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THE USE AND EFFECTIVENESS OF STOP SEARCH POWERS AND ITS PUBLIC PERCEPTION IN THE UK

Professional Policing (BSc Hons)

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Abstract

Stop and search has fast become one of the most controversial police policies in recent years. Its use creating disproportionality has not only caught the eye of the media but also has a negative public perception. This research investigates the current attitudes towards stop and search and how effective the policy is in practice through 3 key aims. The first aim is to investigate attitudes towards stop and search by researching the public's views secondly, to establish the effectiveness of stop and search in practice and thirdly to ascertain the impact stop and search has on Black and Ethnic Minority communities. The literature surrounding stop and search practices was reviewed and critically analysed alongside identification of key research areas for data collection. The results show that generally, attitudes towards stop and search are negative however, respondents also showed that overall, it is an effective policy and should be kept in practice. The study was unable to account for respondents specifically with a criminal record as this is a particularly sensitive area of research and as well as taking into account the anonymity of the survey. Another factor the research was unable to account for was that the survey was undertaken once meaning that there is a limited range of results. Recommendations for future research entails how to alter police stop and search practices to improve public perception and achieve an overall increased confidence in the police policies.

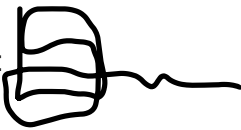
Impact of Covid-19

This research has been impacted by Covid-19 and as a result, primary research has been undertaken on a non-face to face basis. This is in order to minimise risk and to safeguard the participants involved in the study as well as myself.

Declaration

This study is the result of my independent work in which I have acknowledged all the sources of material used within it. I also declare the accuracy of stated inclusive word count.

Signed:

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a stylized capital 'B' followed by a horizontal line and a small wavy flourish.

Date: 5th May 2022

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my module leader Mike Durke and my supervisors Peter Doyle and Rhiannon Lloyd for their continued support with this research. I would also like to thank the participants of the survey who kindly took the time to respond and share their invaluable thoughts and opinions. Finally, I would like to thank my family who showed their consistent moral support throughout my research.

1.0 Introduction

The public has a right to expect the police to protect them by using their authority in an effective and equitable manner. When the police exercise their powers disproportionately, in varying quantities on various ethnic groups, some communities suspect that they are being unfairly targeted. This has the potential to damage police credibility, which is a key component of the British model of consent-based policing. The public's perception of legitimacy is directly related to how the police exercise their authority, whether the police utilise their powers in a fair and reasonable manner, are polite during contacts, and are transparent with their judgement. A loss of confidence towards the Police leads to a loss of legitimacy, which can result in decreased levels of collaboration and adherence.

If the Police use their powers unfairly it may be detrimental if it causes others to believe they are not obliged to follow the law. It may make people hesitant to cooperate with police and report a crime in which they have been victims or to come forward as witnesses. The police powers that allow them to use force and stop and search individuals are among the most invasive and controversial. Some consider stop and search to be an effective weapon in the battle against crime, whereas others claim that its usage has no influence on crime rates and may even exacerbate disorder (Delsol et al. 2006). For others, notably Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic individuals, it might reinforce the notion that the law enforcement has a discriminatory culture (Delsol et al. 2006). Police constabularies must do more to recognise disproportionality, understand the causes for it, take appropriate action to minimise it, and convey those motivations and efforts to the public. Without the need for a sufficient explanation, concerned citizens may see the inappropriate use of Police powers as an indication of prejudice, undermining police legitimacy.

Stop and search is mostly utilised to search for drugs (Bradford, 2017). The high proportion of searches for possession of drugs rather than supplying, may imply that resources are not being directed beneficially on force objectives. Forces frequently claim 'county lines' as a rationale for stop and search (Bradford, 2017), however, to be more successful, policing

strategies to satisfy this requirement, must effectively target drug supply more. The disparate tactics employed by forces indicate a lack of standardised policy and procedure. Despite evidence that there is no association among ethnicity and levels of substance use, drug enforcement, mostly through stop and search, leads to ethnic disproportionality.

