WEST YORKSHIRE CRIMINAL JUSTICE BOARD

Criminal Justice System: working together for the public

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Black and Minority Ethnic People's Confidence in the Criminal Justice System in West Yorkshire

Final Report
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Foreword

In January 2004, West Yorkshire Criminal Justice Board was tasked by the Home Office to establish the level of Black and Minority Ethnic confidence in the Criminal Justice System at a local level, as one of six Local Criminal Justice Board areas with the highest Black and Minority Ethnic populations in England and Wales.

To achieve this West Yorkshire Criminal Justice Board commissioned the Centre for Criminology and Criminal Justice at the University of Hull to carry out comprehensive research, resulting in this report.

The Board welcomes the report as a challenging and positive opportunity. In particular, it provides a clear focus for the Board's Race Issues Group, who have managed the project.

The Board fully endorses the findings and recommendations contained within this report, which is the culmination of an intensive period of survey and fieldwork undertaken within West Yorkshire. This work has provided a valuable insight into the issues which impact upon Black and Minority Ethnic confidence in the Criminal Justice System.

The Report provides a sound basis for action to improve levels of confidence in the Criminal Justice System amongst the diverse communities of West Yorkshire and we are determined to use it to the full.
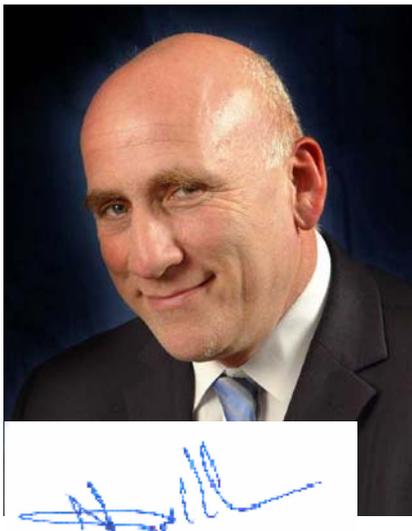
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Acknowledgements

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Introduction

Since 1995, there has been a marked shift in public policy from an emphasis on reducing crime towards measures that are designed to reduce fear and boost public confidence in the criminal justice system. Since 2001 the Home Office in collaboration with the Department of Constitutional Affairs and the Attorney General's Office have initiated large-scale reforms of the criminal justice system. An Office of Criminal Justice Reform has been set up to drive policy change and Local Criminal Justice Boards (LCJBs) have been charged with delivering change at the local level. At the same time the Government's determination to take on board the recommendations of the Stephen Lawrence Enquiry in 1999 has fuelled the prioritisation of black and minority ethnic issues within this process of change. British Crime Survey figures have shown that BME people generally have a little less confidence that the criminal justice system respects the rights and treats fairly people accused of committing a crime, but have more confidence in aspects of its effectiveness than do White people. BME people also believe that they receive worse treatment from criminal justice agencies. This undermines BME confidence but mainly in terms of rights rather than effectiveness. The main driver of confidence seems to be knowledge and this in turn is driven by local information interwoven with national crime stories.

This report details the findings from a study of BME confidence in the criminal justice system in West Yorkshire. The aims of the research are: (a) to generate a better understanding of BME people's confidence in the criminal justice system in West Yorkshire and (b) provide recommendations on how confidence in the system may be improved.

Methodology

The research adopted three strategies

1. A household survey conducted in seven local authority wards in West Yorkshire with the highest proportion of BME groups. These are: Toller, Keighley Central, Park, Batley East, Chapel Allerton, Hyde Park and Woodhouse, and Wakefield East. The survey was carried out by postal questionnaire. In order to boost the sample of BME respondents, attempts were made to distribute the questionnaires at community groups during the setting up of and at the focus groups.
2. In depth interviews conducted with members of WYRIG.
3. Focus group sessions staged in all the targeted seven wards. The groups were made up of BME residents only. Two hundred and twenty-six (226) BME residents took part in these focus groups.

Findings

1. The Surveys

The majority of respondents were not very or not at all confident that the Criminal Justice System is effective in bringing criminals to justice, deals with cases promptly and efficiently, meets the needs of victims and is effective in reducing crime. However, the majority of respondents were fairly or very confident that the Criminal Justice System respects the rights of the accused. BME respondents were rather more likely than white respondents to say that the system is inconsistent or unfair, outdated or corrupt, not representative or too punitive. There were variations in confidence and ratings of criminal justice agencies in terms of age, gender, ethnicity and victimization. These variations are described in detail in chapter four.

Analysis of the geographic distribution of responses showed that many of the areas with low confidence are irrespective of ethnicity and points to the existence of other

influences on confidence acting at a very local level in driving confidence. Few respondents, particularly those from BME backgrounds, had views about what agencies other than the police should do to raise public confidence in their job. A number of BME respondents asked for more information on what the agencies do and others made apparent their lack of knowledge. There were numerous requests for community workshops and public meetings. A few respondents thought there should be greater racial diversity in agency staff but this was generally low in priority.

2. Interviews with WYRIG

The interviewees identified a variety of factors which they believe are affecting BME confidence in the region. These include the aftermath of local and international events such as the Bradford 'riots' and the terrorist incident of September 11 in the USA, and the activities of BNP extremists in the region. In addition, some members expressed the view that efforts to improve BME confidence, for example through their participation, are being hindered by some BME communities being suspicious or unwilling to take part.

The interviews revealed that the criminal justice agencies in West Yorkshire are engaged in a wide variety of activities which were either specifically designed to raise confidence or may have the added value of improving confidence. These include (a) efforts to recruit more BME into the various criminal justice agencies as workers (b) The provision of official information such as legal documents in BME languages (c) the establishment of structures to deal with racist and homophobic crimes and support victims of racist and homophobic crimes, and (d) various forms of community engagement schemes. However, it was not very clear how much of the agencies' work is monitored or evaluated. The need to monitor and evaluate performance is important in order to determine the extent to which confidence has been improved.

3. The Focus Groups

The participants in the focus group sessions identified factors that they felt have implications for BME confidence in West Yorkshire. These range from specific issues such as the role of the media and the effects of local and international events such as the Bradford and Leeds riots and the terrorist attack of September 11, in the USA. Confidence in the criminal justice system was generally low amongst the focus group participants, irrespective of ethnicity, age or gender. The most important factors identified in the focus groups as undermining or affecting BME confidence are racial discrimination and inequality of treatment, also based on 'race'.

In all the focus groups, lack of communication was mentioned as a major reason why confidence and rating of the criminal justice agencies by BMEs in West Yorkshire appear to be low. The lack of knowledge about what the other agencies do led to an undue emphasis on the police. In every focus group, the police were referred to and used as the main frame of reference when discussing confidence, ratings and trust in the criminal justice system as a whole. With regard to what could be done to raise confidence, the participants, like the respondents in the surveys, mentioned effective communications between the agencies and the communities. A way suggested by which communication can be improved was through dialogue - getting the agencies to listen to the views of the communities and "actually doing something rather than just listen". Adequate knowledge about what the agencies do will enable the communities to locate their complaints at particular agencies rather than feeling that the system as a whole is wrong and failing.

Conclusions

The agencies appear to be engaged in a variety of activities that they said are to raise BME confidence. However, the fact that confidence and trust in the criminal justice system and the ratings of the agencies by the sample of respondents in the surveys are generally low implies that what's being done is either not getting through, is ineffective, superficial, or the communication network is poor. The apparent complex

nature of the variables affecting confidence means that a more coherent approach to the issues is necessary. This study shows that the effect of local area is important and should be given some recognition in the planning of initiatives to raise confidence in the region.

Recommendations

1. There is a need for a more visible and effective coordination or monitoring of agency activities to raise confidence.

2. Efforts must be made to evaluate projects in order to assess their effectiveness in meeting confidence targets and goals. Key confidence indicators included at Appendix 3 may be of assistance in the evaluation process.

3. Community engagement needs to include devolving responsibility for decision-making to communities and supporting community-based responses and actions (WYPA, 2005). Empowerment is more likely to raise confidence than other 'lower' levels of engagement.

4. The diversified nature of the ethnic population in West Yorkshire should always be considered in the development of policies. 'One size doesn't fit all' Effectiveness will be improved by tailoring actions to specific groups and sub-groups.

5. The idea of diversity officers is appropriate but may prove ineffective if the incumbents are not adequately equipped to be able to energize others to act

6. In the light of the repeated calls for communication and information, it is desirable that the provision of information should be consistent and should be a mainstream activity. There is a need to continue dialogue with the communities and the different sub-groups within them.

7. The results of the surveys and focus groups show that area is as important as ethnicity when it comes to confidence. Efforts to improve confidence may yield better results if they are area or ward-based. It is obvious that the areas technically classified BME areas also include White residents. It is discriminatory for policies to target specific ethnic groups in an area and leave out other ethnic groups.

8. If efforts to improve confidence are to be initially targeted in two areas, it is suggested that Keighley Central, which had the lowest overall confidence and a BME population of 42% should be a priority. The second ward could be either Wakefield East, which had the second lowest confidence but a low BME population, or Park ward, which had below average confidence on more than half the issues and a BME population of 56%.

9. Agencies need to ensure continuing progress in the elimination of discriminatory practices at all levels. The greater the progress the more important it becomes to ensure that these achievements are seen and recognised by those to whom services are delivered.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

Since 1995 crime rates in Britain have been falling. According to the British Crime Survey the incidence of crime is now about one third less than it was ten years ago. Against this, the proportion of people who believe crime is still rising has stubbornly refused to budge, and fear of crime has changed little. As a consequence there has been a marked shift in public policy from an emphasis on reducing crime towards measures that are designed to reduce fear and boost public confidence in the criminal justice system. Since 2001, the Home Office, in collaboration with the Department of Constitutional Affairs (formerly Lord Chancellor's Department) and the Attorney General's Office, has initiated large-scale reform of the criminal justice system. An Office of Criminal Justice Reform has been set up to drive policy change and Local Criminal Justice Boards have been charged with delivering change at the local level. At the same time the Government's determination to take on board the recommendations of the Stephen Lawrence Enquiry in 1999 has fuelled the prioritisation of black and ethnic minority issues within the process of change.

On the specific issue of public satisfaction and confidence, the Criminal Justice System Confidence Unit issued the Framework Document in July 2003 (Confidence Task Force, 2003). It sets out government policy for the improvement of public confidence. Six priorities are proposed for action:

- Rights of defendants
- Bringing offenders to justice
- Victim and witness satisfaction
- Staff engagement
- Community engagement, including race issues

- Communications

The Framework Document also tasks Local Criminal Justice Boards to identify specific drivers of confidence and satisfaction in local areas and to implement improvements in five performance areas:

- Increasing victim and witness satisfaction in the local area
- Staff engagement
- Community engagement, including race issues
- Communications
- Increasing overall public confidence

LCJBs were asked to prepare short Delivery Plans setting out their intentions for action within the period December 2003 to March 2005. In West Yorkshire the Delivery Plan (W Yorks Criminal Justice Board, 2004) sets out the local priorities within the issues raised in the national framework.

2.2. General issues of confidence

If improving confidence is to work, a clear understanding must be achieved of what public confidence and satisfaction are, and what underpins them. There is an implicit assumption that increasing public confidence will lead to greater satisfaction. But is the reverse also true that greater satisfaction with service delivery will lead to improved public confidence? In truth the relationship is a volatile one, subject to rapid swings as the public mood changes in response to dramatic or horrendous events, such as the Soham murders or the Jamie Bulger case. When the events are located within the local area, the consequences are more direct and the reactions greater. The reasons for this volatility lie in the rarity of experience of crime and of the criminal justice system. Profound lack of knowledge of what most criminal justice agencies do is at the root of the problem. The exception is the police who are the only agents of the criminal justice system regularly seen by and in contact with the

public. So understanding confidence means understanding public perceptions of crime and the criminal justice system and how these are generated, whether through direct experience, received knowledge from friends or relatives, or through media images filtered by third parties' views about what is newsworthy and how it should be presented.

2.2.1. National measures of confidence and satisfaction

The primary national source of information on confidence and satisfaction with the criminal justice system is the British Crime Survey (BCS). Since the 1990's a suite of questions have been asked on both issues, and since 2001 the survey has been conducted annually with an increased sample size which permits basic statistics to be generated for local areas. These statistics are the basis for performance targets and whether they have been achieved at the local level.

Initially the BCS asked four questions about confidence in the criminal justice system:

How confident are you that:

- It respects the rights of and treats fairly people accused of committing a crime
- It is effective in bringing people who commit crime to justice
- It deals with cases promptly and efficiently
- It meets the needs of victims

Later a further two questions were added:

- It is effective in reducing crime
- It is effective in dealing with young people accused of crime

The BCS also asks respondents to rate how good a job the criminal justice agencies are doing:

- Police

- Prisons

- Magistrates

- Probation Service

- Crown Prosecution Service

- Judges

- Youth Courts

More detailed information is collected about satisfaction with how incidents were handled that the police came to know about.

MORI has undertaken specific studies of confidence on behalf of the Home Office – an interview survey and focus groups in local areas.

The Home Office Citizenship Survey conducted biennially since 2001 provides more general information on the trust people have in public institutions. Trust in the police and in the courts may be compared to trust in the local council and in parliament.

2.2.2 Key features of the national picture

BCS 2002/03

Public confidence (Pepper, et al, 2004, p2)

- *Three-quarters (77%) of people were very or fairly confident that the CJS respects the rights of people accused of committing a crime and treats them fairly. This compares with 76 percent in the previous year. Apart from this, confidence in the system was not generally high.*

- *Just under two-fifths of people believed it was effective in bringing people to justice (39%) or dealing with cases promptly and efficiently (36%). This was a decrease from the previous year when the comparable figures were 44 per cent and 39 per cent.*

- *There was also a decrease in the proportions who were confident the CJS was*

effective in reducing crime (31% compared with 36% in 2001/02) or in meeting the needs of victims (30% compared with 34%).

- *Only a fifth of people (21%) believed the CJS was very or fairly effective in dealing with young people accused of crime. This is a decrease from a quarter (25%) in 2001/2002.*

Figure 1 — **Confidence in the criminal justice system**

	Very	Fairly	Not very	Not at all
Respects the rights of and treats fairly people accused of committing a crime	19	58	19	4
Effective in bringing people to justice	3	36	44	17
Deals with cases promptly and efficiently	3	33	46	18
Effective in reducing crime	2	30	51	17
Meets the needs of victims	2	28	48	32
Effective in dealing with young people accused of crime	2	19	53	26

Source: Pepper, et al, 2004

Ratings of criminal justice agencies (see also Table 2.3 below)

- *Around a half (48%) of people think that the police are doing a good or excellent job.*
- *The rating of the prison service, at 25 per cent, was substantially lower.*
- *Around a quarter of people thought that magistrates or the probation service were doing a good or excellent job. Almost a quarter (23%) of people thought that the CPS was doing a good or excellent job.*
- *A quarter of people thought that judges do a good or excellent job.*
- *Youth courts continued to have the lowest rating; 14 per cent of people in 2002/03 thought that these courts did a good or excellent job.*

MORI Surveys

The first MORI study was based on interviews carried out with 2001 people who were aged 16 or over in the year 2003 (Page, et al, 2004). The public's attitudes and perceptions of the criminal justice system and its constituent agencies were examined with respect to confidence and satisfaction. The findings were summarised thus:

- *People are generally more confident about the way crime is being dealt with locally than nationally: 63% of respondents are confident about the way crime is being dealt with in the area where they live, compared with 47% who are similarly confident about the way crime is tackled across England and Wales generally.*

- *Although a lower proportion (58%) of minority ethnic respondents are confident that respondents overall (63%) about how crime is dealt with in the area where they live, a higher proportion (53%) of minority ethnic respondents than respondents overall (47%) are confident about the way crime is dealt with nationally.*

- *Confidence in the way crime is being dealt with, both in the local area and nationally, is highest for those aged 16–34 and lowest for those aged 55 or over.*

- *Respondents were asked to choose (from a list of 20 suggestions) the functions of the system which they thought were essential but in which they had low confidence. They were: creating a society where people feel safe; reducing the level of crime; stopping offenders from committing more crime; dealing effectively with street robbery (including muggings); and bringing people who commit crimes to justice.*

- *When asked directly what would convince them that crime was being dealt with more effectively, 'an increased police presence' was the most frequent answer (27%) – 20% mentioned 'a reduction in crime rates' and 14% 'more severe sentencing'.*

- *Factors associated most strongly with public confidence that crime is being dealt with were:*

> o At the local level: *promptness and efficiency of the system; the level of deprivation where the respondent lives; effectiveness of the criminal justice system in dealing with violent crime; whether the respondent had been a victim of crime; and whether the system is creating a society where people feel safe.*
>
> o At the national level: *effectiveness of the system in dealing with violent crime; the age of the respondent; whether the system is bringing people who commit crime to justice; and whether the criminal justice system is creating a society where people feel safe.*

The second study (Johnson, et al, 2005) consisted of 12 focus groups in six different areas selected to cover a range of levels of confidence. The main purpose was to highlight possible reasons for disparities in confidence levels in different parts of the country. The key points were:

Across the groups, levels of confidence in the criminal justice system as a whole were heavily influenced by:

- *views and perceptions of the police*
- *views regarding the local crime problem.*

High confidence group participants:

- *reported little experience of crime and criminal justice*
- *were informed by the media, partly due to their lack of personal experience of the criminal justice system*
- *were enthusiastic about living in their local area which they believed to be relatively safe*
- *spoke about crime problems in general without specific reference to their local area*
- *had complex views of the police that included a range of attitudes and experiences*
- *viewed their area as being relatively better than the national picture in terms of crime.*

Low confidence group participants:

- *reported more direct and indirect experience of crime and criminal justice*

- *were informed by their own observations, 'word of mouth' and the local media*

- *had more mixed views about their area and displayed more fear of crime*

- *talked about specific local crime problems*

- *were more uniform and negative in their views of their police*

- *commented on the perceived lack of community policing*

- *saw their local area as the same as, or worse than, the national picture regarding crime.*

Home Office Citizenship Survey (Green, et al, 2004)

Patterns of trust in two main criminal justice agencies are illustrated in Table 2.1. Overall levels of trust in the police (80%) and in the courts (73%) are significantly higher than in the local council (54%) or Parliament (38%). Detailed analysis reveals contrasts and contradictions in the patterns:

- People from the most deprived areas have less trust in the police than people from the least deprived areas, but show no difference in trust of the courts.

- Yorkshire and Humberside have slightly lower than average levels of trust in both agencies.

- Older people have more trust in the police but less trust in the courts than young people.

- Women are more trusting of both agencies than men.

- Married people have more trust in the police and less in the courts than single people.

Table 2.1 A profile of trust in police and courts

Percentage who trust police/courts a lot or a fair amount (Selected categories only)

	Police	Courts
Overall	80	73
Least deprived areas	86	74
Most deprived areas	75	74
Yorkshire and Humberside Region	78	72
Age 16-24	78	79
Age 75 or over	83	66
Men	77	72
Women	82	74
Single	78	77
Married	82	73
White	80	72
Indian	80	82
Pakistani	76	82
Black Caribbean	59	55
Asian aged 16-24	75	N/A
Black Caribbean aged 16-24	56	N/A
Asian aged 75 or over	89	N/A
Black Caribbean aged 75 or over	83	N/A
Degree or equivalent educational qualification	86	83
No educational qualification	74	67

Source: Green, et al (2004)

- White and Indian people are more trusting of the police than Pakistani or Black Caribbean.

- Indian and Pakistani people are more trusting of the courts than White or Black Caribbean.

- Education is related to more trust in both police and courts.

2.2.3. Trends in confidence

Of the four measures of confidence available in both 2000 and 2002/03 BCS (Table 2.2), three have shown an improvement. The exception is 'effective in bringing people who commit crimes to justice', which shows a significant decline from 46% saying they were very or fairly confident in 2000 to 39% in 2002/03.

Table 2.2 Trends in confidence in the criminal justice system

% very or fairly confident that the CJS	*2000 BCS*	*2002/3 BCS*
Respects the rights of and treats fairly people accused of committing a crime	69	77
Is effective in bringing people who commit crime to justice	46	39
Deals with cases promptly and efficiently	34	36
Meets the needs of victims of crime	26	30

2.2.4. Trends in trust

Ratings of the job done by criminal justice agencies have been available since 1996 (Table 2.3). The ratings of the police and prisons fell consistently over the five surveys. The ratings of judges have in contrast tended to rise. All the other agencies have remained roughly stable in the proportion of people who think they are doing a good or excellent job.

Table 2.3 Trends in ratings of criminal justice agencies

% saying agencies doing a good or excellent job	BCS				
	1996	1998	2000	2001/2	2002/3
Police	64	60	53	47	48
Prisons	38	32	30	26	25
Magistrates	27	29	26	29	26
Probation Service	26	26	23	25	24
CPS	23	N/A	23	27	23
Judges	20	23	21	29	25
Youth courts	N/A	14	12	16	14

2.3. Confidence in West Yorkshire

Table 2.4 charts the changes in confidence in West Yorkshire. Overall West Yorkshire echoes national trends. Confidence that the rights of offenders are respected is high and the area's above average position is being maintained.

Confidence in the other five measures is much lower and declining in the county. The decline of confidence in bringing offenders to justice and meeting the needs of victims is particularly significant. More recent trends are not available for the separate measures, but an overall measure available on a quarterly basis indicates that the tide may have turned. Overall confidence for the year ending March 2004 was 36.9%. For the year ending June 2004 it had fallen to 36.1% but for the year ending September 2004 it had risen to 37.3%. These figures are rolling averages so may dampen the trend.

