BEYOND THE MARGINS
Building Trust in Policing with Young People

achieve enterprises

iCR
INSTITUTE *for* CONFLICT RESEARCH

Elizabeth Nelson
Ruari-Santiago McBride
Olivia O'Riordan
Paul Smyth

March 2010

Contents

Executive summary

- In addressing the relationship between young people and the police, it will be important to address the overall negative stereotyping of young people (particularly teenagers) by society in general. The police often operate out of these societal perspectives.

- Seventy percent of respondents reported having had some form of contact with the police. The most frequent location of contact was on the street, with a large proportion of respondents reporting experiencing unacceptable police behaviour including disrespectful behaviour and harassment.

- A large section of young people reported having positive engagements with the police through youth clubs and schools. There also seems to have been increases in positive police behaviour including professionalism, politeness and fairness. Young people's perceptions of the police also seem to have improved since 2003.

- One's community background and gender were found to be determining factors in young people's interactions with and perceptions of the police. Male respondents, in particular, were found to have lower levels of positive engagement with the police and more frequently experience unacceptable police behaviour.

- Statutory and non-statutory organisations currently involved in police/youth engagement projects face challenges to make their projects a success, due in large part to scarcity of resources and the negative perception communities often have of young people and of the police.

- Engagement projects can be successful if they are sustainable, are built on trust between the young people and facilitators who are seen to be independent, and involve prolonged and sustained police/youth contact, which fosters increased understandings of one another.

Recommendations

- Funding schemes should be established to support both short-term and long-term engagement between the young people, the police and local communities. Such schemes should have both a flexible and rolling small-grants element, and a longer-term (ideally 5 years, but at least 3 year) larger grant scheme.

- An independent network should be established (and resourced) to bring together youth workers, community workers, teachers and others doing work on young people and policing. It's purpose should be to help develop good practice, and it should be independent of the police but include members of the PSNI.

- Regular seminars or conferences should be held to promote good practice in community policing and interactions with young people. This should include looking at international best practice – including through study visits.

- Care and attention must always be paid to the particular vulnerability of young people, especially in engaging with the police. The PSNI must ensure that youth engagement activities are not used for intelligence gathering. The rights of young people must be paramount at all times.

- One Officer, One Beat: The PSNI should seek to establish a core of community and neighbourhood police officers to develop relationships with young people and local communities. The PSNI should make greater efforts to demonstrate that it values and prioritises community policing.

- Engagement projects should aim to be both grassroots and strategic in nature, and based on local solutions to local issues.

- Young people should have opportunities to interact with the police in a neutral and non-threatening environment, and on their own terms.

- Young people should be given the opportunity to participate more fully in community involvement with policing – for example through youth versions of the District Policing Partnerships, or other arrangements. These engagements should be meaningful and responsive to the views of young people.

- Young people should have increased opportunities to meet with police officers in informal settings and through activity based programmes – with the aim of building relationships between young people and community based officers.

- Consideration should be given to the use of new technologies to promote improved relations between young people and the police, and greater transparency in policing. In particular the use of social media and mobile based technologies by young people.

- Community officers should receive training in youth work and youth engagement – including direct training carried out by young people. The PSNI should have dedicated youth work trained staff as well as building stronger relationships with local agencies.

- The new Justice Department should consider developing a strategy to improve the relationships between young people and the police, and linking this strategy to the "10 Year Strategy for Children and Young People" at Executive level. The Departmental strategy should have dedicated resources, and should include a regular independent audit of the relationship between young people and the police and the protection of the rights of young people.

1. Introduction

Policing and justice was the final piece of the devolution puzzle to be put in place, and it will continue to be a controversial issue in some communities across Northern Ireland long after the vote at Stormont to devolve policing and justice powers. The Troubles have left a legacy of distrust in many communities, and though there is evidence that this is beginning to change, analyses often leaves out a group that is not only exceedingly vulnerable, but also has the potential to create powerful change in policing and community relationships: young people.

Young people are rights-holders, and though not always explicitly mentioned, human rights are an integral part of this research. The research questions bring up issues of rights such as the right to participation, the right to safety and security and the right to privacy. The United Kingdom ratified the United Nations Conventions on the Rights of the Child in 1991, and therefore is obliged to respect the rights contained therein, though the provisions are not yet domestic law. The European Convention on Human Rights, however, became domestic law through the enactment of the Human Rights Act 1998, and is subsequently bound to be upheld in Northern Ireland by all statutory bodies. As the Police Service for Northern Ireland (PSNI), the Policing Board and the District Policing Partnerships (DPPs) are all statutory bodies, they have a responsibility to uphold these rights. It is through the lens of human rights instruments, and the subsequent obligations, that this report should be viewed.

This film and report is a response to the Northern Ireland Policing Board Human Rights Committee's 'Children and Young People Thematic Inquiry.' It seeks to understand the relationship between young people and the police: the historical context, what kind of work is being done at a statutory and grassroots level around the issue, the nature of the relationship between young people and the police, the experiences of young people and their ideas on how things could improve. The research is funded by the Irish Department of

Foreign Affairs, and the launch event and printed report by the Community Relations Council. The project is a joint venture by Achieve Enterprises and the Institute for Conflict Research. It is our intention that the film should bring to life many of the comments and themes in this written report.

Methodology

This report has 3 parts – a literature review, an analysis of over 200 surveys completed by young people, and a landscape review of projects on policing with young people. Additionally, Achieve Enterprises created a film through interviews with over 200 young people from across Northern Ireland as well as leading figures in policing – the Chief Constable, the Police Ombudsman and the Chairman of the Policing Board. In both targeting the surveys and the film subjects, our approach was not to represent the generality of young people, but rather to gather the experiences of those from tougher social realities.

The literature review presents an overview of the available research regarding young people and policing in a UK context with a specific focus on research conducted in Northern Ireland, with the aim of providing a historical and theoretical context to the issue of young people and policing.

In order to quantify young peoples' opinions, a survey was co-designed by Public Achievement and ICR, which was an adapted version of a questionnaire conducted by ICR in 2003 (see Hamilton et al. 2003). Each participant involved in workshops or interviews were asked to complete the questionnaire and it was also made available online through the Public Achievement website. A total of 212 young people completed the survey between September 2009 and February 2010.

Our intention from the outset was that the film would allow young people to speak in their own words about the important issues related to young people, policing and the rights of young people. Groups were targeted across Belfast, in Derry/Londonderry, in Claudy and Sion Mills, in Portadown and Bangor. We also interviewed young people from ethnic minority

backgrounds, a young gay activist, and two deaf young people. The film allows young people to present their experiences of policing, their views of the police and their ideas for the future in their own words. Overall the group is representative of the main traditions in Northern Ireland and is balanced in terms of gender. We aimed however to gather the views of young people from tougher social realities – so neither the film nor the research report claims to be representative of the views of all young people in Northern Ireland.

To guide the discussion sessions in the film, we used a set of previously developed questions, but also allowed the discussions to flow in terms of the interests of the participating young people. Members of Public Achievement's 'WIMPS?' (Where is My Public Servant?) Crew – a team of young people interested in journalism and politics - interviewed key figures in policing and justice, including the Chief Constable, the Police Ombudsman, and the Chairman of the Policing Board, to get their perspectives on the relationship between young people and the police.

Prior to this report, little was known about the volume and types of projects involving young people that addressed the issue of policing in their communities. A 'Landscape Review' was therefore conducted to identify what type of engagement projects currently exist. Through phone calls, web searches and interviews with key individuals, a total of 14 organisations were interviewed, including Include Youth, Ballynafeigh Community Development Association, and the Down Youth Independent Advisory Group. While the majority of such organisations were based in the Greater Belfast area, the views and opinions of organisations from Bangor, Derry/Londonderry and Fermanagh are also – importantly - included. Interviewees were given the opportunity to describe their organisation, their projects and the challenges facing such engagement projects and also to comment upon their experiences of the relationships between young people and the police, and what, in their view, could be done to improve these relationships.

The film and report are intended to complement each other. Overall we have attempted to create a product that is engaging, informative and interesting. Longer versions of the literature and landscape reviews are available on the Public Achievement and Institute for Conflict Research websites for those with an academic interest.

2. Literature Review

Numerous studies have been carried out on the subject of policing in Northern Ireland in recent years, some of which specifically focus on young people. The themes which emerged from the literature reviewed are outlined below.

The perceptions held by the police and by young people of one another, whether justified or otherwise, undoubtedly affect their relationship. It is therefore necessary to consider these perceptions to establish why the relationship between young people and the police is frequently strained and hostile.

Perceptions of young people

The perceptions of young people, held by adults in general, are seemingly quite negative with a disproportionate amount of blame placed upon youth for crime levels. A survey of public attitudes conducted in England and Wales indicated that:

"the public has a more pessimistic view of youth crime than is justified by official crime statistics" (Hough and Roberts 2004).

Many of the adult respondents placed a disproportionate blame on young people, and were extremely ill-informed about youth crime and youth justice issues (Hough and Roberts, 2004). Another study indicated that many adults felt youth crime was increasing over time despite the fact that the figures are generally static for most forms of crime committed by young people. The four most common forms of anti-social behaviour perceived to be enacted by young people were 'being loud/rowdy', 'drinking', 'swearing' and 'being a general nuisance' (Ipsos MORI 2006).

Little research appears to have been conducted into the views that police officers hold of young people in Northern Ireland. However, the findings of a 2008 report highlight that there is a view among police officers in the Greater Belfast area that young people are a major source of anti-social behaviour as they perceive the majority of time is spent dealing with call outs relating youths causing annoyance (Byrne and Monaghan 2008). Such

perceptions may lead to the development of stereotypes that place all young people in a negative light. These perceptions may be broadly in line with adult moral panics about young people in general. In 2004 participants at a PSNI youth event in the Coleraine region expressed a joint view that;

"officers fail to understand the needs of young people and stereotype their clothing and behaviour" (PSNI et al. 2004).

The research into the perceptions police officers have of young people in Northern Ireland is limited, however, there has been much more extensive research into young people's views of the police.

Perceptions of the police

Young people's perceptions of the police should also be considered as these undoubtedly affect the relationship between the two parties. The majority of respondents, aged 14-17, to a study carried out in North Belfast, held negative views of the police in Northern Ireland with 65% expressing the opinion that the issues and problems experienced by young people were not understood by the police. Only 17% of respondents considered the police to be 'understanding,' compared to 58% and 50% for the ambulance service and the fire service respectively (Byrne et al. 2005). The 2002 Community Attitudes Survey also indicates that many young people in Northern Ireland held more negative views of the police than any other age category. The proportion of 16-24 year olds who believed that the police *did* understand the types of problems which people in their area face was lower than that of any other age category (Central Survey Unit 2002).

Roche's study states that 57% of those questioned believed that the police do not understand young people (Roche 2005). This lack of understanding between police and young people contributes to the strained relations between the two parties, and perhaps explains why young people often choose not to turn to the police when issues arise.

Some young people feel as though they are constantly targeted by the police, despite not being involved in any criminal behaviour. The

Edinburgh Study of Youth Transitions and Crime indicates that police may unjustly target particular types of young people - that some police rules result in younger people being regarded as permanent suspects (McAra and McVie 2005). It also asserted that the police may sometimes act as class subjects in their interactions with young people, more so than legal subjects;

"the police appear to make distinctions about the respectable and unrespectable, children who can be accorded leniency and those who cannot; distinctions which are based as much on socio-economic status as serious and persistent offending" (McAra and McVie 2005).

Perceptions of being misunderstood, targeted and picked on by the police can have significant ramifications for how young people interact or, do not interact with the police. The findings of a study carried out in Shantallow, Derry/Londonderry, for instance, show that most young people questioned of post primary school age would not turn to the police if they had a problem. Only 7% of those questioned chose the police as the category of people within the community that are most supportive to young people (Hansson 2004).

There is a perception among some young people that the police are to blame for a degree of the violence and disorder that occurs in their communities. A recent study showed that a considerable proportion of young people, aged 11 to 25, across Northern Ireland perceive the police to be guilty of causing some of the violence, often just by their presence in an area (Hansson 2005). This point is supported by the statistical evidence from a North Belfast study in which 43% of the respondents, aged 14 to 17, felt that current levels of police presence at interface areas actually *increased* the instances of sectarian violence which occurred in their area (Byrne et al. 2005).

Such negative perceptions undoubtedly impact upon the likelihood of young people joining the police service in later life. A 2005 study reports that interest in joining the police service among young people aged 14-17, in North Belfast, is generally low, at only 12% (Byrne et al. 2005). Roche's study highlights that levels of interest in joining the police

differ significantly between Catholic and Protestant respondents, aged 15-25, across Northern Ireland; 13% of Protestants and 8% of Catholics would consider joining the police (Roche 2005). A 2003 Northern Ireland-wide study highlighted the fact that even though 11% of Catholic respondents, aged 24 and below, expressed an interest in joining the police, many of these were discouraged from doing so by friends and/or family members (Hamilton et al. 2003). This suggests that parental influence may play a significant role in the attitudes held by young people, which can be connected to the role of the police in Northern Ireland's years of armed conflict.