The potential harm to police-community relationships, generated by a significant prevalence of drug searches, particularly some that yield inconclusive results, may exceed the advantages obtained from such searches. The consequences of unresolved disproportionality can indeed be extensive and long-lasting. It may result in an increase in the number of Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic persons getting dragged into the criminal justice system, affecting their schooling and family life, and limiting their employability. It shapes public and police views of Black people and crime, and it may impact how police distribute and utilise resources. This, in essence, aggravates the systemic inequities in the criminal justice system.

2.0 Literature Review

2.1 History of Stop and Search

In British Policing, the power enabling a constable to stop and search a person or premises has been ever present since the Victorian era. Before 1982, stop and search powers were known as 'sus laws' which came under the legislation of S. 8 of the Vagrancy Act 1824 (Yesufu, 2013). This power during that era was referred to as 'sus laws' because the Vagrancy Act stated that anyone acting 'disorderly' or a 'rogue and vagabond' would have been deemed necessary to search (Yesufu, 2013). Upon The Police and Criminal Evidence Act being introduced in 1984, it is now widely accepted that the Vagrancy Act 1824 was an abuse of Police power and that its use contributed to poor police and community relations (Bowling et al. 2007).

Serious rioting across three days in August 1981 in Brixton sparked widespread concern (Jefferson, 2012). Such turmoil in Brixton, as well as similar incidents in the UK, mostly comprised young black Britons battling with police (Jefferson, 2012). The government appointed Lord Scarman to launch an investigation into the riots. The subsequent Scarman Report highlighted that the disruptions were an outpouring of black adolescents' rage and frustration over how police treated them (Taylor, 1984). The Scarman Report also suggested that the existing laws should be replaced with new stop and search legislation.

The UK Government then acted upon the conclusion and findings of the Scarman Report and introduced the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 (Delsol, 2015). The Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 replaced the 'sus laws' and implemented a power where a constable could stop and search a person or premises under reasonable grounds and the legislation provides a guide on how officers should use the legislation and when they should use it (Delsol, 2015).

In July 1997, Sir William Macpherson inquired into the investigation of the Stephen Lawrence murder and deemed that the Metropolitan Police when dealing with this murder were institutionally racist (Lea, 2000). Macpherson recognised that stop and search powers are necessary to assist police in preventing and detecting crime, but he advocated for tighter oversight of how they are utilized (Innes, 1999). Macpherson came to the firm opinion that inequalities in stop and search rates based on race revealed "racial stereotyping" by the police (Lea, 2000). All stop and search encounters, according to Macpherson, should be recorded, and these recordings should be overseen by individuals in police forces (Hall, 1999). PACE Code A was revised, and officers were given additional advice on what qualifies "reasonable grounds" for a search to be carried out (Hall, 1999).

2.2 Stop and Search Legislation

In the United Kingdom, more than 20 legal search powers in the law that allow Police constabularies to stop and search (Miller, 2010). There are three acts of Parliament that allow officers the power to conduct the majority of stop and searches. The Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984, which allows officers to stop a search persons or premises with the intention of finding prohibited articles (Home Office, 2022). The Misuse of Drugs Act 1971, which allows officers to search for controlled drugs (Home Office, 2022) and section 60 of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994, which allows officers to search for any type of weapon (Home Office, 2022).

Section 1 of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 permits a Police officer to stop and search a person or vehicle for stolen or prohibited articles such as articles that could be used in burglary, theft and fraud, offensive weapons, fireworks, and items that may be used for criminal damage (Home Office, 2022). Before conducting a section 1 stop search, an officer must have reasonable grounds to suspect that the individual or vehicle contains stolen or

prohibited articles (Home Office, 2022). For an officer to conduct a stop search under this legislation, a senior officer authorisation is not required (Ozin et al. 2019).

Section 23 of the Misuse of Drugs Act 1971 allows for a Police officer to stop and search a person, vehicle, or vessel with the intention of finding any controlled drugs (Home Office, 2022). Again, this piece of legislation requires the officer to have reasonable grounds before searching to suspect that the person, vehicle, or vessel contains any controlled drug (Home Office, 2022). As well as section 1 of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984, this piece of legislation also does not require authorisation for its use by officers from a senior officer (Stothard, 2021).