Table 2.4. Trends in confidence in the criminal justice system in West Yorkshire

% very or fairly confident that the CJS	*2001/02*	*2002/03*
Respects the rights of and treats fairly people accused of committing a crime	**81**	**82**
Is effective in bringing people who commit crime to justice	44	35-
Is effective in reducing crime	34	30
Deals with cases promptly and efficiently	39	36
Meets the needs of victims of crime	34	29-
Is effective in dealing with young people accused of crime	23	19

Figures in bold are significantly above the national average
+ shows a significant improvement on the previous year
- shows a significant decline on the previous year

2.4. BME Confidence

2.4.1. BMEs in the criminal justice system

It is not the place here to go into detail on the disproportionate representation of black and minority ethnic groups at all levels within the criminal justice system. The Framework Document for improving confidence provides a succinct summary of the position (Confidence Task Force, 2003, p8). People from BME communities:

- *are more likely to be victims of crime (BCS)*
- *are more likely to be stopped and searched (Statistics on race and the CJS)*

- *are more likely to be remanded in custody (HM Inspectorate of Probation: Thematic Inspection Report)*
- *are more likely to plead not guilty and more likely to be acquitted (Ethnic differences in decisions on young offenders dealt with by the CPS, Section 95 Findings No1 2000)*
- *are less likely to be fined and more likely to receive a community sentence (Statistics on race and the CJS)*
- *represent a disproportionate percentage of the prison population (Prison Statistics England and Wales)*

The reasons for the evident disproportionality are complex. Apart from overt racism, the Stephen Lawrence Enquiry suggested that there are powerful patterns of institutional racism whereby the dice are loaded against BME people in many and varied, sometimes subtle ways. In contrast the cultural heritage of BME people may lead to them to behave in ways that increase the 'tariff' of their interactions with the system. Many immigrants come here with a profound belief in British justice. This belief may lead them, for example, to plead not guilty in the hope that the courts will demonstrate their innocence. If they are found guilty, however, the sentence is likely to be more severe. The cultural heritage theme has other implications that will be discussed below.

2.4.2. BME confidence profile

The baseline pattern of black and ethnic minority confidence is illustrated in Figure 2. The national pattern of a much higher level of confidence that the criminal justice system respects the rights and treats fairly people accused of committing a crime than the other five measures is repeated for the ethnic groups though the contrast is more muted for non-whites. Thus, minorities have less confidence than Whites in 'respecting the rights..' but more confidence in all five other measures, which deal with effectiveness. The cultural heritage factor may be influential here leading to less differentiated beliefs. It is noticeable that people of mixed ethnic origin generally

Figure 2   **Confidence by ethnic group 2002/03**
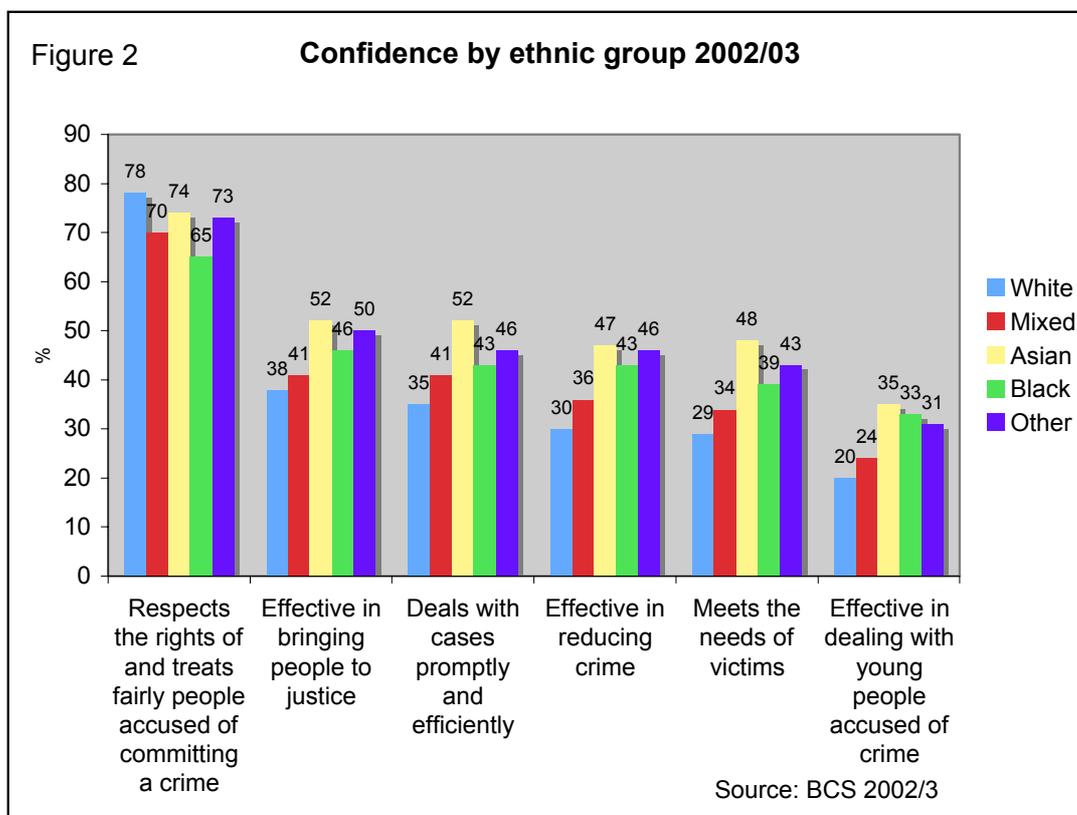
occupy an intermediate position between Whites and the specific ethnic groups. Another clear distinction is a general pattern of greater confidence of Asians than the other minority groups. Within the Asian group, there are indications that Indians have greater confidence than either Pakistanis or Bangladeshis.

The Home Office Citizenship Survey (Green, et al, 2004) provides data on how ethnic minorities feel about the treatment they receive from criminal justice agencies. The headline is that generally BME people believe they would be treated worse than people from other races. This pattern is strongest for treatment by the police, the Prison Service, Courts and the CPS. Among the ethnic groups, Black Caribbeans had the highest expectation of worse treatment by the police (40%) compared to 30% for Bangladeshis, 28% for Africans, 24% for Pakistanis and 20% for Indians. Only 5% of Whites expected worse treatment by the police. However these patterns have shown a marked decline since the previous survey in 2001. On the other hand, people who live

in the North East and Yorkshire and Humberside are less confident that they will be treated without prejudice than people in the South, particularly London.

The main conclusion to be drawn here is that feelings about discriminatory treatment may undermine confidence that the criminal justice system <u>respects</u> ethnic minorities but have much less impact on confidence in its <u>effectiveness</u>.

2.4.3. BME ratings of criminal justice agencies

Figure 3 — Ethnic minority ratings of cjs agencies. Source: BCS 2002/03
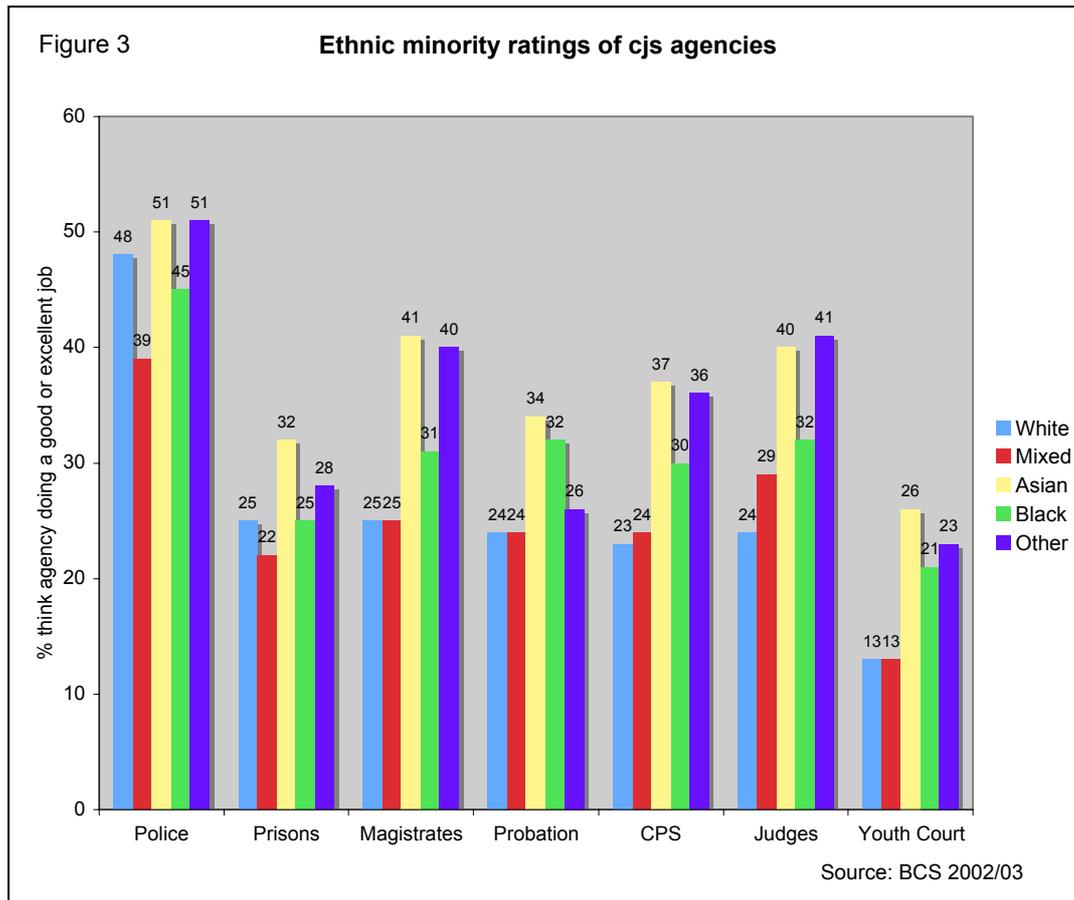
The BCS provides the latest ethnic minority ratings of criminal justice agencies (Figure 3). The police have the highest ratings with 48% of people thinking they do a good or excellent job. Yet opinions about the job the police do are far from uniform

with Asians above average (51%) and black people below (45%). Mixed race people are even lower in their ratings of the police. Other agencies fare less well in the ratings, but minority ethnic groups rate them almost universally better in the job they are doing than Whites. Indeed Asian ratings are much higher than Blacks, while mixed race people are more similar to Whites.

It is particularly striking how BME groups believe they would receive worse treatment from the police (and the courts) while rating the job they are doing more highly than Whites. It is likely that the key role played by the police in community relations is at root of this apparent contradiction. As keepers of the peace and agents of crime control the police are seen as effective, but their power is seen as used in discriminatory ways. For other agencies the contradiction between confidence in effectiveness and beliefs in racial discrimination are less marked.

2.5. Improving confidence

Home Office policy briefings (Home Office, 2002) summarise the issues confronting attempts to improve public confidence. There are, it is suggested, considerable difficulties in linking how the criminal justice system operates and public confidence, and these need to be acknowledged. Public knowledge is a primary driver of confidence, and in its turn seems itself to be driven mainly by information on local crime occasionally interwoven by national crime stories. Direct experience and knowledge from trusted sources seems to be more important in general than the national media. Contact with the criminal justice system (as defendant, victim or witness) appears to deflate confidence (Mirrlees-Black, 2001).

Poor knowledge of the criminal justice system is founded on:

- The belief that crime is rising when it is falling
- Overestimating the role of violence

- Ignorance of the role of criminal justice agencies other than the police
- Underestimating the severity of sentencing

There is currently little research on 'what works' in improving confidence. Clearly the main areas are:

- How the criminal justice system works
- Tackling discrimination and improving policing practices
- Provision of better information to the general public

For BMEs it is important to recognise that views and attitudes vary widely between groups and even within groups. Men and women, young and old, may be radically different so improving confidence will have to be sensitive to the needs of individuals and not expect a 'one size fits all' approach to be successful. For young black men (Yarrow, 2004) word of mouth is the key lever and improving the experience of victims is essential. Conveying information by normal means may not work and alternative approaches with a more personal touch (for example through peer groups) may have to be engaged.

NOP conducted research with four groups – White males aged 55-70, African-Caribbean males aged 18-25, Sikh/Hindu females aged 25-35 and White females aged 25-40 (Confidence Unit, 2003). They found consistency of opinions across the diverse groups and suggested 7 main areas where confidence could be inhibited or improved (see Table 2.5 below).

Table 2.5 Drivers of Confidence

Confidence inhibited by:		Confidence improved by:
• Media coverage negative and insatiable • Statistics not believed	**Information**	• Local, bottom up communication • Statistics independent, clearer, relevant
• First hand experience of local crime • The state of the community • Lack of police presence	**Experience**	• Zero tolerance of all crimes • No crime acceptable, however small • Quality of community life
• Lack of sense of right and wrong • Lack of respect • Lack of community responsibility	**Values**	• Clearer sense of moral compass • Respect learned and rewarded
• People feel voiceless and powerless • The young cannot be controlled	**Power**	• Empower local communities • Mechanisms for involvement
• "No-one really cares about the crime that I experience, the neglect of community"	**Commitment**	• Every institution at every stage of CJS process demonstrates concern • Clear government priority
• Criminals gain from the current system, law abiding citizens suffer	**Justice**	• "If I play by the rules, don't break the law I can expect a reward. If criminals don't they get the sentences they deserve"
• People feel hopeless: crime cannot be stopped it will only worsen. • The forces for crime are stronger than the forces against it	**Future**	• Show that crime can be stopped • Create opportunity for young people • Demonstrate that rehabilitation is working

In their study of area variations in confidence MORI suggest that distinctions must be made between national and local levers (Johnson, et al, 2005; also Duffy, 2004). Among the national policy related measures that emerged from the study were:

- More consistent and tougher sentencing

- Criminals to serve fuller sentences

- More police

- Citizenship classes

- Faster progression of cases through the system

Local levers included:

- Police who know the local area
- More community police
- More CCTV
- Greater access to police for local people
- Better relationship between police and local area

A rider is added that some of these suggested measures could be based on misconceptions about the criminal justice system as indicated above.

In conclusion, the Framework Document (Confidence Task Force, 2003) highlights two key messages. Firstly there is no substitute for improving performance and quality of service delivery of criminal justice agencies. Secondly communication and engagement with communities are equally in need of improvement. For BME communities there must be the additional recognition of the poor perceptions of treatment they receive from the criminal justice system.

3. Research Methodology

3.1. Introduction

West Yorkshire has a large, ethnically diverse and geographically scattered minority community. The primary aim of the methodology adopted for this study is to capture the opinions of very different communities widely distributed across the county. It is not possible to cover all parts of what is one of the larger criminal justice areas in England, so we have chosen a strategy of selecting a set of local authority wards with the highest proportion of BME groups in each of the five Districts of West Yorkshire. Two additional wards are selected to represent ethnic diversity within the areas of Bradford and Leeds. The 2001 Census was used for the selection and the seven wards chosen are listed in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 The wards targeted

Local Authority	Ward	BME	Detail
Bradford	Toller	75%	64% Pakistani
	Keighley Central	42%	33% Pakistani
Calderdale	Park	56%	54% Asian
Kirklees	Batley East	56%	16% Indian
			31% Pakistani
Leeds	Chapel Allerton	31%	10% Black Caribbean
			6% Pakistani
			5% Indian
			5% Mixed
	Hyde Park & Woodhouse	25%	6% Pakistani
			6% Black/Black British
			4% Mixed
			3% Chinese
			3% Indian
			2% Other ethnic group
Wakefield	Wakefield East	12%	10% Pakistani
Wards at 2003; percentages from 2001 Census			

Nationally, public confidence in the criminal justice system is measured mainly by using the British Crime Survey (BCS), a large household interview survey sampling all persons over 16 in England and Wales. However the BCS, even with its large

national sample, is not big enough to capture variation within West Yorkshire. It was decided therefore to conduct a household survey in the seven target wards to link the West Yorkshire and national situations and to provide a baseline for future work. The survey would be carried out by postal questionnaire.

Postal surveys do not generally yield the fine grain of local opinions. To tap richer sources within the selected communities and to gain insights into local activity in the confidence arena two further, rather different, methodologies are employed to work in tandem with the household survey. One is to conduct focus groups in the target areas with black and minority ethnic residents. The other is to carry out in-depth interviews with key players in criminal justice diversity. The 17 members of the West Yorkshire Race Issues Group (WYRIG) were chosen for interview. It is hoped that this multi-method approach to the study will highlight key issues in BME confidence that reliance on a single methodology might miss.

3.2. Scoping phase of the research

In order to ensure that the right questions would be asked of the right people, the in-depth interviews were brought forward to act as a preparatory information gathering exercise. In addition to exploring the issues of BME confidence, interviewees were asked about what activities, if any, they knew were in progress in their area of expertise, and to identify community leaders or groups in the target areas that the research team could approach as an introduction to those BME communities. A Scoping Report was produced in November 2004 and presented to WYRIG.

3.3. Main phase of the research

3.3.1. Questionnaire surveys

The postal survey was conducted in November 2004. It consisted of a random sample of electors (restricted to one per household) drawn from the 2004 Electoral Register.

The five Local Authorities provided names and addresses randomly sampled. The procedure used was as follows:

- A questionnaire was designed and printed (see below)
- The questionnaire was sent to the sample addresses with a covering letter explaining the purpose of the enquiry and offering a translation if required into Urdu, Punjabi or Mandarin. A pre-paid reply envelope was provided for return.
- 3 weeks later a reminder was sent to non-responding households.
- Additional questionnaires were distributed to community groups in January and February to boost the sample. These were separately identified and analysed and only included if no bias were found.

The expectation from postal questionnaires is a low response rate – 20-25%. Face-to-face interviews can achieve three times the response rate but at up to ten times the cost. However repeated reminders normally produce a similar response rate. In our case the approach of the Christmas period curtailed the opportunity to send out reminders and just one was used. The survey was not restricted to BME residents: they would be difficult to identify accurately and including white residents was in any case useful in establishing comparative opinions.

The questionnaire covered the following main issues:

- Your area: length of residence, views about the area and about crime.
- Experience of the criminal justice system: as victim, offender, witness, and worker.
- Performance of the criminal justice system: confidence, ratings of agencies, trust, how to improve it.
- Personal details: ethnicity, religion, and basic demographics.

Wherever possible the format of BCS questions was used for comparability, but some local adaptation was employed. Respondents were invited to join a prize draw in which the prize would be donated to a good cause of the winner's choice. Respondents were also invited to participate in the focus groups if they wished.

2808 questionnaires were sent out in November. By March 481 had been returned completed, of which 47 were from community group respondents. This represents a disappointing response. Excluding the 109 questionnaires that were returned gone away (mainly from the student area of Hyde Park and Woodhouse ward of Leeds) the postal response rate was just 15%. A breakdown of responses for the target wards is given in Table 3.2. Perhaps one of the more significant details of the response rate is that it was generally lower among BMEs than Whites, though this must be treated with a degree of caution, as the only yardstick for comparison is the 2001 Census that could be out of date by 2004.

Table 3.2 Postal Survey response rates

	Postal Survey numbers	Postal Survey % Responses (n = 434)	Response Rate (overall 15%)
Keighley Central	67	15	17
Toller	55	13	14
Batley East	70	16	18
Park	55	12	14
Hyde Park & Woodhouse	40	9	10
Chapel Allerton	78	18	19
Wakefield East	67	15	17
Unknown	2	0.5	

A fuller account of the survey procedure and provisional analysis of responses was presented in the Field Report of March 2005. Some tables from this are included at Appendix 1.

3.3.2. In-depth interviews with key actors

17 members of WYRIG were interviewed twice. The first and main occasion was in August/September 2004 as part of the Scoping Phase. A second follow-up interview

was conducted in April 2005, mainly to update any changes that had occurred during the period of the research.

The interviews covered three main areas:

- Current issues in West Yorkshire in relation to BME confidence in the criminal justice system.
- Current activities in the region impinging on BME confidence in the criminal justice system.
- How to access community groups, individuals, organisations and so-called hard-to-reach minority ethnic groups in the region.

18 interviews were carried out in the Scoping Phase as the Prison Service was in the process of changing its representative so both were interviewed. 13 members were contacted for the follow-ups, the other four being on leave or new to the group.

3.3.3. Focus groups

A total of 16 focus groups were arranged for February and early March 2005. Two did not take place, one because the research team believed the independence of the discussion was going to be compromised, the other because the participants failed to turn up. The main features of the focus groups arrangements were:

- A standard format of two discussion sessions, separated by a refreshment break and a short talk by a member of a criminal justice agency.
- The first session addressed opinions about confidence, the local situation and about the position of ethnic minorities in general.
- The second session covered issues arising from the talk and what could be done about improving confidence, especially if you were in the shoes of the speaker.
- Speakers were briefed to talk about what their agency did and how it was responding to minority issues.

- Participants were asked to complete record sheets on ethnicity and religion. They were also invited to fill in a feedback form.

- Participants were offered a small sum to cover the expenses of attendance.

The target attendance at a focus group was 10-20 to keep the discussion manageable and to allow every voice to be heard. Some focus groups were deliberately restricted to specific gender and age groups in order to access opinions that might otherwise not be heard.

The focus groups proved very popular. Attendance was good, the discussion wide-ranging and the feedback positive. Details of the location and attendees are given in Table 3.3. and in more detail at Appendix 2. A fuller account of the procedures was presented in the Field Report of March 2005.

Table 3.3 Focus Groups Participants

Ward	Agency Representative (Speaker)	Ethnicity of the Majority of Participants	No of participants
Toller	Police	Pakistani/Bangladeshi	22
Wakefield	CPS	Pakistani	10
Toller	Probation	Pakistani	8
Toller	Police	Pakistani	24
Batley East	CPS	Pakistani/Indian	17
Hyde Park & Woodhouse	CPS	Chinese/Mixed	13
Wakefield	Probation	Pakistani	21
Batley East	CPS	Pakistani/Indian	10
Chapel Allerton	Probation	Black/African-Caribbean	6
Wakefield	None	Pakistani	17
Keighley Central	Police/CPS	Pakistani/Bangladeshi	21
Chapel Allerton	None	Black/African-Caribbean	29
Keighley Central	CPS	Pakistani/Bangladeshi	12
Park	Judiciary/CPS	Pakistani	16
Totals			226

3.3.4. Reports

Four reports have or will be prepared as part of this project:

- Scoping Report (November 2004)
- Interim Report (December 2004)

- Field Report (March 2005)

- Final Report (first draft for comment May 2005, final report July 2005)

It is not the intention of this final report to repeat the material in previous reports except insofar as it contributes to the final analysis and assessment.