Of course there have been significant changes to policing in Northern Ireland. Prior to the creation of the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI), the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) was widely viewed by Catholics/Nationalists/Republicans as neither representative nor inclusive, and there was therefore an evident lack of engagement between the RUC and large portions of the Catholic/Nationalist/Republican community. This issue was partly addressed by the signing
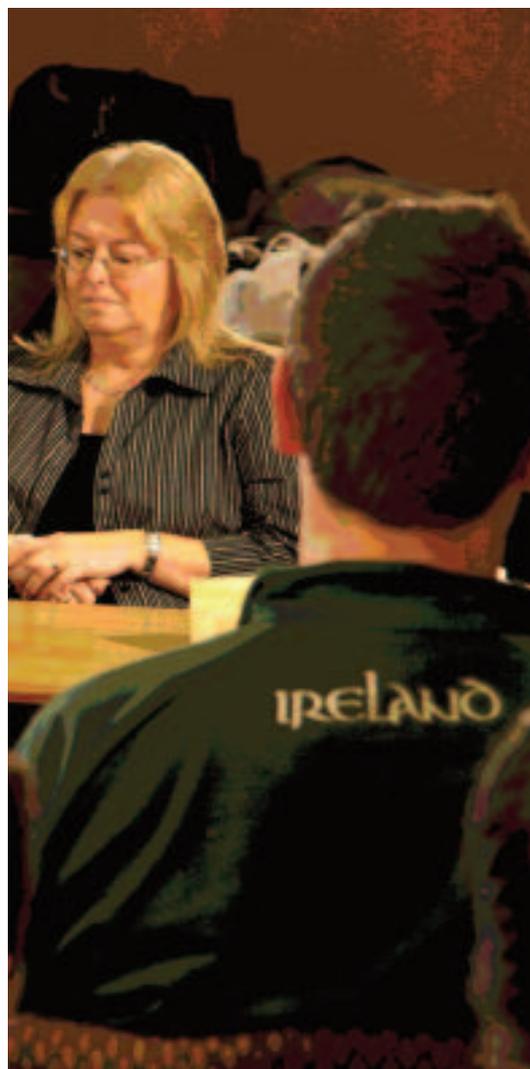
of the Belfast/Good Friday agreement in 1998 and the subsequent release of the Patten report in 1999. As a result of these events the PSNI was formed in 2001 with the aim of providing a police service which would be more representative, inclusive and which members of both of the main communities in Northern Ireland could engage with. As part of this police reform the Northern Ireland Policing Board was established; an independent body which oversees the PSNI with the aim of ensuring an efficient, impartial and accountable police service is now in operation in which all communities in Northern Ireland can have confidence. In addition to this, the Police Ombudsman's office was established to provide an impartial complaint facility.

The aim of the structural changes to the police was to make the demographic nature of the force more representative of the communities within Northern Ireland and make policing and justice fairer and more transparent. This in turn, it is hoped, will break down the barriers that exist between the Catholic/Nationalist/Republican community and the police. However, it is still unclear what impact these changes have had on the perceptions of young people.

Factors affecting the relationship between the police and young people

The relationship between the police and young people is affected by several different inter-related factors:

Community background

As previously stated, policing in Northern Ireland has experienced high levels of change in recent years, particularly since the creation of the PSNI in 2001. Public perceptions of the police changed when the PSNI was formed and again when Sinn Féin declared its endorsement of the police service and the criminal justice structures in 2007. This declaration was momentous due to the fact that the legitimacy of the previous policing system was not recognised by much of the Catholic/Nationalist/Republican community. In addition to this, members of this community were often intimidated and attacked if they were seen to be facilitating the RUC in policing

the community and particularly if they joined the security forces (Taylor 1999). Sinn Féins' endorsement of the PSNI was therefore an historic event which resulted in a rise in the levels of support among the Catholic community according to the Northern Ireland Policing Board (NIPB); from 69% pre-decision to 75% post-decision (NIPB, 2007).

There are still significant differences in how many within the Catholic community view the police. This is reiterated by the 2001 Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey, in which 8% of the sample felt Catholics were treated a bit or much better by the police, while 17% felt the police treated Protestants a bit or much better. It is interesting to note that younger people are less likely to think that police treat Protestants and Catholics equally; 54% of 18-24 year olds believe this, the lowest proportion of all the age categories (ESRC and ARK 2001).

Thus there are still significant differences between how the two main communities in Northern Ireland view the police. Parental attitudes are likely to impact on the views young people hold of the police. Negative attitudes to policing and security measures are held by some older people, who experienced the conflict and former modes of policing in Northern Ireland first-hand. This may partially account for the low levels of interest in joining the police service among young people, as:

"Parental attitudes continue to significantly predict children's orientations after childhood" (Glass et al. 1986).

Area of residence

According to Roche, who conducted a study among 15-25 year olds in Derry/Londonderry, young people who are more disaffected are more likely to come into contact with the police than others (Roche 2005). This raises the issue that where someone lives can influence their experiences of, and relationship with the police. The argument has been made that those living on the peripheries and in disadvantaged areas need and depend on the police service more than those living in middle class areas, as there are more crime-related call outs, more disorder and less security (Sung 2005). As a result people from such areas are more likely to come into contact with the police.

In the context of Northern Ireland, interface areas typically experience higher levels of violence and disorder than others, and those living in these areas are more likely to come into contact with police on a regular basis. In such areas the circumstances under which police contact occurs are frequently negative and therefore the relationship between young people and police in these areas can often deteriorate significantly, compared to areas which experience less disorder.

Research has also shown that those in urban areas are more likely to experience police contact than those living in rural areas of Northern Ireland (Hamilton et al. 2003). As a result the relationship between the police and young people in urban areas is frequently more strained and tense than it typically is in rural areas.

Gender

Another factor which affects the likelihood of police contact, and therefore affects the relationship that develops between young people and the police, is gender. Young males in Northern Ireland have been found to experience significantly more contact with police than young females. The results of Roche's research show that 33% of 15-25 year old males questioned had been formally charged or arrested, whilst only 5% of the

female respondents asked had this experience (Roche 2005).

Another study consisting of respondents aged up to 24 years, from across Northern Ireland, indicated that a significantly higher proportion of those reporting police contact were male, than were female (Hamilton et al. 2003). A 2001 study further highlights this fact as it found that only 29% of male respondents, aged 14-18 years, had never been 'told to move on/told off by RUC' while 60% of female respondents never had (Ellison 2001).

The research carried out by Wood also supports this conclusion - he cites "being male" as one of the underlying risk factors which can lead individuals into contact with crime, and often subsequent contact with the police (Wood 2005).

In addition, the contact experiences of males were of a more negative nature than those of females who had experienced police contact. A higher proportion of males reported types of 'improper treatment' by police officers than females, with the exception of one option - 'they used sexist language' – which had a 12% response rate among females who had previous contact with the police, significantly higher than among males (Roche 2005).

A recent study carried out among young men aged 13 - 16 across Northern Ireland found that some people felt the police specifically harassed young men.

"Sometimes the police were perceived as being against the community, and even to be out to actively harass groups of young men. The police were viewed as ineffective and often hostile towards young men" (Lloyd 2009).

Gender therefore may overtly shape the forms of interactions with the police that one is likely to experience, and this will impact on one's perception of the police. Young men are more likely to have negative experiences with the police, which in turn fosters negative attitudes of the police service among young men.

Previous experiences

In terms of young peoples' contact experiences, a substantial proportion of these

were of a negative nature. A North Belfast study reported that 29% of the young people questioned, aged 14-17, reported experiencing discrimination by police and 36% stated that they had been harassed verbally by the police (Byrne et al. 2005). In addition to this, in a Northern Ireland-wide study, 58% of those under 25 year olds who reported contact with the police indicated that they had experienced disrespectful and/or impolite treatment by police officers (Hamilton et al. 2003).

Roche's study also indicates that of those young people who had experienced contact with the police, 68% had felt this contact was 'improper' and of these, 74% felt they had experienced what they described as harassment (Roche 2005). These high levels of dissatisfaction with treatment received from police officers have undoubtedly had a detrimental impact on relations between the police and young people. A significant proportion of the young people reported being stopped and searched by the police for no reason, or being asked to move on. Roche's study in Derry/Londonderry found that 32% of those asked had been stopped and questioned by police and 24% of the sample had been asked to move on (Roche 2005).

Such findings reveal that a large proportion of young people experience disrespectful, improper or impolite behaviour while interacting with the police. This in turn will have an impact on how young people view the police, and may negatively shape young people's views of the police.

Awareness of the complaints procedure and policing bodies

Another important aspect of the relationship between young people and the police is their understanding of policing bodies and of the complaints processes.

The Police Ombudsman of Northern Ireland (PONI) provides a complaints system where the public can lodge complaints regarding any aspect of the PSNI's work which they find unacceptable. The aim of the Ombudsman is to provide an impartial complaints facility to ensure that the public receive the best possible police service. A 2003 report showed that only

52% of the sample, aged up to 25, had heard of the Police Ombudsman, and among those below 16 years old this figure was much lower, at only 27% (Hamilton et al. 2003). In addition, only 11% of this group stated that they would know how to contact the Ombudsman's office if they wanted to lodge a complaint (Hamilton et al. 2003). The Community Attitudes Survey from 2002 reiterates the view that young people seem to have a severe lack of knowledge regarding police bodies and complaints procedures. When asked who is mainly responsible for looking into complaints against the police, the 16-24 year age category had the least knowledge, with the exception of the over 75 year olds surveyed. 34% of these young people questioned replied 'don't know', while all the other age categories, apart from the over 75's, showed much higher levels of knowledge with 'don't know' rates of between 15% and 23% (CSU 2002).

It has been reported that there is a significant lack of confidence amongst many young people in Northern Ireland regarding pursuing grievances about the PSNI (Radford et al. 2005). There is a high level of reluctance among young people to lodge an official complaint - as there is often a lack of conviction that this will result in any benefit (Radford et al. 2005). This view is substantiated by the young participants of a PSNI youth event in the North region who requested a clearer understanding of the connections between the police and the Ombudsman regarding their lack of confidence in the structure (PSNI et al. 2004).

This lack of confidence in the complaints system may be partly due to the lack of satisfaction reported by those who have used the system to report their grievances. A 2003 study reported that of those who had lodged a complaint with either a police station or the Police Ombudsman's office in the previous year, only 26% of people aged up to 25, were happy with the service they received. Thirty-three percent of those who had complained reported a slow response, with a further 33% indicating that their complaint was not taken seriously (Hamilton et al. 2003). A 2005 paper makes the recommendation that it is imperative that the PONI is;

"...willing and able to hear such complaints and that young people's confidence in the independence and impartiality of the Ombudsman is encouraged" (Radford et al. 2005).

To make the complaints system more accessible, the report also suggests that there should be more outlets around Northern Ireland where complaints can be lodged and that young people should be made more aware of those that are already in existence (Hamilton et al. 2003). This measure may increase positivity among young people towards the police service as they may regard the police service as fairer and perhaps more legitimate. This may lead to more cooperation between young people and the police, as it has previously been shown that;

"those who view the police as more legitimate are more likely to assist police to control crime" (Murphy et al. 2008).

Young peoples' recommendations

A common theme which has repeatedly emerged from studies on young people and the police was that young people felt that the police did not understand young people and youth issues (Roche 2005; NIPB/ICR 2005; PSNI et al. 2004). As a result it is important to examine the suggestions made by young people during past studies in relation to how they feel the policing situation in Northern Ireland, and their relationship with the PSNI, could be improved. In a 2005 study, the factor that most young people cited as most likely to improve policing in the area was an increased use of CCTV followed by "community input/policing" (NIPB and ICR 2005). At a PSNI youth event in Coleraine, young participants, aged 14-18, expressed the view that there was a;

"need to have visible policing on the streets, as they do not feel safe" (PSNI et al. 2004).

Similarly, young people at a Belfast event expressed the view that their personal safety is at risk due to the lack of visible police presence in their areas (PSNI et al. 2004). These results suggest that there may be more support among young people for the PSNI if there was more police presence evident in their localities.

Another key recommendation put forward by young people, aged 14-18, across Northern Ireland, was that engagement between policing bodies and young people should be encouraged and that it should be conducted on equal terms. They expressed the following need in order to improve relations between the police and young people;

"to be able to engage on more equal terms and for the police and bodies like the Police Ombudsman to be more aware of the distinctive issues, concerns and needs of young people" (Radford et al. 2005).

The 2004 youth events previously mentioned allowed young people, between the ages of 14 and 18, to express their views on policing and to make recommendations for the improvement of relations between young people and the police. One of the key points that emerged from these events was the view that there was;

"the need for further training of police officers to help them better engage with young people" (PSNI et al. 2004).

Summary

Policing has been a contentious issue for decades in Northern Ireland and relations between the public and the police have frequently been of a negative nature, particularly among young people. It is therefore necessary to highlight the areas which are problematic, to examine the factors which shape these relationships and to note the perceptions that the police and young people have of one another.

