent years and is currently positioned on increasing its use particularly in response to violent crime (Elgot and Pidd 2021). Kumar et al (2020) found that in 2019 the homicide rate of England and Wales was twenty-four times higher for black males aged between sixteen and twenty-four compared to Whites, while in 2021, London there were 30 teenage homicide victims, the highest on record (Slawson 2021) and the majority of victims were from black or minority backgrounds (France 2021). However, the need for an increase in racial equity in violent crime and the resulting proposal to derestriction of stop and search powers specifically targeted violence and weapons crime (Elgot and Pidd 2021), it does not immediately answer why the vast majority of stop

and searches are and have been for drugs (Shiner et al 2018). Explanations for the police deployment of stop and search for drug crimes may be found in the current understanding of the illicit drug market and the nexus with violent crime.

Goldstein's (1985) conceptual framework for examining the drugs/violence nexus proposed that violence is systemic and economically compulsive due to factors such turf wars, robberies of rivals and commodity price increases (Sarrica 2008). Most organised crime is drug related with the National Crime Agency (2021) reporting that one quarter of organised crime groups are involved in violence. Home Office reports on serious violence (2017) and county lines (2018) draw a nexus between organised crime, gang crime, county lines drug supply and serious violence. The core business or criminality of gangs is the supply of drugs (Densley 2013; Storrod; Densley 2017) and they tend to be more violent than Non-gang criminals (Bellaire and McNulty 2009; Pyrooz et al 2016), with gang violence leading to twice as many and more lethal retaliations compared to Non-gang violence (Brantingham et al 2020). In recent years gangs have broken from the emotional bond to the drug saturated post codes or territories within metropolitan areas in search of new drug markets in county towns and export violence to maintain the new territory (Jaensch and South 2018; Andell and Pitts 2018; Whittaker et al 2019).

There is strong scientific evidence to support the effectiveness of policing violent crime hotspots with several randomised control trials across the world finding crime reduction benefits (Sherman and Rogan 1995; Sherman and Weisburd 1995; Braga et al 2019). While offender focussed deterrence – often referred to as 'pulling levers' – shows promise as a crime reduction tool, most studies were quasi -experiments with statistically significant results (Braga and Weisburd 2012). Although lacking in rigorous randomized experimental evaluation, where it was difficult to predict the form of intervention or what target group would be in order to conduct pre/post tests on street level dynamics. Offender focussed initiatives such as Operation Ceasefire in Boston, Massachusetts, delivered to small group of violent gang members with the intention of reducing gang related youth

homicide appeared to be effective in reducing violence in comparison to other comparable US cities (Braga and Weisburd 2012). Groff et al's (2014) randomised control trial of policing tactics at hotspots in Philadelphia found that offender focussed targeting of harmful people at micro hotspots caused a forty-two percent drop in violent crime and fifty percent reduction in violent felonies compared to the control. The trial also tested the efficacy of foot patrol and problem-orientated policing at hotspots and recorded Non-statistically significant reductions in violent crime.

Groff et al (2014) confirmed the importance of Ratcliffe's (2008) intelligence-led policing model, that the analysis of data and intelligence are fundamental to the decision making framework to facilitate crime prevention and disruption by targeting serious and prolific offenders. Focussing on a small group of harmful people or at micro hotspots of violent crime may reduce the impact of disproportionate policing across the wider community, potentially increasing the local perception of procedural justice. Introducing a 'crime harm index' (Sherman et al 2016) may refine the police focus further by systematically calculating and ranking the severity of offences linked to identified subjects, providing a consistent risk assessment tool to support strategic and operational deployment decisions such as focussing on high harm offenders.

Deploying policing tactics based upon robust analysis of clear strategic objectives has clear benefits in terms of efficiency, effectiveness, and legitimacy. Violent crime causes the greatest risk of harm to the public and is systemic within the illicit drug market, whilst organised crime, gangs and county lines drug supply increase the risk of violence. Intelligence led targeting micro violent crime hotspots, targeting high harm offenders and pulling levers are all effective and promising tactics in reducing violent crime and offending. Stopping and searching harmful individuals for drug crimes as part of a considered approach is a rational and logical argument as confirmed by Bradford and Loader (2015).

Racial disparity in the distribution of stop and search

Police use of stop and search formed part of wider public concern about over policing, where toward the end of the 1970s the mass use of stop and search, racial abuse, coordinated police raids and surveillance were repeatedly deployed against black and minority communities (Delsol and Shiner 2006). The crisis in police legitimacy became the pretext for civil unrest in urban areas traditionally populated by black and other minority groups. The Scarman report (1981) into the Brixton disturbances criticised the heavy-handed approach to policing in Brixton, an area of London with a large black Afro-Caribbean community, where over four consecutive days in 1981 the police conducted 943 stop and searches of anyone who appeared suspicious. The policing priorities and practices disproportionately impacted the black and minority communities yet was undertaken without consultation or support. Scarman highlighted this as contribution to the withdrawal of public consent.

Eighteen years later the 1999 Macpherson report into the handling of the murder of Stephen Lawrence branded the Metropolitan Police as 'institutionally racist'. The report highlighted the experience of black and minority communities of the previous thirty years as over policed and under protected. Macpherson confirmed that minority communities' concerns about discrimination in stop and search were correct. Twelve years later urban areas of the country experienced riots reminiscent of the 1980s. Analysing data from interviews of 270 rioters, Lewis et al (2011) reported that stop and search lay at the heart of widespread anger and frustration at perceptions of discrimination and disrespect by the police. While wider societal discrimination through poverty, government policy and unemployment were contributing factors. Both rioters and a sample from the wider population were surveyed and reported that policing was the most important factor in causing the riots.

Ten years later, HMICFRS (2021) published a report titled 'Disproportionate use of police powers; a spotlight on stop and search and use of force'. It concludes that the use of stop and search remains

disproportionate against minority communities, particularly the black community, yet no police force England and Wales could provide a satisfactorily explanation (Vomfell and Stewart 2021).

Analysis and explanations of racial disproportionality in the deployment of stop and search include institutional racism (Scarman 1981; Macpherson 1999; Bowling and Phillps 2007), systemic racism (Bowling and Phillps 2007; Delsol and Shiner 2006; Vomfell and Stewart 2021) maintenance of social order and control (Bradford and Loader 2015; Tiratelli et al 2018) and officer bias and poor police deployment decisions (Delsol and Shiner 2006; Vomfell and Stewart 2021; Shiner et al 2018; HMICFRS 2021).

Bowling and Phillip's (2007) post-Macpherson analysis of stop and search assessed that the police tactic was disproportionately deployed against minority communities, particularly the black population who were often six times more likely than Whites to be searched and provided a prima facie case that the tactic was the result of police discrimination. Vomfell and Stewart's (2021) analysis of searches conducted by West Midlands Police between 2014 and 2018 found that officers over-policed areas with a high population of minority groups (according to census data). In such areas Police searched a disproportionate number of minority groups when compared to the number of crimes committed by minority groups. Confounding factors including available street population, those with an increased community footprint are more likely to be encountered by the police were considered as a limitation. Bowling and Phillips (2007) analysed available street population, concluding that it was not a neutral concept, arguing that while Waddington et al (2004) found that available population provided a very different racial profile to that of residential population, structural factors such as unemployment, employment in occupations involving evening or night work or unemployment explained why certain social groups were 'available'. While these factors were beyond the control of the police they were still biased against some ethnic groups. Bowling and Phillips (2007) explained further that in addition to availability, most stop and searches are deployed in stop zones, areas that the police are making tactical decisions to deploy stop and search.

As many of these areas are concentrated within those with large ethnic minority groups, those populations are more likely to be available and when controlling for factors that increase availability, stop and search continued to be disproportionately deployed towards the black community (Shiner et al, 2015, Eastwood Et al 2013, Bowling and Phillips 2007, Vomfell and Stewart 2021).

Bowling and Phillips (2007) asserted that the only conceivable arguments pertaining to racial equity, such as violent victimisations (Kumar et al 2020), where increased stop and search of minority communities was for the greater good and in the absence of any less intrusive alternative were simply not made out. On the contrary, the tactic made only a limited contribution to the prevention of crime or increase in community safety while simultaneously damaging public trust and de-legitimatising the police service, leading to the potential public disorder (Bowling and Phillips 2007, Shiner et al 2018, Bradford and Loader 2015, Tiratelli et al 2018). When combined with the strong evidence of racial prejudice and stereotyping within British policing Bowling and Phillips (2007) concluded that racial disproportionality in the use of stop and search was the result of unlawful racial discrimination, consequently accelerating the flow of minority communities disproportionately into the criminal justice system and damaging community relations (Shiner et al, 2015, Eastwood Et al 2013, Vomfell and Stewart 2021).

A contemporary assessment of stop and search.

Particular elements of stop and search legislation has historically been syNonymous with racial disparity from the 'sus laws' of the 1980's to the mid 2000's where searches conducted under section 60 of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 peaked in 2004 and black people were twenty-seven times more likely to be stopped and searched that White people (Bowling and Phillips 2007). Most recently, searches conducted under S.23 of the Misuse of Drugs Act, the search of a person suspected to be in possession of a controlled drug has more recently become the focus of public scrutiny particularly due to the racial disproportionality in its deployment.

Overall police use of stop and search dropped by seventy five percent from 2010/11/ to 2016/17, however searches targeting drugs increased during this period, where drug searches accounted for half then rising to two-thirds of all searches with a peak of eighty-two percent across Merseyside Police jurisdiction (Shiner et al 2018). Analysis in 2021 by HMICFRS found that by 2019/20, sixty-three percent of stop and searches in England and Wales were for drugs, ranging from eighty percent in Merseyside to fifty-one percent in Warwickshire. People from minority communities were searched at a rate 4.1 times higher than White people but for black people the rate rose to 8.3 times higher compared to White people, while the find rate for searches of black people for controlled drugs was slightly lower for black people than for White people.

Shiner et al (2018) highlighted that the majority of drug searches were for low level possession, or put another way, searches based on the grounds that officers suspected an individual to possess a small amount of a controlled drug that was consistent with personal use rather than more serious drug offences such possession with an intent to supply. HMICFRS (2021) sampled 9,378 search records of all categories across police forces in England and Wales, finding that fifty percent were for simple possession, ranging from ninety-five percent of all drug searches in Cambridgeshire to forty-eight percent in Suffolk. Black people were 2.4 times more likely to be stopped and searched than White people.

Stop and search encounters can be initiated in various ways and the find rate can indicate which approach tends to be the most effective at finding the item searched for. The HMICFRS (2021) sample identified that self-generated searches initiated as a result of the observations of an officer accounted for fifty-five percent of searches. Searches in response to third party information such as public calls for service or via a CCTV operator accounted for thirty-seven percent while searches based on intelligence about an individual accounted for nine percent. Find rates for black people and White people subject of self-generated searches were thirty percent and thirty one percent

respectively; nineteen percent and twenty percent for third party searches respectively and intelligence led searches were twenty three percent and nineteen percent respectively.

Of self-generated searches, eighty-two percent were for drugs in the broader sense, of which eighty-six percent were for low level possession. Of third-party searches thirty percent were for drugs, of which seventy-eight were for possession of drugs. Of intelligence-led searches, eighty-two percent were for drugs and thirty percent were for possession.

HMICFRS (2021) found that for all search types, the strength of search grounds effected the outcome with searches based on strong grounds (twenty one percent) achieving a find rate of forty percent in contrast to searches based on weak grounds (twenty-two percent) achieving a find rate of seventeen percent. The proportion of searches based on weak grounds were more prevalent across self-generated searches (fifty-four percent), compared to third-party searches (thirty percent) and intelligence-led searches (eleven percent). Of self-generated drug possession searches, eighty percent recorded weak grounds compared to fifteen percent for third-party searches and five percent for intelligence-led searches. Of all drug searches, a higher proportion of weaker ground was identified in black people (twenty-nine percent) compared to White people (twenty four percent) however the sample size was small and limited in generalisability.

Shiner et al (2018) and HMICFRS (2021) concluded that as self-generated searches for simple possession of drugs accounted for the largest proportion of all searches, the police in England and Wales are making operational decisions to prioritise low level possession of drugs. While drugs, violence and organised crime were cited as the motivation for the high number of stops, no service could account for it, nor provide analysis nor evidence base upon which the stops were conducted, thus revealing a disparity between the strategic objectives of the police service and the outputs of its front-line officers. Consequently, distributive injustice through ineffective deployment decisions and outcomes continues to erode legitimacy (Bottoms and Tankebe 2017; HMICFRS 2021; Shiner et all 2018), risk increase defiance and future crime (Sherman 1993) and direct more minority groups into

the criminal justice system where they once more encounter disproportionate and discriminatory outcomes (Lammy 2017, Shiner et al 2018).

Literature review conclusion

Stop and search both historically and currently continues to be disproportionately deployed upon the black community. A shift toward searches for simple possession of drugs cannot be explained by the police service and is at odds with their strategic objectives. As a policing tactic it is broadly ineffective and inefficient yet is racially disparate in its distribution and continues to erode police legitimacy and undermine the concept of policing by consent.

The nexus between violent crime, organised crime and drugs, underlines the importance of stop and searches for drug crimes as an effective tactic to disrupt harmful individuals, however, evidence based policing tactics should be deployed based upon intelligence and with precision to reduce the impact of police activity on innocent citizens. Systematic application of a crime harm index, analysis and strategic direction that tracks operational outputs is required to ensure effective outcomes.