4. Questionnaire Surveys

4.1. Introduction

This chapter of the report, on the questionnaire surveys, is divided into three parts.

Section 4.2 is an analysis of all responses received to the surveys. It will consider respondents' perceptions of the local area, their concerns about crime and their experience of crime and the criminal justice system. It will then discuss respondents' confidence in the Criminal Justice system's ability to achieve a number of key objectives and their ratings of the different criminal justice agencies. It will describe respondents views as to what is wrong with the Criminal Justice System today and their ideas as to what individual agencies can do to improve the situation. This chapter will refer mainly to the postal survey and refer to the community groups responses where they are substantially different. As was described in the Field Report of March 2005, there are major differences in the demography of the respondents to the postal survey and those from the community groups. It is therefore not considered that the two samples can be amalgamated and treated as one, even aside from the fact that the many of the community groups responses are anonymous and therefore the possibility that they may duplicate responses to the postal survey cannot be completely ruled out. The two samples are also very different in size.

Section 4.3 will consider the differences in confidence in the criminal justice system and in ratings of the different criminal justice agencies by major groupings: age, gender, victimisation and ethnicity. It will then seek to investigate in greater depth these relationships in order to assess the relative importance of these attributes in influencing confidence.

Section 4.4 will give a limited discussion of geographic distribution of differences in confidence. Although the sample size obtained from the postal survey has not been

sufficient for a meaningful statistical analysis by area, overall confidence has been considered and geographic methods have permitted some conclusions about area influences.

Section 4.5 will provide a more qualitative study of the responses by minority ethnic groups to the open questions concerning the criminal justice system and what the individual agencies may do to raise confidence.

Key indicators from the survey in terms of confidence and ratings of and trust in criminal justice agencies are summarised at Appendix 3.

4.2 All Respondents

4.2.1 Perceptions of the local area and of crime

As was seen in the Field Report nearly one third of respondents to the postal survey had lived in the area for more than 30 years and only one fifth for 5 years or less. This contrasted with the community groups respondents where over half of those who gave a length of residence had lived in the area for less than one year. However in both groups over 90% enjoy living in the area to some extent, about one third answering "Yes, definitely". Although in both groups the majority of respondents feel that neighbours care about each other, more than twice as many of the postal survey respondents as community groups respondents feel strongly that this is so.

The majority of respondents are worried about crime although respondents to the postal survey are more worried than those from the community groups with nearly one third being very worried (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Worries about crime

	Percentage respondents	
	Postal survey (n=432)	Community Groups (n= 47)
Very worried	29	13
Fairly worried	47	53
Not very worried	23	26
Not at all worried	2	9

Around half of both sets of respondents think that there is more crime in the area than two years ago. More community group respondents do not know, presumably because of their short residence in the area (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 Crime in the area

	Percentage respondents	
	Postal survey (n=429)	Community Groups (n= 47)
A lot more crime	24	21
A little more crime	20	30
About the same	35	11
A little less crime	9	6
A lot less crime	3	2
Do not know	9	30

Table 4.3 shows that more respondents to the postal survey mentioned criminals being let off (356) as contributing to the rise of crime than ineffective policing (332), too lenient sentencing (335) or bad legal representation (230). A greater proportion of postal survey respondents than community groups felt that criminals being let off, ineffective policing and too lenient sentencing contributed a great deal. Bad legal representation was thought by a larger percentage of community groups to contribute a great deal.

Table 4.3 What contributes to rise of crime?

	Percentage respondents			
	Postal Survey		Community groups	
N = postal survey numbers	A great deal	To an extent	A great deal	To an extent
Ineffective policing (n = 362)	38	53	27	71
Criminals being let off (n =378)	70	24	48	40
Bad legal representation (n = 297)	16	62	23	61
Too lenient sentencing (n = 364)	70	22	41	45

The questionnaire asked respondents to volunteer other contributing factors. Few community groups respondents did this. Among postal survey respondents, drugs and attitudes of society were most often cited, followed by poor parenting and inadequate penalties (Table 4.4). Some of the comments under the latter heading in fact refer to leniency of sentencing but others to such matters as prison conditions and for children, the use of warnings rather than charges.

Table 4.4 Other factors contributing to rise of crime

	Number of postal survey respondents mentioning as contributor
Drugs	18
Attitudes of society	16
Poor parenting	13
Inadequate penalties	12
Insufficient police, poor policing	9
Poverty, unemployment, deprivation	8
Social alienation	5
Education	4
Racial concerns	4
Lack of facilities	3
School discipline	3
Other	6

4.2.2 Experience of crime and the Criminal Justice System as a victim

50% of the postal survey respondents had been a victim of crime and 45% of the community groups giving 241 respondents in total. In the postal survey 67% of these mentioned victimisation once but 20% of the 220 who gave the type of crime mentioned 2 crimes and 27 individuals multiple crimes. Half the respondents who had suffered a specific kind of crime had experienced burglary or attempted burglary (Table 4.5). 14% had experienced attacks or assault but among the community groups this rose to nearly half. Only 15% of the postal survey respondents who answered the question regarded the crime they had experienced as racially motivated compared with half the community groups respondents.

Table 4.5 Crimes experienced by respondents

	Crimes cited - numbers	
	Postal Survey	Community Groups
Burglary/attempted burglary	104	3
Vandalism, criminal damage	32	1
Assault, attack, mugging	30	7
Theft of / attempted theft of vehicle	27	
Other theft	26	1
Harassment, abuse, anti-social behaviour	16	2
Theft from vehicle	10	1
Car crimes	9	
Robbery	7	2
Deception	3	
Other	8	

95% of the postal survey respondents had reported the crime to the police but for the community groups this was only 62%. Of the 18 from both surveys who had not reported the crime, the reasons given were varied ranging from cannot be bothered to fear of reprisal, the most frequently being that nothing would happen (Table 4.6).

Table 4.6 Reasons for not reporting crime

	Number of respondents	
	Postal Survey	Community Groups
Nothing would happen	4	2
Fear of reprisal	1	1
Other	4	2

Only 65 postal survey respondents had any contact with Victim Support, and 2 from the community groups. From all respondents only 5 had had contact with Witness Support, 3 from crime prevention and one from lawyers.

Of those from the postal survey who reported the crime to the police and answered the question (206) more than half were satisfied with police handling of the case, 37% satisfied and 16% very satisfied. 45% were not satisfied. Generally, respondents did not know what had happened thereafter, only 20 knowing that the offender was detected, 32 that he was charged, 23 that he was prosecuted by the CPS and 49 that he was not. For those who knew that the case was not prosecuted less than half (15) were told the reason and only 4 people were satisfied with those reasons. The reasons given included the offender being an under age child (4) and insufficient evidence (6). Where the case went to court 7 people professed to be satisfied or very satisfied with

the way the case was handled and 6 dissatisfied. Only 13 attended the trial of which 10 were satisfied or very satisfied and 3 not satisfied with their own treatment in court. 6 were satisfied with the outcome of the trial and 7 not.

4.2.3. Experience of crime and the Criminal Justice System as a suspect

From the postal survey, 10% (44) respondents had been stopped or searched by the police with the proportion for the community groups being similar at 11%. There were no significant differences between ethnic groups. 6% of both groups had been arrested by the police. Of these who had contact with the police (51), slightly less than half (23) were satisfied or very satisfied with their treatment and 28 dissatisfied. Rather more proportionately of the community groups were satisfied (66%) than the postal survey respondents (43%).

Only 20 respondents from the postal survey had been in court as accused persons, and one from the community groups. Of these 15 had been offered legal representation and 11 were satisfied or very satisfied with that representation. 8 were satisfied with the court handling of the case and 11 not. The single respondent from the community groups was not satisfied.

From the postal survey, only 10 people had had contact with the Probation Service, and 3 from the community groups. The proportion of respondents from the community groups is much larger at 7% compared with 2% for the postal survey. Of the 13, 7 were very satisfied with the service that they got, 2 satisfied and only 2 not satisfied. Of those from the community groups one was very satisfied and one not satisfied. Overall only 4 respondents had been sent to prison or juvenile detention, 3 from the postal survey and one from the community groups.

4.2.4. Experience of the Criminal Justice System through work

In total 46 respondents had worked for any part of the criminal justice system, although some had worked in more than one way (Table 4.7). 3 were from the

community groups and 43 from the postal survey. The largest number had worked as a juror followed by work as witnesses or informers. The other work included a wide range: magistrate, police officer, probation officer, and independent expert. One respondent to the community groups had been a young person's support worker.

Table 4.7 Work in the Criminal Justice System

Postal Survey	Number of respondents
Juror	17
Police informer or witness	10
Prosecution witness	9
Civilian or office	6
Other	7

4.2.5. Effect of experience on views

Of the 68 postal survey respondents who answered the question, 34 indicated that their experience of the CJS had not changed their view of it, 32 viewed it less favourably and 4 more favourably. Those from the community groups were more likely than the postal survey respondents to have changed their view more favourably (Table 4.8).

Table 4.8 Change in views of the CJS

	Percentage those answering question	
	Postal survey (n =68)	Community Groups (n = 8)
More favourable	6	37.5
Less favourable	44	25
Did not change view	50	37.5

4.2.6. Confidence in the performance of the Criminal Justice System

Around two thirds of the postal survey respondents were either not very or not at all confident that the Criminal Justice System is effective in bringing criminals to justice and in dealing with cases promptly and efficiently (Table 4.9). Even more lacked confidence that the Criminal Justice System is effective in meeting the needs of victims and in reducing crime. These proportions are of the same order as those found

in the BCS 2002/03 for West Yorkshire. However, the community groups respondents showed some differences in pattern. Nearly half of the community groups respondents were fairly confident that the CJS is effective in bringing criminals to justice, in dealing with cases promptly and efficiently and in reducing crime. 36% thought that the CJS is effective in meeting the needs of victims. The proportion of community groups respondents not at all confident was half or less than that of postal survey respondents for all these issues. As nationally, there was much more confidence that the CJS respects the rights of the accused with 70% of postal survey respondents fairly or very confident (63% of community groups). This was, however well below the West Yorkshire average of 82% shown by the BCS 2002/03.

Table 4.9 Confidence in performance of CJS

Postal Survey	Percentage of those answering the question			
	Very confident	Fairly confident	Not very confident	Not at all confident
CJS is effective in bringing criminals to justice (n=421)	4	32	41	23
CJS is effective in meeting the needs of victims of crime (n=418)	5	24	44	27
CJS respects the rights of those accused and treats them fairly (n=415)	20	50	21	9
CJS deals with cases promptly and efficiently (n=415)	4	30	44	22
CJS is effective in reducing crime (n=416)	3	24	47	26

4.2.7. Ratings of the Criminal Justice Agencies

The number of respondents answering this series of questions varied from 424 in relation to the police to 409 for the probation service. However apart from the police, sizeable proportions of respondents gave their answer as "no view" varying from 14% for the Crown Prosecution Service to 30% for Probation (Table 4.10). Few respondents to the postal survey regard any of the agencies as excellent but, as nationally, the police fair best with 55% regarding them as very or fairly good. Only 24% regard the Youth Justice System and 25% prisons as very or fairly good. 32% regard prisons as poor or very poor, 28% the Youth Justice System and 26% the Crown Prosecution Service. The community groups respondents generally have a greater tendency to rate the agencies as "fair" – CPS 50%, defence solicitors 41%,

Crown and County Courts 36%, magistrates courts 41%, probation 36% and youth justice 32%. 75% rate the police as fair or fairly good and only 4% as very good. 30% rate prisons as fairly good.

Table 4.10 Ratings of CJS agencies

Postal Survey	Percentage those answering question						
	Excellent	Very Good	Fairly good	Fair	Poor	Very poor	No view
Police	3	18	37	20	13	8	1
CPS	2	8	23	26	17	9	14
Defence solicitors	5	15	25	21	7	4	23
Crown and County Courts	3	8	26	24	9	6	25
Magistrates Courts	3	7	26	24	10	6	24
Probation	2	10	24	21	8	6	30
Youth Justice	1	5	19	18	16	12	29
Prisons	2	8	17	21	21	11	19

4.2.8. Trust in organisations

Respondents indicated greater trust in the health service and schools than in the criminal justice agencies (Table 4.11). Three quarters of respondents to the postal survey had a great deal or a fair amount of trust in the health service and 69% in schools with community groups respondents having somewhat lesser trust (65% and 56%). 40% of postal survey respondents had a great deal or a fair amount of trust in the local council but community groups respondents had a much greater proportion at 59%. Among the criminal justice agencies, as nationally, most trust was shown in the police although less by the community groups (51%) than the postal survey. Levels of trust in the police and courts were, however, much lower than those for Yorkshire and Humberside as a whole reported from the HO Citizenship Survey by Green et al. (2004). Around a quarter of postal survey respondents said they did not know with respect to criminal justice agencies other than police.

Table 4.11 Trust in agencies (postal survey respondents)

Postal Survey	A great deal	A fair amount	Not very much	None at all	Don't know
Local council (n = 417)	4	36	41	16	3
Local police (n =416)	12	49	28	10	1
Local CPS (n = 406)	2	34	32	9	23
Local legal services (n = 397)	3	40	26	6	25
Local courts (n = 394)	2	37	31	6	24
Local health services (n = 414)	19	55	18	4	4
Local schools (n = 407)	18	51	18	4	10

One quarter of postal survey respondents giving a reason for their trust in the various agencies said that the agencies do their best in a difficult job, 18% saying from personal experience as a client and 10% that the agencies concerned provide a good service (Table 4.12). Community groups respondents did not mention the agencies doing their best at all, citing most often personal experience and providing a good service. 43% of those who specified what would make a difference to their trust in the Criminal Justice agencies said harsher or more consistent penalties. A wide variety of other changes were mentioned, the most frequent being more concern for victims (7%), accountability and transparency (6%) and increased staffing or resources (6%).

Table 4.12 Reasons for trust

	Percentage responses (n = 176)
They do their best in a difficult job	25
Personal experience as client	18
They provide a good service	10
Helpful, reassuring, they look after you	8
Results, improvements seen	7
Fair caring, committed, dedicated	7
Reliable/accountable	5
From the press reputation	4
You have to trust those in authority	3
Personal experience as employee	3
Professional approach	2
Other	7

4.2.9. Is anything wrong with the CJS?

67% (292) of respondents to the postal survey answered yes to this question and 19% no, with 13 % not answering. More from the community groups said no or did not know. Of the 273 who gave opinions as to what is wrong 37% said the Criminal

Justice System is too lenient, 11% that it is inefficient or slow and 10% that there are too many loopholes, too much manipulation or a lack of concern for victims. Only 3% (9) mentioned racial prejudice. However 3 of the 14 community groups respondents who answered this question mentioned racial prejudice.

4.2.10. What should the agencies do to raise public confidence in their job?

Many more people had views concerning the police than the other agencies, with only one third saying they had no view (Table 4.13). For other agencies, about two thirds had no view with slightly more for defence solicitors and probation and less for prisons. Generally rather more community groups respondents had no view.

Table 4.13 Respondents to postal survey having no view

	Number	percentage
Police	149	34
CPS	295	68
Defence solicitors	310	71
Crown county and magistrates courts	278	64
Probation	307	71
Youth Justice	282	65
Prisons	255	59

Of the 255 postal survey respondents who gave their views as to what the police should do, two thirds thought there should be more police on the beat or more visible policing (Table 4.14). The community groups similarly emphasized more police but less frequently mentioned visibility. The survey respondents thus show similar views to those expressed in the MORI survey where increased police presence was regarded as most important (Page et al, 2004). The second major group of responses were concerned with improving the quality of policing and a further third made responses relating to improving community relations. Racial issues were not important with only two postal survey respondents mentioning a greater diversity in officers and 19 equal treatment for all, this covering issues of gender, age and class as well as race.

Table 4.14 What should the police do to raise confidence?

	Number	% respondents mentioning
More police on beat	115	45
More visibility	52	20
Quicker or better response	28	11
Work with the community	19	8
Equal treatment for all	19	8
Better communication with the public	13	5
Talk to residents more, be friendlier	12	5
Achieve results	10	4
Target criminals not motorists	8	3
Better feedback to victims	7	3
More powers	7	3
Less paperwork	7	3
Greater diversity in officers	2	1
Other	22	9

Only 74 respondents to the postal survey gave their views concerning the Crown Prosecution Service. The views expressed show a wide variety, with nearly one quarter categorised as other (Table 4.15). The main feature is the indication of lack of knowledge about the role of the CPS with one quarter saying harsher sentencing and three respondents saying simply "What do they do?" Only 3 respondents from the community groups gave their views, 1 saying harsher sentencing.

Table 4.15 What should the Crown Prosecution Service do?

	Number	Percentage respondents mentioning
Harsher sentencing	18	24
Prosecute more cases	11	15
Faster, less bureaucracy	11	15
Better preparation, stronger cases	6	8
Too soft	4	5
Greater diversity of staff	3	4
What do they do?	3	4
Less racist	1	1
Other	17	23

Even fewer (63) postal survey respondents gave their views concerning defence solicitors, again a wide variety (Table 4.16). One quarter thought that the solicitors only concern is money and 21% that the solicitors are too good at finding mitigating circumstances for those that the respondents feel are guilty. Only 1 person mentioned diversity of staffing. Only 1 community groups respondent replied to this question.

Table 4.16 What should the defence solicitors do?

	Number	% respondents mentioning
Overpaid, only concern is money	15	24
Too good at mitigating circumstances	13	21
Legal aid issues	6	10
More honest, fair	6	10
Unfair to victims	5	8
Diversity of staff	1	2
Other	17	2

92 postal survey respondents gave their views concerning Crown, County and Magistrates Courts (Table 4.17). The majority thought these courts should have more power and give stiffer sentences and the largest minority that the courts were unrepresentative of the community and out of touch. Two of the three community groups respondents who gave their views also mentioned stiffer sentences and unrepresentativeness.

Table 4.17 What should the courts do?

	Number	Percentage respondents mentioning
More power, stiffer sentences	56	61
Unrepresentative, out of touch	11	12
Swifter	7	8
More information	4	4
More concern for victims	3	3
More consistent	2	2
Other	9	10

Few respondents (56) gave views concerning probation. Opinions showed little consistency, the largest group being 13 who thought probation should be stricter with monitoring (Table 4.18). 9 respondents thought the probation service should provide more information about its work and 2 there should be greater staff diversity.

Table 4.18 What should the Probation Service do?

	Number	% respondents mentioning
More strict with monitoring	13	23
More information	9	16
More help with training and employment	4	7
More resources	4	7
More community service	2	4
More diversity in staff	2	4
Other	22	39

76 respondents gave views concerning Youth Justice with the greatest numbers saying the service should be less lenient, stricter or provide a greater deterrent. 12 thought more support should be given to young people and 6 that the service should provide more information on what it is doing (Table 4.19). Of the 5 community groups respondents who answered the question 3 thought there should be more support to young people.

Table 4.19 What should the youth justice system do?

	Number	% respondents mentioning
Less lenient, more strict, increased deterrent	32	42
More support to young people	12	16
More resources or staff	7	9
More information	6	8
Make parents responsible	3	4
More power	2	3
Other	14	18

121 respondents gave views concerning prisons, of a very mixed nature (Table 4.20). It is questionable on how much knowledge these views are based as nearly one quarter think that prisons are places of luxury and privilege, although 10 respondents referred to a need for improvements in accommodation and staffing levels. One fifth refer to a need for more discipline and harsher conditions as a deterrent but a further fifth think there should be more rehabilitation and training. 7 postal survey respondents referred to racial issues.

Table 4.20 What should the prisons do?

	Number	Percentage respondents mentioning
Less luxurious, less privileges, leisure – not like hotels	27	22
Harsher, more discipline, increased deterrent	23	19
More rehabilitation, education, training	24	20
Improve accommodation, staffing, overcrowding	10	8
Build more	8	7
Reduce racism, improve racial awareness, more BME staff	7	6
Tackle drugs	3	3
Other	19	16

4.3. BME Confidence in the Criminal Justice System

Section 4.2 described the experience and views of all respondents to the surveys. Section 4.3 will seek to investigate differences in confidence in the Criminal Justice System between those of different ethnic groups. However, since it is known that confidence may vary with gender, age and crime victimisation, differences between groups in these variables will also be considered. As a preliminary, these variables are examined across postal survey respondents of different ethnic groups.

4.3.1. Gender, age and victimisation by ethnic group

Table 4.21 show differences between the major ethnic groups in terms of these attributes. Because of the few respondents from ethnic groups other than White, Pakistani and Indian, it has not been possible to provide a meaningful breakdown of this wide-ranging grouping. The differences by gender are not significant at the 0.05 level but those for victimisation and age are very significant. BME respondents, particularly Pakistanis, are less likely to have been victims of crime than white respondents. More respondents are aged over than under 45 but this is particularly so for Indians.

Table 4.21 Age, gender and victimisation by major ethnic group

	Percentage respondents		
	Male	Victim of crime	Age up to 45
White	46	58*	33*
Pakistani	55	33*	30*
Indian	63	38*	10*
Other ethnic group	40	45*	24*

* differences significant at 0.001 level

4.3.2. Confidence variables by age, gender, ethnicity and victimisation

Table 4.22 considers differences in confidence variables by age, gender, ethnicity and crime victimisation where the observed frequency is compared to the expected frequency in the whole survey. It can be seen that there are no significant differences by any of these groups for confidence that the criminal justice system respects the

rights of the accused and there are no significant differences for the other confidence variables by gender. Victims and older respondents have significantly less confidence than non- victims and younger respondents that the criminal justice system is effective in bringing criminals to justice, meets the needs of victims, deals with cases promptly and efficiently and is effective in reducing crime. The lower confidence of victims here accords with previous research by Johnson et al (1995) and Mirrlees-Black (2001). The picture for ethnicity is more complex. Pakistanis and Indians are significantly more likely than would be expected from the general population to be very or fairly confident in these four areas and white respondents are less likely. Half of Pakistani respondents are fairly or very confident that the criminal justice system is effective in bringing criminals to justice, meeting the needs of victims and dealing with cases promptly and efficiently. For Indians the proportion for these issues is two thirds. Only one third of white respondents, however, feel that the criminal justice system is effective in bringing criminals to justice and dealing with cases promptly and efficiently. For meeting the needs of victims the proportion is even less at 21%. While 71% of Indian respondents are fairly or very confident that the criminal justice system is effective in reducing crime, only one fifth of white respondents and one

Table 4.22 Differences of confidence variables by major groups.