The perceptions of young people among adults in general, and the police in particular appear to be shaped by a tendency to place disproportionate blame on young people for crime levels than is justified by the statistics. Some police officers also have a perception of young people as 'trouble makers' and therefore may unfairly target them at times.

This can lead to a lack of engagement and heightened tensions between the two. One's community background, area of residence and gender can be defining factors in one's interaction with the police. There is a broad

consensus among young people, of all backgrounds, that the police do not understand young people and the issues facing them.

The literature studied also found that the proportion of young people who would consider joining the police service is low - unsurprising, considering the high levels of negativity that exist between young people and the police.

Overall, negative relationships between young people and the police inhibit more successful engagement between the PSNI and young people.

3. Young People's Perceptions of the Police – Survey Data

This section documents the findings from the survey that was distributed to young people across Northern Ireland. In total 212 young people completed the questionnaire between November 2009 and February 2010. They came from a wide geographical spread including Belfast (42%), Derry/Londonderry (10%), Newtownards (7%), Bangor (7%), Craigavon (6%), Downpatrick (4%) and Lisburn (4%). The findings of the current survey are compared with findings from a similar survey conducted by Hamilton et al. (2003) in order to establish the degree to which the nature of interactions between young people and the police have changed since 2003. It is important to note that the samples in 2003 and 2010 are different – both in size (1,163 compared with 212), and also in terms of the groups targeted. In the 2003 research the group was more broadly representative of the population of young people in Northern Ireland, whereas in this research, we have focused on young people from tougher social realities, who are more likely to have had interactions with the police.

Demographics

The sample consisted of 123 male (61%) and 79 female (39%) respondents (10 people did not complete this question). Table 1 shows the age demographics of these 212 respondents by gender. The majority of respondents were aged between 13 and 18 (74%).

Table 1: Age and Gender of Participants.

Age	Number	Percentage	Male Number	%	Female Number	%
Under 12	11	5	8	7	3	4
13-15	74	37	51	42	23	29
16-18	74	37	42	34	32	41
19-21	23	11	16	13	7	9
22-24	14	10	6	5	14	18
Total	212	100	123	100	79	100

Community Background

Of the 212 respondents 194 (92%) claimed affiliation with Northern Ireland's two main communities, 99 (47%) of whom considered themselves to be from the Protestant community while 95 (45%) of respondents stated that they were from the Catholic community.

Table 2: Community Background.

Religion	Number	Percentage
Protestant	99	47
Catholic	95	45
Atheist/Nothing	4	2
Christian	4	0.5
Afro American	1	0.5
Agnostic	1	0.5
Both	1	2
Rastafarian	1	0.5
Republican	1	0.5
Not stated	5	2
Total	212	100

Ethnic Background

The large majority of respondents (199, 94%) identified themselves as being from a white ethnic background. The remaining 13 individuals who completed the survey classified themselves from an array of ethnic backgrounds, including persons from Chinese, Pakistani and Black Caribbean backgrounds.

Nationality

Respondents predominately self-identified as one of three main national identities, with 39% stating that they were Irish, 32% claiming a Northern Irish identity and 23% classifying themselves as British.[1]

Three respondents (1%) stated they were from another national background, one of whom was Polish, another of who was American, while the other did not specify. A total of 5% did not state their nationality, all of whom initially identified themselves as Protestants.

Cross tabulating respondent's subjective classification of their community background and national identity proved insightful. It showed that 81% of Catholic respondents identified as Irish, 17% as Northern Irish and 2% as British.

Interestingly Protestant respondents were just as likely to identify as Northern Irish (43%) or as British (43%) with a small minority (4%) stating that they were Irish. Nine percent of Protestant respondents did not state a national identity.

Over half (54%) of the individuals that stated they were from an 'other' community background claimed a Northern Irish identity.

Contact with the Police

Seventy percent of the 212 respondents reported having had some form of contact with the police at some time, while 30% stated that they had never been in contact with the police. Of those who had contact with the police 53% were from a Protestant community background while 38% identified as Catholic.

The most common form of contact respondents had had was being told to move on by the police (33%), this was followed by being stopped and searched (29%); being the victim of a crime was the third most common reason why respondents had been in contact with the police (28%) (see table 3).

1   Two respondents stated that they also saw themselves as Northern Irish as well as their primary national identity, both were classified themselves as British.

Protestants were more likely to report contact with the police after having committed a crime (29% compared to 11%) and having engaged with the police through a youth club or school (33% compared to 17%).

Catholics, on the other hand, were more likely to be in contact with the police than Protestants after witnessing a crime (26% compared to 14%) and also when being told to move on by the police (39% compared to 33%).

Five respondents reported having had some 'other' form of contact with the police, these included being driven home, membership of an Independent Advisory Group (IAG) and just talking on the street. Three respondents who had stated that they had had some form of contact with the police did not specify the form of this contact.

Table 3: Form of contact with the police by community background.

Respondents who had contact with police	Total (%)	Catholic (%)	Protestant (%)
Told to move on	33	39	33
Stopped and questioned	29	24	33
Victim of Crime	28	32	27
Engagement with the police	27	17	33
Committed a crime	21	11	29
Witness of Crime	18	26	14
Asked to produce driving documents	9	9	9
Took part in police sponsored activity	7	4	10
Other	3	4	3
Not Stated	2	-	-

Comparing the current survey results with those of a similar survey conducted by Hamilton et al. (2003) in which nearly half of respondents (45%), aged 24 or under, had some form of contact with the police, reveals the most common forms of contact between young people and the police have changed little since 2003. The two most frequently reported forms of contact reported by survey respondents in 2003 were being stopped and questioned (22%) and being asked to move on (20%); such contact was regarded by some respondents as a form of harassment (2003: 40). These are the same two most frequent forms of behaviour reported by respondents of the 2010 survey, although in 2010 they were reported by a higher percentage of respondents. This suggests that young people today are more likely to be in contact with the police than in 2003 through interactions that may be perceived as 'harassment.'

Respondents to the 2010 survey also reported higher levels of interactions with the police than 2003 respondents due to being the victim of a crime (28% compared to 18%) and witnessing a crime (18% compared to 11%). This may suggest that young people today have an increasing confidence to report crime and come forward as a witness to the police. Respondents to the 2010 survey, when compared with 2003 respondents, were also more likely to be in contact with the police due to having committed a crime (21% compared to 13%). This may be because young people are committing more crimes or because the police are focusing more resources in tackling youth crime today than in the past.

It is worthwhile to note that 78% of male respondents reported having had some form of contact with the police, whereas in comparison only 58% of female respondents had been in contact with the police at some point in their lives (see table 4). Male respondents were more likely than female respondents to report contact in the form of being the perpetrator of a crime (28% compared to 5%) and being told to move on (35% compared to 30%). Female respondents on the other hand where more likely than male respondents to report contact after being the victim of a crime (34% compared to 25%) and being the witness of a crime (25% compared to 16%). Male respondents were thus not only more likely to be in contact with the police than females, but their interactions were also more likely to be seen as persecutory in nature.

Table 4: Form of contact with the police by gender.

Respondents who had contact with police were...	Total (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
Told to move on	33	35	30
Stopped and questioned	29	26	32
Victim of Crime	28	25	34
Engagement through youth club/school	27	27	30
Committed a crime	21	28	5
Witness of Crime	18	16	25
Asked to produce driving documents	9	10	5
Took part in police sponsored activity	7	5	9
Other	3	2	7
Not Stated	2	-	-

Similar to the 2010 survey, male respondents to the 2003 survey were more likely than female respondents to be in contact with the police as a perpetrator of a crime (17% compared to 6%). While the level of female respondents reporting having being a perpetrator of a crime has slightly dropped between 2003 and 2010 (6% to 5%), the level of male respondents reporting being in contact with the police as a perpetrator of a crime increased sharply (17% to 28%) (Hamilton et al. 2003). This may suggest that the young males are committing more crimes today than in 2003 or that they are being targeted with increasing success by the police.

Types of Behaviour Experienced

The 70% of respondents who reported having some form of contact with the police experienced both positive and negative forms of behaviour. Thirty-eight percent of young people reported experiencing 'disrespectful' behaviour whilst interacting with the police, more than any other form of behaviour. The second most common form of negative behaviour experienced by survey respondents was that of being 'wrongly accused of misbehaviour' (31%), this was closely followed by being 'stopped without reason' (29%), while 23% of respondents reported police 'swearing' (see table 5).

However, the second most common form of behaviour experienced overall was positive, as 32% of respondents reported that police were 'polite.' This was closely followed by other forms of positive

behaviour with 30% of respondents saying that the police had behaved in a 'fair' manner while 28% stated that the police had acted 'professionally.'

There were interesting differences between the forms of behaviour that Catholic and Protestant respondents reported. Catholic respondents were slightly more likely than Protestants to report 'disrespectful' behaviour (43% compared to 37%) and being 'stopped without reason' (32% compared to 28%). Protestants, on the other hand, were more likely than Catholics to report being 'harassed' (17% compared to 9%), being 'wrongly accused of misbehaviour' (35% compared to 29%), experiencing 'violent' behaviour (19% compared to 11%), and hearing the police 'swear' (29% compared to 6%).

Although Protestants were more likely to report negative forms of behaviour, they were also more likely to report experiencing positive forms of behaviour than Catholics, including 'professionalism' (27% compared to 20%), 'fairness' (33% compared to 21%) and 'politeness' (33% compared to 25%). This may once again be related to the fact that more Protestants in the sample had engaged with the police through youth club or school. One's community background thus shapes the types of behaviour that young people are likely to experience when interacting with the police, as while both Catholics and Protestants reported experiencing negative forms of interactions with the police, Protestants were more likely to report positive police behaviour.

Nine respondents reported other forms of behaviour including the police being 'ignorant' and the police being 'sympathetic.'

Table 5: Form of contact with the police by community background.

Respondents who had contact with police felt the police behaviour was...	Total (%)	Catholics (%)	Protestants (%)
Disrespectful	38	43	37
Polite	32	25	33
Wrongly accused of misbehaviour	31	29	35
Fair	30	21	33
Stopped without reason	29	32	28
Professional	28	20	27
Swore	23	16	29
Behaved violently	15	11	19
Did not carry out duty properly	15	14	17
Did not follow procedures	14	16	14
Harassment	13	9	17
Took an item of property	12	14	11
Searched my house without reason	5	7	3
Discriminated against[2]	5	4	5
Used discriminatory language[3]	4	4	4
Other	6	10	3

2   Because of race or gender.
3   This may include racist, sexist or sectarian language.

Similar trends were noted in 2003 as in 2010 regarding the relationship between one's community background and the form of behaviour likely to be experienced when interacting with the police. As in 2010, survey respondents in 2003 with a Catholic background were more likely than those within the Protestant community to report disrespectful behaviour. Similarly, in 2003 Protestants felt that they were more likely to be harassed and wrongly accused of misbehaviour than Catholics, than in 2010 (Hamilton et al. 2003).

Comparing the types of unacceptable behaviour experienced by survey respondents in 2003 with those of 2010 suggests that young people today are experiencing fewer forms of unacceptable behaviour than in 2003 (see table 6). In 2003 58% of survey respondents reported 'disrespectful' or 'impolite' behaviour; 41% experienced the police 'swearing;' 38% were 'wrongly accused of misbehaviour;' 31% were stopped without reason; 29% were harassed; 21% said police did not follow proper procedures; 16% stated the police did not carry out their duty properly; 15% said the police used sectarian, racist or sexist language; 12% stated the police took an item of property; 6% felt discriminated against due to their race or gender; and 4% had their house searched without reason (Hamilton et al. 2003). Apart from this final form of unacceptable behaviour, having their home searched without reason, all other forms of negative behaviour were reported less frequently in 2010 than in 2003. This suggests that young people today are less likely to experience unacceptable behaviour than in 2003. However, despite this apparent improvement in police behaviour there is a need for the police to continue to work to improve their interactions with young people.

Table 6: Form of contact between police and young people in 2010 and 2003.

Respondents who had contact with police experienced...	Total 2010 (%)	Total 2003[4] (%)
Disrespectful	38	58
Wrongly accused of misbehaviour	31	38
Stopped without reason	29	31
Swore	23	41
Did not carry out duty properly	15	16
Did not follow procedures	14	21
Harassment	13	29
Took an item of property	12	12
Searched my house without reason	5	4
Discriminated against[5]	5	6
Used discriminatory language[6]	4	15

Male respondents to the 2010 survey were more likely than female respondents to report experiencing negative forms of behaviour while females, on the other hand, stated experiencing higher incidences of positive police behaviour.

Forty-two percent of males reported experiencing disrespectful police behaviour compared to 30% of females, males also more commonly reported being stopped without reason (31% compared to 24%), violent police behaviour (16% compared to 9%), harassment (16% compared to 7%) and having an item of their property taken by the police (13% compared to 9%) than female respondents (see table 7).