This study intends to address the aspects of the points raised by the HMICFRS (2021) by analysing the prevalence, frequency and severity of offending of associated with all persons stopped and searched at least once for drug crimes between1st July 2019 to 30th June 2020. Crucially, the analysis will transparently identify the proportion of outputs by policers according to the harm of the subject. Further analysis of the locations of searches for drug crime conducted by specialist violent crime proactive officers will provide an overview of our police prioritisation of violent crime hotspots. Disaggregation of the data will provide an analysis of the distribution of police outputs across race and highlight any racial disparity. The analysis will represent an important step in understanding of whom Bedfordshire Police are searching for drug crimes, the harm associated with this group, the distribution across race and our prioritisation of violent crime hotspots. The results could have policy implications for the deployment of stop and search for drug crime and the

potential to increase racial equity, procedural justice, and legitimacy at a time when trust and confidence in the police service remains low.

CHAPTER 3

DATA AND METHODS

As indicated in Chapter 1, this study explores the criminal profiles of individuals stopped and searched over a period of 1 year under the Misuse of Drugs Act 1971. It examines the prevalence, frequency and severity of the crimes for which they were named as suspected 365 days before and after the stop and search. This chapter outlines the methods used to answer the research questions outlined in Chapter 1.

Research Setting: Bedfordshire

Bedfordshire, located 30 miles north of London, is a one of the smallest counties in England. It has 614,416 residents according to the 2011 census; of these, three quarters are White and one quarter Non-Whites. The population is distributed mainly across two urban centres: Bedford in the north of the county and Luton, the largest town in the county in the south. The centre of the county is mainly rural and occupied by affluent small market towns of Leighton Buzzard in the west, Ampthil in the centre and Biggleswade and Shefford in the West. Luton and Bedford have large populations of South Asian residents, some of whom reside in racially segregated areas (see: Is segregation on the increase in the UK? 2016). The county has two major motorways, the M1 and A1, 3 major railway

lines and is home London Luton airport, 5th largest airport in the UK. Luton and Bedford have areas of social deprivation.

Bedfordshire is strategically aligned with the Eastern region of police forces, consisting of Kent, Essex, Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk and Suffolk. Bedfordshire is a regional outlier due to the high volume of firearms crimes, organised crime and exported county lines (Cestaro 2020); crimes that are prevalent in metropolitan policing areas such as London, West Midlands and Merseyside. In 2018 Bedfordshire Police was awarded a Home Office special grant of £4.751m to tackle serious violence and knife crime; an additional award of £1m was made in 2020. In 2021 Bedfordshire Police received special grant funding of £7m due to the unique challenges of organised crime, exploitation, and gang violence.

Bedfordshire Police has 1,317 officers and has the highest rate of officer diversity of any police service in England and Wales (Workforce diversity in Bedfordshire Police 2022). As part of interventions to tackle its violent crime problem, Bedfordshire has a proactive gang reduction team tasked with patrolling gang crime hotspots. It is called Sparkler. Sparkler has 7 officers who are responsible for disruption, enforcement, and deterrence patrols within violent crime hotspots across Bedfordshire. The Sparkler team has mixed responsibilities including patrolling violent crime hotspots in addition to other tasks including premises search warrants and safeguarding duties. Patrols times are on weekdays with a mixture or daytime and evening patrols and on one late shift per week, 4 officers joined the Sparkler team voluntarily to expand the range and abilities of the team. Patrols are undertaken at hotspots with the greatest need at the time of the shifts. Officers patrol using predominantly two methods of deployment; 1) plain clothes officers in unmarked cars deployed as spotters to proactively seek gang members at hotspots in tandem with high visibility officers who patrolled in neighbouring hotspots until they were called to intercept individuals alongside the proactive plain clothes officers; 2) patrol in high visibility uniform and marked police cars.

Stop and search records

The first source of data for the study is police records on stop and search. Each stop and search conducted by police officers in Bedfordshire is recorded electronically by officers onto a record and storage management system named 'TuServe'. It contains the name, date of birth and the ethnicity of the individuals stopped and searched, as well as the power, grounds, operation name and outcome of the encounter. When officers record the power used to stop and search, they are required to select the overarching legislation such as 'Misuse of Drugs act 1971' and there is no option to select a specific subsection of the legislation such as a suspicion of possession; supply; offer to supply; possession with intent to supply. Officers record this information by manual input. The location is recorded either manually via location or automatically via Global Positioning System location easting and northing coordinates.

Each stop and search require that the officer define and record the ethnicity of the subject based upon ethnic appearance and provides the subject of the search with an opportunity to define their race. The searching officer defines the ethnicity of the person via six predefined categories as defined by the police national computer: White European, Dark European, Afro-Caribbean, Asian, Oriental, Arab and Unknown. Officer defined ethnicity has limitations due to the potential misidentifications of race. Subjects of stop and search are requested to select one of sixteen ethnic categories: Asian or British Asian: Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Any other Asian background; Black or Black British: Caribbean, African, any other Black background; Mixed, White and Black Caribbean, White and Black African, White and Asian, Any other mixed background; Chinese or other ethnic group: Chinese; White British, Irish, Any other White background. In over a third of the searches recorded, the ethnicity was not stated. These missing entries can arise from multiple sources. For example, a person may refuse to provide information to officers, or the officers forgot to request for

the information.   Data missingness of this nature is not unique to this study. Prior research using

police records have found varying degrees of such missingness (e.g., Brame et al 2009).

At total of 3,968 stop and searches for all powers were conducted in Bedfordshire between 1st July

2019 to 30th June 2020. Of these, 2,815 were conducted under the Misuse of Drugs Act 1971, which

grants police officers the power to search a person on suspicion of drug crimes. A total of 2146

persons were searched at least once during the intake year for drug crimes. The personal data were

extracted for comparison with crime data. The 2146 stop and search records were extracted via

Microsoft Excel into columns of data including forename, surname, date of birth and officer defined

ethnicity of the searched person.

Crime data

The second data for the study are crime records. Crimes reported to Bedfordshire Police are

recorded on a management system called the Athena. It includes minimum standards of data

including crime type, victim, location, suspect, date, time and method. Therefore, unreported

crimes, such as those crimes where the victim chooses not to report the matter to the police or

where crimes are not recorded by police for example due to insufficient detail of the offence are not

recorded. Suspect data has a minimum requirement of name and date of birth, thus limiting the

number suspects that are recorded for example in circumstances where only the first name or alias

of a suspect is known. Additionally, the Home Office National Crime Recording Standards require

that only one major offence is recorded where there are multiple offences committed. For example,

in the case of an offence of wounding with intent to cause grievous bodily harm where a suspect

stabbed the victim, the primary offence of wounding is recorded but all other offences such as

possession of an offensive weapon or violent disorder would not be recorded.

Each crime is categorised by the major crime type and subcategories. To calculate 365 days prior and

after each person's first stop and search for drug crimes, all crime data for 1st July 2018 to 30th June

2019 and 1st July 2019 to 30th June 2020 was extracted from Athena into Microsoft Excel into

columns of data including forename, surname, and date of birth. In all cases, any index offence resulting as an outcome of the initial stop and search was excluded from the pre or post crime data. There were 1923 crimes pre stop and 1933 post stop crimes.

Merging data

A total of 2146 names and dates of birth for persons stopped and searched within the intake year were cross-referenced with the crime data. All but 194 (5.7%) records between Athena data and stop and search data matched by forename, surname, and date of birth. In all, 194 records were manually cross-referenced revealing slight spelling mistakes, absences of hyphenated names between the two data sets and all were judged to be a correct match. Additional columns were added for serious violent crime and Sparkler stop and searches to allow for additional analysis. Offences of serious violence were determined by the Serious Youth Violence Strategy 2018 (Home Office 2018): knife crime data collection is based on the use of a knife in selected Non-domestic offences; attempted murder, threats to kill, assault with injury, assault with intent to cause serious harm, robbery, rape and sexual assault; all crimes that included the criminal use of a firearm when fired, threatened or used as a blunt instrument

Lower layer super output areas

A lower layer super output area (LLSOA) is a geographical measure use by The Office of for National Statistics (ONS) in the publication of census data. The population of the United Kingdom is grouped into LLSOAs, homogenous areas of around 1500 residents of 650 households and the postcodes of all addresses within the LLSOA are grouped to enable statistical comparison. All locations within Bedfordshire are recorded by post code within the Athena system and are grouped within the parent LLSOA. Location data for Bedfordshire was extracted into Microsoft excel to provide a catalogue of addresses. The extracted stop and search data was cross referenced and assigned within an LLSOA. A manual comparison was completed for addresses that did not directly match Athena, LLSOA and stop and search data. Each LLSOA address was disaggregated into house name,

number, road, area and so on etc to allow for manual comparison. Common errors were misspelling of road names such as an officer incorrectly recording 'The High Street' instead of 'High Street'. Where stops and searches were conducted and a specific post code was identified, the ONS LLSOA centroid (the predetermined central point of any road) was selected as an alternative.

Lower layer super output areas for violent crime

All crimes that met the Home Office definition of serious violence were extracted and LLSOAs were ranked by volume of serious violence offending. Limitations to LLSOA data for violent crime are that a proportion of offence locations are not accurately known or recorded. For example, the grievous bodily harm of a victim may take place on a long arterial road or in a large park close to the town centre. Both locations may feature within two or more adjoining LLSOAs and the true LLSOA remains unknown.

Resident population data

Population data for the residents of Bedfordshire was provided from census data collected by the Office for National Statistics (ONS). Residential population data has limitations as it does not record the population who may be visiting the area at a certain time such as commuters for work, holiday, and entertainment. Additionally, residential population does not describe the population that is available to be encountered by the police. However as Bowling and Phillips (2007) argued, 'availability' is not a neutral concept and is vulnerable to structural racism, leading to an increased availability of ethnic groups and the symbiotic relationship between high crime areas and ethnic minority neighbourhoods leading to a higher proportion of policing focus.

Crime harm

The Cambridge Crime Harm Index (CHI) has been used to measure the harm from crimes suspected by those stopped and searched. The measure focuses on the harm caused by crime rather than focussing on traditional crime counts, as not all crimes are equal in harm. CHI uses the starting point

of recommended days imprisonment by the Sentencing Council of England and Wales for the offence before mitigation or aggravation is considered. The Cambridge Crime Harm index consensus proposes that proactive detected crimes such as modern slavery and drug crimes be counted separately in a Proactive Policing Harm index (PPI), thus not punishing police forces for contributing to higher crime rates by crimes that they proactively detect (Sherman et al 2020).

In addition to counting the rate of offending, this study looks at the harm associated with each person stopped and searched for drug crimes by investigating the criminal records of those who are searched by the police. The method by which the harm was discovered, either by victim-based crime or the police proactively discovering the crime is not the focus of this study. Additionally, drug crimes come to the attention of the police by different methods. These include routine traffic stops, arrests for unconnected offences or premises searches resulting from other investigations. It is also not uncommon for citizens to call the police to report drug dealings in their local communities. Hence, drug offences can be counted as CHI rather than being disaggregated into different indexes.

Data Analysis

A master excel document was created containing the name, date of birth and ethnicity of all 2146 persons searched within the intake window of July 2019 to June 2020. Each name and date of birth were replaced and recorded via a numeric code for aNonymity. Each person's data was coded to ensure their unique 365 days window pre and post search was present within the master document. Crime data including LLSOA and CCHI was loaded to the master document for analysis.

The master spreadsheet was pivoted by the data required for the calculation and in all cases separate calculations were made for the 365 days pre and post the search.

Calculating prevalence

Of the 2164 persons stopped and searched, 1923 crimes were suspected in the 365 days before each search and 1933 crimes were suspected in 365 days after the search. All 3856 offences were

disaggregated into individual crimes to establish the prevalence. There were 241 individual criminal

offences such as common assault, theft from shop and possession of a controlled drug. The 241

crime offences were grouped into their corresponding major crime types:

- Violence against the person

- Theft

- Drug offences

- Public order offences

- Arson and criminal damage

- Robbery

- Vehicle offences

- Burglary

- Miscellaneous crimes against society

- Possession of weapons

- Sexual offences

- Non-notifiable

- Non-crime

Calculating frequency

The rate of offending for 2146 individuals was grouped by race and categorised into the rate of

offending. Due to the low population within higher rates of offending, crimes were grouped

between 0 offences to those who have committed more than 7 offences.

Calculating crime harm

The sum of crime harm was grouped by ethnicity and categorised in groups in increments of 1000 days recommended imprisonment.

- 0

- 1-1000

- 1000-2000

- 2000-3000

- 3000-4000

- 4000-5000

- 5000-6000

- 6000+

Calculating racial disparity

A total of 2146 persons were grouped by officer-defined ethnicity. Due to the low population size of some ethnic groups, north European and southern European persons were grouped into 'White' and Black, Asian, Oriental, Arab and unknown were grouped into 'Non-White', however this approach limits the observations that can be made by specific ethnic group.

Racial disparity was calculated by using data from the Office of National Statistics for residents of Bedfordshire. Census resident ethnicity data was provided with 'White' whereas 'Black, Asian and other' were grouped into 'Non-Whites'.

Disparity in stop and search was established by calculating the rate per 1000 of White and Non-White population and dividing the White rate by the Non-White rate.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

Racial Disparities of Stop and Search

Between July 2019 and June 2020, a total of 2146 individuals were stopped and searched in Bedfordshire. A total of 393 officers conducted these searches, suggesting an average of 5.5 per officer. However, further analysis revealed that 47 officers (11%) conducted 50% (n = 1073) of all searches. In terms of racial composition of those searched, there were 51.4% White, 17.8% Black, 27.8% Asian, and 3% other ethnicities. The relatively low numbers for each of the Non-White groups makes it difficult to conduct detailed analysis for each group. They were therefore combined such that the analysis differentiates broadly between White and Non-White. Thus, of the 2146 persons searched, 51.4% were White, while 48.6% were Non-White. For stop and searches conducted by Sparkler (n = 331), 49.3% were Whites and 50.7% Non-Whites.