Confidence that CJS	White	Pakistani	Indian	Other ethnic group	Victim	Non victim	Male	Female	Up to 45	Over 45
Is effective bringing criminals to justice	-	+	+	-	-	+	0	0	+	-
Meets needs of victims	-	+	+	=	-	+	0	0	+	-
Respects rights of accused	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Is prompt and efficient	-	+	+	-	-	+	0	0	+	-
Is effective in reducing crime	-	+	+	+	-	+	0	0	+	-

Those fairly or very confident observed minus expected differences significant at <0.05

+ more confident

- less confident

= little difference in confidence

0 differences are not significant

third of Pakistanis think this. Since the other ethnic group category includes a variety of ethnicities, including black, other Asian and mixed, not surprisingly the views expressed are variable.

4.3.3. Rating variables by age, gender, ethnicity and victimisation

Table 4.23 shows differences by ethnicity, age gender and crime victimisation in the ratings given by respondents to the various criminal justice agencies. As before, the frequencies of ratings given by the different groups are compared to those that would have been expected from the whole survey. As can be seen, there were no significant differences between the groups with regard to the defence solicitors and prisons. As for the BCS 2002/03, ratings of the police were higher for South Asian respondents than for Whites but the differences here were not significant at the 0.05 level, probably because of the sample size. Victims and older people, however, gave significantly lower ratings and females higher ratings. Ratings of the other agencies did vary by ethnicity but the pattern is not completely consistent. White respondents generally gave lower ratings, with more than half rating all the agencies as fair to very poor rising to 72% for the youth justice system. Indian respondents were most likely to rate the agencies highly, with between 65 and 80% of Indians rating the agencies as fairly good to excellent. Other ethnic groups also rated these agencies more highly than would be expected from the whole survey, but only about half these respondents rated the agencies as fairly good to excellent. The exception was the probation service, which three quarters of other ethnic group respondents considered fairly good to excellent. Pakistani respondents rated the agencies similarly to the expected except for the courts, which about half of Pakistanis rated fairly good to excellent, similar to other ethnic groups but less than Indians.

Table 4.23 Ratings of the job that agencies are doing

Rating of job that agency is doing	White	Pakistani	Indian	Other ethnic group	Victim	Non victim	Male	Female	Up to 45	Over 45
Police	0	0	0	0	-	+	-	+	+	-
Crown Prosecution Service	-	=	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	0
Defence Solicitors	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Crown and County Courts	-	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	0
Magistrates	-	=	+	+	-	+	0	0	0	0
Probation Service	-	=	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	0
Youth Justice	-	=	+	+	0	0	0	0	+	-
Prisons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Rating variables Fairly good to excellent ratings observed minus expected differences significant at <0.05

+ more confident

- less confident

= little difference in confidence

0 differences are not significant

4.3.4. Trust variables by age, gender, ethnicity and victimisation

Table 4.24 uses the same method to examine trust in various local organisations including local criminal justice agencies. There were no significant differences for the Crown Prosecution Service or for health. There is little consistency in the pattern, which is perhaps not surprising given the reasons for trust expressed by respondents (see Section 4.2). Most respondents said their trust was either because the agency did their best in a difficult job or because of personal experience of that agency as a client. For the criminal justice agencies, being a victim of crime is likely to provide personal experience of criminal justice agencies but if this is so, the experience would seem to be negative, since victims have less trust than would be expected in the police, local legal services and the courts. 57% of victims have a great deal or fair amount of trust in the police compared with 66% of non-victims with the differences slightly larger for the other two agencies. Women have more trust in the police as has been found by previous research (Green et al, 2004) but, unlike that research, here there is no significant relationship for age for the police or for gender or age for the courts. However, trust in the courts does show variation by ethnicity, with 46% of white respondents having a great deal or fair amount of trust compared with 54% of

Pakistanis and Other ethnic groups and 91% of Indians. Although the sample size is small, potentially affecting the reliability of the results, Green et al similarly found higher levels of trust in the courts among Indians and Pakistanis. They also found a relationship of ethnicity with trust in the police, which is not shown here.

Table 4.24 Trust in local organisations

Trust in local	White	Pakistani	Indian	Other ethnic group	Victim	Non victim	Male	Female	Up to 45	Over 45
Police	0	0	0	0	-	+	-	+	0	0
CPS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Legal services	0	0	0	0	-	+	0	0	0	0
Courts	-	=	+	=	-	+	0	0	0	0
Health services	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Schools	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	+	0	0
Council	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	-

Trust variables A great deal or a fair amount of trust observed minus expected differences significant at <0.05
+ more confident   = little difference in confidence
- less confident   0 differences are not significant

4.3.5. How much of the variation in confidence, ratings and trust is explained by ethnicity?

As we have seen, there are significant differences between major ethnic groups in confidence, ratings of agencies and trust. However, we have also seen differences by age, gender and crime victimisation. Furthermore, we saw at the beginning of section 4.3 that BME respondents are less likely to have been victims of crime than white respondents and Indian respondents are particularly more likely to be aged over than under 45. The question that arises is whether the differences in BME confidence that we have noted are the result of ethnicity, or whether they are partly explained by the age or victimisation of the BME respondents to this survey. In order to investigate the relative importance of the selected variables in influencing confidence, ratings and trust in the criminal justice system logistic regression was used. The model seeks to indicate the probability of an individual having more confidence, ascribing higher ratings to agencies and having greater trust in relation to the variables of age, gender, victimisation and ethnicity. As well as the simple variables in the model, interactions between the variables have also been entered. For example, the model considered not only whether being Pakistani and being older increased or decreased the probability of greater confidence, but also whether being an older Pakistani increased or decreased

that probability. Since there are four independent variables, the model included two way, three way and four way interactions.

Table 4.25 shows the results of the modelling for the confidence variables. The fifth confidence variable, confidence that the criminal justice system respects the rights of the accused was excluded because there were no significant differences by the chosen independent variables in the simple analysis (Table 4.22). Since the regression excluded all four way interactions, that is they were found not to influence confidence at the 0.1 significance level, these interactions have not been included in the table.

The results of the modelling are expressed in terms of odds ratios significant at the 0.05 level. An odds ratio greater than one means that this group is more likely to express confidence in the performance of the criminal justice system than the reference group, and less than one that it is less likely. As can be seen, explanation of confidence is very complex. Victimisation did not separately predict confidence at all and the results are not consistent across the four variables for age and gender. Older respondents were less likely to think that the criminal justice system meets the needs of victims but older women were three times as likely as younger men to think this. Older victims were less likely to think that the criminal justice system is effective in bringing criminals to justice. Females were twice as likely as males to think that the criminal justice system is effective in reducing crime and female victims three times as likely to think that the criminal justice system deals with cases promptly and efficiently. However, older female victims were less likely to have confidence, particularly that the criminal justice system deals with cases promptly and efficiently, where they were eight times less likely to be confident.

Ethnicity did predict confidence more consistently for all four variables. Pakistanis were twice as likely as Whites to think that the criminal justice system is effective in bringing criminals to justice and nearly three times that the criminal justice system meets the need of victims. Indians are far more likely than Whites to think that the

Table 4.25 Results of the modelling for confidence variables

Confidence variables	CJS effective in bringing criminals to justice	CJS meets the needs of victims	CJS deals with cases promptly and efficiently	CJS is effective in reducing crime
Age				
Up to 45 (reference group)				
Over 45	-	0.38	-	*
Gender				
Male (reference group)				
Female	-	-	-	2.03
Victimisation				
Not a victim (reference group)				
Victim of Crime	-	-	-	-
Ethnicity				
White (reference group)				
Pakistani	2.40	2.87	*	*
Indian	9.60	*	5.90	7.68
Other ethnic group	*	*	*	*
Two way interactions				
Older Pakistanis	-	5.00	-	-
Older Indians	-	*	-	-
Older Other ethnic groups	-	*	-	-
Pakistani victims	*	*	-	-
Indian victims	0.15	*	-	-
Victims of Other Ethnic Groups	*	*	-	-
Pakistani women	-	-	4.00	-
Indian women	-	-	*	-
Women of Other ethnic groups	-	-	*	-
Older victims	0.33	-	-	-
Older women	-	3.19	-	-
Female victims	-	-	3.49	-
3 way interactions				
Older Pakistani victims	-	-	-	-
Older Indian victims	-	-	-	-
Older victims of Other ethnic groups	-	-	-	-
Female Pakistani victims	-	-	0.06	-
Female Indian victims	-	-	*	-
Female victims of Other Ethnic Groups	-	-	0.07	-
Older Pakistani women	-	-	-	-
Older Indian women	-	-	-	-
Older women of Other ethnic groups	-	-	-	-
Older female victims	-	0.28	0.13	0.44

* relationship significant at the level between 0.05 and 0.1

\- relationship not significant at the 0.1 level

Reference group is the variable to which all categories of the same variable should be compared. This would have an odds ratio of 1. Logistic regression provides a measure of how each of the dependent variables is related to the independent variables. If an odds ratio is less than 1, it means that there is a negative relationship between the two variables. As one goes up the other goes down. An odds ratio greater than 1 means that there is a positive ratio between the two variables. As one rises so will the other. Very large odds ratios indicate that the relationship is strongly positive. Very small odds ratios mean that the relationship is strongly negative.

criminal justice system is effective in bringing criminals to justice (9 times), deals with cases promptly and efficiently (6 times) and is effective in reducing crime (7

times). Older Pakistanis were five times as likely as younger white respondents to think that the criminal justice system meets the needs of victims.

However when ethnicity is combined with victimisation, the effects on confidence seem to be reversed. Indian victims were much less likely than white non-victims to think that the criminal justice system is effective in bringing criminal to justice. Pakistani women were four times as likely to think that the criminal justice system is prompt and efficient but, if they were victims of crime, this becomes 16 times less likely. Female victims from other ethnic groups are similarly particularly likely to lack confidence in this issue.

Table 4.26 shows the results of the modelling for the ratings of criminal justice agencies. Three and four way interactions have only been included in the table where they contribute to the model at the 0.05 level for one or more rating variables. None of the independent variables predicts ratings of defence solicitors or crown and county courts at the 0.05 level. There is little consistency in the associations across the outcome variables. Gender alone does not contribute to any of the models but older respondents are more than twice as likely to rate magistrates highly. Victims of crime are less than half as likely to rate the police or CPS highly as non-victims but female victims are six times as likely as male non victims with regard to the police. When age is added however this is reversed with older female victims one fifth as likely as younger male non-victims to think well of the police, with prisons viewed similarly. Older female victims are, however, 9 times more likely to think that the magistrates and three times more that the youth justice system are fairly good to excellent. Older victims are less likely to rate the Crown Prosecution Service, magistrates and the youth justice system highly. Older women are less likely to think well of magistrates but more likely to rate prisons highly. Ethnicity contributes significant relationships for only Youth Justice and, particularly, Probation where Indians and other ethnic groups are much more likely to rate these agencies highly.

Table 4.26 Results of the modelling for rating variables

Rating variables	Police	CPS	Defence Solicitors	Crown/ County Courts	Magistrates	Probation	Youth Justice	Prisons
Age								
Up to 45 (reference group)								
Over 45	-	-	-	-	2.58	-	-	-
Gender								
Male (reference group)								
Female	-	*	-	-	*	-	-	-
Victimisation								
Not a victim (reference group)								
Victim of Crime	0.39	-	-	-	-	0.47	-	-
Ethnicity								
White (reference group)								
Pakistani	-	*	-	*	-	*	*	-
Indian	-	*	-	*	-	14.94	4.17	-
Other ethnic group	-	*	-	*	-	16.83	2.29	-
Two way interactions								
Older Pakistani	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-
Older Indians	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-
Older Other ethnic groups	-	-	-	-	-	0.06	-	-
Pakistani victims	-	*	-	*	*	-	-	-
Indian victims	-	*	-	*	*	-	-	-
Victims from Other Ethnic Groups	-	*	-	*	*	-	-	-
Pakistani women	-	*	-	*	*	*	-	-
Indian women	-	*	-	*	*	*	-	-
Women of Other ethnic groups	-	*	-	*	*	*	-	-
Older victims	-	0.52	-	-	0.25	-	0.22	-
Older women	-	-	-	-	0.16	-	-	2.03
Female victims	6.13	-	-	-	*	*	-	-
Three way interactions								
Older female victims	0.23	-	-	-	9.10	-	3.89	0.36

* relationship significant at the level between 0.05 and 0.1
- relationship not significant at the 0.1 level

Table 4.27 shows the results of the modelling for trust in criminal justice and other organisations. Three and four way interactions were not found contribute to the model at the 0.05 level for any trust variables and have not therefore been included in the table. The results tabulated are inconsistent, reinforcing the previous suggestion that trust is more influenced by other issues such as personal experience rather than by demographic characteristics. Ethnicity was entered into the models, either alone or in combination with the other variables but the relationship was seldom significant. Indians were much more likely than white respondents to trust in the courts and other ethnic groups to trust in legal services. The most important factor reducing trust in the

police was crime victimisation, particularly in older victims. Female victims, however, had more trust in the police than male non-victims.

Table 4.27 Results of the modelling for trust variables

Trust variables	Police	CPS	Legal services	Courts	Health Services	Schools	Council
Age							
Up to 45 (reference group)							
Over 45	-	-	*	-	-	0.36	-
Gender							
Male (reference group)							
Female	-	*	*	-	-	-	-
Victimisation							
Not a victim (reference group)							
Victim of Crime	0.51	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ethnicity							
White (reference group)							
Pakistani	-	-	*	*	*	0.41	-
Indian	-	-	*	6.11	*	*	-
Other ethnic group	-	-	6.50	3.33	*	*	-
Two way interactions							
Older Pakistanis	-	8.83	*	*	-	*	*
Older Indians	-	*	*	*	-	*	*
Older Other ethnic groups	-	*	*	0.18	-	*	*
Pakistani victims	-	-	-	-	*	-	-
Indian victims	-	-	-	-	*	-	-
Victims of Other Ethnic Group	-	-	-	-	*	-	-
Pakistani women	*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Indian women	*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Women of Other ethnic group	*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Older victims	0.43	-	-	-	-	-	0.56
Older women	-	-	-	-	-	2.79	-
Female victims	3.72	-	-	-	-	-	-

* relationship significant at the level between 0.05 and 0.1
\- relationship not significant at the 0.1 level

This analysis of variables explaining confidence in the criminal justice system, ratings of its agencies and trust in both criminal justice agencies has shown few general relationships although some weak patterns can be identified. Age, gender and victimisation alone contributed to the models for few of the dependent variables. Of the 19 dependent variables, age predicted 3, gender 1 and victimisation 3. However, for this latter three, being a victim made lower ratings and trust likely. When interactions between the variables are considered some further limited patterns across the independent variables can be seen. Where there is a relationship, older victims show less confidence, high ratings or trust. Being female seems to show the reverse, female victims tending where there is a relationship to have more confidence, high

ratings or trust. Ethnicity was rather more important as a single variable, contributing to the models for nine of the variables. For these variables, generally minority ethnic groups, particularly Indians, had more confidence. Victimisation seems to weaken trust where it would otherwise be high for the minority ethnic groups. Age seems to increase it for Pakistanis but not for other ethnic groups.

While general conclusions must be very tentative, the analysis has thrown up some interesting specific relationships. Indians are strongly more confident in three of the confidence variables. Pakistani and other ethnic groups female victims are by contrast particularly lacking in confidence that the criminal justice system is prompt and efficient. Indians and other ethnic groups rate the probation service highly but for older respondents from other ethnic groups this is reversed. Indians have trust in the courts and other ethnic groups in the legal services. Older Pakistanis have high levels of trust in the CPS.

4.4. The influence of area on confidence

As was seen in the Field Report, the total responses to the questionnaire survey were 434, giving between 40 and 78 responses in each of the seven areas. These numbers are too small for meaningful statistical analysis of the data by area. In particular, consideration of the variation in BME responses by area has not been possible.

A limited assessment of the variation in overall confidence in the seven wards surveyed has been made. The wards have been assigned scores on each confidence variable, each rating variable and each trust variable relating to the criminal justice system. Wards scored 1 for each variable if the percentage with confidence, ratings or trust was worse than the average in the total survey sample. The individual scores were then summed (Table 4.28). As can be seen Keighley Central scores 16 out of a possible 17 and Wakefield comes next in low confidence whereas Chapel Allerton and Toller had the most confidence. This is perhaps not surprising since they also had high percentages of BME respondents and, as has been seen, BME respondents generally had more confidence.

Table 4.28 Confidence scores in surveyed wards

| Ward	Score	Survey % BME
Keighley Central	16	20
Wakefield East	13	16
Hyde Park and Woodhouse	10	16
Park	9	44
Batley East	6	24
Chapel Allerton	5	43
Toller	3	59

Use of geographic techniques to map the data has shown some interesting features. Figure 4 show the distribution of responses by major ethnic group and Figure 2 these patterns at a larger scale.

Figure 4. Respondents to the questionnaire survey by ethnic group
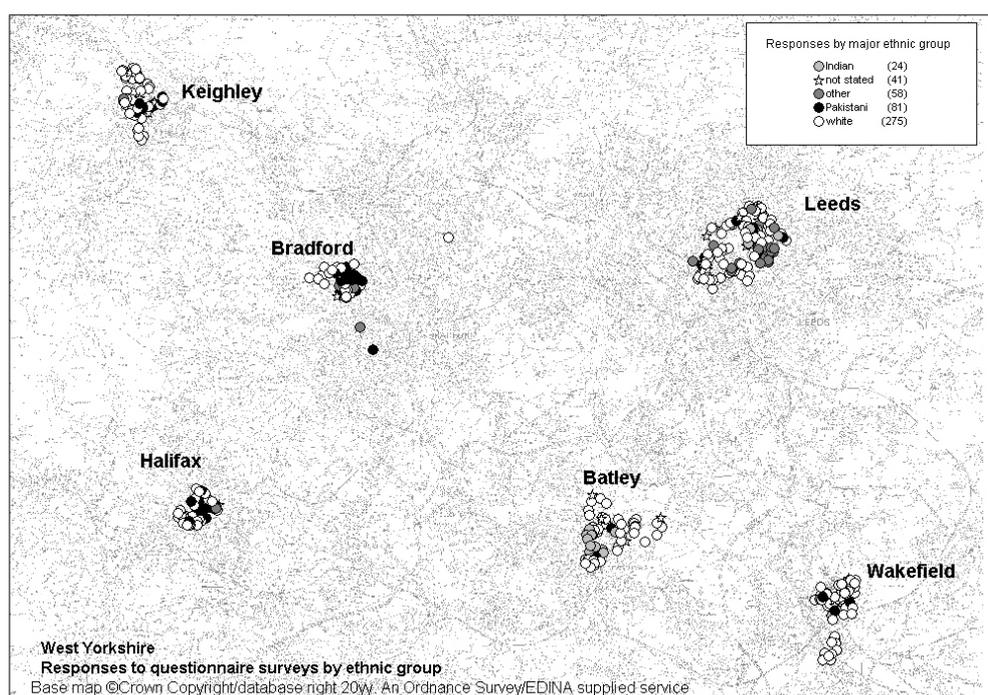
However, Figure 5 also shows areas where there are concentrations of low ratings of the police and other areas where there is a mix of higher and lower ratings. Respondents in the remaining parts of the areas generally gave higher ratings. It can be clearly seen that many areas of low ratings are irrespective of ethnicity, although

some of them are in predominately or exclusively "White" areas. In Bradford, for example, there are Pakistanis in both areas of low ratings concentration and elsewhere. The area of Leeds with the greatest number of BME respondents gave predominately high ratings. This example therefore shows that, for some confidence issues, area problems may be more important as influences than ethnicity and measures to improve confidence must take this into account.