Section 60 of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 states that a senior officer may authorise the exercise of stop and search powers within a specific area for a short duration of up to 48 hours where they have reasonable grounds to believe that significant violence is about to occur, has occurred, or that harmful items or offensive weapons are being carried (Home Office, 2022). An officer may stop and search a person or vehicle under this legislation for offensive weapons and dangerous implements without having reasonable grounds to suspect any of these items will be carried by the person or vehicle (Home Office, 2022).

2.3 Impact of Stop and Search on Black, Minority and Ethnic Communities

Individuals of a Black, Minority, and Ethnic background have continuously been subjected to a stop and search at a significantly higher rate than white people. In 2019/20, Black, Minority and Ethnic persons were four times more likely than white people to be searched (Brown, 2021). The gap is especially evident among black people, who have been nine times more likely than white persons to be stopped and searched (Brown, 2021). Worryingly, a large proportion of these stop and searches, 77%, resulted in no further action according to Home

Office statistics (2021). Since 2009/10, the gap in search rates between black and white persons has grown (Vomfell et al. 2021). This is due to a greater decrease in the number of White persons searched than Black people (Vomfell et al. 2021). Between 2009/10 and 2019/20, the proportion for white individuals that were searched declined by 65%, while the rate for black people decreased by 53% (Vomfell et al. 2021). According to Home Office figures (2021) the use of stop and search increased by 24% reaching 695,000 incidents by March 2021. According to Home Office figures (2021), 479,000 of these stops were for drugs. This constitutes a 36% increase on the previous year.

This ongoing gap in stop and search statistics by ethnicity can thus be connected to BME people's reduced trust in the police. People who lack trust in the police are less likely to report crimes, limiting the police's capacity to protect them. There is little evidence to suggest that BME persons are more likely to be carrying objects that officers are permitted to search for by law. There is also limited evidence to suggest that they are more prone to participate in criminal activity relating to stop and search enforcement (Densley et al. 2020). The majority of the disparity in stop and search rates by ethnicity appears to be explained by societal racism and its impacts, including unconscious bias in some officers (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2010). However, the Metropolitan Police Service's tactical decision to utilise stop and search extensively more than other constabularies could suggest part of the imbalance. According to the Independent Office for Police Conduct (2018), a black teenager was stopped 60 times within a two year period by The Metropolitan Police with some of the searches occurring several times on the same day. This evidence would suggest stereotyping and racial bias.

Leaders in policing recognise the need of continuously monitoring their usage of stop and search in order to better understand the roots and effects of gaps in search rates by ethnicity (Miller et al. 2020). However, poor monitoring of rates of stop and search amongst Black, Ethnic and Minority communities has led to some implications. 17% of stop searches recorded by constabularies in the UK in February 2021 were missing information of the

ethnicity of the person searched (HMICFRS, 2011). As a result of this figure, the likelihood of the disparity in search rates by ethnicity is more than likely to be underreported. This means that the proportion of Black, Ethnic and Minority individuals that are searched compared to that of white persons could potentially be much larger.

2.4 Stop and Search Statistics

It is very clear to see from the evidence that individuals who are from a Black, Ethnic or Minority background are subject to stop searches more than that of white individuals. Since 1995, documented stops and searches of Asian persons in England and Wales have stayed between 1.5 and 2.5 times the rate for white people, while black people have been around 4 and 8 times the rate for white people (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2010). This substantiates the perception of the public, as does the survey conducted as part of this dissertation, that Black and Ethnic Minority people are more likely to be stopped by police than their white counterparts.

Let's take London as a further example where stop and search powers are used far more than in any other area across the UK. In London, between March 2019 and March 2020, statistics show that for every 1,000 individuals, 34 of them would be subject to a stop search compared to that of 6 people every 1,000 in the rest of England and Wales put together (Home Office, 2021).

A year on from this, between March 2020 to March 2021, 695,009 stop searches were recorded in England and Wales under Section 1 of PACE (Home Office, 2021). In total, only 79,391 of these resulted in arrest (Home Office, 2021). This strengthens the argument of the public view of stop and search as being an abuse of power or a needless power that is not resulting in positive outcomes. Equally, 77% of these searches conducted under Section 1 of PACE resulted in no further action (Home Office, 2021) which backs up the notion of police abusing their power and ability to stop and search.