According to census 2011 data, Bedfordshire has 61,4416 residents of whom 47,6647 (78%) are White and 13,7769 (22%) are Non-White. Using these data as denominators, we computed the rate of stop and search for each ethnic group per 1,000 of population. The results are displayed in Figure 1. They show that, for every 1000 Whites, about 2 were stopped and searched for drugs during the period considered; for Non-Whites, the rate was 7.58 per 1000. Thus, Non-Whites were about 3 times more likely to be stopped and searched than their White counterparts. When looking at stop and searches by the Sparkler Team, the risk for Non-White was 0.35 per 1000 of population as opposed to 1.22 per 1000 for Non-Whites. This suggests that Non-Whites were 3.5 times more likely to be the subject of Sparkler stops and searches than Whites were. As previously noted, the use of the general population as denominator is not without limitations (see Waddington et al 2004). However, this is the approach used in government publications of racial disparities in stop and search. Moreover, data on the 'available population' was not accessible for a more refined analysis. Yet, these findings about racial disparity can be the impetus for such analysis in the future.

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Figure 1: Racial Disparity in Stop and Searches in Bedfordshire July 2019 -June 2020
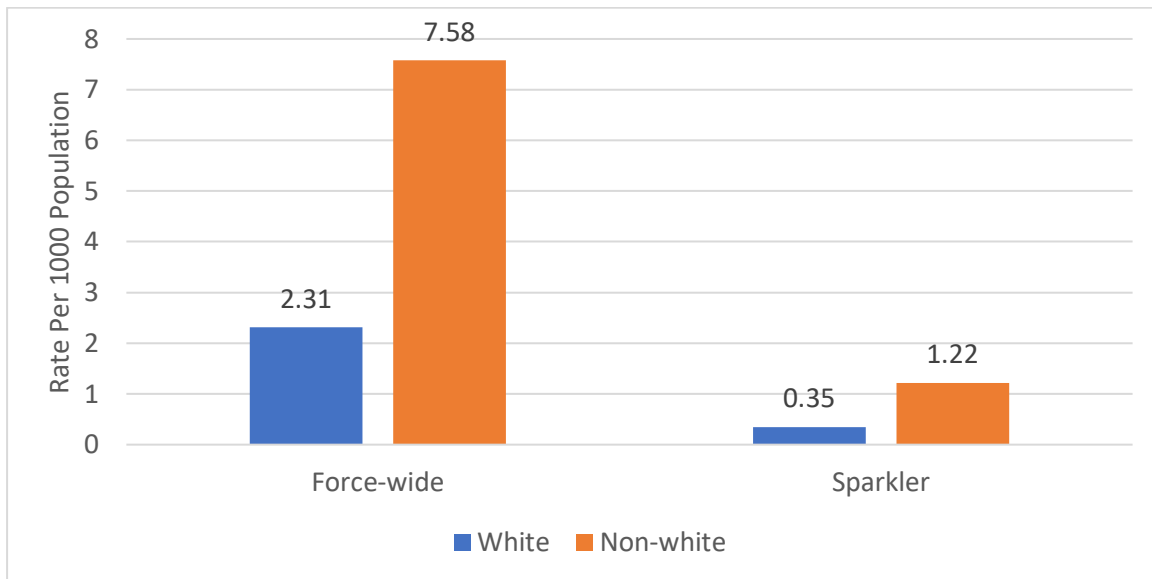
Stop and search outcomes

This study focuses on the criminal profiles of individuals stopped and searched. However, it is also important that, prior to that primary focus, we examine the outcome of the stops. If people are apparently targeted because of their criminal activities, what are the various disposals resulting from these stops? Do the outcomes vary by racial group? Table 1 shows that, for both groups, the commonest outcome was 'no further action': 72% for Whites and 68% for Non-Whites. This rate of false positive is similar to what is reported in prior studies (see, Ariel and Tankebe 2018). Next to Non-further action, a community resolution was the more likely outcome. Approximately, 12.6% of White stops ended with a community resolution; it was 13.7% among Non-Whites The proportion of arrests on grounds of items found on the individuals was only 5% for Whites and 6% for Non-Whites.

Table 1: Outcome of Stop and Search by Racial Group

Outcome	White		Non-White	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
No Further Action	793	72.0	710	68.0
Arrest (item found)	56	5.1	64	6.1
Arrest (unrelated to stop)	19	1.7	32	3.1
Caution	16	1.5	12	1.1
Community Resolution	139	12.6	143	13.7
Khat or Cannabis	36	3.3	41	3.9
Notice for Disorder	1	0.1	1	0.1
Summons/Charged by post	40	3.6	41	3.9
Unknown	2	0.2	-	-
Total	1102	100.0	1044	100.0

Prevalence of Criminal Activity

What is the prevalence of crimes for which the subjects of stop & search had been named as suspects 365 days before and after each stop? How do these statistics vary by the race of subjects? These are the questions explored in this section. The prevalence of offending describes the types of crimes that are suspected of being committed. Among Whites, the most prevalent crimes in the year prior to search were for violence against the person (26.77% of all crimes), theft (23.5%) and 10.1% for drugs offences. Post search, violence against the person increased to 30.1% to remain the most prevalent offence. The prevalence of theft reduced to 16.6% while drugs offences increased slightly to 13%.

Similar to Whites, violence against person, theft and drugs were the three dominant crimes among Non-Whites. Violence against person was also the single most prevalent crime among Non-Whites prior to a search: 30.1%. However, unlike their White counterparts, there was a reduction after the search, from the pre search rate of 30.1% to 25.5% after the search. The prevalence of drug offences increased from 13% pre search to 31% post search, overtaking violence against person as the most prevalent offence. The prevalence of theft offences reduced from 16.6% to 7.4%.

Both among Whites and Non-Whites, there were no marked differences in the prevalence of robbery, burglary and possession before and after searches. I will return to these serious violence offences later in this chapter.

Table 2: Prevalence of Crime among those stop and search 365 days pre and post encounter

	White		Non-White	
Major crime type	Pre search (n=1165)	Post search (n=1188)	Pre search (n=758)	Post Search (n=745)
Violence against the person	26.7%	30.1%	30.1%	25.5%
Theft	23.5%	16.6%	16.6%	7.4%
Drug offences	10.1%	13.0%	13.0%	31.1%
Public order offences	7.4%	9.8%	9.8%	9.8%
Arson and criminal damage	8.7%	8.7%	8.7%	8.2%
Robbery	4.4%	3.3%	3.3%	3.0%
Vehicle offences	6.5%	6.4%	6.4%	2.6%
Burglary	5.4%	5.5%	5.5%	4.7%
Miscellaneous crimes against society	2.2%	2.8%	2.8%	2.8%
Possession of weapons	2.2%	1.7%	1.7%	2.7%
Sexual offences	0.9%	-	-	-
Non-notifiable	1.5%	1.2%	1.2%	1.1%
Non-crime	0.5%	0.6%	0.6%	0.7%

Frequency of Criminal Activities

The frequency of offending describes the rate at which offenders commit crimes (Piquero et al 2003). In this section, we examine not the actual criminal behaviour but the frequency at which those stopped and searched had been named as suspects in a case. Table 3 presents the results. Whether Whites or Non-Whites, the majority of individuals stopped and searched had not been suspected of any crimes 365 days before or after the encounter. Specifically, 71.5% of Whites were not known to the police as suspects of crime 365 days prior to search; this decreased to 69.7% in the post-search year. For Non-Whites 74.5% were not known to the police as suspects in the prior year, decreasing to 74.2% in the following year.

Across both racial groups, approximately 11% had been named as suspects once. The proportion of individuals suspected of multiple crimes prior to being stopped and searched was 17.5% for Whites and 14.4% for Non-Whites. For Whites, this proportion increased to 19% after the search; for Non-Whites, it stayed stable at 14.3%. The most active group was those named as suspects in 7 or more offences. Approximately, 4% of Whites were in this category before and after searches as opposed to 2% Non-Whites.

Table 3: Frequency of suspected offending 365 days before and after stop and search

Frequency of suspected offending	Whites		Non-Whites	
	Pre search (n=1102)	Post search (n=1102)	Pre search (n=1044)	Post search (n=1044)
0	71.5%	69.7%	74.5%	74.2%
1	11.0%	10.7%	11.1%	11.5%
2	5.1%	7.2%	6.1%	4.9%
3	3.4%	2.5%	2.4%	3.3%
4	2.2%	3.1%	1.5%	2.0%
5	1.5%	1.5%	1.8%	1.1%
6	0.9%	0.8%	0.6%	0.8%
7+	4.4%	4.4%	1.9%	2.2%

Harm from criminal activities

Harm describes the severity of criminal offences (Sherman et al 2020). The concern is, therefore, not with raw count of offences or with the rate of offending. On the contrary, we are interested in the sum of the harm associated with the crimes that those stopped and searched were suspected to have been committed. To compute crime harm, the raw count of a crime is multiplied by the number of offences by the minimum number of imprisonment days as recommended by the Sentencing Guidelines Council of England and Wales (Sherman et al 2020). This was done for each of the offences per racial group before and after the search. The results are presented in Figure 2 below.

According to the data, individuals stopped and searched were suspected of crime harm of 209,182.5 days in the 365 days prior to the index search. Whites accounted for 41.5% of this harm, with Non-Whites responsible for 58.5%. In the 365 days after the search, the individuals were responsible for an overall crime harm score of 182,936.5 days, which is 14.3% less harm than the pre-search harm. Taking each racial group separately, we find that post-search harm was less than pre-harm. However, the reductions in harm were more pronounced among Non-Whites than Whites. As Figure 2 shows, the harm scores for Whites reduced by 3% from 86,872 days to 84,098.5 days; the score for Non-Whites reduced by 19% from 122,310.5 days to 98,838 days. These results are discussed in the next chapter.

Figure 2: Crime Harm Score by Racial Group
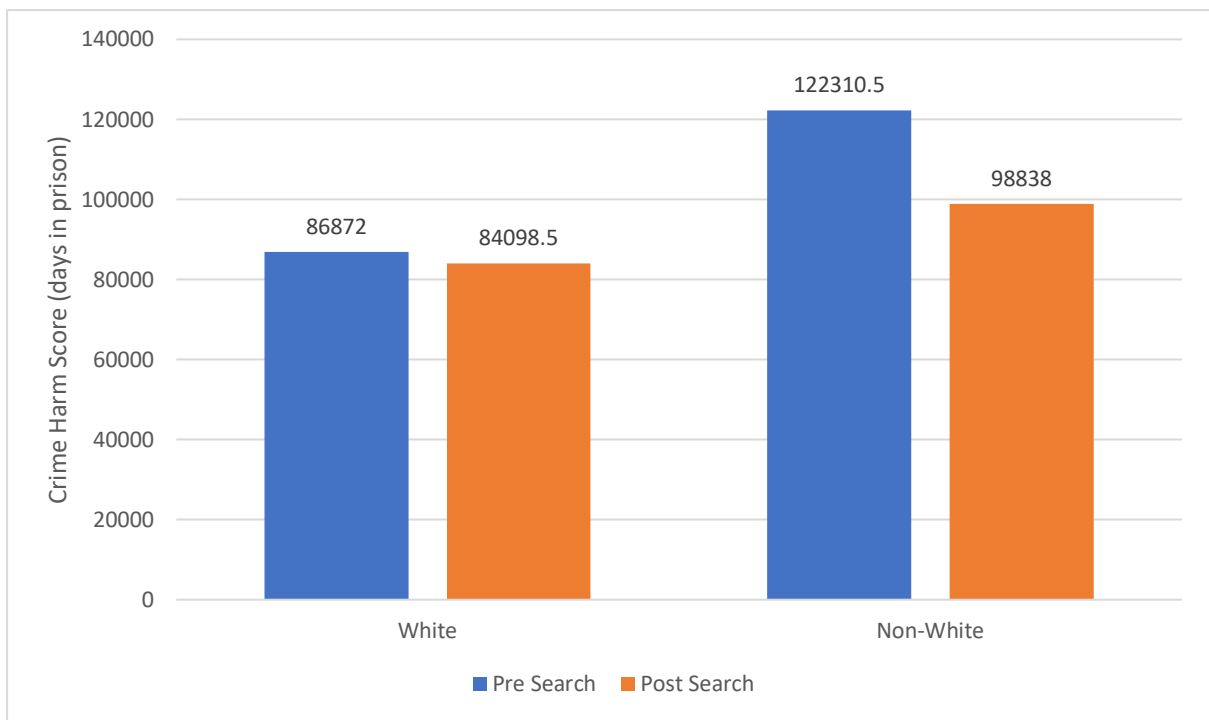
The Felonious Few

The 'Felonious Few' describes the high concentration of overall crime harm that is committed by a small number of suspects (Sherman 2019). A total of 580 individuals stopped and searched were suspected of a crime prior to the encounter; out of this group, 67 individuals (11.6%) were responsible for 75% of all harm. Within 365 days after the stop and search, 603 individuals were named as suspects of a crime; of this group of post-search suspects, 69 (11.4%) individuals accounted for 75% of the harm. Approximately 3% of all 2,146 individuals stopped and searched accounted for 75% of the crime harm. In terms of racial differences, 2.4% of Whites were suspected of 75% of crime harm before and after index search while 3.7% of Non-Whites were suspected of 75% of crime harm prior and 4% after the index stop and search. These findings are displayed in Figures 3.a and 3.b below.