Figure 5 Ethnicity and ratings of police in the surveyed areas
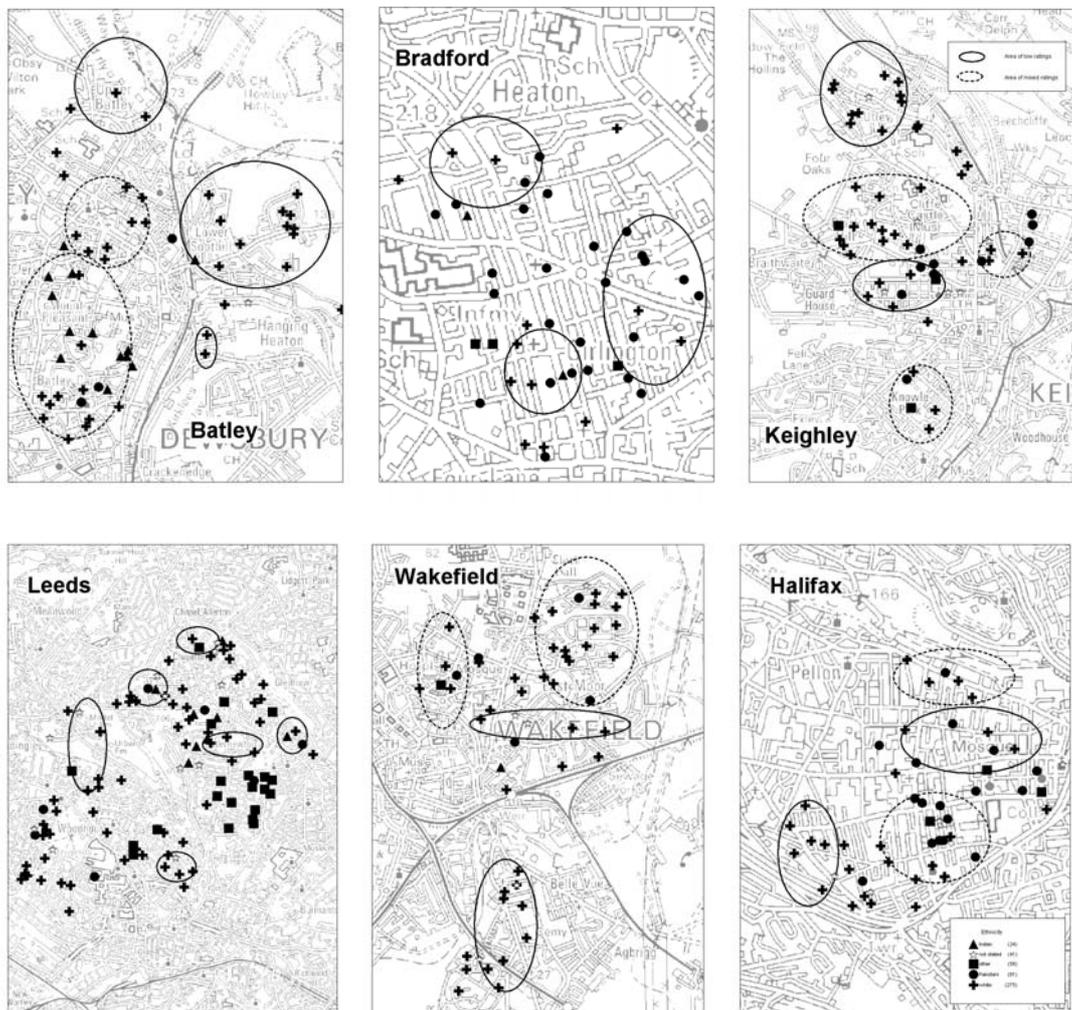
Base map ©Crown Copyright/database right 20yy. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service

4.5. Comments by BME respondents about the criminal justice system and what agencies should do to improve confidence

This section will discuss opinions of BME postal survey respondents of the criminal justice system as a whole and of the different agencies and point to differences between BME and white views. It will review in some detail the opinions expressed by BME respondents, both from the postal survey and from the community groups responses. These latter are valuable as they provide the only views of the Chinese community, albeit mainly of students, but unfortunately they are few as these respondents rarely volunteered opinions.

4.5.1. Opinions of the Criminal Justice System in general

While more than three quarter of all respondents thought that there was something wrong with the criminal justice system, more white respondents (83%) than BME respondents (65%) answered yes to this question. In particular, Indian respondents were particularly unlikely to consider there is something wrong with the system, less than half answering yes. In reply to the question "what is wrong?" there were differences in views although the great variety of views given by such a small set of respondents means that differences cannot be statistically assessed and must be regarded with caution. However, white respondents more frequently made comments that the system is too lenient, that it is inefficient and slow, that it shows a lack of consideration for victims than BME respondents. On the other hand, BME respondents were rather more likely to say that the system is inconsistent or unfair, outdated or corrupt, not representative or too punitive and should tackle causes of offending. For example, a Pakistani respondent said *"It represents the view of upper and middle classes. Needs representativeness. Employees from cross social, economic and ethnic spectrum"* and another said *"no consistency, representative i.e. employees are all upper/top middle class. Their views are too different"*. A black respondent said the system is *"not fair, especially to BME groups"* and another said that there is *"a lack of confidence by people to receive fair treatment"*. An Indian said there is *"not fair treatment on cases"* and another *"I think the police force is run on the old school*

boys network". A Pakistani said *"They don't look at the root cause of crime, rather prosecute a person of the action he has taken at the time"*. Another raised the issue of protection for witnesses saying there is *"not enough protection for people willing to come forward to give information, community fears and pressures make people not want to speak out"*. The Chinese comments from the community groups responses varied, but referred to a need for more police, the presence of racial segregation, accessibility and the length of time required for prosecution.

4.5.2. Views as what the agencies should do

There were consistently more BME than white respondents who said that they had no view as to what the agencies should do. The difference was greatest for the police, where 45% BME respondents said no view compared with 30% white respondents, and for the crown, county and magistrates courts, where the figures were 73% and 59%.

In relation to the police, more Pakistanis (55%) and other ethnic groups (53%) than white respondents said that there should be more police on the beat (43%). Only one Indian respondent mentioned this. White respondents were more likely to mention more visibility than those of other ethnicities. This is in line with NOP research (Confidence Unit, 2003) which recognised lack of police presence as a confidence-inhibiting factor for BME people and is consistent with the focus groups participants (see Chapter 6) who also called for a greater police presence. Pakistani survey respondents were more likely to refer to better communication with the public and this was important also for Indians. Comments were phrased in different ways and various suggestions made as to how communication should be achieved. For example, one Pakistani said the police should *"come into the community to raise awareness and gain the trust of locals"* and another have *"more contact with local people"*. Other Pakistanis were more specific, for example saying that the police *"should hold public workshops especially with local voluntary organisations"*, provide a *"local bobby for the area so he gets to know the people"* or *"organise more events to make us feel they*

exist". Indians made similar comments such as that the police should *"build a relationship with young and old especially Black and Asian people"*, *"speak to people and create an easy or friendly relation – most people fear even looking at the police"* and *"meet the public at meetings to discuss local policy problems"*. Several Pakistanis and Bangladeshis also suggested that more confidence would be achieved if the police cracked down on particular problems such as drugs and the gang culture. Although numbers of respondents to this survey stopped and/or searched by the police did not significantly differ by ethnic group, probably because of the small sample, the issue of stop searches was raised, although not so strongly as in the focus groups (see Chapter 6). Several Pakistanis expressed concerns, saying *"the police should not stop people because of who they are"*, *"when stopping people this should not be on colour"* and *"Too many stop and searches on Asian men"*. This last respondent also said *"the police need to be educated about Black and Asian communities"*. There were very few comments from black respondents but one was similar, that the police should *"stop harassing innocent citizens, know who to stop and search, training for policemen about cultural differences"*. Three of the four Chinese comments suggested increased policing and the fourth said *"tell the public exactly what they are doing to reduce crime, connect with the public and local concerns"*.

Only 18 BME respondents from the postal survey gave views as to what the Crown Prosecution Service should do to raise confidence. Of these, three appealed for more information, one simply saying *"what do they do exactly?"* Others evidently knew little as they referred to sentencing. Two Pakistanis referred to representativeness saying *"employ people from across the spectrum of our society"* and *"provide cross section of representation of the community"*. One black respondent said the CPS should *"take more consideration of the family background of the plaintiff"*. There were no Chinese comments.

17 BME respondents answered the question relating to defence solicitors. These were very varied but several appealed for more information. For example, an Indian said *"let us know they work"* and a black respondent *"my view is that the BME communities should know more about the work of these services"*. Other issues

mentioned were a perception that defence solicitors are motivated only by money, that they are too good at mitigating circumstances, legal aid issues, fairness to victims, and honesty.

24 BME respondents from both surveys indicated their views about what Crown, County and Magistrates Courts should do. Of these, half called for tougher sentencing, 8 of them Pakistanis. This was a rather smaller proportion than for white respondents. As for other agencies, a number felt they needed more information. A Pakistani said the courts *"need to make people more aware of the services they provide"*. Four referred to lack of representation in the courts of the diversity of the community and lack of understanding of different cultures. A respondent of mixed ethnicity said the courts consist of *"upper class people put in jobs, they have no knowledge of working society or multi culture"*. A Pakistani said the courts should *"not discriminate on grounds of race. Aim to understand individual cultural issues which may affect the case"*. A respondent of "Other ethnic group" said the courts should *"thoroughly understand the lifestyle/culture of those they deal with"*.

16 BME respondents to the surveys answered the question relating to the Probation Service. Again, several called for more information, a Pakistani respondent saying *"they need to promote themselves in public so people know about them"*. A black respondent thought there should be a *"workshop about the service"*. Several referred to the work of the probation service calling for *"better monitoring of offenders"*, *"good follow up on prisoners released from custody"*, *"more contact with offenders"*, and *"more supervision and help for young offenders"*. Others thought the probation service should be *"more strict"* or *"more restrictive"*.

25 BME respondents to the surveys gave their opinions as to what the youth justice system should do to raise confidence. As with other agencies, there were requests for more communication. An Indian respondent said youth justice should *"talk to people, get together and listen to their views, let us know how they work"*. A Pakistani thought they should *"hold public workshops"* and a black respondent made a similar remark. 9 individuals thought that young offenders should be treated more strictly.

For example, a Pakistani said *"be more strict, if you do the crime you have to do the time"* and a respondent of mixed background thought the system should be *"less lenient on first/second time offenders"*. However, nearly the same numbers were less punitive, with an emphasis on support to young people. Some thought there was a need for education and training. One Pakistani said that there is a *"need for funding to encourage youngsters to get into a learning curve"* and another that *"they should provide the youth with education which would help them get jobs and get them off the streets"*. A respondent from "other ethnic group" said there should be *"more money to train and find worthwhile employment"*. Others referred to a need for more diversionary support for young people. A Pakistani *said "perhaps detached workers in the streets to encourage participation in useful activities"* and another *"I think there is nothing done for Asian youths"*. A black respondent said there is a *"need to provide centres for the youth to utilise. Boredom leads to criminal activity"*. Other comments included *"seek to build confidence between youth and police especially young ethnic minority men"* and *"more community based sentences for youth rather than detentions. Also highlight parental responsibility"*.

37 BME respondents gave views concerning the prisons. Like white respondents many BME respondents thought that prisons are too comfortable and do not provide a deterrent. Comments included *"my impression of the prisons is a comfortable roof over the head for many criminals rather than a punishment"*, *"seems to be a 3 star hotel. Make them earn their stay in prison"* and *"criminals should be treated as such and not allowed the luxuries given in prison"*. However, other BME respondents had concerns about treatment of prisoners. An Indian said prisons should *"listen to prisoners' complaints if they are not treated properly"*. Pakistanis said that prisons should *"ensure that all inmates are safe from each other and provide an environment which advocates lawfulness not resentment towards the law"*. Another said *"prisons are supposed to look after the people in there, not to abuse the criminals"*. Seven BME respondents were concerned about racism in prison, compared to no white respondents mentioning this, and one called for more BME prison staff. One mixed race respondent said prisons were *"very racist towards black and Asian people"*. Pakistanis said *"Asian Muslim prisoners are treated badly"*, *"prison wardens should*

be aware of bullying and racism" and prisons should *"look at racial hatred in prisons – staff and inmates"* and *"raise awareness of racial attacks"*. Others were concerned about rehabilitation. One Pakistani said there should be a *"focus on intention rehabilitation of prisoners and education of their social responsibilities towards society as a whole"*. Another said there should be *"better drug rehab programmes, education, employment skills etc"*. A black respondent said there should be *"rehabilitation for people who constantly go to prison for the same crimes"*.

In summary, many of the views expressed by BME respondents to the survey were similar those expressed in the NOP research (Confidence Unit, 2003). They included the importance of a police presence, local bottom up communication, the principle of just deserts for offending behaviour and the creation of opportunities for young people and adult offenders. Respondents emphasized the need for local knowledge, as similarly found by Johnson et al (2005), and of cultural awareness, particularly in regard to the police. In addition, the lack of representation of BME groups and / or the working classes in criminal justice agencies was raised many times, although as in the focus groups (see chapter 6), not in regard to the police, and there is a perception or poor treatment of BME people, particularly by the police and prison service.

5. Interviews

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the main findings from the in-depth interviews are discussed. As mentioned in chapter 2, the in-depth interviews took place twice during the research. The first set of interviews took place during the scoping phase whilst the second took place after completion of the focus groups. The main aim of the interviews, as already mentioned, was to collect relevant information about factors or problems impinging upon BME confidence in the criminal justice system in West Yorkshire and to give the relevant criminal justice agencies the opportunity to inform the research team about their activities that relate to promoting BME confidence in the county. In this regard, this chapter details the perspectives of the criminal justice agencies alone. The perspectives of BME communities are presented in the chapters on the survey and focus groups (chapters 4 and 6).

The scoping phase interviews took place in August/September 2004 and the follow-up interviews in April/May 2005. The main purpose of the second set of interviews, as already mentioned, was update on any developments that had occurred during the course of the research. Only members of the West Yorkshire Race Issues Group (WYRIG) were interviewed on both occasions. No other criminal justice official in West Yorkshire was interviewed. Whilst this may be seen as a limitation, the research team is satisfied that membership of WYRIG is adequately representative of the main criminal justice agencies in the region. More importantly, members of the group occupy key/senior positions in their respective criminal justice organisations and are in a position to provide up-to-date information about the activities of their respective agencies. Table 5.1 lists the names of WYRIG members interviewed during the scoping phase.

Table 5.1: WYRIG Members Interviewed during the Scoping Phase

Name	Organisation
Paul Wilson (Chair)	National Probation Service
Peter Beckford	Legal Services Commission, Yorkshire & Humberside
Supr. Graham Bullock?	West Yorkshire Police
Chris Carling	Victim Support, West Yorkshire
Julie Collins	West Yorkshire Magistrates Courts Service, Batley
Mick Furness	HMP Wealstun
Mike Ganfield	The Court Services, Leeds Combined Court
Nadia Habashi	Crown Prosecution Service, West Yorkshire.
Insp. Mick Hanks	West Yorkshire Police
Khalid Hussain	Kirklees Rave Equality Council, Huddersfield.
Naheed Hussain	Crown Prosecution Service, West Yorkshire.
His Honour Judge Kamil	Bradford Combined Court Service
Paul O'Hara	Bradford & District Youth Offending Team
Jo Obbard	Magistrates Association
Abi Pointing	NACRO
Dave Potter	HMP Wealstun
Rajinder Singh	National Probation Service
A Stanley	Leeds Equality Council

During the second set of interviews, some members of WYRIG have been replaced by new members. Letters requesting members to be interviewed were sent to all the 17 current members of the group but during the course of the interviews, new members (who were not familiar with the research) were exempted. In addition, those members on leave at the time of the interviews were excluded (see Table 5.2)

Table 5.2: WYRIG Members Interviewed in April- May 2005

Name	Organisation	Response
Patrick Traynor (Chair)	W. Yorks. Mag Court Service	Updates received by e-mail
Peter Beckford	Legal Services Commission.	Interviewed. Nothing new to add
Chris Carling	Victim Support.	Interviewed. Nothing new to add.
Mick Furness	HMP Wealsturn	On leave
Mike Ganfield	The Court Services, Leeds.	Interviewed. Nothing new to add.
Sue Hall	National Probation Service	Not interviewed.
Nadia Habashi	Crown Prosecution Service.	Interviewed. Additional information.
Insp. Mick Hanks	West Yorkshire Police	Interviewed. Additional information
Khalid Hussain	Kirklees REC.	Unavailable for interview
Naheed Hussain	Crown Prosecution Service.	Interviewed. Nothing new to add
His Hon. Judge Kamil	Bradford Combined Courts	Comments received by e-mail
Paul O'Hara	Bradford & District YOT	Interviewed. Additional information.
Jo Obbard	Magistrates Association	Not interviewed. No reply
Abi Pointing	NACRO	Interviewed. Nothing new to add
Chief Supr. Phil Reed, OBE	West Yorkshire Police	Not interviewed.
Rajinder Singh	National Probation Service	Interviewed. New info. expected
A Stanley	Leeds Equality Council	Interviewed. Nothing new to add

The results of the interviews are reported in 2 groupings: (a) Factors affecting BME confidence in criminal justice in West Yorkshire (b) Criminal justice activities in West Yorkshire specifically designed to raise BME confidence in the criminal justice system.

5.2. Factors affecting BME confidence

These are discussed in three parts (a) Local and international events that have had implications for BME confidence (b) Attitude problems (c) Other factors.

5.2.1. Local and international events

Two main local events were repeatedly mentioned by the interviewees, which they believed have damped the confidence of BME people in the criminal justice system in West Yorkshire. The first relates to the aftermath of the Bradford 'riots' and the growth of a perception amongst certain BME communities in the region that the

sentences received by the Asian youths who took part in the 'riots' were generally harsher and unfair compared with those received by their white counterparts. Some of the interviewees did not believe that the sentencing of the Asian youths was overall unfair, but are aware of the fact that the event had affected the confidence of particularly Asian youths, not only in the courts, but the criminal justice system as a whole.

The second event relates to confidence issues arising from the activities of the Far Right in West Yorkshire and the perception amongst the Asian communities in particular that they are not adequately protected by the police in the event of an attack by BNP activists. However, the police are of the opinion that this concern is generated by unsubstantiated fear and allegations of overt racist activities by the BNP in the region. The police are confident that so far, the activities of the BNP in the region have not been illegal.

The only international event mentioned was the concern that the incident of September 11 in the USA and the local media reports about terrorism may have dampened confidence regarding the fairness of the system against Muslims. This is particularly significant for West Yorkshire where the largest ethnic minority group are Pakistani Muslims.

5.2.2. Attitude problems

The general view expressed is that of a negative attitude towards the criminal justice system generally, emanating, for example, from:

5.2.2.1. Suspicion

It was said that BMEs are generally suspicious of what the criminal justice agencies are trying to do to raise confidence in the county. As a result, it is often difficult to get them to participate or get involved without thinking that there are ulterior motives. It was mentioned that this suspicion emanates from a perception that

the criminal justice system exists only for white people. This attitude, it was also said, has affected the efforts being made to recruit BME staff to work with criminal justice agencies such as the courts.

5.2.2.2. Apathy

Concerns were raised about a general lack of interest or willingness on the part of BMEs to participate in criminal justice activities, such as coming forward to be jurors. This lack of interest affects the delivery of justice and reinforces the perception that the criminal justice system exists only for Whites. It was also mentioned that BMEs who are already magistrates are not actively involved in the activities of the magistrates' association. This has not been helpful in the bridging of barriers, raising confidence and promoting the work of the magistracy, at least, in BME communities.

5.2.2.3. Ignorance

It is believed that there is a general lack of understanding amongst BME communities of what the various criminal justice agencies represent or do and the differences that exist between them (see also chapters 4 & 6). But it was also raised that this ignorance is partly due to the lack of effective mechanisms in place to inform BMEs about the criminal justice services that are available to them and how they can get legal support and advice.

5.2.3. Other factors:

The following were the most frequently mentioned factors:

5.2.3.1. The significantly diverse nature of the ethnic minority population in West Yorkshire

There are distinct differences within the main ethnic groups in the county, in terms of religions and cultures. This makes it difficult to make general statements about confidence as this may vary not only between the main ethnic groups but also

between sub-groups within them. This diversity is also believed to affect the development of effective policies to build up confidence (see also chapter 6).

5.2.3.2. Language barrier

This is considered to be an important factor in terms of the potential effect that it has in marginalising BMEs with inadequate knowledge of English from fully benefiting from mainstream criminal justice services, as well as not enabling them to fully function within the system, for example, as victims or witnesses. This problem was raised particularly in relation to the courts where it was said that there are not enough skilled translators to help with translation. Inability to effectively participate, it was pointed out, affects confidence.

5.2.3.3. Media misrepresentation of race issues in West Yorkshire.

Reference was made to media and how both local and national media have not been helpful in promoting racial equality in the county. The role of the media in whipping up racial hatred in the county was mentioned. Some TV documentaries were mentioned in which it was said that negative stereotypes of BME youths as pimps and criminals were presented. Although this does not have direct implications for confidence in the criminal justice system, it does create barriers in reaching out to BME youths and convincing them that State agencies understand and represent their interests (see also chapter 6).

5.2.3.4. Racism

Racism was mentioned only in relation to the prisons. It relates to the fact that BME prisoners do not have confidence in the complaints system and are less likely to pursue a racial complaint. The low representation of BMEs in the prison staff was also mentioned and is believed to be due to the perception that they will be racially discriminated against (see chapter 4 where it is shown that racism is relatively low on

the list of what respondents thought that the prisons should do to raise BME confidence in the prison service, although it was mentioned by BMEs. Racism was mentioned much more in Chapter 6 in relation to the police).

5.3. Criminal justice efforts to raise BME confidence

The interviews revealed that the key criminal justice agencies, either individually or in groups, are engaged in a wide variety of activities to raise BME people's confidence, either in their individual agencies' work or in the criminal justice system as a whole. The various activities are discussed under the following headings:

5.3.1. Recruitment efforts

Careers Fairs were mentioned as a means that have been used to recruit BME workers into criminal justice agencies. The example given was the Careers Fair that was organised under the auspices of WYRIG which, in addition to providing information on what the criminal justice agencies do, was also used as a means of canvassing for BME recruits into the various criminal justice agencies in the area. In addition, HM Court Service (including the combined courts and the West Yorkshire Magistrates Court Service) has organised open days that were aimed at recruiting BME people as court officials. The court services have also made attempts to recruit magistrates directly from BME communities. Whilst it was not clear whether or not these efforts were fruitful, the Court Services representative was proud to report successes in recruiting BME workers via work placement schemes. In addition, Judge Kamil (the Minorities Liaison Judge for West Yorkshire), through his involvement in "Operation Black Vote" - a national organisation working towards enabling the Black community to claim its place and play active role in British society - had organised meetings with Black men and women who were interested in becoming magistrates, to talk to them about working within the criminal justice system.

Although the West Yorkshire Crown Prosecution Service (WYCPS) has, at the time of this study, exceeded its BME recruitment target with 13% of its working

population from BME backgrounds, it is still making efforts to attract more BME staff. The police, however, have not met their targets for the recruitment of BME uniformed officers but have done so with their recruitment of BME Community Support Officers (PCSOs). PCSOs exist to reassure communities by providing visible police presence in the community (see chapter 4 where the visibility of the police was mentioned by respondents of the questionnaire survey as what the police should do to increase BME confidence in their work). The potential for raising confidence exists also in the fact that PCSOs are members of the communities they police. With regard to the Youth Offending Teams (YOTs), the fact that there is an increasing and significant number of volunteers, panel members and mentors from BME backgrounds was mentioned as a recruitment success.

It appears that many of the agencies believe that proportionate representation of BMEs in their organisations is a positive step towards raising confidence. (However, see chapter 4 where diversity in staffing was not rated highly in the list of what the agencies should do to raise confidence.)