Thus, this evidence poses the question of whether stop searches are even effective. As the statistics show, only a very small proportion of stop searches conducted result in arrest. This can have huge impacts on the perception of stop and search amongst the public and in communities as a whole. With only a small percentage of searches leading to arrest, should the powers and legislation be revised to better tailor with the public and their needs?

3.0 Placement Summary

For my placement I undertook my duties as a special constable with Avon and Somerset police. My duties as a special constable include assisting at the site of accidents, fires, or events to ensure public safety; assisting in the control of events and safeguarding the wellbeing of individuals; providing crowd management and security at important public events, minimising injury and disturbance; preventing crime by carrying out foot patrols and educating communities about crime and how to avoid it; tackling crime by directly confronting anti-social behaviour; managing alcohol related incidents and enforcing road safety laws; investigating crime by conducting house to house inquiries to gather information and taking part in police operations to arrest and disrupt offenders and finally securing convictions by presenting evidence in court to aid the criminal justice system prosecute offenders.

As part of my role, I was teamed up with several different officers and undertook a number of shifts including earlies, lates and night shifts. I assisted with incidents with the officers I was with on the day and assisted with calls as and when they came in on shift. As well as helping officers on the team I was assigned to on normal shift patterns, I also took part in some force operations that were taking place out of my assigned station area. The majority of these took place in the evenings aiming to deter anti-social behaviour and violence. My duties also involved being present in drug hotspot areas and to undertake stop and searches.

4.0 Key Findings

This survey has provided information on what the public perception is on stop search and if they think it is effective. The first part of the survey portrayed the public's idea of stop and search, whether they knew about it or if they had been stop searched themselves. Just under 25% of the respondents had been stopped and searched. What was very significant is that of this figure, 72.4% had experienced a negative encounter with the police during the stop search. Some of the responses to exemplify the negative experience were as follows:

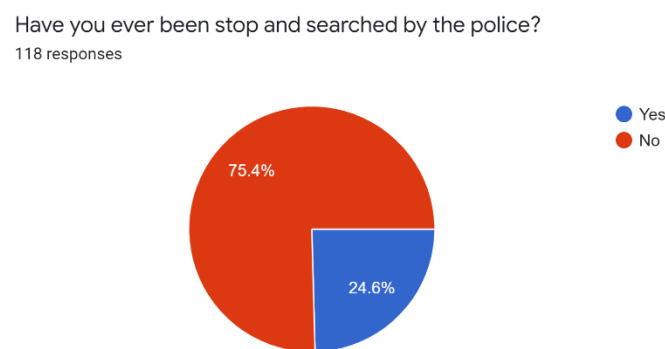


Figure 1: Proportion of respondents who have been stopped and searched by the police.

'Random stop and search - I was told they didn't need a reason to search my car. This was in Birmingham on a residential road. A really embarrassing situation for me in my community. They found nothing'.

'I felt targeted as a black person. They found nothing and treated me like a criminal. I have never been involved with the police'.

'In truth I wish to put both as I've been stopped more than once and some have been positive and some not so much. The positive ones were when they spoke to me like a human, and I could see that they're just trying to do the best they can in their given job role. The negative ones were when they treated me in a way not in accordance to the severity of the crime'.

If yes, was your experience of being stop and searched positive or negative?
29 responses

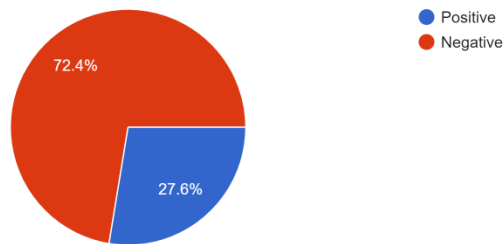


Figure 2: Participants' experience of being stop and searched.

This clearly shows that the police may not be using their stop search powers in accordance to the law. Are the police giving enough sufficient grounds to stop search individuals or is there a lack of judgement on the person they are searching in accordance with the context they have been given? The problem may stem from the control room where insufficient information is passed on to officers leading to individuals being searched when they have previously had no involvement in crime.