4   *See Hamilton et al. (2003: 43).*
5   *Because of race or gender.*
6   *This may include racist, sexist or sectarian language.*

Female respondents were more likely to report that the police had been polite (41% compared to 29%) and professional (37% compared to 25%) in interactions than males, although males were slightly more likely to say that the police had behaved fairly (30% compared to 28%) than females. This suggests that one's gender has a significant impact in the interactions a young person is likely to have the police, with males more likely to experience unacceptable forms of behaviour than females.

Table 7: Form of contact with the police by gender.

Respondents who had contact with police felt the police behaved...	Total (%)	Male (%)	Female(%)
Disrespectful	38	42	30
Polite	32	29	41
Wrongly accused of misbehaviour	31	30	33
Fair	30	30	28
Stopped without reason	29	31	24
Professional	28	25	37
Swore	23	22	24
Behaved violently	15	16	9
Did not carry out duty properly	15	15	13
Did not follow procedures	14	14	11
Harassment	13	16	7
Took an item of property	12	13	9
Searched my house without reason	5	7	0
Discriminated race/gender[7]	5	5	2
Used discriminatory language[8]	4	5	0
Other	6	5	9

In 2003, male respondents were also more likely than female respondents to report experiencing violent police behaviour (31% compared to 26%). However, both males (16% compared to 31%) and females (9% compared to 26%) reported violent behaviour less frequently in 2010 than in 2003, suggesting that police are conducting themselves less violently today than in 2003.

Feelings Experienced while Interacting with the Police

Young people included in the sample reported having a wide range of feelings while interacting with the police, which could be broadly classified as either positive or negative.

Seventy-three percent of respondents felt always or sometimes 'angry' while interacting with the police, compared to 27% who had never felt so; 42% of respondents had felt either always or sometimes 'threatened' whilst in contact with the police compared to 58% who never had; and 39% of respondents reported feeling always or sometimes 'harassed' in their interactions with the police compared to 61% who never have (see table 8). This suggests that a proportion of young people feel ill at ease whilst in the presence of the police, so much so that they feel angry, threatened or harassed.

7   *Because of race or gender.*
8   *This may include racist, sexist or sectarian language.*

Twenty-eight percent of respondents had never felt 'safe' when with the police compared to 25% of respondents who had always felt such away; 26% of respondents never felt that they were 'listened to' by the police compared to 21% who always felt 'listened to;' 16% respondents always felt the police understood them, however, 40% of respondents said that they never felt 'understood' by the police. Finally, almost half of respondents (47%) had never felt 'respected' by the police, while only 18% have always felt 'respected' by the police. Therefore a number of young people do not experience positive feelings that perhaps they should when interacting with the police such as being safe, listened to or respected.

Table 8: Feelings experienced while interacting with the police.

Respondents who had contact with police felt…	Always (%)	Sometimes (%)	Never (%)
Angry	27	46	27
Threatened	17	25	58
Harassed	15	24	61
Humiliated	8	23	69
Embarrassed	7	31	63
Scared	6	35	59
Confident	32	42	27
Safe	25	47	28
Listened to	21	53	26
Protected	21	44	27
Proud	19	35	46
Respected	18	35	47
Understood	16	44	40

Catholic respondents were more likely than Protestants to report experiencing negative feelings while interacting with the police: 10% of Catholics reported always feeling embarrassed compared to 3% of Protestants, they were also more likely to report being 'humiliated' (10% compared to 7%). Catholics also more frequently stated that they never felt neither 'protected' (32% compared to 26%) nor 'respected' (58% compared to 43%) when in contact with the police (see table 9).

Protestant respondents, on the other hand, were more likely than Catholics to report always feeling 'confident' (38% compared to 24%), 'listened to' (26% compared to 9%), 'proud' (22% compared to 11%), 'safe' (27% compared to 18%) and 'understood' (21% compared to 10%) when interacting with the police. However, Protestants also more frequently stated that they felt 'harassed' by the police than Catholics (18% compared to 9%).

One's community background then can in part shape the feelings that one has while interacting with the police; with Protestants more commonly stating they felt comfortable in the presence of the police compared to Catholics, who were more likely to state negative feelings. It is possible to link the feelings experienced while interacting with the police with the forms of contact one has had with

the police. As discussed above, Protestants were more likely than Catholic respondents to report engagement with police through schools, youth groups and in the work place and also more commonly stated experiencing the police behaving professionally, fairly and politely. This may account in part for the greater level of positive feelings experienced while interacting with the police.

Table 9: Feelings experienced while interacting with the police by community background.

Respondents who had contact with police felt...	Always Cath. (%)	Prot. (%)	Never (%) Cath. (%)	Prot. (%)
Angry	27	29	23	25
Threatened	15	18	50	65
Harassed	9	18	65	58
Humiliated	10	7	63	71
Embarrassed	10	3	26	43
Scared	9	5	57	60
Confident	24	38	33	22
Safe	18	27	32	29
Listened to	9	26	28	27
Protected	7	28	32	26
Proud	11	22	49	48
Respected	15	16	58	43
Understood	10	21	41	37

Male respondents were more likely than female respondents to report experiencing negative feelings in their interactions with the police. Twenty-nine percent of male respondents reported always feeling 'angry' compared to 20% to female respondents, with 17% always feeling 'harassed' compared to 8% of females and 12% of males always felt 'humiliated' when with police compared to 3% of females (see table 14).

Female respondents, on the other hand, more frequently stated than male respondents that they always felt 'protected' (28% compared to 18%) and 'understood' (22% compared to 15%) in their interactions with the police. They were also more likely than male respondents to report never feeling 'harassed' by police (68% compared to 59%), while also stating less frequently than males that they never felt 'safe' (18% compared to 33%) when interacting with the police. Therefore, as mentioned above, female respondents who have reported experiencing higher levels of engagement with the police and more acceptable forms of behaviour while interacting with the police than males were also more like likely to state feeling positive in such interactions. Evidently there is a positive link between young people engaging with the police and their perceptions of the police.

Police Visibility

The 212 survey respondents expressed a high level of variance in their perceived level of police visibility in their community. The most common response was that the police were visible too often

(29%); this was followed by 22% of respondents who felt that the police were not visible enough in their community, 21% said that the police were visible the right amount in their area, a total of 13% of respondents thought that the police were never visible in their area, while 15% were unsure or did not know how visible the police were in their community (see table 10).

Opinions regarding police visibility were similar regardless of community background, although Protestants were more likely than Catholics to state that the police were not visible often enough (26% compared to 20%).

Greater differences existed between male and female respondents with males more commonly than females stating that the police were visible too often (35% compared to 23%), whereas female respondents more frequently stated that the police were visible the right amount (26% compared to 17%) (see table 10). This may relate to the fact, as stated above, that male respondents reported higher levels of contact with the police on the street. Such contact, if in relation to being told to move on or being stopped and searched, may be seen as persecutory in nature and thus make young males resent police presence in their area.

Table 10: Police visibility by gender.

Police Visible	Total (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
Too often	29	35	23
The right amount	21	17	26
Not often enough	22	20	22
Never	13	12	15
Not sure/don't know	15	17	14
Did not answer	3	-	-

Perceptions of the Police as an Organisation

Once again there was a high level of variance in how young people viewed the police overall as an organisation. More respondents either agreed or strongly agreed (42%) that the police are 'honest' than disagreed or strongly disagreed (33%); similarly, young people were more likely to agree or strongly agree that the police are 'professional' than disagree or strongly disagree (59% compared to 25%), 'there for their protection' (67% compared to 16) and that 'policing is an important issue in their community' (57% compared to 23%) (see table 11).

However, respondents were more likely to disagree or strongly disagree, rather than agree or strongly agree, with the following statements: that the 'police understand youth issues' (51% compared to 27%) and that the 'police treat young people fairly' (54% compared to 27%). Therefore while young people have a generally positive view of the police, there is a strong sentiment among them that the police neither fully understand them nor treat them fairly.

Interestingly, young people who completed the survey were almost split on whether they thought the police were 'improving' with 32% agreeing or strongly agreeing, however, 39% either disagreed or strongly disagreed the suggestion that the police need to work more to show young people the steps they are taking as an organisation to improve their services.

Table 11: Perceptions of the police.

Overall the police...	Strongly Agree (%)	Agree (%)	Neither (%)	Disagree (%)	Strongly Disagree (%)
Are honest	8	34	25	23	10
Are professional	10	49	16	17	8
Are there to protect you	20	47	16	9	7
Understand youth issues	6	21	23	29	22
Treat young people fairly	6	21	20	29	25
Important in community	20	37	21	15	8
Are improving	10	22	30	22	17

Perceptions of the police as an organisation differed among respondents from different community backgrounds. Protestants were slightly more likely to strongly agree/agree that the police overall were 'honest' than Catholics were (42% compared to 37%). Catholics, on the other hand, were slightly more likely to strongly agree/agree than Protestants that the police are 'professional' (59% compared to 54%), that the police are there to 'protect' them (70% compared to 63%) and that the police 'understand youth issues' (28% compared to 23%) (see table 12). Catholic respondents were also much more likely to strongly agree/agree than Protestant respondents that the 'police are important in their community' (63% compared to 48%). These survey findings suggest that overall Catholic respondents have a relatively positive view of the PSNI, even more so than Protestants.

Protestant respondents, on the other hand, were much more likely to strongly disagree/disagree that the 'police are improving' (44% compared to 35%). This may be related to the structural changes that the police have implemented since changing from the RUC to the PSNI, with Protestant respondents viewing this change negatively as opposed to Catholics.

Table 12: Perceptions of the police overall by community background.

Overall the police...	Strongly Agree/Agree Catholic (%)	Protestant (%)	Strongly Disagree/Disagree Catholic (%)	Protestant (%)
Are honest	37	42	39	32
Are professional	59	54	27	27
Are there to protect you	70	63	17	19
Understand youth issues	28	23	53	52
Treat young people fairly	25	24	53	57
Important in community	63	48	17	32
Are improving	34	26	35	44

Male and female respondents had slightly different perceptions of the police. Males were more likely than females to strongly agree/agree that the police are 'honest' (46% compared to 36%) and that the police are 'improving' (33% compared to 28%). There was also a more common tendency for males compared to females to strongly disagree/disagree that the police are 'there to protect them' (21% compared to 8%). While the first two points may be slightly surprising, the final point that young males do not view the police as there to protect them can be related to point raised above that young males are more likely than females to interact with the police in confrontational settings and experience unacceptable police behaviour and thus view police as persecutors rather than protectors.

Female respondents, on the other hand, were more likely than males to strongly agree/agree that the police are 'professional' (62% compared to 58%), that they are 'there to protect them' (75% compared to 64%) and that they are 'important in their community' (65% compared to 53%). However, females were more likely to strongly disagree/disagree (60% compared to 47%) that police 'understand youth issues than males.'

Table 13: Perceptions of the police overall by gender.

Overall the police…	Strongly Agree/Agree		Strongly Disagree/Disagree	
	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
Are honest	46	36	30	36
Are professional	58	62	27	20
Are there to protect you	64	75	21	8
Understand youth issues	26	25	47	60
Treat young people fairly	29	24	51	59
Important in my community	53	65	22	22
Are improving	33	28	36	39

Police Areas of Focus

Among the 212 respondents there appeared to be a general consensus that the police have an important role to play in tackling a variety of social issues. The three areas that respondents felt that were very important for police to focus on were sex offences (78%), emergency response (73%) and drug dealing (71%). Interestingly, far fewer respondents felt that drug use was a very important (54%) than drug dealing (see table 14).

The three areas that respondents felt were the less important for police to focus on were youths causing annoyance (30%), alcohol use (23%) and public disorder (14%). Surprisingly, some areas of police focus were deemed to be very important by fewer respondents than may have been expected, with paramilitaries (58%), interface violence (53%) and community relations (44%) being ranked lower than other categories.

Table 14: Importance of police areas of focus.

Area of focus	Very Important	Important	Not Important
Sex offences	78	20	2
Emergence response	73	23	3
Drug dealing	71	25	5
Crime prevention	65	31	4
Assault	63	30	7
Burglary	62	33	5
Domestic violence	62	33	5
Paramilitaries	58	30	11
Community safety	58	37	6
Drug use	54	36	10
Car crime	53	40	8
Interface violence	53	40	7
Road safety	45	46	9
Community relations	44	40	16
Public disorder	34	53	14
Alcohol use	32	46	23
YCA[9]	31	40	30

Catholic and Protestant respondents had very similar views regarding what are the most important areas of police focus. There were, however, greater differences in the views of male and female respondents.

Female respondents in general were more likely to say that all forms of crime were very important or important areas for the police to focus on than male respondents. Most noticeably, female respondents were more likely than males to say that sex offences (91% compared to 71%), community safety (67% compared to 54%) and drug dealing (77% compared to 67%) were very important issues for police to focus on (see table 15).

Interestingly, male respondents were more likely than females to both state that alcohol use was a very important issue (36% compared to 25%) but also that it was not important (26% compared to 17%), suggesting there is a polarization amongst young males of the importance of police tackling alcohol use. A similar trend is evident for the issue of youth causing annoyance with 33% of males compared to 25% of females saying it was a very important area of police focus, yet 34% of males said it was not important compared to 23% of females.