5.3.2. Provision of information/education.

The need for the public to be fully aware of what the agencies do and/or stand for is important in raising confidence (see chapters 4 and 6, respondents refer to having no knowledge about what some of the criminal justice agencies, for example, the CPS, defence solicitors and the Probation Service, actually do. In both chapters, there is a desperate call for more information/education).

Interviewees mentioned some of the attempts that have been made to provide information to BME communities on the activities of criminal justice agencies but the efforts mentioned were mainly along the lines of the translation of legal documents or similar documents on legal rights into BME languages so that BME users of the criminal justice system are able to understand procedures and exercise their legal rights effectively. In this regard, legal documents such as court documents and leaflets on different aspects of the law have been translated into different ethnic minority

languages and made available to the public in printed forms as well as on the internet. In addition, the LCJB plans to produce regular newsletters, to send out to various community groups and key agencies about updates within the criminal justice system.

5.3.3. Provision of race awareness information and training for staff

Crown Prosecution (CPS) lawyers in the region have undergone race and religiously-aggravated crime training and the Legal Services Commission has produced (under the auspices of WYRIG) a manual on different religious and cultural practices, to be used as a guide by its staff, when dealing with BME clients. These attempts are based on a common belief that lack of confidence may result from a lack of understanding of the clientele, in this case, BMEs and their cultures, which can lead to distrust. In chapter 4, the need for cultural awareness was considered an issue, especially in relation to the police.

5.3.4. Dealing with racist and homophobic crimes

The need to deal effectively with racially motivated crimes as a means of raising BME confidence was mentioned by many of the interviewees. The efforts being made were presented as if they are generally for the benefit of BMEs, even though national crime figures show that the white population also suffer significantly from racist attacks. However, racially motivated crimes were grouped with other hate crimes, such as homophobic crimes.

The West Yorkshire Police have set up 180 independent hate incidents reporting centres in the five policing districts of the county. These provide an alternative route to reporting hate crimes to the police, for example, by victims who, for some reasons, are unable to report directly to the police. The project is set up in collaboration with community groups and BME people are involved, for example, as community advocates. In excess of 700 cases are said to have been reported at the time of the scoping phase interviews. In addition, a 24-hour free phone service has been set up,

also by the police, for reporting racist and homophobic incidents and obtaining advice on available support services for victims. The information available on this service is said to be provided in the nine most common languages in West Yorkshire.

As from 30th June 2005, the West Yorkshire Police will be joining the True Vision national initiative for reporting racist and homophobic crimes. This scheme allows on-line reporting and self-reporting of racist and homophobic incidents. As part of this scheme, the West Yorkshire police will be distributing self-reporting packs for hate incidents. At the time of this research, the police have ordered 30,000 packs for West Yorkshire. These will be put at community venues so that people, who do not feel confident to report their victimisation direct to the police, can use the form and the pre-paid envelope in the pack to send their complaints to the police. This initiative will be advertised on buses. One hundred buses are said to be lined up for a month or two, for this purpose. There will be media campaigns alongside this, to raise awareness. In addition, the existing policing hate crime reporting centres will be re-branded under True Vision and the existing 0800 line for racist crime reporting will also be re-branded a True Vision 0800 line.

At the time of this research, a Target Arrest Day is being planned by the police. This will involve mass arrest, on a particular day, of people wanted for racially aggravated crime and homophobic crimes in West Yorkshire. The aim is to send a strong message to potential offenders that the police take these offences very seriously and to the communities that there is point in reporting racist and homophobic offences.

Part of Victim Support's activities in West Yorkshire also includes supporting victims of racist and homophobic crimes. Two projects have been set up in Wakefield and Calderdale for this purpose. In addition, under the national 'no witness, no justice' scheme, the CPS has set up witness and care bureaux in the county, and are making attempts to improve their services to victims of race and homophobic crimes generally.

5.3.5. Community Engagement

All the criminal justice agencies in West Yorkshire have community engagement strategies and have developed means of consulting with community groups on criminal justice and related issues. Communication was recognised by majority of the interviewees as very essential to raising confidence (see also chapter 6). Community engagement took various forms (as listed below). What is strategic is the fact that they are initiatives set up by the agencies themselves. It was not clear whether or not any consultation with communities took place before structures or events were set up. However, the facts that membership of these structures includes BMEs and the events were targeted specifically at BME communities were stressed.

5.3.5.1. Community consultation panels.

A Racial Minority Community Consultation Panel set up by WYRIG in 2004, in accordance with the Race Relations (Amendments) Act, 2000, which requires criminal justice agencies to consult with community groups regarding their policies, practices and procedures. The Panel is a forum for debating criminal justice issues of local interest and providing information to the public about the work of the various criminal justice agencies. The panel provides the opportunity for communities to question the activities of criminal justice agencies and offers the latter the opportunity to answer back and engage in dialogue with community representatives, individual and groups over contested issues. Members of this panel have been selected and are, during the time of this research, undergoing induction and training. Other community consultation panels set up by the police for a similar purpose include the community cohesion panels set up after the Bradford riots and police minority liaison groups. In addition, there are young people citizen panels in which the police are also involved. The need to 'engage' with BME youths in order to raise confidence is mentioned by respondents, in chapter 4 and 6.

Scrutiny panels.

The West Yorkshire CPS has set up scrutiny panels to engage the public in assessing CPS decision making procedures with regards to the prosecution of racially and/or religiously aggravated offences. The procedure includes a random selection of finalised case files for review by the panel, in order to identify good or bad practice and in the process raise public awareness of the decision making process of the CPS, increase confidence and improve performance. The panel met for the first time in November 2004. It was mentioned that the West Yorkshire CPS received an award for its scrutiny panel scheme.

West Yorkshire Police have also set up scrutiny panels in each police division, specifically to review randomly selected on-going cases of racist and homophobic crimes being dealt with by the police. It was mentioned that the panels will soon be scrutinising police stop and search cases.

The membership of scrutiny panels vary. The WYCPS Scrutiny panel is made up of agency representatives and an independent external facilitator but no community representatives. In contrast, the police scrutiny panels include community representatives from the five race and hate crime panels, the Race and Equality Councils (RECs) and members of voluntary, statutory and community groups.

5.3.5.2. Research

Researching needs, priorities and attitudes is classified in the West Yorkshire Police Authority Community Engagement Strategy document (2005) as a form of community engagement. The West Yorkshire Police, in conjunction with the Children Society has undertaken research into the attitudes of the region's young people towards the police. The findings show a high level of confidence in the police amongst Asian youths generally but Pakistani youths have lower confidence compared with the other minority ethnic youths. The Yorkshire Police Authority intends to conduct a survey in the near future, to identify local priorities to feed into

the local Policing Plan. The current research, commissioned by the Local Criminal Justice Board (LCJB), also falls into the category of researching needs, priorities and attitudes. Research is useful only if the findings are used to inform the development of future policies. Activities to disseminate findings of current research are planned for late 2005. This includes a presentation at a conference of all the Ethnic Minority Liaison Judges in the UK, scheduled for autumn 2005.

5.3.5.3. Public meetings, conferences and seminars

Several public functions have been staged to raise awareness about race issues in the criminal justice system. The West Yorkshire CPS (WYCPS) has organised conferences to raise awareness about what they do and how racially-motivated offences are prosecuted. Other public meetings include a racial and religious incitement seminar led by the WYCPS and conferences on racial harassment, racism and diversity issues organised by the Kirklees REC. These events were attended by large numbers of delegates including politicians. Judge Kamil has organised meetings in the court house, attended by criminal justice agency representatives, various community leaders, group leaders and the media, to discuss important criminal justice issues relating to BME communities, especially issues relating to their effective participation in the criminal justice system. In addition, the judge has made visits to inner city schools, to explain to young people (including BME youths) how the system works. A Race Issues Stakeholders Symposium is being planned for late 2005, bringing together stakeholders within the community and representatives within the criminal justice and voluntary sectors, to discuss race and diversity issues in criminal justice in West Yorkshire.

5.3.5.4. 'Reach out'

This includes methods whereby criminal justice agencies go into communities or make efforts to reach-out to a community audience in order to provide information or give the community the opportunity to ask questions about what they do. The West Yorkshire Police, in conjunction with the Bradford Community Safety, have recently

secured 52 hours of live broadcast on each of two local radio stations (Sunrise Radio and MASTI) believed to be listened to mainly by members of Asian communities. The project involves a one-hour slot every week on each radio station, when police officers from the force are available on air to discuss important policing issues that have bearing on BME communities and members of these communities have the opportunity to call in to ask the police questions on these issues.

The main aims of the various community engagement measures discussed above are:

(a) to ensure accountability and transparency through community assessment of decisions taken. This will enable the criminal justice agencies to judge the extent to which their decisions meet community perceptions of fairness and by so doing improve services and practices.

(b) to provide forums for debates on criminal justice issues that affect BMEs.

(c) improve BME confidence in the system.

Using the ladder of participation provided by the West Yorkshire Police Authority (WYPA, 2005) as a yardstick, it appears that community participation in West Yorkshire includes, in ascending order: (a) informing people, (b) researching needs, priorities and attitudes; (c) consulting over proposals and (d) involving communities in decision making. There was no mention of devolving responsibility for decision-making exclusively to communities or supporting community-based responses and actions (WYPA, 2005) (see Chapter 4 where the respondents appeared to support effective community engagement as a means of raising confidence)

5.3.6. Organised cultural activities to raise confidence

HMP Wealsturn has set up events such as diversity days, to raise cultural awareness amongst prisoners, break down barriers and improve confidence in the prison service amongst BME prisoners. Cultural awareness in the prison is also promoted through drama and artwork.

5.3.7. Race equality schemes

Each of the public criminal justice agencies pursues a race equality scheme in accordance with the provisions of the Race Relations (Amendment) Act, 2000. This implies ensuring that the promotion of race equality and good race relations inform employment and service delivery. HMP Wealsturn, like most prisons, has a Race Relations Management Team. The tasks of the team include ensuring fairness in the treatment of all prisoners and making sure that interests of BME prisoners are catered for. Faith leaders are invited members of the Management Team. They bring to the meetings important issues on race that have been raised by in-mates during religious meetings.

5.3.8. Partnership working

Most of the interviewees recognised the need for teamwork in the formulation of policies and delivery of strategies. It came across in the interviews that some agencies already do collaborative work on joint ventures, (e.g. the race harassment projects) and membership of panels, as mentioned above, are essentially multi-agency (e.g. the scrutiny panels). Other arrangements include memberships of fellow agencies' executive committees

5.3.9. Monitoring and evaluation

The need to monitor and evaluate performance is important in order to determine the extent to which confidence has been improved. There was no mention by the interviewees of any evaluations done to assess the effectiveness of initiatives. However, there are measures put in place to monitor progress. For example, in December 2004, the Magistrates Court Service undertook a diversity review. This review was undertaken by 'Fairplay' - an organisation committed to promoting equality of opportunity in education, employment and in the community. There appears to be no major cause for concern with regards to West Yorkshire Magistrates Service's race equality and diversity policy. The next review will be in 2005/06. The

national guidelines on the recording and monitoring of police stop and search became effective on 1st April 2005. This will have implications for how the police in the region record and monitor stops and searches.

In addition, the West Yorkshire LCJB is currently developing a template to monitor the effectiveness of community engagement by the different criminal justice agencies. The Board is also developing a consultation strategy for criminal justice agencies in the region. It was also mentioned that the West Yorkshire CPS (WYCPS) has recently undertaken a stocktaking of its community engagement activities, to evaluate the success of what is done so far and decide what needs to be done in order to move forward

5.3.10.   Coordination of agency activities to raise Confidence

The West Yorkshire LCJB provides the umbrella structure for the coordination of policies and programmes designed to improve criminal justice provisions in the county. The West Yorkshire Race Issues Group (WYRIG) is a sub-committee of the West Yorkshire LCJB with the specific task of finding and implementing ways of increasing confidence in the criminal justice system amongst minority ethnic groups in the county. WYRIG has stated key objectives relating to how BME confidence can be achieved. Recently, the West Yorkshire LCJB Board appointed a Diversity and Consultation Officer to coordinate the Board's race and diversity activities. The North East region of HM Court services (of which West Yorkshire Court services is now a part) is also in the process of appointing a Diversity Officer, possibly for the same purpose.

5.4. Conclusion

The above information shows that most of the agencies are engaged in a variety of activities to raise BME confidence in what they do and, hopefully, in the criminal justice system generally. The activities comply with the tasks laid down in the Home Office guidelines for LCJBs with regards to the planning for confidence (Office for

Criminal Justice Reform, 2005). As mentioned in chapter one, these include (a) improving performance and quality of service delivery (b) improving communication and (c) engagement with local communities. However, it was not clear from the interviews how much coordination there is of the various activities and what WYRIG actually does in this regard. More importantly, not much was said about the effectiveness of most of the initiatives and efforts, or how successful they have been in raising BME confidence. A recently published document by the Magistrates Court Service Inspectorate on interesting approaches to race equality in magistrates courts (MCSI, 2005) listed various examples of good practice in UK magistrates courts but mentioned West Yorkshire Court Service only once whilst comparable counties were mentioned several times and praised for their race equality work. There may be a need to publicise West Yorkshire more and more efforts made to evaluate success achieved.

6. Focus Groups

6.1 Introduction

This section of the report is divided under a series of inter-related and overlapping headings. This introduction sets out the context in which the findings should be read and understood.

Black and minority ethnic (BME) communities are not homogenous units. Difference and diversity occurs within the boundaries of any one ethnic group as well as between them. These differences may be related to such factors as gender, age, socio-economic status, religion, education, health, and length of stay in Britain, or may simply exist because members of minority ethnic communities are also individuals. Therefore, while the focus groups have allowed the views to be broadly attributed to particular minority ethnic groups, it should not be assumed that all individuals in the groups felt the same way. The findings also illustrate the dynamic and complex character of *individual* confidence and trust in the criminal justice system (CJS) and the reasons why such views are held. Attempts have been made to do justice to the nuances and intricacies of the 226 participants as well as drawing out similarities. Contradictory views, or perceptions that may agree with the majority, but with particular caveats, have also been given their due attention here. Specifics relating to categories of gender, age, ethnicity or socio-economic status have been highlighted where they result in differences in opinion.

More importantly, it must be stressed that these findings cannot be taken as a catch all understanding of minority ethnic confidence in the CJS in general. Rather, the findings provide an understanding of current debates and dynamics within and between minority ethnic communities in West Yorkshire, their members and their relationships with different agencies and representatives of the CJS.

Participants in the focus groups expressed concerns about a number of issues which have influenced their views and affected confidence and trust in the criminal justice system. These may be considered under a number of headings. Firstly, described in Section 6.2, there are BME specific factors where discrimination by criminal justice agencies as a result of ethnicity or faith is perceived to be a problem. Section 6.3 goes on to tackle issues relating to the criminal justice system that are likely to affect confidence amongst all sectors of the UK population, but have been discussed by participants in the context of ethnicity. Section 6.4 elaborates upon drivers of confidence which are beyond the remit of the CJS, but none the less undermine participant trust and confidence. The penultimate section, 6.5, provides an account of recommendations that participants felt would go toward improving the CJS and their confidence within it. Section 6.6 brings the discussion to a close by contextualising these recommendations within the current remit of Local Criminal Justice Boards (LCJBs).

6.2 BME specific factors affecting confidence

6.2.1 Discrimination by ethnicity

Participants felt that they were more likely to be discriminated against on grounds of ethnicity and therefore were less likely to have confidence in the criminal justice system. This echoes the findings in the Home Office Citizenship Survey (Green *et. al.* 2005). However, unlike in other research, focus group participants perceived a link between unequal treatment of BME communities and ineffectiveness of the CJS.

The perception that racism is embedded within, and amongst, CJS agencies formed much of the underlying subtext of focus group discussions. The frequency with which racism was highlighted in the focus groups is proportionately greater than in the postal and community groups surveys (see chapter 4). The perceived racism within the police force was very much considered to filter into the manner in which they behaved with individuals. There was a tendency within the focus groups to presume

that where a white individual and someone of BME heritage were on opposite sides, the police would favour the white individual.

> *"If I was stood against a white guy I would not be comfortable with a copper, I would think that the copper would favour the white guy over me, I would not be comfortable, that's how I feel about the system" (Pakistani Male, age under 30, Keighley).*

As highlighted in section 2, the Stephen Lawrence inquiry concluded widespread institutional racism that is manifest in both subtle and nuanced ways. Throughout the focus groups, repeated instances of individual and anecdotal experience demonstrated that such discrimination continues to be exercised and identified at a grassroots level, in the police and sometimes in other agencies.

There are varying degrees to which participants felt racism pervades police hierarchies and other CJS agencies. Some focus groups expressed the general sentiment that the police, at all levels are inherently racist, and this spills out into the attitudes and policies of frontline staff. The other view, although less widely held, was the perception that whilst officers at the upper ends of police hierarchies may not be racist, their attitudes and views are not being effectively filtered through to more public level policing, which is resulting in discrimination and inequality.

> *"Maybe I can see in the hierarchy that they may see them [BMEs] as equal, but on the lower levels, no disrespect, but they [the police] are racist" (Pakistani male, age under 30, Keighley).*

Much of the discussion of racism centred on the issue of stop and search. Instances of perceived unwarranted stop and search were cited by a large proportion of the participants, either in terms of personal experience or with reference to a third party known to the participant. Although not quantified, the proportion of participants in the focus groups that had been stopped and searched was similar to that identified in both the postal and community group survey results (see chapter 4). It was felt by

participants in all but two of the focus groups that members of BME communities were disproportionately stopped and searched. This was considered to be a direct consequence of racism within the police force and thought to constitute abuse of police power.

"Lately there has been this thing about police stopping cars, and mostly what are being stopped are (South) Asian cars, ethnic cars…The only reason they were searching us was because we were (South) Asian and black" (Bangladeshi male, age under 30, Keighley).

"Basically what I think is the police will see two young black guys walking, and I have seen this with my own eyes, they are going to stop and search them, because they have got the power now to stop and search. Now these guys aren't doing anything, they are just walking and talking, but they are going to stop them and search them, but there will be two white guys and they are not doing them… it's you're black, that's all you can do, you can't be working, you have to be selling drugs" (Black female, age under 30, Leeds).

There is a significant gender and age dimension to stop and search. For the most part it was discussed in the context of young minority ethnic men. When asked about the significance of this, participants felt that stop and searches of older minority ethnic groups and minority ethnic women are increasing but are still proportionally lower than that of young men.

"They [police] will stop us more and more, especially when they see the scarf, but they're scared, because you know, I'm a woman, but it's mainly the boys" (Pakistani female, age under 30, Toller).

The perception of blatant inequality of treatment of BME groups and of stereotyping of BME individuals in stop and searches significantly undermines confidence in the system. It is difficult to have confidence in a system where those responsible for

enforcing it at a grassroots level apparently do not see past their stereotypes and the colour of an individual's skin.

> *"I think there is too much stereotyping regarding the police, when it comes to our race and colour" (Black female, age 50+, Leeds).*

> *"Everyone is doing crime, can't just say some people aren't. The police are still going to stop me even if I have a suit and a briefcase. You're going to get stopped whether you're wearing a suit or not, you're black" (Black male, age under 30, Leeds).*

The only focus group in which there was no mention of stop and search was where participants were of predominantly Chinese or Mixed Far Eastern heritage, and mainly University students.

The accounts of how discrimination stemming from racism manifests in daily life differ amongst different ethnic groups. Three particular contexts of racism emerged from the focus groups. Firstly, amongst participants of South Asian heritage this discrimination was most felt in the outcomes of the Bradford and Leeds riots in 2001, and the manner in which Muslims are treated. Secondly, among participants of Black African-Caribbean heritage, it was articulated mainly in the way their geographical locality is perceived. Geographical locality in discrimination does transcend ethnicity in that all ethnic groups highlight it as a reason CJS agencies, particularly the police, are ineffective. Thirdly, amongst participants of Chinese/Far Eastern heritage this discrimination is most apparent in the manner in which they are treated as victims.

6.2.1.1 Bradford & Leeds Riots

Several of the focus groups contained mention of the Bradford Riots, not only by participants of South Asian heritage, but also by participants of Black African-Caribbean heritage. For the most part participants felt those convicted of committing

an offence in the Bradford, and to a lesser extent the Leeds riots, were treated unfairly. This sense of unfair treatment was particularly profound in relation to the sentencing. Comparisons were made between the lengths of sentences given to South Asian rioters in Bradford compared with those given to white rioters in Temple Newsam.

"The judiciary is not as independent as they make themselves out to be. The race riots show that…It was evident if you compare it with Temple Newsam that the judiciary is not independent, but is governed by the political climate they work in" (Pakistani male, age 30-50, Toller)

The riots sparked further debate in relation to the ethnicity of those convicted. The perception was that the rioters convicted and sentenced were South Asian even though those who were responsible for inflaming the situation were white. Many participants felt that this demonstrates double standards on the part of the system, which is not willing to tackle the root causes, only the symptoms.

"The law must be applied equally to everyone, white people were also involved in the riots but their sentences were less severe. People should be punished for the crime they have committed not because they're black or white. The whole system needs to be looked at" (Pakistani female, age 50+, Toller).

"Where are the people that began the riots? The BNP are sat laughing while our boys are locked up. They [police] don't care about that" (Indian male, age 30-50, Batley).

In many instances, uncertainty among participants as to which agency within the CJS is responsible for sentencing meant that they were unsure of where to lay the blame. This has led to a significant feeling of disempowerment as participants are unable to locate their frustration at any one body or agency, rather feeling the 'system' as a whole is biased.

> *Facilitator: "so which agency or agencies do you hold responsible"*
>
> *"Well it's the police, I mean its all of them isn't it, but mainly the police, and the judges too. All of them" (Pakistani female, age 30-50, Wakefield)*

There was also a sense that the inequalities experienced through the rioter's sentencing speak to deeper more embedded inequalities whereby rioters were used as guinea pigs for new legislation that would enable greater control of problems such as football hooliganism. It was felt that this again spoke to double standards within British society, whereby football hooligans who commit the same types of crimes and perpetrate the same degree of damage are not treated as harshly.