A further interesting observation from the survey was the response from the public on if they think stop and search powers are being used fairly. Given that three quarters of the respondents had not been stop searched, the answer to this question may have little credibility but the results were surprising in terms of their perceptions. Over 65% of them believed that the police were not using stop and search powers fairly with the remaining 35% believing they do or are unsure. This is significant as how are the public meant to trust the police with this policy if they believe it to be unfair? The public have already decided how their attitude would be towards being stop searched before the situation has occurred. This validates the assumption that stop and search powers may be being abused by officers.

How confident are you that the police use stop and search powers fairly?
118 responses

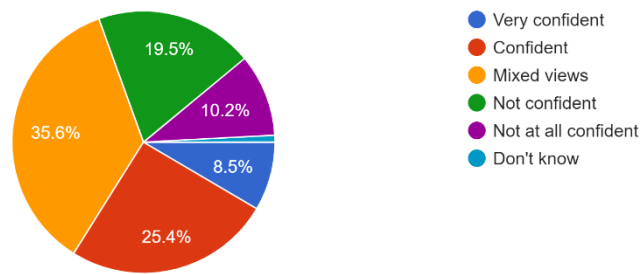


Figure 3: Participants' opinion of whether the police should conduct stop searches.

Contrary to this, the public were asked whether the police should continue to use stop and search to which 65% stated they should continue to use them. This is interesting as the majority thought that the powers were not used fairly. This could indicate that the public do believe stop and search is an effective policy but only when it is used correctly to reduce crime and in a humane manner where there is a good balance of trust and confidence.

To what extent do you believe that the police should conduct stop and searches?
117 responses

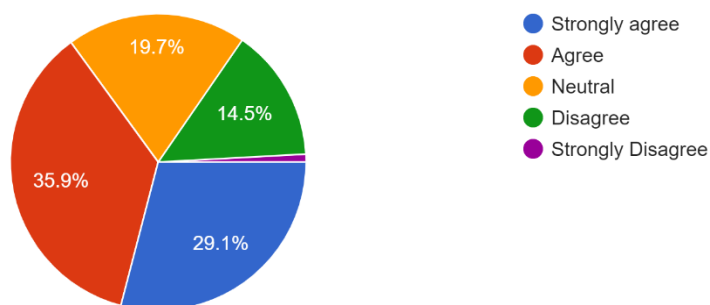


Figure 4: Participants' opinion if stop and search is effective in deterring crime.

The survey also asked if stop and search is a good method to deter crime. 51% agreed with this assertion with over 25% undecided. This backs up the previous response for the police

to continue using stop and search powers as the public believe it is a good method to deter crime and it is useful to ensure that communities are kept safe.

Do you believe that stop and search powers are effective in deterring crime?
117 responses

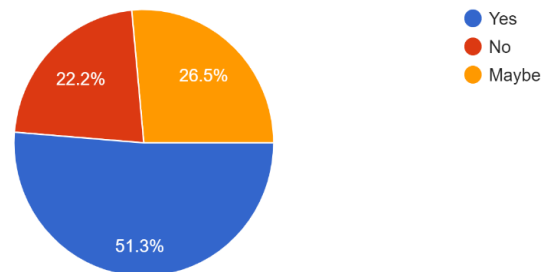


Figure 5: Participants' opinion if stop and search is effective in deterring crime.

In terms of ethnicity 60% of the respondents were of a white ethnicity while the other 40% were of a black, ethnic or minority background. Despite the slight imbalance here, a staggering 80% believed that individuals that are of a black, ethnic or minority background were subject to stop searches more than that of white people. It is clear to see here that the public have seen or experienced individuals of a black, ethnic or minority background subject to stop and searches. This data further underlines the national statistics on disproportionality and abuse of stop and search procedures as officers may be stereotyping and acting on racial biases.

As significant as this number is, there is clearly a need for the stop and search legislation to change in order to combat stereotyping and racial bias or for the officers using the legislation to be more cautious to prevent any sort of racial profiling.

What is your ethnic background?
140 responses

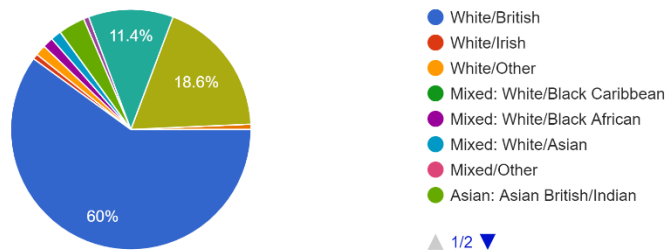


Figure 6: Participants' ethnicity.