---

9   *Youth Causing Annoyance.*

Table 15: Importance of police areas of focus by gender.

Area of focus	Very Important Male (%)	Very Important Female (%)
Sex offences	63	65
Emergence response	36	25
Drug dealing	56	47
Crime prevention	45	47
Assault	54	67
Burglary	68	63
Domestic violence	59	66
Paramilitaries	72	81
Community safety	67	77
Drug use	54	55
Car crime	54	53
Interface violence	61	56
Road safety	40	25
Community relations	71	78
Public disorder	48	43
Alcohol use	71	91
YCA[10]	33	25

Police Demographics

Over half of the 212 survey respondents felt that the police in Northern Ireland are evenly balanced (56%), in comparison to 28% of respondents who feel that they are too Protestant and 15% of respondents who felt the police force was too Catholic (see table 16). Overall, then, the majority of respondents see the police as representative of Northern Ireland's community demographics, however, a sizeable proportion of respondents did not feel this way

If the views of respondents are broken down in relation to their community background, we find that Protestants were more likely to view the police as more evenly balanced than Catholics (60% compared to 49%). Twenty-nine percent of Protestant respondents felt that the police were too Catholic, this may once again be related to the structural changes undertaken by the police and their active drive to recruit more Catholics.

Catholics, on the other hand, were in fact almost as likely to state that the police force were too Protestant (48%) than they were to say that the police were evenly balanced (49%). This suggests that while a large number of Catholic respondents felt that the police are improving, as stated above, and are equally balanced demographically there is still a significant proportion that feel they are not.

10   Youth Causing Annoyance.

Table 16: Police Demographics.

Demographic nature of police	Total (%)	Catholic (%)	Protestant (%)
Evenly balanced	52	49	60
Too Catholic	14	2	29
Too Protestant	26	48	11
Not stated	8	-	-

Joining the Police

Of the 212 survey respondents, only 12% said that yes they would consider the joining the police with 67% stating that no they would not, while 14% said that they would maybe join the police. Therefore, only a quarter of the young people questioned would consider the police as a future possible career. Given the target group for this research, this is a fairly healthy response.

Only 9% of respondents who identified as Catholic said they would join the police, in comparison to 16% of Protestants who said that they would join the police. In line with this more Catholics than Protestants were likely to say no they would not join the police (79% compared to 66%) while Protestants were more likely than Catholics to say that they would maybe would join the police (19% compared to 12%).

In 2003, Hamilton et al. (2003) found that 17% of respondents said that yes they would join the police force, 5% more than in 2010. Comparing the 2003 survey results with those of from 2010 also reveals that the number of young people from Catholic backgrounds willing to join the police service has dropped slightly (11% to 9%), while the number of young people from Protestant backgrounds who would want to work for the police has also fell (23% to 16%). This shows that the number of young people today, regardless of community background, willing to work as police officers is less than in 2003. These differences could however be accounted for in the different demographic (young people from tougher social realities) sampled in the 2010 research.

Meet with the Police

A total of 40% of survey respondents stated that they would be willing to meet with the police to discuss policing issues, 30% stated that no, they would not, while 21% said they would maybe meet with the police. A total of 25 (12%) respondents did not answer this question (see table 16).

Catholics appear to be more willing to interact with police with 51% stating they would meet with the police as opposed to 37% who came from a Protestant background.

Summary

The survey findings represent the views and opinions of 212 young people, and tell us about their interactions with and perceptions of the police. Respondents were predominately aged between 13-18, identified as Catholic or Protestant and claimed an Irish, Northern Irish or British identity. The majority are currently in full time education.

Seventy percent of respondents reported having had some form of contact with the police, the most common form of which was being told to move on by the police and being stopped and searched. This compares with 45% in the 2003 sample – though this new research has deliberately targeted those from tougher social realities who – it was felt – would be more likely to encounter the police. In line with this the most common location of contact was on the street, with a large proportion reporting experiencing unacceptable police behaviour, including disrespectful behaviour, being incorrectly accused of misbehaviour and stopped without reason. These experiences of negative police interactions led a number of young people to feel angry, threatened and/or harassed by the police during their interactions. There was also a strong sentiment among respondents that the police do not understand youth issues and treat young people unfairly. Significantly though, of these negative experiences, there were considerable reductions in a number of forms of police behaviour – in particular instances of disrespect, police officers swearing, harassment and the use of discriminatory language.

Given the target groups, we were surprised at the broadly positive perceptions of the police, with the majority reporting that they felt the police are honest and professional. However, most young people also felt that the police do not treat young people fairly, and do not understand youth issues.

Importantly a number of young people reported having positive engagements with the police through youth clubs, schools and in their work place. This was seen to lead to experiencing more acceptable forms of police behaviour including professionalism, politeness and fairness, which in turn was seen to positively influence one's perceptions of the police. This therefore suggests the need for greater levels of engagement between the police and young people in non-confrontational settings in order to promote mutual learning and understandings of one another. This may not only improve young people's perceptions of the police but also help inform the police of the issues and concerns young people have.

Both one's community background and gender were also found to be a determining factor in young people's interactions with and perceptions of the police. Male respondents, in particular, were found to have lower levels of engagement with the police and more frequently experience unacceptable police behaviour. Whilst not as evident, a similar trend emerged among Catholic respondents, who engaged less with the police than Protestants. The PSNI should try to increase the current level of engagement with young males and Catholics.

Comparing the current survey data with findings from a similar survey conducted by Hamilton et al. (2003) revealed that overall the police appear to have improved how they interact with young people. While comparing the findings from both surveys showed that young people today are more likely to experience 'harassment' than in 2003, it also revealed that overall young people today are less likely to experience unacceptable behaviour than in 2003. This change may be seen to stem the fact that the police are actively seeking engagement with young people through schools, colleges and workplaces more today than in 2003. This is also likely to be related to a different political environment than in 2003, given that Northern Ireland now has a functioning Assembly and that Sinn Féin has signed up to the structures of policing.

Overall, the survey findings suggest that there have been significant improvements in young people's experiences of policing, but that there remains much to be done – in particular in changing police attitudes to young people, and building the confidence of young people in the police. There are clear benefits to positive interactions between young people and the police outside of policing activities.

3.   Landscape review

This chapter explores themes emerging from discussions with individuals doing work around the issue of young people and the police. These projects face challenges such as scarce resources and sustainability, the sensitive nature of the issues and negative stereotypes of young people. There are also a number of key elements that lead to success - including the independence of projects and workers, sustainability and ongoing police/youth contact. The chapter concludes with recommendations for further youth engagement projects on policing.

Projects and Organisations Examined

Fermanagh District Council

This project was mostly preventative and diversionary in nature. It focused on fear of crime and anti-social behaviour as well as building positive community partnerships, social cohesion and intergenerational work. The Council worked to promote young people in a positive light and dispel myths about young people, particularly where innocent activities are construed as malicious behaviour. They also focused on citizenship, strong community links, and intergeneration work in particular. There was a mixture of top-down and bottom-up processes in the projects, with most of the funding coming from the Northern Ireland Office's Community Safety scheme. Some projects involved the young people developing the projects and approaching the Council for support, and some were developed by the Council, who then secured funding and brought in the young people. Even when Council led, they firmly saw the young people as the stakeholders. Without significant consultation and testing of the waters with young people, the projects could not have succeeded.

The biggest obstacle encountered was the prejudice that exists around young people, particularly the perception that all anti-social behaviour and all drug and alcohol abuse comes from young people. There was a strong feeling that diversionary schemes such as those that were run about ten years ago would

have a positive impact on the relationship between young people and the police, and allow young people to see the softer outcomes of policing, such as leadership qualities and confidence building.

Include Youth – North Belfast "Young Voices"

Policing has always been a topic at Include Youth, and this particular project grew out of the 2005 Institute for Conflict Research's report on relations between young people and the police in North Belfast. The project has three phases:

1.   An exploratory single identity phase undertaken with young people (with the community sanction) and with police in the local area

2.   Working to effect change on issues jointly chosen by young people and the local police - including engaging more informally in a rights-oriented way with police

3.   Looking at the relationship between young people and police more strategically, and encouraging young people to be their own advocates.

Young Voices started life in 2006 funded by the PSNI, but has been funded by Include Youth in-house since about 2008. This project is relatively unique in that it has one worker who is entirely dedicated to the issue of policing with young people in a way that is sustainable.

Young Voices has been successful in several ways, ranging from tangible outputs like a leaflet on rioting produced by young people, to outcomes such as a noticeable difference in the confidence of young people involved and their willingness to engage with the police on critical issues. The young people involved have also been instrumental in communicating their experiences to their peers, and encouraging them to get involved as well. In addition to the benefits for the young people, the PSNI in the area have also benefited from the project, including having 'access' to areas they might not have had before and developing more effective engagement practices with young people.

In terms of experience, sustainability and practice, Young Voices North Belfast represents one of the best models of practice encountered. This seems to be attributable to

several factors, including the independence and critical distance of Include Youth, the sustainability of the project and the subsequent relationships it has been able to develop, and the fact that it has a dedicated worker on the project who has developed relationships based on trust with local communities and the police.

PSNI Community Safety Branch: Garnerville Consultation and Youth Independent Advisory Groups

Two successful activities undertaken by Community Safety Branch (CSB) of the PSNI are the consultation at Garnerville Police Training College (in conjunction with Include Youth) and the Youth Independent Advisory Groups (YIAGs) – although these are only part of what the branch does. The branch works with all issues surrounding youth policy, procedures, engagement, consultation, youth offending and youth at risk on behalf of the PSNI. They regularly engage with their strategic partners such as the Northern Ireland Commissioner for Children and Young People and the Children's Law Centre, as well as with other agencies. YIAGs have been piloted in Armagh, Down, Fermanagh and Derry. The Down YIAG is discussed further below.

The Garnerville consultation is conducted centrally, but tries to target consultation at issues that are being brought to attention by officers in local areas. Around three times a year they try to make a measurable difference on the ground by getting local police and local youth groups to bring young people to an event in the police training college. They often use role-play to get a debate going around topics such as stop and search, youth at risk and underage drinking. Some of the groups

from Include Youth have been involved from the beginning, and a few of those young people have started to facilitate the group sessions as well.

YIAGs decide their own terms of reference and create a group contract. They also create an action plan in which members of the group suggest issues important to young people that the group could tackle. The CSB officers try to source training and events that the young people might be interested in, which gives them some background knowledge on policing issues as well as the best ways to engage with the police. This is also in line with the idea that the PSNI should only play an advisory role with YIAGs, instead of setting the agenda. This supports the groups, and emphasises their independent nature. The YIAGs act as a 'critical friend,' giving young people a voice in how policing is delivered to young people both locally and regionally. Based on their expertise and knowledge of youth culture, members are able to challenge policy, practice and procedures, and provide constructive advice both as individuals and as members of their communities.

With both projects funding comes from within the PSNI itself, though there has been an attempt to get local neighbourhood teams more involved, and an engagement programme is being developed to get local Neighbourhood Policing Teams more involved.

Down Youth Independent Advisory Group

The Down YIAG is funded through the PSNI's "Policing with the Community" fund. The group has a civilian youth worker as its coordinator, but is driven by young people from all over county Down. The group has participated in several consultations including

local policing plans for the DPP, test purchasing powers (around underage purchasing of alcohol) and the local policing with the community strategy.

The group has also developed its own research project in order to learn about the views of young people in the Down area about drugs, alcohol and anti-social behaviour; internet safety, and road safety. The group developed questionnaires that were distributed in schools, youth groups and various community organisations. The project is now moving on to conducting focus groups. The YIAG will take the views and opinions gathered in the research and direct them towards the Down District Policing Partnerships to ensure that the issues that are important to young people are addressed.

While the group feels that the project is going well so far, they have encountered a few obstacles, such as the slow speed of progress, and the difficulty in getting young people to engage around the issue of policing. Despite this, however, the group is optimistic and enthusiastic about the project. Each member of the group that was interviewed felt that they were making a positive difference in their communities, because they had a direct connection to policing power structures, to ensure that young people's views are taken seriously. Officers and DPP members are also coming directly to the group for advice on how to engage with young people – for example the group were able to get the issue of road safety onto the local policing plan.

Community Restorative Justice Ireland – Belfast Branch

Community Restorative Justice (CRJ) deals specifically with restorative justice processes in Nationalist/Republican communities. In west Belfast, CRJ has offices in Andersonstown, Twinbrook and the Springfield Road. It focuses mainly on instances of low-level crime and attempts to facilitate resolution without bringing (young) people into the criminal justice system. Typically, CRJ deals with people who may have previously felt alienated by policing structures, and may have had their first contact with the police when they were getting arrested. The Criminal Justice Inspectorate accredited CRJ in June 2008. The CRJ model

uses a 'twin track' of restorative justice within the community, with the PSNI having the discretionary power to refer minor crimes to a restorative justice conference. In these cases the Public Prosecution Service has the final say on whether to refer a case to court.