> *"I think they were guinea pigs to be honest".*
>
> *Facilitator: what do you mean?*
>
> *"Well for new legislation that the government wants, to tackle football hooligans. I mean they do the same thing, they smash up cars and things, but it's ok, because their team lost, they're just emotional" (Pakistani female, age under 30, Keighley)*

6.2.1.2. Effect of Area

Participants of black heritage felt that they experience dual discrimination based on their colour and on the geographical area in which they live. One of the main issues that was repeatedly brought up in the Chapel Town focus groups was the effect an area had on the way in which BMEs were treated within the system. Chapel Town was considered to have a very bad reputation. The reputation of Chapel Town combined with the perception that most residents were of black heritage meant that they were stereotyped as perpetrators of crime, or not given due recognition as victims of crime. This said, participants also spoke of a community within Chapel Town which was very resilient, although not united, and one that certainly felt a strong affiliation to the geographical location in which it resides. This appears to show that

Chapel Town residents may be unlike the low confidence groups studied by Johnson *et al.* (2005) who showed little commitment to the local area.

Participants felt that their residence in Chapel Town makes them vulnerable to pre-existing stereotypes by agencies within the CJS. One young participant articulated this through his experience of the prison service.

"They [prison officers] know the minute you get there where you're from. They'll say to you, oh ok, you're from Chapel Town, I've heard about you. They mark you out and that's it then…" (Black Male, age under 30, Leeds)

"They are just typecast, once you're a young boy, and black, not just the young boys, but the girls as well, once you're young and you're from Chapel Town you're no good, you're dealing in drugs" (Black female, age 50+, Leeds).

"It upsets me to see police men shooting blanks from a van at the kids and then next minute it's on television that Chapel Town is a bad area and that people are killing people. I've seen it with my own eyes, police doing it, taunting them. They are racist!!" (Black female, age 30-50, Leeds)

The geographical area in which they live similarly plays a role in the confidence other ethnic groups have in the CJS. Participants in all three of the focus groups in Wakefield felt that there is no point in calling the police when they have problems, because by asking for the postcode the police know it is a South Asian area, and so they do not come. The locality in which an individual lives was seen to be a means whereby the police can identify the ethnicity of the victims and therefore indirectly discriminate. The understanding that lengthy response times are attributable to discrimination is justified by participants with reference to instances of quicker response when callers, victims or localities are white.

"We had our mosque vandalised. They broke the gas pipes, there could have been an explosion. Every day around 100 children use that mosque. Here our kids are beaten up all the time. But the police don't come. They just think it's Pakistanis that live there, so what?" (Pakistani male, age 50+, Wakefield)

"These people got drunk, broke the windows, the door, they [family] really panicked, only the children were at home, and their mum, she got hit in the head with a brick. They must have telephoned about 10 times, as it was happening, but the police came so late…They could have been killed as well couldn't they? And then afterwards, a senior police officer came and said we're sorry, we have had a report, from a white person, that the extent of damage was caused because of police delay…Just think about it, if a black person was doing it against a white person, you think would they delay in coming?" (Pakistani female, age 30-50, Batley)

In another instance a participant spoke of drug dealing that was occurring at the back of her house. After reporting the individuals involved to the police on several occasions, the participant's son decided to take matters into his own hands, as he felt his children and their friends were being endangered by this activity.

Such perceptions and experiences create a vacuum of confidence within particular geographies based on a pattern of behaviour, whereby individuals do not trust that the CJS will support and protect them. In turn they do not ask for the protection the CJS is able to offer.

6.2.1.3 International Students = Transient Population

Almost all the participants of Chinese or Far Eastern heritage had been victims of racially motivated incidents. A large proportion of the focus group had also been the victim of a personal crime such as burglary or muggings, or had directly known someone who was. For the most part these crimes took place in and around the

University area of Leeds. When articulating their experiences with the police on these matters, participants were very negative as to the ability or the willingness of the police to help. Participants felt that international students are considered to be a transitory population, and as such, crimes against them are not given due importance. Underlying this is also the belief that CJS agencies discriminate against them on the basis of their ethnic heritage and the stereotypes attached to it.

Participants thought that their Far Eastern heritage is perceived by the police to be an invitation to crime. The stereotype, that international students, particularly those of Far Eastern heritage, have a lot of money and carry with them technology such as laptops, is used by the police to dismiss the crimes committed against them. Their raised vulnerability to crime is further increased as many international students are clustered in particular areas of the city and thereby have a concentrated visibility.

> *"I have also had a similar experience like that. I was attacked on the street, it was like 5.30, and it was opposite those houses there (near the business school). And of course I reported it, and the police came. But the way they say and the way they make the report is like, they think some people are to be victimised. That is how they make you feel. Asian people are victimised, and that is why it is natural in this country"* (Far Eastern female, age under 30, Leeds).

> *"It is because of the attitude that Asian students, they are thought to carry lots of cash, or laptops etc. and its like its your fault, you shouldn't have been carrying that amount of money…Or that you shouldn't be Asian* (Far Eastern female, age under 30, Leeds).

> *"A friend of mine, she had her lap top stolen… well they [the police] said to her that it was basically our fault for making people think that we always walk around with expensive lap tops and things. That's what he basically said…"* (Far Eastern female, age under 30, Leeds)

In contrast to the South Asian or Black focus groups, there was a strong sentiment in this focus group that an increased police presence would reduce crime rates and make participants feel more secure.

"When the police came to me to make a report, I asked that, if this area is so dangerous, then why can't you increase the number of police and make sure there are more people visible. They said they will and they do that, but I can't see any police in the day time. Increasing the number of the police force would reduce the problem, they would be controlling" (Far Eastern female, age under 30, Leeds).

6.2.2 Migration

In two focus groups (one men, one women) there was a very definite feeling that the CJS was trusted, and was indeed a positive infrastructure within the UK. In both groups the majority of participants were of South Asian heritage. The female focus group was a smaller group that had separated from the wider workshop because they wished to speak in Urdu and/or Punjabi. In both of these focus groups the participants were made up predominantly of first generation migrants. When asked to elaborate upon why they felt confident in the system both sets of participants make reference to the CJS in their country of origin. It is felt that, notwithstanding the faults one may identify within the British CJS, it is comparably better to that from whence they came.

"Here [UK] you get justice, ok it is not all the justice you want, but it is better than there [Pakistan] where the rich are paying and walking free and the poor sit in jail" (Pakistani female, age 30-50, Toller)

This is particularly interesting when compared with the focus group of Far Eastern heritage participants, in which they talked of a disappointment with regard to the CJS of Britain. They speak of an expectation that the CJS in Britain would be a positive model in comparison to that 'back home'. However, their experiences with the CJS do

not meet this expectation. Rather, they found that their status as international students, foreigners and/or new migrants meant they were treated in a manner which significantly affected their confidence in the CJS, particularly as an institution that is willing and able to protect them. Much of this lack of confidence is related to feelings of safety and security.

> *Facilitator: Did you think it would be safe when you first came to England?*
> *"No…because, I lived in Seoul, Korea, which is capital city and you could come home at 2 in the morning and feel safe, and here, if it was 5 o'clock and it was dark I wouldn't feel safe, I wouldn't risk myself, on my own, never"*
> *(Far Eastern female, age under 30, Leeds).*

6.2.3 Generational difference

Of the 10 focus groups where the majority of the participants were of South Asian heritage there was a common understanding that members of the 'older' generation – usually defined as those who are first generation migrants to Britain – would not previously have considered the CJS in negative terms, nor would they be willing to challenge it where a perceived injustice had been, or was being committed. Since September 11th however there is the perception that anyone who is visibly identified as a Muslim by virtue of a beard, a long tunic or a head scarf is automatically branded a terrorist and a 'bin laden' (Bangladeshi male, age under 30, Keighley). In contrast, such visible signs of faith were stressed by the majority of participants as being signs of piety and respect of faith and its laws, rather than a willingness to commit violence. The perceived negative reaction to such visible indicators of faith amongst members of the CJS in general and the wider British public in Britain was attributed as the cause of the 'older' South Asian, and for the most part Muslim, generation beginning to expressly state a dissatisfaction and mistrust of the CJS.

"…At one time the elders didn't say anything, but now, since 9/11 you'll hear elders complain about the way in which they are dealt with by the police…" *(Pakistani male, aged 30-50, Batley)*

In contrast it is felt that the younger generation, particularly that which has been born and raised in the UK, will not simply accept racist or discriminatory practices. Many of the younger participants were vocal in their willingness to challenge the system, either formally, or by taking the law into their own hands where they felt insufficiently protected.

"We older ones don't say anything, but the youngsters, they will give them a blow by blow answer. They don't just take it. That's why we're worried" *(Pakistani female, age 50+, Wakefield)*

"Why do you think our young (South) Asian lads get into trouble? It's because they know the police won't do anything when someone beats them up, so they just sort it themselves" *(Pakistani female, age under 30, Toller)*

"The police isn't going to do nothing, so we just deal with it" *(Pakistani male, age under 30, Keighley)*

6.3 Non-BME Specific Factors affecting Confidence

6.3.1 Communication & Community Policing

A consistent issue affecting participant confidence in the CJS was lack of communication. Underlying much of what participants felt is wrong with the system is the lack of communication between CJS agencies and the public. The effects of communication gaps upon participant confidence are supported by previous research (Mirrlees-Black, 2001). This study found that those whose knowledge of crime and sentencing practice was poor were those with least confidence. This said, the principle

communication gap identified in the focus groups is related to a lack of knowledge about what the police, and to a lesser extent other CJS agencies, are doing with regard to individual, or area specific cases rather than national statistics. As in the postal survey (see chapter 4), almost none of the participants that had been victims of crime knew what steps had been taken following their report to the police. It was felt that, following allocation of a crime reference number, little was done by the police to keep victims informed as to what action they were taking.

> *"They [police] just come 1 or 2 days late and give you a crime reference number. That's it. They don't tell you anything. That means they don't do anything" (Pakistani female, age 50+, Wakefield)*

> *"We need to know what the police are doing, not just that they are making notes, but what they are doing about your case. Someone needs to tell you that ok, they have followed this up..."*
> *Facilitator: would you feel better if you were told what they were doing? Would you feel you could trust them more?*
> *"Yeah…well yeah, I would, because even if they say to me we tried but we couldn't because of whatever, at least you know, I would know that they tried. We don't know what any of them do" (Pakistani female, age under 30, Toller).*

The focus groups were all considered very positive as a means of being able to air concerns, but also as a conduit through which individuals were able to gain information, and speak to CJS agency representatives in a non hostile, non confrontational situation. The absence of a CJS agency in one focus group in Chapel Town was considered to be an indication of the real intention and will of CJS agencies not to engage with BME groups, particularly those in Chapel Town. It is also very important that communication is perceived to be a two way thing whereby participants see changes.

> *"You need to allow people to air their views, getting police to listen to them and have them actually do something about it rather than just listen. A lot of*

these high ranking police officers get involved in these meetings, but the community doesn't see any difference and nothing is communicated to them. There needs to be information passed on to the community about what is going on (Pakistani male, age 30 -50, Wakefield).

From the data, it is evident that a great deal of the disempowerment, frustration and mistrust felt by the participants could be dispelled through effective communication and a clearer understanding of the roles and remits of the various agencies. This would prevent the entire 'system' being considered negative because of particular issues such as media representation of particular groups. Such communication would aid the manner in which the CJS agencies and BME communities work together as well as providing individuals with the knowledge and power required to become genuine stakeholders.

"There needs to better and more open communication of where we can go to find people who are able to help, get access to people like the speaker. At the moment you ring around a few places like solicitors, but they just fob you off, but you need to be able to ring people up who say ok there has been some injustice done here and not just leave them to it but support them and say ok, this is what you need to do and this is what we can do and the two can tally" *(Pakistani male, age 30-50, Batley).*

"I have lived in this country for the last 30 years. This is the first time anyone has asked me what I think" *(Pakistani female, age 50+, Batley)*

One of the most consistent comments made through out all sessions of the focus groups was the lack of any real relationship between the police, and to a lesser extent other CJS agencies, and individuals within communities. It was felt that the police have no real interest in the communities in which they work, rather are focused on achieving targets. It was felt that greater involvement by the police, through communication and community policing, would benefit their relationship with the

people they serve, but could also be utilised as a means of increasing and promoting community cohesion.

"If the police got involved in things like sports etc they would get youngsters involved. They have those new PSO officers now. But they need a push, the officers won't do it themselves, even the senior levels won't. And we should try not to make it an ethnic thing either, we should make it a together thing. You can take your issues of ethnicity forward later" (Pakistani male, age under 30, Batley).

6.3.2 Time delays

Perceptions relating to the time it takes for a particular crime to be dealt with in the first instance, and for any case to be seen through to completion significantly affect the confidence participants have in the ability of CJS agencies to do their jobs. A number of participants highlighted this time delay as a generic problem, not restricted to the experiences of BME communities. This said, in over two-thirds of the focus groups in which time was discussed, it was felt that such delays were exacerbated if the victim of the crime was of BME heritage. This is supported by previous research from the British Crime Survey (Clancy et al, 2001b) which found that more Pakistanis and Bangladeshis reported having to wait than other ethnic groups.

The time it takes for police officers to attend the scene of a crime, or to come and take witness testimony was considered by many respondents to be demonstrative of racism on the part of the police. It was felt by participants in all but one of the focus groups that the police tend not to respond when called by a BME member of the public, or when the victim of the crime is BME. When asked to elaborate upon this, many of the respondents felt that were the individual calling to have a 'White' name, or live in a 'White' area, or indeed if the victim of the crime were white, then police response rates would be quicker. Throughout the data there are repeated instances of such time

delays articulated by participants. The most extreme case however was articulated by a participant in Keighley (26/02).

"I was sat in my living room and I heard this screaming and really really loud noises outside. It was night time, and I looked out of the window and there were like a whole group of men out side and they were really laying into this one kid… I called the police and I said to them look there's this young kid and he's getting beaten up by like 4 or 5 men. And they were really laying into him, and this kid was screaming, and no one were helping him. So I said, you know its happening and you need to come. The police took 15 minutes to come…..I mean, if that had been a white kid being beaten up by Asian men they would have come straight away…If that kid had been white they would have turned up, that's a fact" (Pakistani female, age under 30, Keighley).

The extent of dissatisfaction with experiences of the CJS, particularly in relation to the efficiency and promptness of services, concurs with the results of the postal and community group surveys (see chapter 4). This said, compared to the postal survey, the degree to which the CJS is seen as being effective is lower.

6.3.3. Agency specific

Participants expressed low confidence in the police far more than in any other agency. In every focus group the police were used as the main frame of reference when respondents were discussing their faith, confidence and trust in the CJS. Whilst recognising the validity of participant understanding and experiences, it is also important to look beyond the actual actions and activities of the police to the wider constraints within the CJS that may be the actual cause of individual dissatisfaction. As the primary point of contact, lack of trust in the police has led to negative connotations being attached to many of the other agencies. The qualitative outcomes of the focus group appear to differ from Pepper *et al.*'s (2004) research, which

showed that around half of people thought the police do a good or excellent job. They differ also from those in the postal survey (see chapter 4) where 58% overall thought that the police do a fairly good to excellent job with minority ethnic groups generally giving higher ratings than white people.

Much of the discussion was underpinned by the view that the police were there more as a means of deterrence and punishment, rather than to help. This was not a negative thing per se, and a large proportion of the participants felt there should be more deterrence. It was perceived negative, however, where police response to the general public was seen to adopt an aggressive style more akin to catching and convicting criminals than helping.

There was a sense that the perceived racist attitudes and behaviour of some police officers coloured the views of participants concerning the police force in general. This said, in order for the confidence of individuals to be reinstated it is felt that officers who are not racist, were known to the community, doing good work, should be recognised, particularly by the media. In 3 of the focus groups (Park, Keighley 24/02 and Batley 19/02) participants were able to name police officers that were working in the community and promoting better relations.

> *"Not all police officers are bad. But some, their power gets to them, they think they can do anything, most of them actually. But some are really good. They will try and help you" (Pakistani Male, age 30 -50, Park).*

There were conflicting opinions as to the benefits of having BME police officers. The majority of the focus groups participants were adamant that BME police officers would not achieve anything, rather they would just make it worse. It was felt that the pressure put upon them to be seen to be doing the right thing within the police force, the racism that they themselves faced and the lack of trust members of the community had in them meant that they would not be able to do their job effectively. In addition, it was felt that these police officers often go further than their white counterparts in

mistreating members of the BME community as a means of gaining acceptance from their colleagues.

> *"Asian coppers just go on a power trip, they go outrageous. That as well as not being shown up in front of their colleagues, they don't want their colleagues to think that they are favouring Asians, so they're harsher" (Pakistani female, age under 30, Toller).*

> *"Don't know why they are trying to recruit more Asian bobbies because there is so much racism there at the moment when they recruit them they will just become the same" (Pakistani male, age 30-50, Wakefield, 17/02).*

> *"Black police officers have to prove themselves to their white colleagues" (Black male, age 30-50, Leeds).*

When asked, the majority of participants said they had not, nor would they ever, consider joining the police force or allowing their children to do so. This said, in some focus groups such as Batley (15/02 & 19/02) there was the sense that more BME officers would be a positive thing, promoting change, making a difference and improving the lot of the BME communities. One participant in Batley did, however, suggest that even in recruitment BME officers are being subject to discrimination, citing the example of her husband who had applied to be in the police force and been rejected three times.

> *They [Asian officers] do get support in the police service, if you go to Bradford, there are plenty of them there. The police are recruiting more Asian officers (Pakistani male, age under 30, Batley).*

> *"My husband has been turned down 5 times [from joining the police force], once on height, then fitness, then holidays…all they need is one excuse to turn you down…Asians don't get the opportunities" (Pakistani female, age under 30, Batley)*

Almost none of the 226 participants knew what the acronym CPS stands for, and what the exact role of the CPS was or is. For the most part, when it was explained to them, participants did understand the role of the CPS as the body that determines whether a case ought to go forward or not. This said, there was a persistent doubt as to the independence of the CPS from the police. This doubt was attributed by participants to the fact that the CPS continues to rely on evidence provided by the police and is also considered to be on the same 'side' as them. It was felt by respondents that the reliance placed upon the police meant that the discrimination they faced there would simply feed through into the way in which the CPS handled the case, whether they were trying to be fair or not.

> *"I don't trust the other agencies because the copper isn't going to say that we are actually bad so they [the CPS] won't [do anything]" (Pakistani male, age 30-50 Wakefield).*

Generally there was a degree of ambivalence with regards to the court system. For the most part, where respondents did discuss the courts, they felt that their treatment was equal to that of other ethnic groups. Only in Chapel Town was there a sense that the courts discriminated on the basis of an individual's area. Underlying this perception was the very strong sentiment within this focus group that Chapel Town and its residents had already been stereotyped throughout the CJS as being 'bad' and as having a foregone 'criminal element' as described previously. As discussed above there is also the belief that the judicial system is not above being influenced by the political climate of the day. Many participants felt this was evidenced by the sentencing of those involved in the Bradford and Leeds riots.

> *"If I was in a situation where I hadn't paid a fine it would be down to the judge to see the facts but, having said that, I still think the system was still stacked against the stereotypes associated with black people. I wouldn't say that the CJS isn't bad if there is proportionately more Blacks and Asians in prison. I'm not saying that what these young guys and women are doing is*

right but in comparison of what they are getting thrown in to jail for. If you're
going to have a system, deal with it fairly" (Black female, age 30-50, Leeds).

There was very little discussion with regard to the prison service. Participants felt
their lack of contact with the prison service meant they were not able to relate to it,
nor able to offer an informed opinion. For the most part, participant experience of the
prison service was either through third party knowledge or with reference to cases as
represented by the media.

"That boy that was killed in the prison by a racist inmate. What I heard was
that that boy had a problem with a prison officer. The officer didn't like him
and knew that the lad he was putting him in a cell with is a racist. At the end
of the day, they killed him, even if they were not the ones to beat him to
death. Racism is getting worse" (Pakistani male, age 30-50, Batley).

Those participants who had experience of the prison service first hand spoke more to
the attitudes and actions of the prison service staff as opposed to the prison system.
Notwithstanding the inequalities experienced by some participants, comments in
relation to the prison service were generally positive with qualifications made when
referring to specific cases. There were concerns as to the number of BME prison
officers and the effectiveness of prisons where individuals are interacting with other
criminals.

"The prison service is ok – Doncaster prison is ok – it's an open prison. You
get to do education" (Pakistani male, age under 30, Keighley, 24/02).

"As I understand it 10% of the prisoners are Muslims. What percentage of
the prison officers are Muslims?" (Pakistani male, age 30-50, Batley,
19/02)

"Jail is an encyclopaedia of how to commit crime" (Black male, age under
30, Leeds).

When considered as a separate entity within the CJS the probation service was viewed to be a very positive agency by the majority of participants. It is important to note, however, that those participants who thought of it as so were also, by and large, individuals that had never had any direct contact with it. This notwithstanding, the probation service's rehabilitative schemes were considered positive in tackling the root causes of criminal behaviour.

> *"Probation services are ok. One lad got into trouble because he threw a fag and it hit a girl in her hair. He used to do probation, you know the hours, community service, and the guy, he was a white guy, he really helped him, you know I'll stay with you so you won't feel" (Pakistani male, age under 30, Keighley).*

> *"Umeed, the registered charity that work alongside probation services. Umeed is a very positive measure. We should have more things like that" (Pakistani male, age 50+, Toller).*

The limited discussion that took place with regard to CJS agencies other than the police is a reflection of a lack of contact between participants and the CJS framework beyond frontline policing. Participants felt they were unable to speak about CJS agencies in an informed manner. This lack of knowledge does have an indirect relationship with diminishing confidence. A lack of understanding as to CJS agencies results in lack of clarity as to roles and responsibilities and an undue emphasis upon the police who are seen to carry responsibility for most aspects of criminal justice. That the police are deemed to neglect these responsibilities results in dissatisfaction with, and consequently lack of confidence in, the services delivered. This lack of understanding is particularly true in relation to the prosecution of cases, as there is no perceived boundary between the CPS and the police.