Figure 3.a: Distribution of crime harm by race prior to search
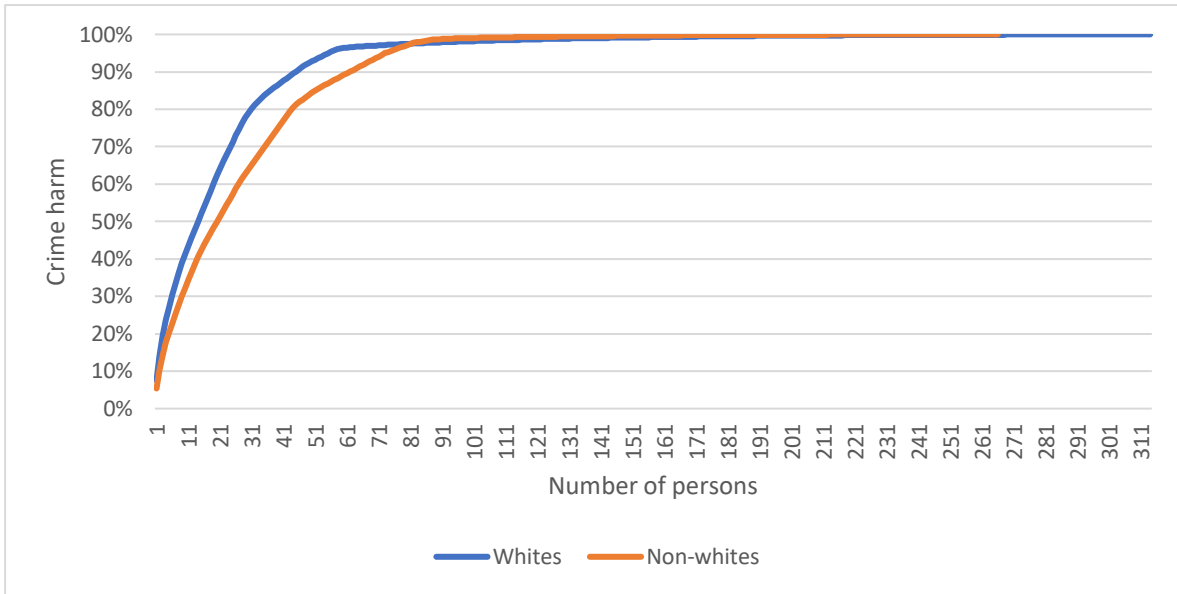
Figure 3.b: Distribution of crime harm by race after search
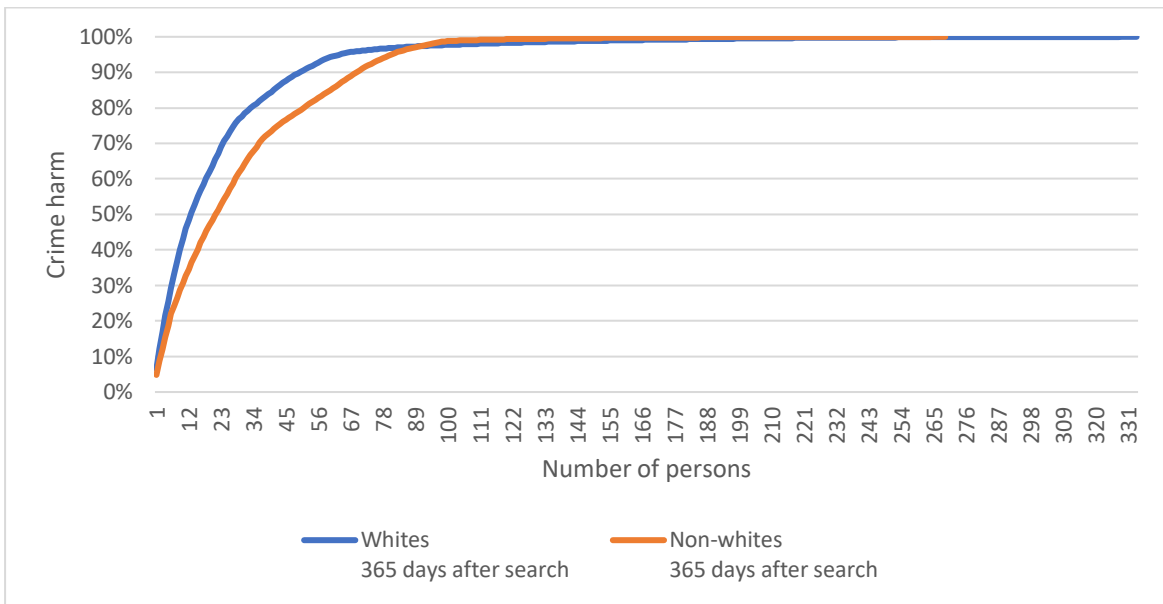
Difference in individual offending before and after index search

Of the 2146 individuals stopped and searched, 1556 (72.5%) had not been named as suspects in the

preceding 365 days. What happened to these Non-suspects after the search? Figures 4.a and 4.b

present the evidence: 15.8% (n=246) of all pre-stop Non-suspects were later named as suspects in

the 365 days after they were initially searched. In terms of racial differences, White Non-suspects

were slightly more likely (16%) than their Non-White counterparts (15.4%) to be named suspects.

Figure 4.a: Suspected offending in the 365 days post search year by those who were not suspected of offending in 365 days before search
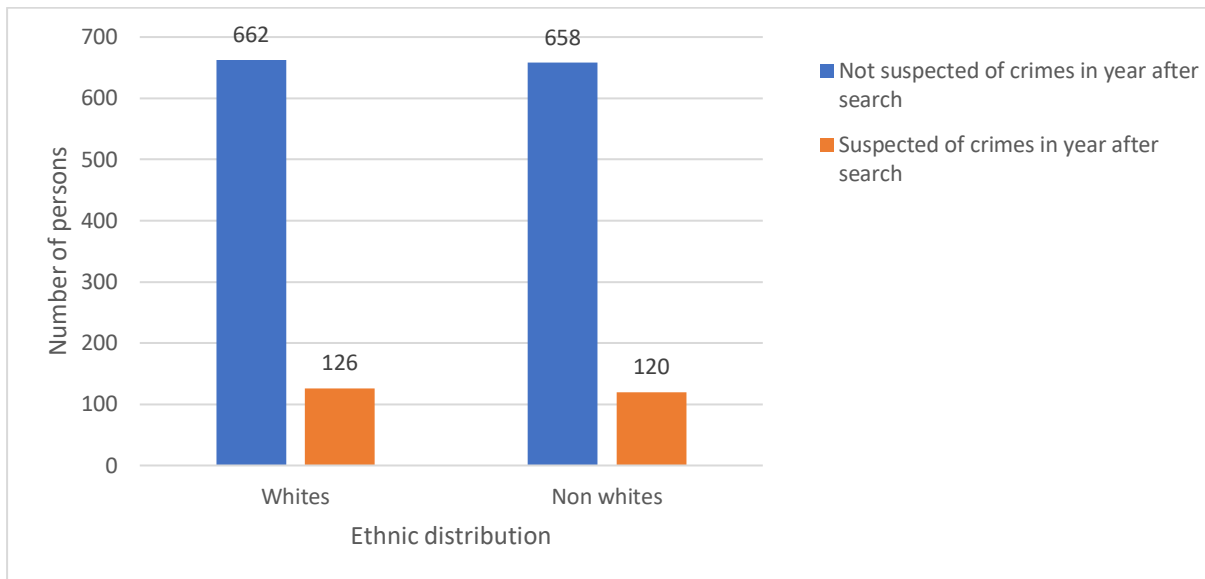
Next, we consider those who were suspects of crimes in the year prior to search. Unlike their counterparts above, 62% (n=357) of these pre-stop suspects were later suspected of crimes in the post search year (see Figure 4.b). In terms of racial distribution, 66.2% of Whites suspects and 56% of Non-Whites suspects were named suspects 365 days after a stop and search.

Figure 4.b: Suspected offending in the 365 days post search year by those who were suspected of offending in 365 days before search
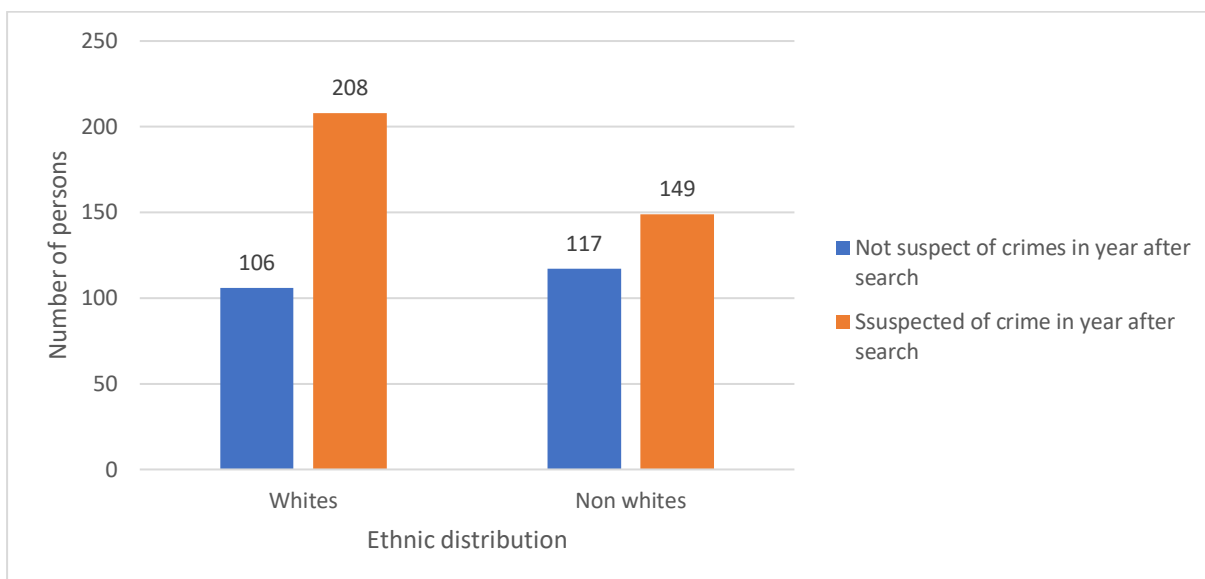
Serious violence offences

In this section, I focus only on serious violence as defined by the Home Office. These comprise knife enabled offences, violence against the persons and firearms offences. Two broad questions are of interest here: first, what is the prevalence, frequency, and severity for crimes of serious violence only, for which the subjects of stop & search had been arrested 365 days before and after each stop? Second, how do these statistics vary by race of subjects? These are the questions explored in this section.

Prevalence of offences of serious violence

The prevalence of offending describes the types of crimes that are suspected of being committed. Serious violence represented 11% of all crimes in the 365 days prior to search and 9% in the 365 days after search. Of 1,102 Whites, 8% were suspected of serious violent crime before and 9% after the index search. Of 1,044 Non-Whites, 11% were suspect of serious violent crimes before and 6% after the index search, representing a 45% decrease in persons suspected of violent crime. Among Whites, violence against the person was the most prevalent violent crime: 81.3% of violence was against the person prior to the stop. The post-stop rate was largely unchanged: 81.7%. Among Non-Whites, the distribution of violence against the person increased by 8% from 73% prior to stop to 81% after stop. The second most prevalent serious violence among Non-Whites was robbery; it declined from 27% in pre search period to 19% after the search, a reduction of 29.6%.

Table 4: Types of Violent Crime 365days pre and post stop and search

	Whites		Non-Whites	
Major crime type	`pre search (n=91)	post search (n=104)	Pre search (n=115)	post search (n=63)
Burglary	1.1%	1.0%	-	-
Possession of weapons	1.1%	1.0%	-	-
Robbery	16.5%	16.3%	27.0%	19.0%
Violence against the person	81.3%	81.7%	73.0%	81.0%

Frequency of offences of serious violence

Overall, across Whites and Non-Whites most individuals were suspected of one violent crime before and after the index search. For Whites, the highest number of offences before and after the index search was 5 offences, reducing to 4 in the 365 days post search. The proportion of Whites suspected of one offence increased by 8% post search, while those suspected of between 2 and 4 offences decreased. For Non-Whites the highest number of offences before the index search was 6, reducing to 4 in the post search year. The portion of Non-Whites suspected of single offences increased by 19% in the post search year while the portion of those suspected of multiple offences decreased with exception of those committing 4 offences which increased by 1%.

Table 5: Frequency of serious violence by racial group

Frequency of serious violence only	Whites		Non-Whites	
	Whites 365 days prior to search (n=91)	White 365 days post search (n=104)	Non-Whites 365 days prior to search (n=115)	Non-Whites 365 days post search (n=63)
1	68.3%	75.7%	62.9%	82.4%
2	20.0%	14.9%	20.0%	13.7%
3	6.7%	5.4%	12.9%	2.0%
4	1.7%	1.4%	1.4%	2.0%
5	3.3%	2.7%	0.0%	0.0%
6	-	-	2.9%	-

Crime harm from offences of serious violence

130 persons were responsible for all pre search harm for serious violence. 125 persons responsible for serious violence crime in post search year.

For Whites, the resulting crime harm from serious violence represents 38% of the total crime harm before and 68% after the index search. For Non-Whites, crime harm from serious violence represents 43% of total crime harm before and 47% after the index offence. Crime harm increased 56% for Whites after the index search while for Non-Whites crime harm reduced 16% in the post search year.

Table 6: Crime Harm Scores for Serious Violence

	Whites		Non-Whites	
	Whites 365 days prior to search	Whites 365 days post search	Non-Whites365 days prior to search	Non-Whites 365 days post search
Minimum number of days recommended in prison for serious violent crime	33430	52020	55313	46453.5

Sparkler stop and searches

What is the prevalence, frequency, and severity for crimes, for which the subjects of stop & search by Sparkler only, had been arrested 365 days before and after each stop? How do these statistics vary by race of subjects? These are the questions explored in this section.