CRJ staff also sit on Community Safety Forums and explain to residents how the criminal justice system works, and attempt to build bridges between the criminal justice system and the community. While CRJ has built relationships with the police in the areas in which they work, there is a sense of frustration regarding the high turnover rate of community officers. The representative of CRJ said that when the police in Nationalist areas realize the community is starting to engage, they should stay there – this is the only way that CRJ staff will have the confidence to introduce young people at risk to police officers. This exposure – they felt - makes a huge difference in the relationship between young people and the police.

Northern Ireland Alternatives – North Belfast and Bangor Branches

Northern Ireland Alternatives (NIA) has several locations – east Belfast, Shankill Road, north Belfast (Ballysillan) and Bangor. NIA is a community-based restorative justice project that began in the late 1990s. Its' philosophy is very much 'of the community, with the community, for the community.' NIA also works with statutory bodies such as the Housing Executive the PSNI and the Civil Service to heal the relationship with the Loyalist community, which – it says - has historically felt excluded and under-represented. Like CRJ, NIA was originally funded by Atlantic Philanthropies, but now is accredited by the Criminal Justice Inspectorate and funded through various sources, including the Criminal Justice Inspectorate and the Department of Social Development.

One aspect of NIA is working with youth under threat from paramilitaries for anti-social behaviour or low-level crime. By buying paramilitaries into the process, NIA is able to negotiate some breathing space for the young person, and to bring them into mediation with their victim. This has a real impact on those involved; for example, in Bangor, one young

person who was accused of knife crime gave a presentation to other young people on the dangers of knives. In north Belfast, young people who were regularly involved in rioting were able to form a dialogue with their community and the PSNI, and are currently making a DVD about the consequences of interface riots. Many young people were also able to get back into employment after the programmes, having built up their skills and self-confidence.

PSNI representatives sit on all management committees of NIA, and work with liaison groups in each community to discuss community safety and the sharing of information. Because of the accreditation, the Anti-Social Behaviour Unit can also refer some young people's cases to NIA, as is also the case with CRJ.

The Rainbow Project – "Through Our Eyes"

The Rainbow Project "promotes the health and well-being of gay, bisexual and non-heterosexual men" through information, support, training and education.[11] "Through Our Eyes" is a research project conducted by The Rainbow Project that focused on the perceptions of the LGBT community to homophobic hate crimes and policing in Northern Ireland. The project was an update of the Institute for Conflict Research's work in 2005, but focused more on rural areas and those that may not be 'out, loud and proud.' The original target was to survey 100 LGBT people from each policing district; the target fell short in only two districts. Regardless, it is the largest piece of LGBT work ever done in Northern Ireland, and, as it launched in June 2009, is still quite relevant.

The Rainbow Project developed the project and approached the PSNI as funders, who were very interested and offered their support. A member of the PSNI sat on the steering group of the project. Through this connection with the PSNI, the researchers were able to have direct contact with Hate Crime Investigators, Minority Liaison Officers and Hate Incident Minority Liaison Officers (HIMLOs). This access allowed the researchers to talk to the officers about how they perceived their roles.

The PSNI has subsequently implemented several of the recommendations resulting from the

research, and are looking to implement several more. The process is still ongoing, and has some sustainability. The Rainbow Project identified a further need for the project to continue, and it has subsequently been extended beyond the original one-year timeframe; however, it is no longer funded by the PSNI.

Ballynafeigh Community Development Association

The project at Ballynafeigh Community Development Association (BCDA), located in South Belfast, was part of a wider project encompassing several communities and District Policing Partnerships. It was funded by the International Fund for Ireland (IFI) and broadly involved DPPs and the PSNI engaging with local communities. Each local area was to identify an issue and the local organisation was to take the lead on the project. It involved the local police at command level as well as local Constables and DPP members.

The project encountered several difficulties in terms of commitment by the PSNI and DPP at the beginning; however, throughout the course of the project strong relationships were built that still exist today. Another issue was the short length of the project, with IFI and the Policing Board asking for it to be finished in eight months. Several DPP members, constables and local representatives became very committed to the project, but, unfortunately, the resources collapsed after a short period of time.

From the very beginning the project focused on the perception of young people as being involved in anti-social behaviour as well as the poor relationship between young people, their community and the police. The project wanted to address these issues, and to work with young people in a positive way. BCDA had always had a working relationship with police, and local officers had always been concerned about youth issues, but engagement is largely dependent on how long officers were based in the area. There is a feeling that it is not necessarily the presence of the police that is diminishing in Ballynafeigh, but rather the connections. There is also a strong feeling that any further involvement would need to be on a much more sustainable basis, involve local

11   The Rainbow Project, http://www.rainbow-project.org/dev/ accessed 13/03/10.

solutions to local issues and focus on the personal and social development of young people as well as their relationships with the police and the community, as these issues are all interconnected.

South Belfast District Policing Partnership

The purpose of the South Belfast District Policing Partnership is to consult with local communities to identify local policing priorities; they also have a small budget for community engagement. Through this, there has been recognition of a greater need to engage with young people. The DPP hosted a Safe Road Show in partnership with the PSNI (an initiative developed by the Roads Policing Unit); a play about domestic violence, in which schools and PSNI student officers were invited to participate; and a sixth form school seminar through the PSNI CASE program that was conducted in various schools in south and east Belfast. They have also done some work with the Ballynafeigh Community Development Association (see above).

The South Belfast DPP also conducted research on young people's views of policing through the South Belfast Partnership Board. Through this outreach the DPP is investigating different ways of engaging with young people, particularly after the trouble in the Holylands last year and in light of the fact that young people rarely if ever attend DPP meetings. The DPP is eager to engage with young people in alternative ways, including the sixth form school seminar and subsequent panel discussion, as well as diversionary activities like football tournaments organized between young people and community officers.

The Rosemount Resource Centre, Derry/Londonderry

The Rosemount Centre runs several different community groups, including several for young people: an after school group, music sessions, a drugs and alcohol group and youth groups for young people aged 11-14 and 14 and older. In the last year or so the community has dealt with a major issue; the community was experiencing large groups of young people in the streets, and there were concerns about alcohol use as well. The Rosemount Centre organized a meeting between residents and young people, which has developed into a Residents Group and a Youth Group, which now meets as a joint working group. Both groups were sent away on separate residentials, and asked to draw up a charter for how they want their community to look and feel; the groups are now working on combining these into one common charter. Through this process there was constant representation and consultation with both the PSNI and representatives of dissident republican groups. In general, the Rosemount Centre often works with these groups in order to prevent action being taken against young people.

While there is a sense that some local police officers are trying very hard to engage with the community and with young people, there is a long history of resentment in the area, and there is a feeling that not much has changed in policing. For change to happen, there needs to be a recognition of what resources already exist – namely community groups with standing, trust and relationships in local areas.

Currynierin Community Association, Derry/Londonderry

The legacy of the Troubles makes police/youth engagement, and indeed any engagement with the police, very difficult in Currynierin. While there is a full-time youth worker on staff and the PSNI are willing to engage, there is a feeling that the local residents are not yet ready for such projects. In order to build this capacity, there needs to be continuity in policing, particularly through community policing. The Community Association insisted that the PSNI place a community worker in the neighbourhood for longer than the typical six-

month timeframe, and they were successful in getting an officer placed for a full twelve months. This has made a significant difference in the relationships in the area, as the officer is quite dedicated to working with the residents of Currynierin, and wants to stay in post.

Currynierin also run a mobile phone scheme, in which residents can phone either the youth worker or the community development worker in case of trouble on the estate. The PSNI would also use this network, recognizing the importance of working with the community to sort out issues. Thus while change has been slow in this area, relationships are better than they were two years ago. However, lack of resources is a major issue: last year the youth club had to use the majority of its budget just on insurance, leaving very little money for programmatic costs. Despite having four full-time paid workers, there currently are insufficient funds to put in place programmes that could make a difference in the lives of young people.

Caw/Nelson Drive Action Group, Derry/Londonderry

The Caw/Nelson Drive Action Group (CNDAG) ran a programme in conjunction with the local DPP, which was funded by Mediation Northern Ireland. It consisted of a citizenship programme that focused largely on road safety, emergency services, housing issues and identity issues, such as flags, emblems, murals and parades. The project had community police officers present at each session, which helped to build relationships between officers and young people. There was also a strong focus on team-building. There is a strong feeling in CNDAG that community policing is the way forward, but that resources are currently not available to allow the PSNI to expand this area. Police officers should be able to come into youth clubs and participate in programmes for young people on a more regular basis. There was also a strong feeling that any youth/police provisions should be both educational and entertaining.

"Aggregation of the Margins"

This part of the project embarked with a view to finding organisations and projects that

specifically focus on engaging young people with the police and improving the relationship between both parties. What was found, however, was a complex relationship between statutory policing agencies, community-based accredited organisations, youth-specific organisations and grassroots community organisations. While there were a few organisations that specifically aimed at engaging young people with policing issues, most of the engagement and contact between young people and the police seemed to come at the specific point where the activities of these various organisations come together. This is what Dr. John Topping, from the University of Ulster, termed the 'aggregation of the margins.'[12] It is through this framework that youth engagement with the police should be viewed.

According Dr. Topping, community policing and police/youth or police/community engagement is not about mapping or boxing in. There needs to be operational autonomy for community policing to be able to work with young people and community organisations, through the 'aggregation of the margins' model, and in the best interest of the communication organisations. It should be recognized that no organisation can tackle the issue on its own, not only because no organisation can be both statutory and grassroots at the same time but because there must be local solutions to local issues – something which was emphasized by each organisation interviewed. Engagement of young people on policing issues can only go forward if this 'aggregation of the margins,' which seems common throughout Northern Ireland, is understood and respected and each organisation is subsequently engaged with for its own expertise.

Emerging Themes

While each organisation's project and role in mediating between young people and the police was unique, there were several common themes that emerged from the research: concerns relating to how young people are viewed within their communities; what can be done to improve the relationship; and the challenges facing organisations that are trying to engage in this work. The majority of organisations interviewed raised issues of

---

12   *Interview with Dr. John Topping, University of Ulster, Jordanstown, 5 February 2010.*

resources and commitment from statutory and funding agencies, as well as the PSNI itself, as a challenge to the work they undertake.

Despite these acute challenges, many organisations reported substantial achievements for the young people they work with. While there is often a lack of sustainable resourcing for these projects, what is not lacking is the ability of the young people and their desire to see change in policing and to be seen as respected members of their communities. This echoes the views articulated by the young people in the film.

Challenges

Each organisation – no matter their focus or constituency – faced numerous challenges undertaking projects to promote engagement between young people and the police. These included: the stereotyping of young people, the sensitive nature of young people engaging with the police, and the scarcity of resources available.

Perceptions and Portrayal of Young People

A huge problem facing organisations working with young people and the police is the negative perception of young people within their own communities. According to Nicola Farrell at Include Youth, this image is perpetuated by the media - "Good news doesn't sell" - as she put it.[13] A negative media portrayal of young people can create stereotypes, which may subsequently colour the policies put in place that affect young people in their day-to-day lives. Indeed, for Neville Armstrong, a former Community Safety Officer with the Fermanagh District Council, the biggest difficulty in engaging young people on policing and community safety issues is the prejudice that exists against young people, and the gross generalization that all anti-social behaviour and all drug and alcohol abuse emanates from young people. They are being continually negatively stereotyped.

Naturally, this can affect the way people approach working with young people – including the police. A Community Safety Officer (CSO) of the Community Safety Branch of the PSNI, with responsibility for youth issues who was spoken to, believes that there is a

tendency to underestimate how valuable a contribution young people can make when they start to work on community issues. Engagement must stop being tokenistic, and those engaging with young people must recognize that while some young people (like some adults) may engage in 'anti-social behaviour,' not all do. Instead of constantly focusing on the negative, society should focus on positive feedback and encouragement for young people.

Sensitive Nature of the Work

As well as young people often being stereotyped, they are also a vulnerable group within society. This makes their engagement with the police all the more difficult. The CSO spoken to, who has worked with several of the Youth Independent Advisory Groups (YIAGs) to the PSNI, said that because of the sensitive and controversial nature of policing in Northern Ireland, and the fact that there are still groups within society who oppose policing, the PSNI must be very deliberate about how they engage – ensuring that engagement is positive, and aimed at ameliorating the fears that some young people might have. The CSO also related an incident that occurred at an inaugural meeting for a youth advisory group in which 15 young people were in attendance. Another officer attended the meeting and mentioned recent burglaries in the area. Though there was no intent to do intelligence gathering, it is understandable that young people might have had this perception. The CSO found this upsetting, as it gave the inaccurate impression that the PSNI were only there to recruit informers, which due to the legacy of the past is a very sensitive issue for some individuals.