Perceptions from the focus groups therefore suggest that BME communities have less confidence in the police than in other CJS agencies. It has been noted that Pepper et

al.'s (2004) research has shown an apparent contradiction between perceptions of discrimination and unfair treatment and higher ratings of the police. The findings of the postal survey (see chapter 4) and the focus groups are further evidence of this disparity.

6.4 Issues affecting confidence beyond CJS remits

6.4.1 Media

There is a general feeling within the data that CJS agencies, and particularly the police, are not immune to the influence of the media. When articulating their confidence in the system, many participants raised the role of the media as making them feel increasingly vulnerable to racism and discrimination from within the CJS. The media were thought to play a role in the way in which CJS agencies themselves behaved as well as creating a particular image of groups of different faiths and young people and the impact of global events such as September 11th.

6.4.1.1 Inappropriate reporting of faith groups

Media representation of Muslims is thought to have been significantly affected by global events such as September 11th. Many of the participants highlighted that the media was now inherently biased against Muslims. In particular, reference was repeatedly made throughout focus groups to the frequency of media reference to the Muslim faith of any suspected or convicted criminal. It was felt that such media representation blamed the faith of the individual rather than the individual themselves for whatever crime had been committed. Whilst participants did not expect the media to come under the remit of the CJS, there was a sense that media comments by CJS agencies were biased, and that enough was not being done to dispel the stereotypes being propagated by prejudicial reporting. It was felt that the existence and perpetuation of such stereotypes was impacting upon the way in which agencies

within the CJS, particularly the police, relate to and interact with British and non-British Muslims resident in the UK.

> *"Muslims were stereotyped before 9/11 but now they are even more discriminated against" (Pakistani male, age under 30, Keighley)*

> *"There needs to be better wording so for example if someone who is white commits a crime in the media it is said that Joe Bloggs committed this crime but if it is a Muslim person then it is this Muslim committed this crime" (Pakistani male ,age under 30, Keighley).*

In addition, a large proportion of the participants spoke of an increased awareness of being looked at as being 'different' and labelled as being 'terrorist' simply because of their skin colour and/or faith.

> *"The 'war on terror' has had a huge impact on individual relationships with authority"(Pakistani male, age 50+ Wakefield)*

6.4.1.2 Representation of young people

There is a sense within the focus groups, particularly amongst younger participants that the media constantly portrays young people to be criminal. Interestingly, whilst Far Eastern participants were not happy with the manner in which they were represented, they did not see this representation as aiding in their criminalisation. On the other hand, young people (and many older participants as well) of South Asian, Black or African-Caribbean origin felt the manner in which they were represented by the media greatly impacted upon and actually shaped the way they were treated by the police in particular.

> *"When the police drive past they have a look in their eyes, you're an Asian lad, like it said in Keighley newspaper that if you're an Asian lad with a cap*

on, a polo jumper and Nike trainers he's a drug dealer" (Pakistani male, age under 30, Keighley).

6.5. How participants thought confidence might be improved

The most significant recommendation to come out of every single focus group is the need for CJS agencies to behave in a fair and equitable manner. This recommendation is so very striking because every single focus group felt it needs to be made. The principles of fairness and equality permeate through all further suggestions made by participants.

Participants concurred with many of the MORI study (Johnson et al, 2005) outcomes when identifying areas in which the CJS could be improved so as to increase confidence and trust in the system.

Participants suggested, as in the MORI study (Johnson et al, 2005), that a greater police presence would improve confidence. This was in spite of the equation of a greater police presence to greater intimidation in some instances, for example in the context of stop and search.

In addition to concurring with MORI's 'faster progression of cases through the system' participants also required faster response to cases by frontline agencies, namely the police. As discussed above, this links to the need for more effective services in order to have greater confidence in the system.

Participants felt the need for better community policing in order to develop an amiable and non-confrontational relationship with the police, a theme Johnson et al (2005) also found commonly emerging from low confidence groups. This is linked to the view that the police should be seen as an agency there to help law abiding citizens, rather than one simply there as a means of deterring criminals.

Many participants did call for consistent and tougher sentencing. This was underpinned, however, by the belief that prisons themselves should be places of educational and employment reform. More importantly however, participants were adamant that sentencing should be as tough for all groups, and not just those of BME heritage. Whilst the length of sentence served was only discussed in one focus group there was general agreement that if a crime warranted a lengthy sentence then criminals should be made to serve the full sentence.

Participants advocated better communication channels between themselves and all aspects of the CJS. This not only speaks to a desire to have a better understanding of the institutional frameworks that affect their lives, but also to develop a sense of empowerment whereby they are able to understand and perhaps influence decisions made and have access to the various agencies that are responsible for their own safety and security.

6.6 Conclusion

There was no real difference in the degree to which the different ethnic groups consulted lacked confidence. For the most part differences amongst ethnic groups arose in the reasons for this lack of confidence and trust.

Both younger and older participants expressed similar levels of confidence, but differed in the manner in which they were expressed. For the most part, younger participants articulated their accounts with a great deal more anger and willingness to challenge. In contrast older participants were generally more resigned to levels of discrimination and inequality, but no less affected. This said, amongst Black African-Caribbean respondents, older participants were as vocal, if not more so, in terms of the need to challenge the CJS in order to bring about the requisite changes that would result in increased confidence.

There was no striking difference between male and female participants. Of the two groups who did express some confidence in the system, one was male and the other female. Gendered differences did arise in the context of suspected perpetrators and victims of crime. For the most part it was felt that suspected perpetrators of crime, particularly those subject to stop and search were young minority ethnic males. Differences in vulnerability to crime related to the form of crimes committed against individuals. The majority of female participants cited instances of crimes such as burglary and muggings, whereas male participants tended to speak of verbal and physical assaults.

The focus groups concur with Mirrlees-Black (2001) in that the more contact participants had with the CJS, and various agencies within it, the more they seemed to lack in confidence. There is a strong indication throughout the focus groups that confidence and trust in the system is being undermined daily. This is compounded by the increased vulnerability of BME groups resulting from factors as far ranging as global world events to local geographical identities.

In light of the outcomes generated by this research it is insufficient for the CJS Confidence unit to append race issues on to one of the 6 priority areas. This research has shown that BME communities are experiencing a lack of confidence in the CJS. Much of this is founded in expectations of discriminatory and unequal practices. For many participants, these perceptions are being reinforced by daily experiences.

Much of the data from the focus groups echoes the findings of Johnson et al.'s 2005 study, particularly in relation to low confidence groups. Issues relating to direct and indirect experience of crime and criminal justice, 'word of mouth' and the local media, geographical localities, fear, negative perceptions of the police and lack of community policing were all identified as drivers of confidence, or lack thereof. This said, the focus groups contextualised many of these issues in their status as BME groups or individuals.

7. Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

7.1 Summary

The findings of this research show that criminal justice agencies in West Yorkshire are actively engaged with the government's vision on raising BME confidence in the criminal justice system. The interviews with members of WYRIG revealed that criminal justice agencies in the county are involved in a variety of activities that comply with government directives as to what criminal justice agencies and LCJBs should be doing in order to raise confidence in the criminal justice system in their local areas. These activities include

- Making the criminal justice agencies more representative of the communities they serve through efforts to recruit more BMEs into their workforce
- Engaging with BME communities to identify concerns and to promote a criminal justice system that is seen to be fair and treats everyone equally. The approaches taken include the setting up of community consultation panels, researching needs, priorities and attitudes, and organising public and private meetings, conferences and seminars to discuss criminal justice issues affecting BME communities. There is no indication that any of the community engagement activities mentioned involves devolving responsibility exclusively to communities or supporting community-based responses and actions (WYPA, 2005)
- Providing agency staff with race awareness information and training
- Dealing with and supporting victims of racist and homophobic crimes
- Providing information to BME communities about the criminal justice system and the work of the different agencies, through the provision of criminal justice documents and information in local minority ethnic languages. Public meetings, conferences seminars and careers fairs have also been used as a

means of providing information about criminal justice and the criminal justice agencies to communities.

- Empowerment through involvement in scrutiny panels, in the effort to raise confidence though accountability and transparency.

- Community policing, with West Yorkshire having the second largest number of PCSOs in the UK.

- West Yorkshire police use of local radio stations to reach out to BME community audience and provide opportunities for members of these communities to discuss important policing concerns with the police

- Individual efforts (e.g. by Judge Kamil) to raise awareness of BME issues in criminal justice and encourage BME residents to be involved in the local criminal justice system

These activities appear to be aligned with government directives on the planning for confidence. (Office for Criminal Justice Reform, 2005). The two key tasks in the framework document on raising confidence, namely to improve performance and quality of service delivery and to improve communication and engagement with local communities, appear to be covered in some ways in these activities.

However, it is important to know the extent to which standards of customer service have been improved and whether or not the LCJB is delivering, as required by the government, what the communities want. More importantly, it is essential to know how these activities are being delivered, and how they have been or are being monitored and evaluated to ascertain their effectiveness in raising confidence. Whilst there is mention of partnership working and coordination, and reference was made to monitoring by a few of the agencies, there was no mention of any evaluation done to measure the effectiveness of these activities in raising confidence.

WYRIG members were asked what they thought were the major issues or factors impinging upon confidence in West Yorkshire. The answers given included the apparent negative attitudes of the BME communities towards the criminal justice

agencies and the efforts that are being made to involve them in their agencies' activities. Suspicion and apathy were mentioned as examples. A language barrier was also mentioned as an additional hindrance. In addition, local and international events such as the Bradford riots, the fear of BNP activities in West Yorkshire and the terrorist incident of September 11 in the USA are believed to have damped, in various ways, BME confidence in the fairness of the criminal justice system and its ability to protect and support victims.

BME Opinions and views on confidence in the criminal justice system

The surveys and the focus group sessions provided qualitative and quantitative data on samples of BME people's views on the criminal justice system, their levels of confidence and ratings and trust in the system.

The surveys

Respondents in the surveys (both White and BME respondents) were generally confident that the CJS respects the rights of accused persons and treats them fairly, but less confident that the CJS is effective in bringing criminals to justice, deals with cases promptly and efficiently, is efficient in meeting the needs of victim and is effective in reducing crime. The ratings for criminal justice agencies vary with the police having the best ratings. The respondents indicated greater trust in the health service and schools than in any of the criminal justice agencies. When asked what the criminal justice agencies should do to raise confidence, the responses vary and include more visible policing, harsher and more consistent sentencing and being stricter or tougher with offenders. However, the respondents demanded (as in the focus groups), more information about what some of the criminal justice agencies do.

Amongst the BME respondents in the survey, Indians and Pakistani respondents were more confident than the other ethnic groups that the criminal justice system is effective in bringing criminal to justice, meets the need of victims, deals with cases promptly and effectively and is effective in reducing crime. There are no significant

ethnic differences in confidence that the criminal justice system respects the rights of citizens and treats people fairly.

With regards to the job done, Indian respondents were more likely to rate the agencies highly compared with the other ethnic groups. There are gender and ethnic variations in trust with women having more trust in the police and Indian and Pakistani respondents having a great deal or a fair amount of trust in the courts.

Further analysis revealed that ethnicity separately predicts confidence, with minority groups generally having more confidence than white people. However, the picture is complex with age, gender and victimisation combining with ethnicity to influence the confidence of sub groups within these ethnic minorities. For example, Indians are very confident in a number of issues but Pakistani and other ethnic group female victims are particularly low in confidence that the criminal justice system is prompt and efficient. Other ethnic groups have trust in the legal services and older Pakistanis in the Crown Prosecution Service.

In addition, the survey revealed that there may be geographical determinants of confidence. There were differences in overall confidence between the seven wards surveyed. Mapping of police ratings showed that there are areas of low ratings which are irrespective of ethnicity. There were areas of low ratings which included white respondents only but also others with mixed white and BME respondents. There were also higher rating areas of predominately BME residents, white only respondents and mixed ethnicities.

Of those who expressed some views about what the agencies could do to raise confidence, there were two main suggestions outstanding: (a) a general preference for more visible policing. (b) a request for more or better communication with the public, to let the public know what the agencies actually do. Other suggestions for change included greater cultural awareness, more local knowledge, tougher sentences, stricter prison regimes and better monitoring of offenders.

The focus groups

Confidence amongst the 226 participants who took part in the focus groups was generally low. However, racism came across in the discussions as the major determinant of BME confidence. With reference to personal and anecdotal examples, views were expressed that indicated that the BME participants do not have confidence that the criminal justice system is capable of meeting any of the five BCS confidence measures. However, the participant's perceptions of the criminal justice system as a whole emanate from their views on and apparent experience of the police, for example, of police stop and search. Knowledge of what the other criminal justice agencies do was poor. Where there was a little knowledge of what the agencies do, the views were generally more positive, for example, in relation to the Probation Service. Age was seen as a factor in confidence with younger people less positive. Other factors mentioned as affecting BME confidence were poor area identities and increasingly stereotyped media images of BMEs, especially of Muslims, since the terrorist incident of September 11 2001. With low confidence came low ratings of the agencies, albeit mainly with reference to the police. Low ratings came from the apparent ineffectiveness of the police in meeting the needs of BME victims.

When asked what could be done to improve BME confidence, the most frequently occurring response mentioned by the participants, like their counterparts in the surveys, was "more communication" or "more information". There was a demand made for the agencies to make known to the communities what they do and "what's going on". If the agencies appear to be doing so much and none of the 226 participants in the focus groups knew or have heard about any of these projects or initiatives, then it is likely that what's being done is either not getting through, is ineffective, superficial, or the communication network is poor. The claim to lack of information about what the agencies do or are doing means that knowledge about the criminal justice system is received from third-party, possibly biased sources such as the media. Effective communication would empower the communities, develop a

better understanding between the agencies, enable them to locate their complaints at particular agencies and dispel the frustrations and mistrust felt against the agencies.

In spite of the strong negative views expressed of the police, the need for increased police presence was mentioned as a factor that is likely to improve confidence. The participants did not believe that the diversity of the officers was important. What was considered important was that the agencies are seen to behave in a fair and equitable manner.

Conclusions

The agencies appear to be engaged in a variety of activities that they said are to raise BME confidence. However, the fact that confidence and trust in the criminal justice system and the ratings of the agencies by the sample of respondents in the surveys are generally low, and none of the 226 participants in the focus groups knew or have heard about any of these projects or activities, implies that what's being done is either not getting through, is ineffective, superficial, or the communication network is poor.

The call for more communication and information on how the agencies work, what they do and about "what's going on" permeates both the survey respondents' and focus group participants' requests for change. The claim to lack of information about what the agencies do or are doing means that knowledge about the criminal justice system is received from third party, possibly biased sources such as the media.

There are various local factors affecting BME confidence in West Yorkshire. It appears   that BME confidence in the region has also been affected by national events. The apparent complex nature of the variables means that a more coherent approach to the issues is necessary. This study shows that the effect of local area is important and should be given some recognition in the planning of initiatives to raise confidence in the region.

7.2 Recommendations

1. There is a need for a more visible and effective coordination or monitoring of agency activities to raise confidence.

2. Efforts must be made to evaluate projects in order to assess their effectiveness in meeting confidence targets and goals. Key confidence indicators included at Appendix 3 may be of assistance in the evaluation process.

3. Community engagement needs to include devolving responsibility for decision-making to communities and supporting community-based responses and actions (WYPA, 2005). Empowerment is more likely to raise confidence than other 'lower' levels of engagement.

4. The diversified nature of the ethnic population in West Yorkshire should always be considered in the development of policies. 'One size doesn't fit all' Effectiveness will be improved by tailoring actions to specific groups and sub-groups.

5. The idea of diversity officers is appropriate but may prove ineffective if the incumbents are not adequately equipped to be able to energize others to act

6. In the light of the repeated calls for communication and information, it is desirable that the provision of information should be consistent and should be a mainstream activity. There is a need to continue dialogue with the communities and the different sub-groups within them.

7. The results of the surveys and focus groups show that area is as important as ethnicity when it comes to confidence. Efforts to improve confidence may yield better results if they are area or ward-based. It is obvious that the areas technically classified BME areas also include White residents. It is discriminatory for policies to target specific ethnic groups in an area and leave out other ethnic groups.

8. If efforts to improve confidence are to be initially targeted in two areas, of the surveyed wards, those with the least confidence overall are Keighley Central and Wakefield East (See chapter 4, Table 4.28). Since Keighley Central has a BME Census 2001 population of 42% (See chapter 3, Table 3.1), a focus here

is likely to reach ethnic minority residents and achieve raised BME confidence. Wakefield East however has only 12% BME population. It might therefore be preferable for the second area targeted to be Park ward where 56% of the population is BME and respondents had below average confidence on more than half the issues.

9. Agencies need to ensure continuing progress in the elimination of discriminatory practices at all levels. The greater the progress the more important it becomes to ensure that these achievements are seen and recognised by those to whom services are delivered.

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Appendix 1 Survey Additional tables

Table 1 The wards targeted

Census ward	BME	Detail	New ward	BME	Detail
Toller	73%	Pakistani 62%	Toller	75%	64% Pakistani
Keighley North	28%	Pakistani 22%	Keighley Central	42%	33% Pakistani
St John's	37%	Pakistani 32%	Park	56%	54% Asian
Wakefield East	15%	Pakistani 12%	Wakefield East	12%	10% Pakistani
Batley East	42%	Indian 28% Pakistani 11%	Batley East	56%	16% Indian 31% Pakistani
Chapel Allerton	33%	Black Caribbean 11% Indian 5% Pakistani 6% Mixed 4% Other Black groups 3%	Chapel Allerton	31%	10% Black Caribbean 6% Pakistani 5% Indian 5% Mixed
University	26%	Mixed 5% Indian 3% Pakistani 4% Black Caribbean 4% Black African 3% Chinese 4% Other ethnic group 3%	Hyde Park & Woodhouse	25%	6% Pakistani 6% Black/Black British 4% Mixed 3% Chinese 3% Indian 2% Other ethnic group

Table 2 Response rates

	Postal Survey numbers	Postal Survey % Responses(n = 434)	Response Rate
Keighley Central	67	15	17
Toller	55	13	14
Batley East	70	16	18
Park	55	12	14
Hyde Park	40	9	10
Chapel Allerton	78	18	19
Wakefield East	67	15	17
Unknown	2	0.5	

Table 3 BME responses

New ward	BME % in population	BME % in responses	Difference
Toller	75	59	16
Keighley Central	42	20	22
Park	56	44	12
Wakefield East	12	16	-4
Batley East	56	24	22
Chapel Allerton	31	43	-12
Hyde Park & Woodhouse	25	16	9

Table 4 BME Groups

	% answering question. Postal survey (n=401)	Community Groups (n= 35)
White	68	6
Mixed	1.5	
Indian	6	
Pakistani	18	17
Other Asian	2	9
Black	4	3
Other Ethnic Group	0.5	66

Appendix 2 Focus Groups Participants

Date	Ward	Agency Representative (Speaker)	Ethnicity of the Majority of Participants	Gender			Age Distribution			
				M	F	Totals	Below 30	30+ - 50	Above 50	Totals
04/02	Toller	Police	Pakistani/Bangladeshi	9	13	**22**	13	9	0	**22**
08/02	Wakefield	CPS	Pakistani	0	10	**10**	0	0	10	**10**
09/02	Toller	Probation	Pakistani	8	0	**8**	0	2	6	**8**
10/02	Toller	Police	Pakistani	0	24	**24**	19	5	0	**24**
15/02	Batley East	CPS	Pakistani/Indian	0	17	**17**	6	6	5	**17**
16/02	Hyde Park & Woodhouse	CPS	Chinese/Mixed	5	8	**13**	13	0	0	**13**
17/02	Wakefield	Probation	Pakistani	10	11	**21**	12	9	0	**21**
19/02	Batley East	CPS	Pakistani/Indian	10	0	**10**	0	7	3	**10**
20/02	Chapel Allerton	Probation	Black/Afro-Caribbean	2	4	**6**	0	3	3	**6**
23/02	Wakefield	None	Pakistani	17	0	**17**	0	10	7	**17**
24/02	Keighley Central	Police/CPS	Pakistani/Bangladeshi	21	0	**21**	21	0	0	**21**
25/02	Chapel Allerton	None	Black/Afro-Caribbean	12	17	**29**	6	16	7	**29**
26/02	Keighley Central	CPS	Pakistani/Bangladeshi	0	12	**12**	12	0	0	**12**
01/03	Park	Judiciary/CPS	Pakistani	16	0	**16**	2	10	4	**16**
Totals				**110**	**116**	**226**	**104**	**77**	**45**	**226**

Appendix 3 Key confidence indicators from the Survey

These indicators are derived from a small sample of respondents and therefore must be treated with caution. Many of the 434 who did respond either said that they had "no view" or implied this by their failure to answer some of the questions. This proportion with no view may in itself be regarded as an indicator of knowledge, interest and confidence.

Table 1 Confidence in the performance of the CJS

	Per cent of respondents who expressed a view very or fairly confident			Per cent respondents with no view
	White	BME	All respondents	
CJS is effective in bringing people who commit crime to justice	30	51	37	3
CJS meets the needs of victims of crime	21	47	29	4
CJS respects the rights of people accused of crime and treats them fairly	71	64	68	4
CJS deals with cases promptly and efficiently	29	46	35	4
CJS is effective in reducing crime	21	42	27	4

Table 2 Ratings of the CJS agencies

	Per cent of respondents who expressed a view rating the job that agencies do as fairly good to excellent			Per cent respondents with no view
	White	BME	All respondents	
Police	57	63	59	4
Crown Prosecution Service	34	51	39	18
Criminal Defence Solicitors	57	60	58	26
Crown and County Courts	42	63	49	28
Magistrates Courts	44	57	48	27
Probation Service	44	66	51	34
Youth Justice System	28	52	36	33
Prisons	33	36	34	23

Table 3 Trust in local CJS agencies

	Per cent of respondents who expressed a view with a great deal or fair amount of trust			Per cent respondents with no view
	White	BME	All respondents	
The local police	63	58	61	6
The local crown prosecution service	43	56	47	28
The local legal services	54	63	57	32
The local courts	46	61	51	31

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