Sparkler stop and search outcomes compared to all stop and search outcomes

Sparkler searches observed an increase in the proportion of arrest outcomes, with arrests following recovery of the item found resulting in a 116.5% increase compared to arrests because of items found for all searches. Sparkler searches resulting in an arrest that was unrelated to the object of the search were also more prevalent, resulting in a 33.6% increase compared to all searches. The proportion of Sparkler searches that resulted in charge or summons by post increased by 14.5% compared to all searches. Outcomes of caution, community resolution and Khat/Cannabis warning were less prevalent among Sparkler searches compared to all searches.

Table 7: Percentage difference in outcomes between all searches and Sparkler searches

	Percentage change between all searches and Sparkler searches
A no further action disposal	-3.6%
Arrest (as a result of items found)	116.5%
Arrest (not related to the stop)	33.6%
Caution (simple or conditional)	-8.7%
Community resolution	-22.4%
Khat or Cannabis warning	-27.5%
Summons / charged by post	14.5%

Prevalence of crime for Sparkler searches

The Sparkler team conducted 15% (n=331) of all searches, of which 49% were of Whites and 51% of Non-Whites. The most prevalent offences among Whites were violence against the persons, theft and drugs were while violence against the person, drugs and robbery were most prevalent among Non-Whites.

In the post search year, the number of Whites that were suspected of violence against the person increased by 67%, while drug offences increased by 17% and theft reduced by 14%. For Non-Whites, violence against the persons reduced by 9% and robbery reduced 60% while drug offences increased by 53%.

Table 8: Prevalence of Crime among those stopped and searched by Sparkler 365 days pre and post encounter

	Whites	Non-Whites

Major crime type	Whites 365 days prior to search (n=195)	Whites 365 days post search (n=196)	Non-Whites 365 days prior to search (n=178)	Non-Whites Whites 365 days post search (n=162)
Violence Against The Person	19.0%	31.6%	25.8%	23.5%
Drug Offences	14.4%	16.8%	21.3%	32.7%
Theft	18.5%	15.8%	2.8%	0.6%
Arson And Criminal Damage	12.8%	7.1%	8.4%	11.1%
Robbery	4.1%	3.6%	14.0%	5.6%
Public Order Offences	8.2%	8.2%	8.4%	9.9%
Miscellaneous Crimes	6.7%	4.1%	5.6%	2.5%
Possession Of Weapons	3.1%	2.6%	5.1%	1.9%
Vehicle Offences	4.6%	3.6%	2.2%	1.9%
Burglary	5.1%	6.1%	1.1%	8.0%
Sexual Offences	2.1%	-	4.5%	0.6%
Non-Notifiable	1.5%	0.5%	0.6%	1.9%

Frequency of offending for Sparkler searches

Those stopped by Sparkler team had an increased frequency of offending compared to those stopped by all other units combined. For Whites stopped by Sparkler, those who were not suspected of a crime reduced by 12% in the year before and 6% after they were searched. For Non- Whites, those who were not suspected of a crime reduced by 13% before and 8% after search.

Suspicion of one offence was the most prevalent rate of offending in the year before and year after being search by Sparkler team and this was consistent with the frequency of suspected offending for all searches. As the frequency of offences increased the proportion of persons decreased in both the year before and after they were searched.

When compared to all searches, those stopped by Sparkler had a higher rate of multiple suspected offences. In the year before search, compared to all searches, Whites stopped by Sparkler who were suspected of two offences increased by 69%, three offences increased by 49% and four offences increased by 41% while for Non-Whites, those suspect of four offences increased by 113%, five offences increased by 31%, six offences increased by 211% and 7+ offences increased by 86%.

In the year after search, when comparing Sparkler searches to all searches, Non-Whites suspected of a single offence reduced by 7% and those suspected of two offences decreased by 3%, whereas those suspected of three increased by 64%, four offences by 166% and five crimes by 107%.

Those suspected of 7+ offences were more prevalent among the searched by Sparkler compared to all searches in both the year prior and subsequent year.

Table 9: Frequency of crime suspected in 365 days before and 365 days after stop and search by Sparkler

	Whites		Non-Whites	
Frequency of offending	Whites 365 days prior to search (n=163)	Whites (n=163)	Non-Whites 365 days prior to search (n=168)	Non-Whites 365 days post search (n=168)
0	64.4%	65.6%	66.1%	68.5%
1	11.0%	11.0%	13.1%	10.7%
2	8.6%	9.2%	6.5%	4.8%
3	4.9%	1.8%	3.0%	5.4%
4	3.1%	4.3%	3.6%	5.4%
5	1.8%	1.2%	2.4%	2.4%
6	1.2%	1.8%	1.8%	-
7+	4.9%	4.9%	3.6%	3.0%

Crime harm scores for Sparkler searches

The harm suspected by Whites who were stopped by Sparkler was 19,143 days in the year before and 16,866.5 days in the year after, representing 9% of all harm in the year before and 9% of in the year after search. The harm suspected by Non-Whites stopped by Sparkler represented 34,334.5 days, 16% of all harm in the year before search and in the post year 24,4473 days, representing 13% of all harm in the post search year.

The harm suspect by Whites stopped by Sparkler reduced by 12% in the post search year while Non-White harm reduced 29%.

Table 10: Crime harm scores for suspected offences in 365 days before and 365 days after stop and search by Sparkler

	Whites		Non-Whites	
	365 days pre stop and search	365 days post stop and search	365 days pre stop and search	365 days post search
Minimum number of days recommended in prison Sparkler	19143	16866.5	34334.5	24473

Sparkler searches within lower layer super output area ranked by volume of violent crime.

Analysing only cases from the Sparkler Team, what was the rank order of frequency of Sparkler stops in each post code or Lower-layer Super Output Area in which one or more of the stops were conducted?

This question addresses the distribution of searches within LLSOAS ranked for violent crime in Bedfordshire. There were 331 Sparkler searches, 15% of all the stop and searches conducted. Approximately 56% of all Sparkler searches were conducted within the top 25% of LLSOAs for violent crime, 75% of all Sparkler searches were conducted within the top 50 LLSOAs for violent, and 25% of Sparkler searches were conducted across 50% of the lowest LLSOAs for violent crime.

Figure 5: Distribution of Sparkler searches within LLSOAs of violent crime
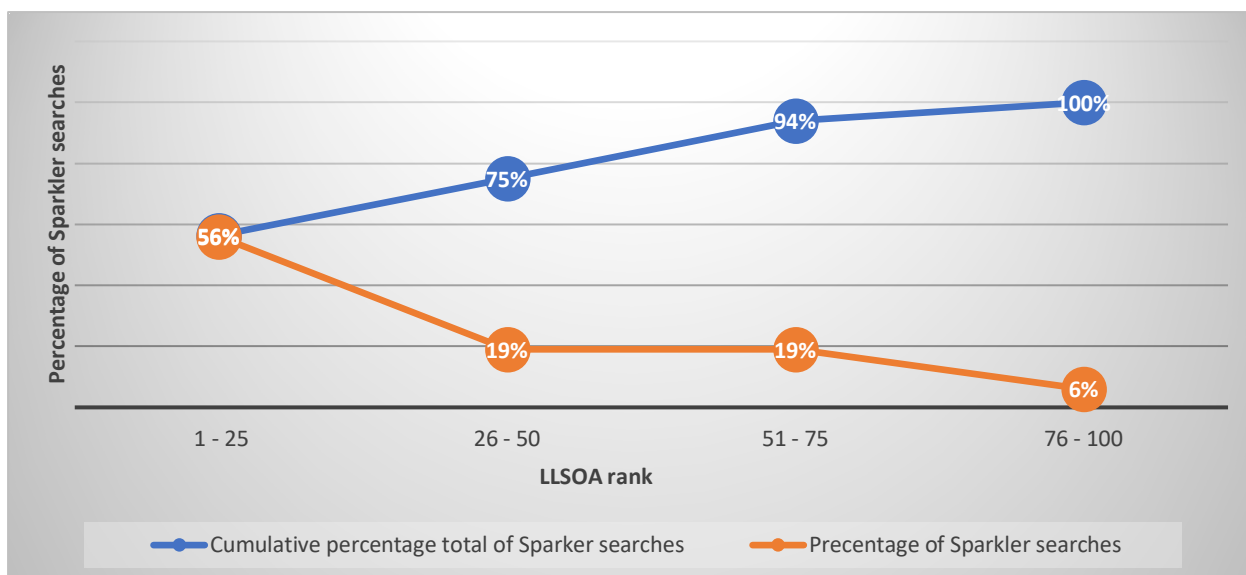
Crime severity for serious violence for all searches and Sparkler searches

With respect to crime severity, what is the distribution of total prior, and total subsequent, named suspects by major offence types of serious violence, both overall and by racial group, and again for all stops versus Sparkler Team only? In this section we describe the harm from serious violence for all searches and compare with the crime harm from those stopped by Sparkler.

Crime harm from serious violence represented 42% of crime harm in 365 days before search and 54% in the 365 days after search. When examined for ethnic distribution, Non-Whites were suspected of 64% of crime harm and Whites suspected of 36% if crime harm in the 365 days prior to search. In the 365 days after search Non-Whites were suspected of 59% crime harm and Whites were suspected of 41%.

Crime harm suspected by persons stopped by Sparkler represented 26% of total harm in the 365 days before and 23% in the 365 days after search. Non-Whites searched by Sparkler were suspected of 64% of crime harm and Whites were suspected of 36% in the 365 days prior while in the year after Non-Whites represented 59% and Whites represented 41%.

Serious violence crimes by those stopped by Sparkler represented 12% of total crime harm in the 365 days before search and 14% of total crime harm in the 365 days after search. Serious violence

crimes by those stopped by Sparkler represented 29% of all harm from serious violence in the 365 days prior to search and 26% in the year after search.

Figure 6 describes how crime harm was distributed across ethnicity prior to and post search and presents the distribution of crime harm from serious violence by those stopped by Sparkler and by all other searches and all other crime harm. 1 in 2.9 Sparkler searches were of persons suspected of serious violence in the 365 days before the search and 1 in 2.6 searches were of persons who were suspected of serious violence in 365 days after search. 1 in 4.6 of all searches were of persons suspected of serious violence in the 365 days before the search and 1 in 3.8 searches were of persons who were suspected of serious violence in 365 days after search.

Figure 6: Distribution of harm across ethnicity in 365 days before and 365 days after stop and search for drug crimes by serious violence excluding Sparkler, serious violence for Sparkler only and all other crime
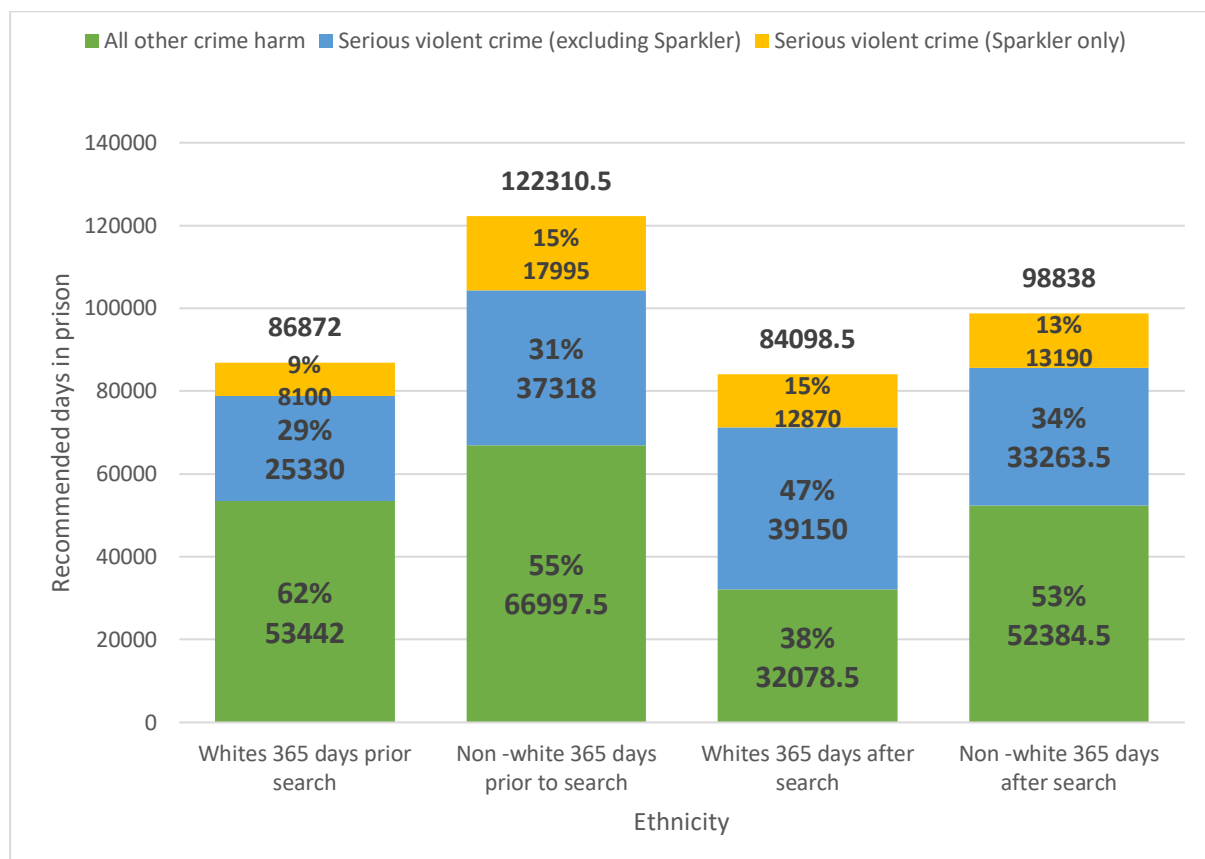
Results: conclusion

This study describes the prevalence, frequency and harm of all persons stopped and searched on at least one occasion for drugs offences in Bedfordshire. The study examines not only the types of offending, but the rate of offending and the distribution of harm for each person in 365 days before search and 365 days after search. It compares the prevalence, frequency, and harm by all searches and those of the Sparkler team and investigates the rate of Sparkler searches in LLSOAs by rank order of violence. Lastly, each aspect of the study identifies the distribution across ethnic groups.