Do you agree that people of a Black, Ethnic and Minority background are subject to stop and search more than that of white people?
117 responses

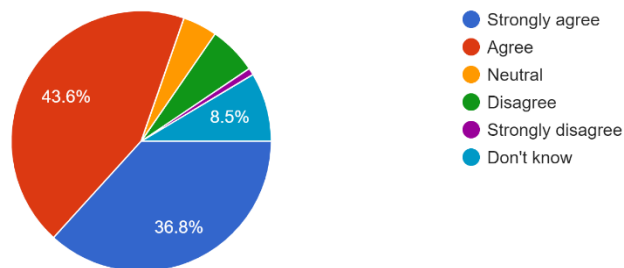


Figure 7: Participants' opinion on whether they think Black, Minority and Ethnic individuals are subject to stop searches more than that of white people.

In the final part of the survey the respondents were asked whether they think stop and search powers should be scrapped. 71.2% disagreed. This shows that the public do still trust the policy of stop search but also contradicts the public's view on if it is used fairly. This clearly shows that the public feel that stop and search is a significant tool in deterring crime and effective as a police policy.

Should stop and search powers be scrapped?
118 responses

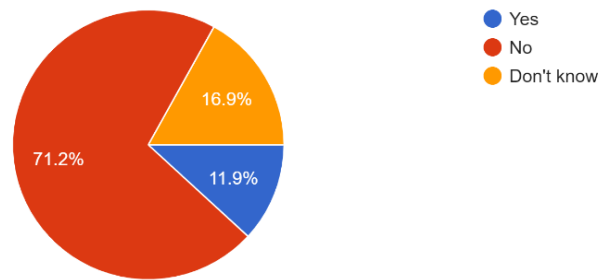


Figure 8: Participants' opinion if stop search powers should be scrapped.

During the placement for this assignment and as a Special Constable, the opinion was gauged of several of the officers that worked at Avon and Somerset Police over a period of six months in terms of their views on stop and search. There was a unanimous acceptance that the power to stop and search was a useful measure to protect the community. However, there were also concerns surrounding the controversy with the perception and abuse of it. This was further underlined in an interview with the duty sergeant for this dissertation. He endorsed the power but expressed concerns with the limited success rates of stop and search and the public perception of racial profiling.

This has been further substantiated with the high profile stop and search by the Metropolitan police in 2020 of the innocent athletes Bianca Williams and her husband Ricardo Dos Santos who criticised the culture of racism within the force (Dodd, 2022). Both were handcuffed during the stop and search with their three-month-old baby in their Mercedes. It has recently been announced by the Independent Office for Police Conduct that the officers involved in that stop and search breached standards on duties and responsibilities, use of force, equality and diversity, order and instructions and authority, respect, courtesy, honesty and integrity (Dodd, 2022). The officers and an acting sergeant face gross misconduct charges that may lead to them being sacked if proven correct (Dodd, 2022).

The time is right for a review of the power to stop and search if it is to continue as a measure to keep our communities safe.

5.0 Conclusion

From this study it is clear that there are serious misgivings with not only the public perception on the use of stop search powers but also the abuse and disproportionality with how the power is utilised. Furthermore, as highlighted in this thesis, a significant number of searches do not lead to arrest. Stop and search is intrusive and has a significant impact on individuals and communities even if it is carried out with some elements of courtesy and respect. From the survey carried out in this study and according to Home Office statistics used in this study that cover different periods of time, a redress of the balance of addressing crime and building confidence and trust amongst communities is needed. A radical rethink is urgently required in terms of assumption-based decisions to use the power and to address the risks of discrimination and alienation of Black and Minority Ethnic groups.

The survey and statistics back up this notion and the public perception that there needs to be change is evident as the trust in the police will slowly decline without change. The public clearly believe it is an effective tool available to the police but only when used fairly and in accordance to law. Stop and search has provided more negative perception than any other police policy in recent years and will continue to do so if there is no change.