This concern was well founded, as three members of the group quit after the incident.. This is an unfortunate, but an informative incident. YIAGs specifically work against this negative perception of the PSNI, and are trying to show that the PSNI recognizes the historic difficulties in engagement, is working very hard to improve them. This highlights the need for sensitivity when engaging with young people around the issue of policing. Because of the legacy of armed conflict, a negative perception does exist, which the PSNI has

---

13   *Interview with Nicola Farrell, Include Youth, 19 November 2009*

recognized and is working to combat, and is trying to show how they have been reformed. The PSNI needs to manage this risk in a way that is transparent and that supports community trust. It must continue to provide opportunities for young people to engage, but ensure that these opportunities are safe and do not unduly place young people at risk.

This incident also raises the issue of wider community engagement, a subject that William Mitchell and Jim Martin, of Northern Ireland Alternatives, and Jim McCarthy, of Community Restorative Justice, all highlighted. In communities in which the police have historically been regarded with suspicion, there are prejudices and fears that still have to be overcome. Mr. McCarthy, for example, noted that previously the police were almost non-existent in Nationalist/Republican communities, and young people have had to adjust to a more visible police presence in their areas. Likewise, Mr. Martin acknowledged the reluctance of people within some Loyalist communities to engage with the police in any way at all.

The legacy of communal distrust for the police means any young person wanting to engage with the police might feel vulnerable and at risk of harassment from members of their community. This is why wider community buy-in is also a necessary element of the sensitive process of youth engagement projects with the police. Improving the relationship between young people and the police is not just about the young people, but must also take into account the community they come from, and the issues this presents.

Thomas McCourt at the Rosemount Centre in Derry/Londonderry said that communities have always accepted police on a certain level, and recognized that they have a necessary place in society. In order to move forward, the police must use the resources that are already available – local communities and community groups – and build relationships from there. According to Neville Armstrong, this can also mean recognizing the tension between what older people want to see out of policing, which is often an increased police presence in their communities, which may lead young people to feel uncomfortable in their own community.

For William Mitchell, community engagement, particularly with young people, is about the PSNI asking what it really means to engage with the community. He asks: what can you do with a young person if, with as much positive contact as they may have with a community officer, whether through youth clubs or through schools, that same officer is sent back the next weekend in riot gear to the young person's community?

Scarce Resources and Sustainability

Several of the organisations' projects were funded directly by the PSNI, at least for part of their existence. These included Include Youth, the Rainbow Project, Ballynafeigh Community Development Association and the Down YIAG (which is still funded through the "Policing with the Community" fund). The projects run by Include Youth and the Rainbow Project are now funded in-house, and the Ballynafeigh project ended after one year because of lack of funding. NI Alternatives, CRJ, the south Belfast DPP project, and the Fermanagh District Council's Community Safety Branch were all funded at least in part by the NIO and other statutory policing and justice agencies. However, according to Jim Martin, at Alternatives, even this was not definite – most projects would only be funded for one or two years. This meant that for Mr. Martin, there was no luxury of strategic planning, as they were constantly searching and applying for alternate forms of funding. Likewise, at Currynierin Community House in Derry/Londonderry, there are four full-time staff paid through the Neighbourhood Renewal fund, but hardly any money for programmatic costs. Mickey Carlin, the Community Development Officer at Currynierin, expressed his frustration at this: having paid staff is somewhat pointless if there is no money to run projects that might have a positive impact.

Related to the issues of scarce resources is that of sustainability. Many, if not all, of the organisations interviewed had concerns about the viability of such projects without some kind of sustainability. Gerry Tubritt, of the Ballynafeigh Community Development House, described a project he had worked on in Ballynafeigh in conjunction with the local DPP and the PSNI. While many positive

relationships were built through the project they were unsustainable due to the limited funding that was available. Mr. Tubritt expressed frustration at the short duration of the project, which was only funded (by the International Fund for Ireland) for one year. He said it was a bit naïve to try and deliver a project on that scale involving extremely complex relationships in local communities. Projects may therefore be more successful if long-term funding was made available (Mr. Tubritt recommended 3-5 years) in order to allow such relationship building projects to develop, and to give them a chance to make a positive difference in communities. While the young people involved in the project initially benefited from it, the effect will be isolated if the younger generation do not have the same access to such projects. Mr. Tubritt felt that lack of resources had limited the impact of the project and that the positive work they had begun could not be sustained. According to Mr. Tubritt, in Ballynafeigh the good relationships between the community, the DPP and the PSNI still exist – they just need the sustainability and the resources to capitalize on it.

The organisations interviewed all acknowledged that resources were scarce and that projects with young people and the police were not, as Mr. Tubritt put it, "cheap enterprises." However, in nearly all of the organisations, there was a firm belief that this kind of intensive grassroots work with young people is vital in terms of community safety, community relations and personal development. Programmes that develop local solutions to local problems, which are then linked into wider programs, are recommended by most of the people interviewed who work directly with young people.

For Mr. Tubritt, there are two key facets to making a project both sustainable and effective – strategic analysis and grassroots delivery. This entails going out into local communities, identifying marginalized young people, and working with them for a prolonged, sustained period of time. It also means sustainable resources to continue this work on a generational basis, meaning that the project doesn't run for a fixed period of time for a fixed group of young people – younger ones in the community have the

opportunity to 'age into' the project and receive the same intensive work as the 'generation' before them. Sustainable projects also must look at the structure of the project in order to identify how the project is going to be sustained in the long term. This must also look at underlying social economic and political environments in local communities.

In short, in order for such projects to make a positive impact, funding bodies need to take a more consistent approach, and recognize the importance of the work they are funding. Young people have an immense, incredible impact on society, and their well-being as citizens needs to be paramount in order to address wider issues of community safety, poverty, drug and alcohol abuse, anti-social behaviour and exclusion that are experienced by so many disadvantaged communities.

Nature and Structure of Policing

The nature and structure of policing itself bring up several issues in terms of engagement with young people. Part of the problem seems to be a lack of communication within senior command positions, as well as attitudes towards youth engagement. Another is the high rate of turnover of neighbourhood police officers; and finally, what appears to be the legacy of conflict in terms of the way the police approach (young) people.

The Include Youth Young Voices Project had the aim of influencing policing attitudes and whilst communication was often excellent it regularly became unsustainable due to staff turnover without adequate "handover" processes. Therefore this aspect of Include Youth's work was subject to a number of stops and starts and repetition which meant that progress was not a solid as it could have been. Additionally Ms Farrell felt that communication between the ranks within policing could be improved where projects such as hers were being undertaken.

Dr. John Topping also referred to the 'silo culture' within the PSNI, and the subsequent problem of getting people to work together across departments. While community officers are at the 'bottom,' they are also often those with the best relationships in communities. Thus, police communication in-house and

particularly at the senior command level could be improved upon, and it appears that this could have a positive impact on engagement.

High turnover of staff is also an issue at the neighbourhood policing level. The majority of organisations and each group of young people that was spoken to during focus groups for the film mentioned the benefits of community policing, particularly in terms of building strong relationships, and how it was not being capitalized upon because of high turnover. According to these organisations, it is extremely difficult to create any kind of lasting change if officers are being moved on from the area after a few months; after they have built relationships and trust within communities. Jim McCarthy, from Community Restorative Justice (CRJ) in Belfast, said that it is crucial for community police to commit to stay in an area. He said workers at CRJ have much more confidence in introducing a young person to a specific officer that they know and trust and who has relationships in the area, than someone who has just been transferred in and may soon move on. Mr. McCarthy also mentioned a pilot project in D District (Dunmurry area) in which new recruits are automatically sent to a neighbourhood team for at least eight weeks. This way, they gain an understanding of how the community thinks and feels about the police, and what interaction and engagement works and what doesn't, before they are moved on to tactical response teams. Mr. McCarthy said that this had been very successful in the Dunmurry area.

Related to this are the attitudes with which the police approach young people within their

communities. It was often characterized as aggressive and from a place of authority instead of respect and engagement; this is possibly a legacy of Northern Ireland's many years of conflict. The Community Safety Officer spoken to said that how an officer makes an approach to a young person - their attitude – can determine a lot of how that interaction goes, and can colour their perceptions of the police, for better or for worse. Therefore, according to the CSO, it's the responsibility of the PSNI to treat young people with respect and dignity whatever the purpose of their approach may be, and they will likely get respect back. Members of the Down YIAG seemed to agree with the CSO's assertion, stating that they felt that the police were more respectful when the young people were with their parents, but when they were on their own, they felt that the police tended to be intimidating and patronizing.

William Mitchell of Northern Ireland Alternatives summed up the perceived attitudes of the police towards young people rather succinctly, stating that the police are approaching young people from an element of control, and a community safety mindset. They lack the staff, skills and training to effectively and positively engage with any young person. Because they approach young people with a level of mistrust and scepticism, they don't seek to forge relationships. While some officers would engage if given the chance, there is a fear that they may be conditioned by the institutionalization of the police mindset that negatively stereotypes young people.

Successes – What works

While all the organisations working towards young people engaging with the police have faced serious challenges, there have been definite successes, and there are certain characteristics that emerge from the successes, namely: independence, sustainability, and police/youth contact.

Independence

Policing is commonly seen as a sensitive issue within most communities in Northern Ireland, and there is always the possibility (or the fear of the possibility) that youth engagement with the police will end up not only as a tokenistic exercise, but an exploitative one as well. This is why, as emphasized by the incident recounted by the CSO above, groups that work with young people and the police have to be independent to be successful and to truly impact policing. The CSO mentioned in particular the success of the Down YIAG, which functioned well at least partially because it has a civilian youth worker acting as its coordinator. While the group has regular contact with officers and are funded by the PSNI's "Policing with the Community" fund, they set their own agenda and targets, and run their own projects. They are free to be critical of policing in their areas, and to bring an independent and un-influenced young person's perspective to the PSNI and the DPP in their areas.

Independence is also linked to the issue of trust. If a youth or community worker who is trusted by young people approaches them with a police engagement project, it is likely that they will be more receptive and more comfortable working with the police through that worker than on their own. For example, Include Youth has maintained its independence from the police, despite being funded by them for the 2 ½ years of the project this was agreed between PSNI and Include Youth from the outset. As Ms. Farrell put it, Include Youth, as an independent youth organisation, was strategically placed to be critical of policing, but to be objective as well. They have also dedicated a lot of time and effort in creating relationships with local communities and building up the element of trust. This was

deemed to be essential if engagement is to be both positive and successful.

Sustainability

Sustainability is absolutely crucial to successfully encourage young people to engage with the police. Include Youth's 'Young Voices' project has been running since 2006, and funded in-house for the past one and a half years. This project can also point to a progression and evaluation of not only the project itself, but the young people involved as well. Whereas many young people in the catchment area in North Belfast were very hesitant at the beginning to have any contact with the police, however, one group is now running their own sessions, and even running some training sessions with the police and young people at Garnerville Police Training College.

It is highly doubtful that this kind of progress and multifaceted engagement would have, or could have, taken place in a short, fixed-term project like so many that are funded for only a year or less. Likewise, both Northern Ireland Alternatives and Community Restorative Justice have had a presence in their respective communities for several years, this has allowed for effective engagement in places where the police have traditionally been treated as suspect and even threatening. Negative attitudes, based on deep-seated antagonism, cannot be changed overnight, and need sustainable, focused work from strategically placed organisations with an understanding of grassroots issues.

Contact with Police

Finally, and perhaps most straightforward, is contact with police. This was brought up by several organisations, which emphasised a neutral setting and fun and engaging activities, like the diversionary programmes that the PSNI ran in the past. For at the representative from the Rainbow Project, it is about finding opportunities for a softer approach that is not intimidating. It should focus on a neutral environment, particularly for engaging with the LGBT community, with whom the Rainbow Project works. Linda Watson, Coordinator at Caw/Nelson Drive Action Group, agreed, saying that it is possible to "get learning across in a

positive way, but make it fun as well."[14] Police officers that get involved with young people in a positive way are better able to build strong relationships based on trust.

For Jim McCarthy of CRJ, it is about exposure. Most of the young people he works with would have had their first encounter with the police if they were getting in trouble. To change this, he organized a casual meeting with himself, four or five young people, and three other people who, unbeknownst to the young people, were a fire-fighter, a teacher, and a policeman. No one came in uniform, and no one announced his or her profession at the beginning of the session. Mr. McCarthy said the group had a great time chatting and laughing with each other. At the end of the session, everyone introduced himself or herself, and when they got to the police officer, there was silence. The young people were surprised, because the police officer was normal. For Mr. McCarthy, it is subtle things like that, that are not about authority and putting you down, which can make the difference. It humanizes a police officer, and makes him or her a person with a family instead of a person in a uniform sent to make your life miserable. Mr. Mitchell at NI Alternatives agreed – young people would be more hesitant to throw a stone at 'John' than at a uniform. They need to be given a chance to humanize the person behind the uniform.

Conclusion: The Costs of Failing to Engage

The projects run by each organisation were unique and used a variety of approaches to police/youth engagement. Despite this, the challenges they faced and the successes they encountered were quite similar.