Stop and searches for drug crimes were evenly applied across Whites and Non-Whites. Non-Whites were almost three times more likely to be stopped and searches than White and when examining Sparkler stops and searches only this increased to three and a half times. Two thirds of all stop and searches resulted in no further action being taken. Outcomes of arrest for all searches were 7% and 13% for Sparkler searches. Of all officers who had conducted a stop and search, 11% of officers conducted half of all stops and searches. 56% of searches by Sparkler were conducted in the 25% highest ranked LLSOAs for violent crime.

Violence against the person was most prevalent across Whites and increased in prevalence in the post search year. Violence against the persons was most prevalent among Non-Whites in the pre search year however drug offences became the most prevalent in the post search year.

One third of Whites were not suspected of any crime before or after they were searched while three quarters of Non-Whites were not suspected of any crime before or after they were searched. The most frequent rate of offending was a single offence, with 10% of White and Non-Whites suspected of a single offence before or after being searched. The most prevalent rate of multiple offences was those suspected of 2 offences of which Whites had the highest rate of 7.2% in the post search year and Non-Whites peaked at 6.1% in the post search year. As the rate offending increased, the prevalence among those stopped and searched decreased.

Non-Whites were suspected of a higher amount of harm in the pre and post search year. Harm decreased in the post search year for Whites and Non-Whites. In the year prior to search less than

half of the harm suspected by Whites resulted from serious violence while in the post search year this increased to nearly thirds of harm resulting from serious violence. Just under half of harm suspected by Non-White resulted from serious violence in the year prior to, and the year post stop and search, however the proportion of harm from serious violence reduced marginally in the post search year. Overall harm suspected by Non-Whites reduced by one fifth and the proportion resulting from serious violence reduced by 16%. While crime harm suspect by Whites reduced marginally in the post search year the proportion resulting from serious violence increased 56%. Less than 3% of Whites and less than 4% of Non-Whites were suspected of 75% of all crime harm in the pre and post search year. A sixth of persons who were not suspected of offending in the 365 days prior to search went on to be suspected of crime in the post search year while a third of those who were suspected of crimes in the 365 days before search were not suspected of crimes in the post search year.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

This study set out to investigate the criminal records of persons stopped and searched by the police for drug crimes in one year. Previous studies had focussed on 'hit rate' of stop and search, racial distribution of stop and search tactics, and the general deterrence effects of stop and search. The question of criminal profiles of the individuals against whom stop and search for is deployed remained unexplored until now. In addressing this gap, the study also examined whether there were racial disparities in these profiles. To address the research questions, police records on stop and search, and criminal history at Bedfordshire Police Service were used. In this chapter, I summarise the key findings arising from the analysis and reflect on their policy implications. This chapter will conclude with the limitations of the research.

The first finding concerns the prevalence of crimes for which the subjects of stop & search had been arrested 365 days before and after each stop, and how these statistics vary by race of subjects. The results indicate that the most prevalent crimes for individuals named as suspect in 365 days both prior to and after being stopped and searched were: violence against person, theft, and drug offences. White suspects were more likely to be named as suspects for violence against the person and theft before and after they have been stopped and searched. The profile was somewhat different for Non-Whites: they were named for violence against person and theft prior to being stopped and searched, but violence against person and drugs after the stop and search. These findings were unexpected. During the period under study, we examined stop and search conducted under the Misuse of Drugs Act 1971. This was aimed at tackling strategic priorities of organised crime, county lines and gang violence. However, most of the people stopped and searched for drugs crimes were not suspected of crimes before and after they were searched. Crimes that are indicative of organised crime, county lines and gang violence were prevalent in only half of those suspected of crimes.

This result suggests that stop and search for drug crimes does not deter crime and is consistent with the Tiratelli et al (2018) investigation of the deterrence effect of stop and search found that stop and search had at best a marginal effect and arguments that it was an effective crime control measure were misplaced. While Weisburd et al (2015) identified a deterrent effect from an increase in stop and search at micro hotspots in the days that proceeded the activity, Apel (2016) extolled caution by these findings, stating that the results could not distinguish between stop and search and other confounding police interventions. Apel also warned of displacing criminals to neighbour areas and inadvertently disrupting innocent residents who avoid leaving their homes due to a risk of police harassment. The findings support the assertion of Bradford and Loaders (2015) that there is not a hydraulic relationship between the increase in deployment of stop and search and deterrence or crime control on an individual basis, and the recommendation by Tiratelli et al (2018) that stop and search should not be viewed as a tactic that can be increased to reduce crime and instead focus

upon the legal powers and justifications of the use of stop and search. This finding suggests that stop and search is better when targeted on individuals rather than as a broad crime control measure.

Our second key finding concerns the frequency of criminal activities among those stopped and searched. In other words, how active or prolific are these subjects of police stops and searches? The evidence that emerges is that, during the period under consideration, police officers stopped and searched people without any known criminal histories. Thus, we found that two-thirds of Whites and three-quarters of Non-Whites were not suspected of any offences prior to their stop and search. To the extent that police stop and search aims to project specific deterrence effect (Nagin 2013), the evidence reported suggests officers were not targeting the right subjects. Among those with any criminal history, White suspects were likely to have been named for single and multiple offences prior to being stopped and searched; after the stop and search, Whites were more likely to be named for multiple offences.

The third finding concerns potential specific deterrence effects of stop and search. According to Nagin (2013: 200), specific deterrence refers to "the effect on reoffending, if any, that results from the experience of actually being punished". Although being stopped and searched might be punishment per se, it is aimed at conveying messages to individuals with criminal histories: that, there is a risk of being apprehended should they engage in criminal activity. To explore the specific deterrence effects of police stop and search, we examined the proportion of pre-stop suspects whom would later be named as suspects a year after being stopped and searched. The evidence shows that stop and search has different effects on different racial groups: Whites more likely to become defiant while Non-Whites appeared more cautious. Thus, 66% of all White suspects were named suspects again after the stop; for Non-Whites, it was 56%. The reason for this apparent Non-deterrence effects are beyond this study. However, defiance theory suggests that perceptions of legitimacy of policing is a key factor in understanding deterrence effects; when people perceive a sanctioning authority as illegitimate and they feel weak bonds to society, they are likely to reject the

shame attached to their actions, leading to persistence rather than reductions in criminal behaviour (Sherman 1993). Future studies that explore the quality of stop and search (e.g. Nawaz and Tankebe 2018) can shed light on this mechanism producing this effect.

Fourth, we found evidence of a Felonious Few – that is, of a small proportion of individuals responsible for the disproportionate share of harm. Specifically, three quarters of the total harm was suspected by just 3% of those stopped and searched. Crime harm from serious violence represented 42% of all harm prior to and 54% after search. Individuals stopped and searched by Sparkler were suspected of 26% of all harm prior to and 23% after being stopped and the offences of serious violence suspected by those stopped by Sparkler represented 12% of all harm prior to and 14% after search. Individuals search by Sparkler had a higher rate of offending and higher mean harm score compared to those searched by other units and Sparkler conducted 56% of searches within the top 25% LLSOAs for serious violence. Half of all searches and were conducted by just 11% officers.

Overall, the prevalence, frequency, and severity of crimes were broadly even in distribution across race. Whites were suspected of slightly more crimes than Non-Whites while Non-Whites were suspected of slightly more harm than Whites. Rates of offending were similar and crime harm from serious violence swung from Non-Whites in the year prior to search toward Whites in the year after search. However, there was a prima facie case that stops and searches were disproportionately deployed against Non-Whites and that as a tactic it is largely ineffective as the reasonable suspicion held by the officer was so often disproven. As Bottoms and Tankebe (2017) highlighted, perceptions of excessive use of police power can grow resentment among minority groups and lead to open confrontation with the police as demonstrated in the Brixton riot in 1981, the London Riots of 2011 and the in eruption of concern across the globe following the murder of George Floyd in Minneapolis, United States of America in 2020. Resentment toward the police presents a risk to foundations of policing legitimacy from a normative perspective, as Tyler (2006) explained, people obey the law because they feel that the authority enforcing the law is legitimate, their actions are

fair, and they have the right to dictate the behaviour. As Walters and Bolger (2019) concluded, legitimacy beliefs are instrumental to compliance with the law, leading to citizens avoiding the police due to a lack of trust (HMICFRS 2021), law abiding citizens avoiding the police due to a fear of police harassment (Rosenfeld and Fornango 2017; Apel 2016), and defiant pride leading to increased future offending by those perceiving punishment as unjust (Sherman 1993).

Policy Implications

What do the findings reported in above mean for police policy and practice? The first implication concerns the finding that only between 10% (Whites) and 13% (Non-Whites) of individuals stopped and searched were suspected of drug offences prior to the encounter. Yet, these stops were conducted under the Misuse of Drugs Act 1971. There is a clear need to rethink how officers use these powers, especially the intelligence that inform their decisions to stop and search individuals. This raises questions about the quality of intelligence and whether Bedfordshire officers are using that information to target individuals with the relevant criminal histories. Improving intelligence gathering and processing is, therefore, one policy response.

A second area for policy consideration concerns post-search criminal activities. As previously indicated, stop and search aims to convey deterrence messages to citizens, especially those with criminal histories. The message is one of increased risk of deterrence. However, the evidence in this study shows a defiance effect: whether Whites and Non-Whites, the majority of 'offenders' stopped, and search would persist in their criminal activities and remain suspects. Defiance effects require the convergence of three variables: perceived illegitimacy of police officers, weak bonds with society, and rejection of the shame associated with sanctions for criminal activity (Sherman 1993). Not all of these variables are within the sphere of influence of police departments. However, officers can influence how individuals experience the stop and search process. Consequently, there is a need for procedural justice training for police officers on how to use their powers. Such training needs to emphasise the need for officers to listen actively, to treat people with respect, to show care for the

wellbeing of people, and to avoid verbal or Nonverbal cues that convey bias. Body-worn cameras offer an opportunity to track the effects of this training. Indeed, it is possible that Bedfordshire police can pilot the effect of procedural justice training by randomly assigning some officers to receive the training while a comparison group continues business-as-usual. The future criminal behaviours of the individuals stopped and searched by the experimental and control group of officers can then be compared.

Third, there is the need for Bedfordshire Police officers to rethink the use of stop and search powers to focus on the Felonious Few. As the evidence presented above showed, there are opportunities to analyse and identify the small number of high harm individuals with whom offender focus tactics can be targeted and the hotspots of violent crime that can patrolled with precision to reduce harm. Stops and searches under the Misuse of Drugs Act 1971 remains a logical option, particularly when drug offences present an Achilles' Heel opportunity to disrupt harmful individuals. The performance of Sparkler is important in the context of deploying evidence-based practices, as the team conducted 75% of searches in the 50% most violent LLSOAs, stopping and searching individuals suspected of serious violence at a higher rate and achieving better outcomes compared to all other units. While the analysis of Sparkler compared to all other units is limited in scope and it signals the potential for deployment of specialist resources upon strategic priorities to increase the quality of outcomes. Although Sparkler searched Non-Whites at a higher rate than other units, this does not consider whom Sparkler were tasked to target and the diversity of the residents within the area.

These findings are relevant in exploring how police deploy their resources effectively. The illicit drug market is intrinsically linked to violent crime (Goldstein 1985) and is the thread that runs through organised crime (NCA 2021), county lines (Home Office 2018) and serious violence (Home Office 2017). There is a large body of evidence to support the effectiveness of policing of violence crime with focus and precision, such as policing hotspots of violent crime (Braga et al 2019) and offender focussed deterrence (Braga and Weisburd 2012; Groff et al 2014). Ratcliffe's (2008) intelligence

policing model extolls the importance of analysis of data and intelligence in making operational decisions to disrupt serious offenders and as Bowling and Marks (2015) explained, stop and search remains necessary in principle to enable the Police to conduct lawful and reasonable duties.

Limitations

There are four key limitations to emphasise. First, the category of White versus Non-White is too broad and does not allow us to explore differences within each of them. For example, the experiences of Afro-Caribbean, Blacks African origin, Pakistani, and are likely to differ. The data did not allow for these within group differences. Further studies with larger datasets can provide additional insight into possible racial differences in the criminal profiles of persons stopped and searched. It is also possible that there are intersections between race and other demographics such as age, gender, and social class. For example, do teenage White males in poor neighbourhoods have the same criminal profiles as middle-aged White males? Might it be that the former share similar profiles with people of Afro-Caribbean origin of identical characteristics?

Second, the attempt at estimating the specific deterrence relied a before-and-after design, which is Level 2 on the Maryland Scale. A more robust estimate would have included a control group of individuals with identical criminal histories who were not stopped and searched between July 2019 and June 2020. The proportion of individuals in each group that would later be named as criminal suspects 365 days after the period of stop could then be compared. A comparison of the Crime Harm Index score of the groups can also be computed. Such a design can improve confidence in drawing causal inferences about specific deterrence effects.

Third, we have only investigated the criminal profiles of people police officers decided to stop and search. This does not tell us anything about decision-making by individuals, especially the reasonableness of the suspicion held by the officers at each search. Nor was it within the scope of the study to examine the intelligence or information available to officers. Yet, exploring such issues can provide additional evidence on large proportion of false positives reported in the study.