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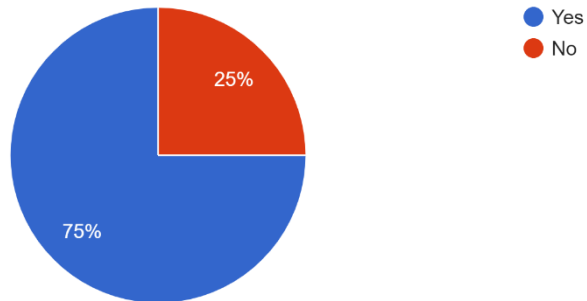
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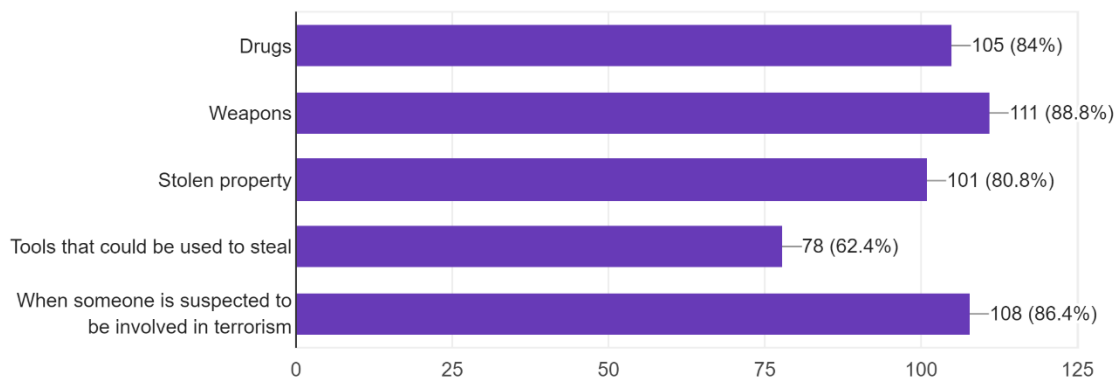
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Appendices

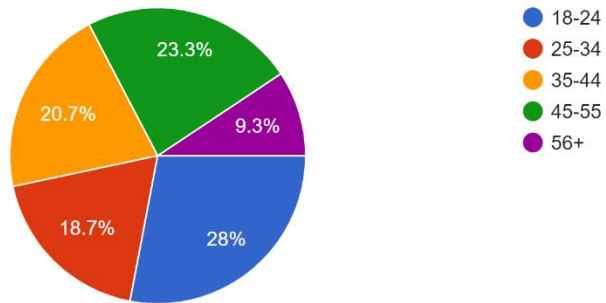
Appendix 1 – Do you trust the police?



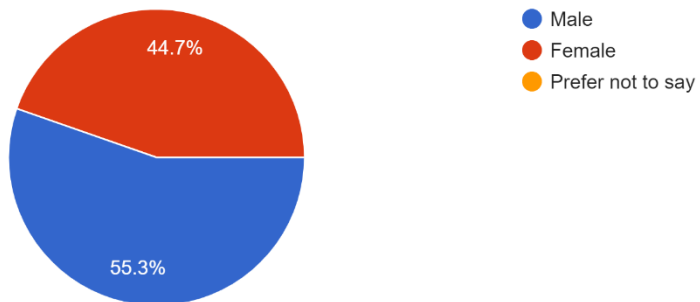
Appendix 2 – Should the police be able to search for the following items?



Appendix 3 – What age group best describes you?

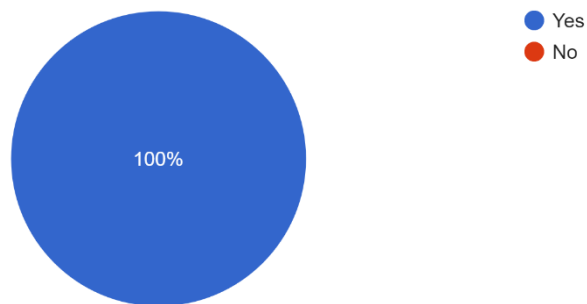


Appendix 4 – What is your gender?



Appendix 5 – Survey statement of consent

I hereby acknowledge that the data collected by this survey will be anonymous and confidential and will be used by the University of Wales Trinity Saint David for academic and educational purposes only.