Finally, there are limitations to using census population to calculate street population as highlighted by Waddington et al (2004) who argued that available street population was a more accurate measure. Bowling and Philips (2007) countered the argument by Waddington et al (2004) signalling support for residential population as a measure as the police and when controlling for available population, still found evidence of the disparate deployment of stop and search upon minority communities. Racial disparity as calculated by census population is the method by which Bedfordshire Police calculates, publishes, and is held accountable for the deployment of stop and search by an independent scrutiny panel and these findings are useful and consistent in an operational policing context.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

Stop and search remains a controversial and divisive policing tactic and is one of the most visible elements of the over policing of minority communities. Concerns regarding effectiveness and distributive justice in the deployment stop and search in recent history have led to the withdrawal of policing consent, confrontation with the police and disorder. Most recently, concerns have been raised regarding the volume of stops and searches that are conducted for low-level drug crimes. While the police service highlight that the high proportion of stops and searches for drug crimes are to tackle organised crime, gangs and serious violence as the reason Shiner et al (2018) and HMICFRS (2021) found that the majority of searches were for low-level possession of drugs and raised concerns as to how this tactic is disproportionately deployed upon minority groups.

 Research into the effectiveness of stop and search has focussed on the hit rate (Shiner et al 2018), effect on crime levels (Sherman and Rogan 1995; McCandless et al 2016) and the deterrence effect (Tiratelli et al 2017). This study provides a descriptive analysis of whom Bedfordshire Police selected to be stopped and searched for drug crimes between an intake year of 1st July 2019 to 30th June

2020. By examining the prevalence, frequency and severity of harm that were suspected by those stopped and searched we can address an important knowledge gap highlighted by the HMICFRS; a lack of understanding by Police forces in England and Wales of who is stopped and the grounds for the stop.

The results indicate that the most prevalent crimes before and after search were violence against the person, theft, and drugs crimes. For Whites, violence and theft were most prevalent before and after search while for Non-Whites, violence against the person and theft were most prevalent prior to search but violence and drugs after search. Crimes that are indicative of organised crime, county lines and serious violence were prevalent in only half of suspected crimes. The findings were unexpected but were consistent with the findings of Tiratelli et al (2018) that stop and search does not deter crime, that there is not a hydraulic relationship between increased stop and search deterrence or crime control (Bradford and Loaders 2015) and that stop and search is better when targeted on individuals rather than as a broad crime control measure (Tiratelli et al 2018).

The evidence shows that two-thirds of Whites and three-quarters of Non-Whites were not suspected of any offences prior to or after they were stopped and searched. White suspects were likely to have been named for single and multiple offences prior to being stopped and searched; after the stop and search, Whites were more likely to be named for multiple offences. To the extent that the deployment of stop and search aims to project a deterrent effect (Nagin 2013) the evidence suggests that Police officers are targeting the wrong subjects.

We explored potential specific deterrence effects of stops and search (Nagin 2013) in that it is aimed at conveying messages to individuals with criminal histories: that there is a risk of being apprehended should they engage in criminal activity. The results indicate that stop and search has different effects on different racial groups: Whites more likely to become defiant while Non-Whites appeared more cautious. The reasons for these findings are beyond the scope of this study, however

defiance theory (Sherman 1993) suggest that policing legitimacy is crucial to understanding deterrence effects and future studies can examine the mechanism for producing this effect.

Evidence shows that a small number of individuals were responsible for a disproportionate amount of harm as just 3% of those stopped and searched were suspected of 75% of all harm. Harm from serious violence represented 42% of harm before and 54% of harm after search and Sparkler conducted 56% of stops and searches in the top 25% LLSOAs of violence crime. The findings provide potential for harm reduction by concentrating resources with precision deployment of offender focussed deterrence (Groff et al 2014) and geographically focussed deterrence (Braga et al 2019).

The results indicate that the prevalence, frequency, and severity of crimes were broadly even in distribution across race. Whites were suspected of slightly more crimes than Non-Whites while Non-Whites were suspected of slightly more harm than Whites. Rates of offending were similar and crime harm from serious violence swung from Non-Whites prior to search toward Whites after search. The findings suggests that Non-Whites where three times more likely to be stopped and searched than Whites, and three and half times more likely when stopped by Sparkler. Reflecting on the criminal history of those stopped and searched by Bedfordshire Police, Whites and Non-White have similar prevalence, frequency and harm from suspected offending, and that the rate at which Non-Whites are stopped and search is not justified. This finding has implications upon policing legitimacy (Bottoms and Tankebe 2017), compliance with the law (Tyler 2006; Walters and Bolger 2019) and citizens from minority communities avoiding the police altogether due to perceptions of untrustworthiness (HMICFRS 2021).

The study has three key policy implications. Firstly, the evidence shows that only a small number of individuals were suspected of drug offences prior to being stopped and searched. There is a need to review how officers use the power to search under the Misuse of Drugs Act 1971, how they use intelligence to form their grounds, the quality of intelligence available and how officers use information to target individuals with relevant criminal history. Secondly, stop and search as a

specific deterrence did not deter suspects from continuing criminal activities. While Sherman's (1993) defiance theory proposed many conditions for compliance, we recommend training front line officers in procedural justice, in particular active listening, respect, care for wellbeing and remaining Nonbiased in communication to improve the quality of police and citizen interactions. Lastly, the majority of harm was concentrated among a small number of those who were stopped and searched and half of the harm was associated with violent crime. The majority of Sparkler searches were in LLSOAs of violent crime and outcomes were better compared to all other units. These results signal the opportunity to deploy precious resources to undertake offender focussed deterrence upon the Felonious Few and at locations of harm to maximise harm reduction.

Violent crime is the thread that runs through the illicit drug market, organised crime, gang crime and county lines activity. The deployment of stop and search under the Misuse of Drugs Act 1971 remains a sensible option, particularly when it presents an Achilles' Heel opportunity to disrupt high harm individuals. However, this study examined the criminal history of those stopped and searched for drug crimes, a previously unexplored aspect of the controversial tactics, and challenges the police narrative that the stop and searches for drug crimes are as a result of efforts to tackle violent crime, county lines drug dealing and organised crime. The recommendations highlight the need to improve the quality of intelligence and decision making by officers in exercising their powers of stop and search, improve the quality of interactions with the subjects of stop and search and refocus efforts toward small concentrations of high harm offenders and places. Police powers exercised upon good intelligence, high quality and empathetic interactions with citizens and precision deployment of resources has the potential to reduce false positives, reduce racial disparity and increase legitimacy, trust and confidence in the police service.

Appendix 1: Glossary of terms

Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire & Rescue Services (HMICFRS)

Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire & Rescue Services (HMICFRS) independently assesses the effectiveness and efficiency of police forces and fire & rescue services – in the public interest.

The Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 (PACE)

The Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 (PACE) code of practice regulates police powers and protect public rights. Code A governs the exercise by police officers of statutory powers of stop and search, an important tool in the prevention and detection of crime.

Section 23 of the Misuse of Drugs Act 1971

Section 23(2) of the Misuse of Drugs Act 1971 provides that a constable may search a person suspected of being in possession of a controlled drug and detain them for the purpose of the search. They may also search any vehicle or vessel in which they suspect the drug may be found and can require the person in control of the vehicle or vessel to stop it for that purpose. This provision specifies that the person must be suspected of being in possession of the drug, not merely to have used it or been present during its use by others. With respect to a vehicle, the provision similarly requires the officer to suspect that the drug may be found in it.

Stop, Question and Frisk (SQF)

Stop, question and frisk described the equivalent policing tactic of stop and search in the United States of America.

Offences of Serious Violence

Home Office (2018): knife crime data collection is based on the use of a knife in selected Non-domestic offences; attempted murder, threats to kill, assault with injury, assault with intent to cause serious harm, robbery, rape and sexual assault; all crimes that included the criminal use of a firearm when fired, threatened or used as a blunt instrument

County Lines

County Lines is a term used to describe gangs and organised criminal networks involved in exporting illegal drugs into one or more importing areas [within the UK], using dedicated mobile phone lines or other form of "deal line". They are likely to exploit children and vulnerable adults to move [and store] the drugs and money and they will often use coercion, intimidation, violence (including sexual violence) and weapons.

Organised Crime

Organised Crime is defined as planned and co-ordinated criminal behaviour and conduct by people working together on a continuing basis. Their motivation is often, but not always, financial gain. Organised crime in this and other countries recognises neither national borders nor national interests.

TuServe

TuServe is a digital application upon which Police officers manually record the exercise of their powers to stop and search individuals. The application records date, time, location, subject, grounds, power, extent of search, outcome, ethnicity and identity of the officer.

Athena Record Management System

Athena is a digital platform upon which Bedfordshire Police record crimes and criminal intelligence. Crime records data includes victim, suspect (if known), ethnicity, location, date and time and method of offending.

Lower Layer Super Output Areas (LLSOA)

A lower layer super output area (LLSOA) is a geographical measure use by the Office of National Statistics (ONS) in the publication of census data. The population of the United Kingdom is grouped into LLSOAs, homogenous areas of around 1,500 residents of 650 households and the postcodes of all addresses within the LLSOA are grouped together within the parent LLSOA for the purpose of statistical comparison of data such as crime data.

Resident Population Data

The residential population data is provided by the Office of National Statistics based on residential information collected during the 2011 census.

Crime Harm Index (CHI)

CHI is a method of assigning a value (in days) of harm caused by different types of crime, developed by the University of Cambridge. The value is based on the starting point sentence for the crime, for a first-time offender prior to any mitigating or aggravating features and reflects the level of harm of each type of crime, as agreed by the Sentencing Council for England and Wales.

Prevalence Of Crimes

This describes those crimes that were most widespread among those stopped and searched by Bedfordshire Police for drug crimes.

Frequency Of Offending

Frequency of offending describes the rate at which those stopped and searched by Bedfordshire Police for drug crimes committed offences.

Sparkler Team

Sparkler is a team of 7 officers that are responsible for disruption, enforcement and deterrence patrols within violent crime hotspots across Bedfordshire.

Felonious Few

Felonious Few describes the small number of suspects who were suspected of a disproportionate amount of crime harm.

Hit Rate

The positive outcome rate of stop and search. A search leading to recovery of an item of contraband such as drugs, weapons or stolen goods is recorded as a positive outcome, while searches that did not find any contraband would be classified as resulting in no further action (unless otherwise stated).

Maryland Scale

Maryland scales refers to the Maryland Scientific Methods Scale aims is to communicate to scholars, policymakers and practitioners in the simplest possible way that studies evaluating the effects of criminological interventions differ in methodological quality. Ranging from one to five, level one is the lowest level of confidence and describes the correlations between the intervention and the measurements. Level five is the highest scale of confidence, a random assignment of an intervention and control conditions.

Appendix 2: Crime Harm Index and Offence Classification

Major offence category	Offence type	CHI Value
ARSON AND CRIMINAL DAMAGE	Arson endangering life (Indictable)	365
	Arson not endangering life	5
	Attempted - Arson not endangering life	5
	Attempted - Other criminal damage to a building other than a dwelling (Under £5,000)	1
	Attempted - Other criminal damage to a residence (Under £5,000)	0
	Attempted - Other criminal damage to a vehicle (Under £5,000)	1
	Attempted - Other criminal damage, other (Under £5,000)	1
	Criminal damage endangering life, other (Indictable)	365
	Other criminal damage to a building - business and community (Under £5,000)	0

	Other criminal damage to a building other than a dwelling (£5,000 and over)	2
	Other criminal damage to a building other than a dwelling (Under £5,000)	1
	Other criminal damage to a dwelling (£5,000 and over)	2
	Other criminal damage to a dwelling (Under £5,000)	1
	Other criminal damage to a residence (£5,000 and over)	0
	Other criminal damage to a residence (Under £5,000)	0
	Other criminal damage to a vehicle (£5,000 and over)	2
	Other criminal damage to a vehicle (Under £5,000)	1
	Other criminal damage, other (£5,000 and over)	2
	Other criminal damage, other (Under £5,000)	1
BURGLARY	Aggravated Burglary - Business And Community	730
	Aggravated Burglary - Residential - Dwelling	730
	Aggravated Burglary - Residential - Non-Dwelling	730
	Attempted Aggravated Burglary - Business And Community	730
	Attempted Burglary - Business And Community	10
	Attempted Burglary - Residential - Dwelling	19
	Attempted Burglary - Residential - Non-Dwelling	10
	Burglary - Business And Community	10
	Burglary - Residential - Dwelling	19
	Burglary - Residential - Non-Dwelling	10
	Distraction Burglary - Residential - Dwelling	365
DRUG OFFENCES	Having possession of a controlled drug - Class A - Cocaine	3
	Having possession of a controlled drug - Class A - Crack	3
	Having possession of a controlled drug - Class A - Heroin	3
	Having possession of a controlled drug - Class A - MDMA	3
	Having possession of a controlled drug - Class A - Other	3
	Having possession of a controlled drug - Class B - Amphetamine	2
	Having possession of a controlled drug - Class B - Cannabis	2
	Having possession of a controlled drug - Class B - Other	2
	Having possession of a controlled drug - Class B - Synthetic cannabinoid receptor agonists	2
	Having possession of a controlled drug - Class C - Other	1
	Obstructing powers of search etc or concealing drugs etc	1
	Possess a psychoactive substance with intent to supply	547.5
	Possession of a controlled drug with intent to supply - Class A - Cocaine	547.5
	Possession of a controlled drug with intent to supply - Class A - Crack	547.5
	Possession of a controlled drug with intent to supply - Class A - Heroin	547.5
	Possession of a controlled drug with intent to supply - Class A - MDMA	547.5
	Possession of a controlled drug with intent to supply - Class A - Other	547.5
	Possession of a controlled drug with intent to supply - Class B - Amphetamine	5

	Possession of a controlled drug with intent to supply - Class B - Cannabis	5
	Possession of a controlled drug with intent to supply - Class B - Other	5
	Possession of a controlled drug with intent to supply a class B controlled drug	5
	Production or being concerned in production of a controlled drug - Class A - Other	547.5
	Production or being concerned in production of a controlled drug - Class B - Cannabis	547.5
	Production or being concerned in production of a controlled drug - Class B - Other	547.5
	Supplying or offering to supply a controlled drug - Class A - Cocaine	547.5
	Supplying or offering to supply a controlled drug - Class A - Crack	547.5
	Supplying or offering to supply a controlled drug - Class A - Heroin	547.5
	Supplying or offering to supply a controlled drug - Class A - Other	547.5
	Supplying or offering to supply a controlled drug - Class B - Cannabis	5
	Supplying or offering to supply a controlled drug - Class B - Other	5
	Supplying or offering to supply or being concerned in supplying a controlled drug - khat	5
MISCELLANEOUS CRIMES AGAINST SOCIETY	Absconding from lawful custody (Indictable)	182.5
	Acquisition, use & possession of criminal property	10
	Attempted - Absconding from lawful custody (Indictable)	182.5
	Attempted - Take or to make or to distribute indecent photographs or pseudo- photographs, of children	547.5
	Attempted throwing articles into prison - Section 40CB of Prison Act 1952	0
	Attempting to Pervert the Course of Public Justice (Indictable)	120
	Conveyance etc of List A articles into or out of prison (Indictable)	182.5
	Conveyance etc of List B articles into or out of prison	10
	Dangerous Driving	10
	Fraud, forgery etc associated with registration and licensing documents	2
	Going equipped for stealing etc	3
	Intentionally encouraging or assisting commission of an either way offence	0
	Intimidating a juror or witness or person assisting in investigation of offence	42
	Intimidating or intending to intimidate a witness	42
	Keeping a brothel used for prostitution	10
	Pass etc counterfeit coin or note as genuine	10
	Possess/control article(s) for use in fraud(s)	2
	Possession of an indecent or pseudo indecent photo of a child	19
	Receiving stolen goods	2
	Shine/direct laser beam towards a vehicle	120
	Take or to make or to distribute indecent photographs or pseudo- photographs, of children	547.5

	Threats to destroy or damage property	2
	Throwing articles into prison - Section 40CB of Prison Act 1952	10
	Undertaking or assisting in the retention, removal, disposal or realisation of stolen goods or arranging to do so	5
	Without authority possess inside a prison an item specified in Sec 40D (3A)	10
NON-CRIME	Crime Investigation - Action fraud:- Call for Service	0
	Crime Investigation - Action fraud:- NFIB Referral	0
	Duty to notify only (Reported Incident of Modern Slavery)	0
	Modern Slavery - National Referral Mechanism - referral pending, reasonable grounds decision	0
NON-NOTIFIABLE	Children Act 1989, Taking, keeping, inducing, assisting or inciting a child away from the person having responsibility for care under a care order, emergency protection order or police protection	3
	Communications Act 2003, Sending or causing sending of grossly offensive / indecent / obscene / menacing or false message / matter by electronic communications network	2
	Criminal Justice and Immigration Act 2008 - Without reasonable excuse causing a nuisance or disturbance on NHS premises	1
	Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994, Failure to stop a vehicle when required to do so by a constable in the exercise of his powers under this section of the Act	2
	Criminal Law Act 1967 - Causing wasteful employment of the police etc	1
	Criminal Law Act 1977, Offences relating to entering and remaining on property	0
	Criminal Law Act 1977as amended by Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994, Violence for securing entry	10
	Dangerous Dogs Act 1991 - Possession, without exemption, of a Pit Bull Terrier, Japanese Tosa or other designated fighting dog	1
	Drugs Act 2005 - Failure to attend or to stay the duration of an initial assessment	0
	Drunk and disorderly in a public place	1
	Fire and Rescue Services Act 2004, Summary Offences	0
	Local Government Act 1972, Offences against Byelaws made under these sections (except Public Health and Highways Byelaws):- Disorderly behaviour	1
	Owner / person in charge of a dog dangerously out of control - no injury	1
	Police Act 1996 - Resisting or obstructing a constable in execution of duty	1
	Prison Act 1952 added by Offender Management Act 2007, Conveyance etc of List C articles into or out of prison	1
	Restriction of Offensive Weapons Act 1959, Relating to offences in connection with dangerous weapons	0
	Road Traffic Act 1988 - Driving while disqualified	5
	Road Traffic Act 1988 - Failing to stop after accident	2

	Road Traffic Act 1988 , Failing to stop motor vehicle when required by police officer in uniform	2
	Road Traffic Act 1988 as amended by Road Traffic Act 1991, Motor Vehicles (Driving Licences) Regulations 1999, Driving, causing or permitting a person to drive other than in accordance with a licence (full or provisional) (except HGV)	1
	Road Traffic Act 1988, Driving or attempting to drive a mechanically propelled vehicle whilst unfit to drive through drink or drugs (Only to be used where it is unclear whether it is drink or drugs)	3
	Road Traffic Act 1988, Driving or attempting to drive a mechanically propelled vehicle whilst unfit to drive through drink or drugs, Drink	2
	Road Traffic Act 1988, Driving or attempting to drive a mechanically propelled vehicle whilst unfit to drive through drink or drugs, Drugs	3
	Road Traffic Act 1988, Neglect or refusal to stop when directed by a constable/traffic officer:	2
	Serious Crime Act 2007 - Intentionally encouraging or assisting commission of a summary offence	0
	Theft Act 1968 - Being carried knowing vehicle to have been taken or driven away	2
	Vagrancy Act 1824 - Begging: second conviction as an idle and disorderly person	1
	Vagrancy Act 1824 , Begging, gathering alms or causing or procuring any child so to do	0
POSSESSION OF WEAPONS	Carrying a loaded or unloaded or imitation firearm or air weapon in public place	2
	Carrying loaded firearm or any other firearm (whether loaded or not) together with ammunition suitable for use in that firearm in a public place etc	730
	Having an article with a blade or point in a public place	5
	Having an article with a blade or point on school premises	19
	Possessing etc firearms or ammunition without firearm certificate	10
	Possessing firearm or imitation firearm with intent to cause fear of violence (Indictable)	1825
	Possessing or distributing other prohibited weapons	365
	Possessing or distributing prohibited weapons designed for discharge of noxious substances etc	365
	Possessing or distributing prohibited weapons or ammunition (Indictable)	1825
	Possession of offensive weapon without lawful authority or reasonable excuse	5
	Sell / transfer prohibited weapon / ammunition.	0
	Threaten with a blade or sharply pointed article in a public place	182.5
	Threaten with an offensive weapon in a public place	182.5
PUBLIC ORDER OFFENCES	Affray	10
	Attempted - Sec 4a POA Causing intentional harassment, alarm or distress	3

	Breach a sexual risk order / risk of harm order etc. or fail to comply with requirement under Sec 122 c (4)	10
	Breach of a criminal behaviour order	10
	Breach of Non-molestation order	5
	Breach SHPO / interim SHPO / SOPO / interim SOPO / Foreign travel order or fail to comply with a requirement under Sec 103D (4)	10
	Committing or conspiring to commit, an act outraging public decency	5
	Communicating false information alleging presence of bomb	19
	Failure to comply with (Sexual Offence) Notification Order	5
	Racially or religiously aggravated fear or provocation of violence	10
	Racially or religiously aggravated harassment, alarm or distress	2
	Racially or religiously aggravated intentional harassment, alarm or distress	5
	Sec 4 POA Fear or provocation of violence	5
	Sec 4a POA Causing intentional harassment, alarm or distress	3
	Sec 5 POA Harassment, alarm or distress	1
	Violent disorder	182
ROBBERY	Attempted - Assault with intent to rob (Personal) (Indictable)	365
	Attempted - Robbery (Business) (Indictable)	365
	Attempted - Robbery (Personal) (Indictable)	365
	Robbery (Business) (Indictable)	365
	Robbery (Personal) (Indictable)	365
SEXUAL OFFENCES	Arranging or facilitating the commission of a child sex offence	182.5
	Arranging or facilitating the sexual exploitation of a child: Child 13 - 17	0
	Assault on a female by penetration (Indictable)	730
	Attempted - Arranging or facilitating the commission of a child sex offence	182.5
	Attempted - Sexual assault on a male	19
	Attempted rape of a female (16 or over) (Indictable)	1825
	Attempted rape of a female (under 16) (Indictable)	2555
	Causing a child under 16 to watch a sexual act - Offender aged 18 or over	10
	Causing a person to engage in sexual activity without consent: Female person (Indictable)	730
	Causing or inciting a child under 13 to engage in sexual activity by an offender under 18 years of age: Female child no penetration	730
	Causing or inciting a child under 13 to engage in sexual activity: Female child no penetration	730
	Causing or inciting a female child under 16 to engage in sexual activity No Penetration - Offender 18 or over	10
	Causing or inciting a female child under 16 to engage in sexual activity No Penetration - Offender Under 18	10
	Engage in sexual communication with a child	10
	Exposure	10
	Rape of a female (16 or over) (Indictable)	1825

	Rape of a female (under 13) (Indictable)	2920
	Rape of a female (under 16) (Indictable)	2555
	Rape of a male (16 or over) (Indictable)	1825
	Rape of a male (under 13) (Indictable)	2920
	Rape of a male (under 16) (Indictable)	2555
	Sexual activity with a child family member - Female - Victim aged 13-19 - Under 18 - penetration	0
	Sexual activity with a female child under 16 by Penetration - Offender 18 or over (Indictable)	365
	Sexual activity with a female child under 16 by Penetration - Offender Under 18	365
	Sexual assault of a female child under 13	182
	Sexual assault on a female	19
	Sexual assault on a male	19
THEFT	Attempted - Theft from shops and stalls	1
	Attempted - Theft from the person of another	2
	Attempted - Theft if not classified elsewhere	2
	Attempted - Theft or Unauthorised Taking of a Pedal Cycle	2
	Blackmail (Indictable)	365
	Making off without payment	1
	Theft by an Employee	19
	Theft from shops and stalls	1
	Theft from the person of another	2
	Theft if not classified elsewhere	2
	Theft in a dwelling other than from automatic machine or meter	2
	Theft or Unauthorised Taking of a Pedal Cycle	2
	Unauthorised taking of conveyance other than a motor vehicle or pedal cycle	5
VEHICLE OFFENCES	Aggravated vehicle taking	10
	Aggravated vehicle taking (driving / being carried) offences causing damage to vehicle and / or property under £5000	10
	Interference with a motor vehicle	3
	Theft from a motor vehicle	2
	Theft of a motor vehicle	10
	Unauthorised taking of a motor vehicle (does not include 'driving or being carried knowing motor vehicle has been taken ')	5
VIOLENCE AGAINST THE PERSON	Administer poison/noxious thing to injure/annoy (Indictable)	547.5
	Arrange or facilitate travel of another person with a view to exploitation	0
	Assault occasioning actual bodily harm (ABH)	10
	Assault or assault by beating of a constable	2
	Assault or assault by beating of an emergency worker (except a constable)	2
	Assault Other Emergency Worker - Assault occasioning actual bodily harm (ABH) (S.47)	0

Assault Police - Assault occasioning actual bodily harm (ABH) (S.47)	182.5
Assault Police - Minor wound without intent (s20)	182.5
Assault Police -Wounding with intent to do grievous bodily harm (Indictable) (S.18)	1825
Assault with intent to resist apprehension	2
Assault without Injury - Assault on prison custody officer	2
Assault without Injury - Common assault and battery	1
Assault without injury on a constable (Police Act offence)	2
Attempted - Assault occasioning actual bodily harm (ABH)	10
Attempted - Assault Police -Wounding with intent to do grievous bodily harm (Indictable) (S.18)	1825
Attempted - Assault without Injury - Common assault and battery	1
Attempted - Racially or religiously aggravated common assault or beating	10
Attempted - Wounding with intent to do grievous bodily harm (Indictable)	1460
Attempted murder (Indictable)	3285
Breach of a restraining order	5
Breach of conditions of injunction against harassment	5
Causing death by dangerous driving (Indictable)	1095
Causing serious injury by dangerous driving	365
Child Abduction - Abduction of child by other persons	1460
Cruelty to Children/Young Persons - Cruelty to and neglect of children	10
Disclose private sexual photographs and films with intent to cause distress	5
Endangering Life - Use of noxious substances or things to cause harm and intimidate	2190
Engage in controlling/coercive behaviour in an intimate / family relationship.	10
GBH serious wound without intent (s20)	547.5
Harassment - Pursue course of conduct in breach of Sec 1 (1) which amounts to stalking	10
Harassment - Putting people in fear of violence	5
Harassment - without violence (course of conduct)	10
Harassment etc. of a person in his home	2
Hold person in slavery or servitude	0
Kidnapping - False imprisonment (Indictable)	1460
Kidnapping - Kidnapping (Indictable)	1460
Murder - Victim aged 1 and over (Indictable)	5475
Owner or person in charge allowing dog to be dangerously out of control injuring any person or assistance dog	2
Possession of firearm with intent to endanger life (Indictable)	1825
Racially or religiously aggravated assault or assault occasioning actual bodily harm	19
Racially or religiously aggravated common assault or beating	10
Racially or religiously aggravated Harassment or stalking without violence	10
Require person to perform forced or compulsory labour	0

	Sending letters etc with intent to cause distress or anxiety, Malicious Communications Act 1988	2
	Stalking involving fear of violence	84
	Stalking involving serious alarm/distress	252
	Threats to kill	10
	Wounding with intent to do grievous bodily harm (Indictable)	1460

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