Appendix 6 – Evidence of placement hours

Avon and Somerset Constabulary

You do not have any upcoming duties.

Directory Search

Search

HOME

MY DETAILS

MY SKILLS

MY CALENDAR

MY DUTIES

WHO IS WORKING?

DIRECTORY

STATISTICS

EXPENSES

HELP

Book Duty

Book Off Duty

Cancel Duty

Update Duties

My Events 15 3

My Training 1

My Messages 251

My PDP

My PDR History

Announcements

Document Library

ESP

WTR

Security Centre

My Data

My Duties

You have the following upcoming duties.

Duty Date	Times	Duty Type	Description	Role	Action
You do not have any upcoming duties					

The figures below shows the total hours of duties you have completed on a month by month basis.

2021 2022 2023

Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	TOTAL
09:00	20:30	38:00	27:30	32:00								127:00

To see your past duties in detail, choose the date ranges and press "View Report".

Select Report Start Date

Select Report End Date

01/4/2022

30/4/2022

View Report

Personal Reflection

Overall, I felt that my placement was a success and really helped me gain research into the public perception of stop searches. Furthermore, by undertaking searches myself, I gained a true and valuable insight of the different individuals of different communities who are subjected to stop searches and if stop searches can actually be effective and lead to an arrest. For example, using Gibbs Reflective Cycle (1988), I was working a late shift when my partner and I was called to a nightclub where the workers had suspected a nightclub goer had drugs in their possession. When we first received the call over the radio, I initially felt excited as I would be able to gain knowledge on the type of person I would be searching in terms of ethnicity, and whether this particular stop and search would be successful and lead to an arrest. I was also interested in how the suspect would present himself during the search. I also felt a little anxious, naturally, as the search would have to take place in a public area where several members of the public would be able to witness it. I was worried too as the members of the public would not be aware of the context of the search and perhaps would try to get involved in stopping the search which would exacerbate the situation.

Upon arriving at the location, the workers of the nightclub explained to us in more detail why they had suspected this individual to have drugs in their possession, which gave us suitable grounds and legitimacy to stop and search the individual. This made me feel more comfortable after finding out the grounds for the search as I was able to thoroughly explain to the individual why I was going to search him and under what legislation. By doing this, I minimised the risk of the offender becoming angry or agitated that they were being stop searched and the individual remained calm with me throughout. Upon searching the individual, a number of small wraps which were suspected to be a of a class A substance were found in his possession. This provided me with the reason to arrest and caution the individual and transport him to custody. I felt relieved after this encounter had taken place as not only had I contributed towards creating a safer community by taking a small number of

drugs off the street, but I had also gained first-hand experience of being involved in a search as research for my chosen subject.

With a successful stop search, my power as a constable to use this piece of legislation proved to be effective. I reflected that the conduct, demeanour, and behaviour of an officer could impact on the experience for the suspect (Ingram *et al*, 2018). It also showed me that when giving reasonable grounds on why you are going to search a person, it helps the individual to remain calm and cooperative with you as they are more likely to understand the process. This for me was a significant factor when carrying out the stop search as I did not want to escalate the situation in a public place where the possibility of the offender to become aggressive and uncooperative was high. The more experiences the public have with the police when they are being stop searched with thorough explanations and calmness, the more that public perception will change for the better.

On reflection and after discussion with my co-officer, If I were to conduct the search again in a similar scenario, I would take the offender to a less crowded area but still be in public view. This way the offender would be able to hear explanations clearly without any background noise and the public would not be close enough to get involved to escalate the situation. This can also help public relations with the police as sometimes getting stop and searched by the police people can feel an embarrassment and imposition for the alleged offender. This is something the police perhaps don't often consider as they are there to do their job and would not necessarily consider the wider impact on the individual.

References

Gibbs, G., (1988). Learning by doing; A guide to teaching and learning methods. *Further Education Unit*.

Ingram, J.R., Terrill, W. and PAOLINE III, E.A., (2018). Police culture and officer behaviour: Application of a multilevel framework. *Criminology*, 56(4), pp.780-811.

Video Presentation

<https://youtu.be/q6FtbziGUSY>