Resources and sustainability were the major challenges faced by nearly every organisation. Alongside this was the difficulty in communication with and within the PSNI, leading some projects to feel as though their limited resources were used to re-do certain aspects of their work. In addition, the negative perceptions of young people across Northern Ireland made persuading some police officers and some community members to work with young people quite difficult.

However, the experiences were not all negative, and several successful elements were identified. These included independence, meaning that even where a project was funded by the PSNI or other statutory policing body, the organisation's role was as a 'critical friend' whose distance and independence were paramount, thus maintaining the trust of the community. Sustainability was also a big issue: where projects were able to stay in place for more than one year, they tended to have a more significant and longer-lasting impact.

What is clear through all of this is the high cost of not funding or engaging in such work. Every organisation recognized that resources are scarce for everyone, but continued to press the value for money of this type of work. Effective police/youth engagement would save the PSNI and other statutory policing bodies a considerable amount of money in lessened response costs for anti-social behaviour, riots and youth causing annoyance. Where they are called into areas with successful projects, it is quite possible that their encounters could be smoother and less hostile. According to Dr. Topping, investment in community youth work would save the PSNI a large amount of money, as these groups actually do a lot of policing for the police by diverting young people away from the criminal justice process - thus reducing the volume of work for the police. Community organisations are vital for police to do their work, as community workers are often the first on the scene in public order situations, and conduct most restorative justice work.

Youth work provision is being cut, but at what cost? The positive potential that investment in these provisions has, have been highlighted by the above organisations and their work, and should be taken into serious consideration by everyone involved in policing and youth work. To address these issues effectively, a wide range of government agencies and communities partners need to work together to use what resources are available most effectively. At a time of increased financial stringency, the arguments for investing to improve the relationship between young people and the police are both financially and humanly compelling.

Conclusion

Young people are rights-holders, and this research has sought to explore issues such as the right to participation, the right to safety and security and the right to privacy in terms of young people's interactions with the police in Northern Ireland.

The research found that the young people who have been in contact with the police commonly interact with them in settings and circumstances that promote hostility. This often leads to situations that can be of a confrontational nature, leading young people to frequently have experiences with the police that are characterised by unacceptable behaviour and negative feelings. There is therefore a need to increase the level of engagement between young people and the police in non-confrontational settings, such as schools, youth clubs and work places, in order to promote non-hostile interactions that enable both young people and police to experience the other as people rather than perpetrators or persecutors.

It is important in this regard to take into consideration both one's community background and gender, as these factors were found to have an influence in how young people interacted with and perceived the police.

There is good news for policing in this report. There are noticeable improvements in the experiences of policing by the respondents compared with the cohort in the 2003 research. The research shows important reductions in some of the more hostile forms of policing experienced by young people, and also a growing trust and confidence in the police. This is particularly significant given that this research focused on groups more likely to feel the sharper edge of policing due to the tougher realities in which they live. However, the young people also feel that the police do not understand young people, their needs and issues – and a great deal could be done to build this knowledge within the police and to build trust between young people and those charged with policing their communities.

Both statutory and non-statutory organisations that are currently involved in police/youth engagement projects face numerous challenges, including the sensitive nature of working with police and young people, the scarcity of resources that inhibits long-term success, and the negative perception communities and the police often have of young people. Despite these obstacles, positive work is being carried out, and there are clear elements that are common to the success stories: the sustainability of a project that enables the development of long-standing reciprocal relationships; creative independence to ensure projects are trusted and free to evolve organically; and prolonged and sustained police/youth contact, which fosters increased mutual understanding. Each organisation spoken to emphasised the importance of police/youth engagement, and emphasized the urgency of resourcing and developing further positive engagement projects that will address local issues at the local level.

The rights of children and young people are deeply implicated in these issues, and it is the responsibility of all those involved to ensure that young people's rights are upheld and protected. This is even more pressing because of the vulnerability of children and young people. The cost of not giving regard to the issues raised in this report is not only excessive amounts of money spent on reactionary policing, but damage to the wellbeing of young and often vulnerable members of our society. We face a once in a generation opportunity to significantly improve the relationship between young people and the police in ways that will have benefits for young people and for our society for generations to come. Young people are key to ensuring that the many advances in policing our society, become central to the creation of a just, peaceful and inclusive society for all our citizens.

Bibliography

Bakalis, C. (2007) ASBOs, "Preventative orders" and the European Court of Human Rights. *European Human Rights Law Review*. Vol???

Brown, B, Benedict, W.R. and Wilkinson, W.V. (2006) Public Perceptions of the Police in Mexico: A case study. In Policing: *An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*. Vol. 29, no.1. Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Browne, C. (2008) *Garda Public Attitude Survey 2008*. Garda Research Unit, Ireland.

Byrne, J. and Monaghan, L. (2008) *Policing Loyalist and Republican Communities – Understanding key issues for local communities and the PSNI*. Institute for Conflict Research, Belfast.

Byrne, J, Conway, M and Ostermeyer, M. (2005) *Young people's attitudes and experiences of policing, violence and community safety in North Belfast.* Northern Ireland Policing Board and the Institute for Conflict Research, Belfast.

Byrne, J, Hamilton, J and Hansson, U. (2004) *Young People in Community Conflict – A Report for the NHSSB Investing for Health Team*. Institute for Conflict Research. Belfast.

Byrne, J. (2004) *Out of Sight: Young People and Paramilitary Exiling in Northern Ireland*. Institute for Conflict Research, Belfast.

Call, C. (1997) *Police Reform, Human Rights, and Democratization in Post-conflict Settings: Lessons from El Salvador*. USAID Conference: Promoting Democracy, Human Rights, and Reintegration in Post-conflict Societies.

Central Survey Unit (2002) *Community Attitudes Survey*. Northern Ireland.

Central Survey Unit (2008) *Omnibus Survey*. Northern Ireland.

Criminal Justice Inspection Northern Ireland (2009) *Policing with the Community – An inspection of Policing with the Community in Northern Ireland*. Belfast.

Criminal Justice Inspection Northern Ireland (2007) *Northern Ireland Alternatives; Report of an inspection with a view to accreditation under the Government's Protocol for Community Based Restorative Justice*. Belfast.

Downes, M. (2004) *Police Reform in Serbia – Towards the Creation of a Modern and Accountable Police Service. Law Enforcement Department*. OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro.

Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and Northern Ireland Social and Political Archive (ARK) (2001) *The Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey*, Northern Ireland.

Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and Northern Ireland Social and Political Archive (ARK) (2001) *The Young Life and Times Survey*, Northern Ireland.

Ellison, G. (2001) *Young People, Crime, Policing and Victimisation in Northern Ireland*. Queens University, Belfast. Institute of Criminology and Criminal Justice. Economic and Social Research Council.

Fay, M.T, Morrissey, M, Smyth, M and Wong, T. (1999) The Cost of the Troubles Study - *Report on the Northern Ireland Survey the experience and impact of the troubles*. Northern Ireland.

Glass, J, Bengston, V.L. and Chorn Dunham, C. (1986) *Attitude similarity in three-generation families: socialisation, status inheritance or reciprocal influence?* American Sociological Association.

Gowri, A. (2003) Community policing is an epicycle. In *"Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management"* Vol. 26, no.4. MCB University Press Limited.

Hamilton, J., Radford, K. and Jarman, N. (2003) *Policing, Accountability and Young People*. Institute for Conflict Research, Belfast.

Hansson, U. (2005) *Troubled Youth? Young People, Violence and Disorder in Northern Ireland*. Institute for Conflict Research. Belfast.

Hansson, U. (2004) *Young people in the greater Shantallow area - a study of values, attitudes and opinions*. Off the Streets Community Youth Initiative and the Institute for Conflict Research. Derry Londonderry.

Hough, M. and Roberts, J. (2004) *Youth Crime and Youth Justice – public opinion in England and Wales*. The Policy Press.

Hughes, G., Mc Laughlin, E and Muncie, J. (eds) (2001) *Crime prevention and Community Safety – New Directions*. The Open University, Sage Publications, London.

Include Youth (2008) *Young Voices North Belfast Evaluation; Building Bridges – between young people and police*. Young Voices Project. Belfast.

Independent Commission on Policing for Northern Ireland (Patten Report) (1999) *A New Beginning: Policing in Northern Ireland*. Northern Ireland Office. Belfast.

Ipsos MORI (2006) *Attitudes towards Teenagers and Crime*. Great Britain.

Ipsos MORI (2005) *Crime and Young People.* Great Britain.

Ipsos MORI (2007) *Public Services Survey*. Great Britain.

Ipsos MORI (2002) *Youth Survey*. England and Wales.

Lewis, S., Rosenberg, H. and Sigler, R.T. (1999) Acceptance of community policing among police officers and police administrators. In *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*. Vol. 22 No. 4.

Lloyd, T. (2009) *Stuck in the Middle - Some young men's attitudes and experience of Violence, Conflict and Safety*. University of Ulster, Centre for Young Men's Studies. Youth Action Northern Ireland, Belfast.

Mc Ara, L. and Mc Vie, S. (2005) The usual suspects? Street-life, young people and the police. In *Criminal justice*. Vol. 5, No. 1, 5-36.

Mc Veigh, R. (1994) *It's part of life here... The Security Forces and Harassment in Northern Ireland*. Committee on the Administration of Justice (CAJ), Belfast.

Morgan, T, O'Hare, B and Campbell, H. (2002) *The Excluded Adolescant – an exploration of the Issues Surrounding Marginalised Young People in Northern Ireland.* University of Ulster, Youth Net and the Youth Council for Northern Ireland. Northern Ireland.

Morris, C. (2008) *Developing a Juvenile Justice System in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Rights, Diversion and Alternatives.* The National Association for Youth Justice, SAGE Publications, Vol 8 (3).

Mulcahy, A. (2006) *Policing Northern Ireland – Conflict, legitimacy and reform.* Willan Publishing, Devon, England.

Murphy, K., Hinds, L and Fleming, J. (2008) *Encouraging public cooperation and support for police. In Policing and Society.* Volume 18, Issue 2. Routledge.

Newsletter (July 2008) *Republican attitudes to PSNI are changing.* Northern Ireland.

Northern Ireland Policing Board (2007) *Research into recent crime trends in Northern Ireland.* Northern Ireland.

Northern Ireland Policing Board (October 2007) *Omnibus Survey.*

Northern Ireland Policing Board (2008) *Public Perceptions of the police, DPP's and the Northern Ireland Policing Board.* Based on the NIPB Omnibus Survey, 2008.

O' Rawe, M and Moore, L. (1997) *Human Rights on Duty – Principles for better policing – International lessons for Northern Ireland.* Committee on the Administration of Justice, Belfast.

Police Service of Northern Ireland, the Northern Ireland Policing Board and the Police Ombudsman for Northern Ireland. (2004) *Always seen, Rarely heard – young people and the police.* A report on joint youth events held in Belfast, Coleraine, Portadown and Kesh.

Ponsaers, P. (2001) Reading about "community (oriented) policing" and police models. In *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management.* Vol. 24, no.4. MCB University Press.

Pressly, L. (April 2009) *My terror after knee-capping* BBC.

Punch, M. Dutch (2002) "COP" – Developing community policing in The Netherlands. In *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management.* Vol. 25, no.1. MCB University Press Limited.

Radford, K., Hamilton, J. and Jarman N. (2005) *'It's their word against mine': young people's attitudes to the police complaints procedure in Northern Ireland.* Institute for Conflict Research, Belfast.

Rauch, J. (2000) *Police Reform and South Africa's Transition.* Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation. Presented at the South African Institute for International Affairs.

Ren, L, Zhao, J, Lovrich N.P. and Gaffney, M.J. (2006) Participation community crime prevention: who volunteers for police work? In *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management.* Vol. 29 No. 3.

Roche, R. (2005) *Something to Say – a condensed TRIPROJECT report on the views of young school leavers in the Derry City Council District areas.* Blackstaff Press, Belfast.

Sengupta, K and Lashmar, P. (February 1999) *Northern Ireland: Punishment attacks are at their highest level for decade.* The Independent.

Skogan, W.G and Hartnett, S.M. (1997) *Community Policing, Chicago Style.* Oxford University Press, New York.

Smyth, M, Hamilton, J. and Thomson, K. (2002) *Creggan Community Restorative Justice: An Evaluation and Suggested Way Forward.* ICR in association with St. Columb's Park House, Belfast.

Stol, W and Bervoets, E. (2002) *Policing Dutch-Moroccan Youth.* Netherlands Police Academy, The Netherlands.

Sung, H. (2005) *Police Effectiveness and Democracy: Shape and Direction of the Relationship. Department of Law, Police Science and Criminal Justice administration.* John Lay College of Criminal Justice, New York.

Taylor, P. (1999) Loyalists. Bloomsbury, London.

Virta, S. (2002) Local Security Management – *Policing through networks. In Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management.* Vol. 25, no.1. MCB University Press Limited.

Weitzer, R. (1995) *Policing Under Fire – Ethnic Conflict and Police Community Relations in Northern Ireland.* State University of New York Press, USA.

Wood, M. (2005) *The victimisation of young people: findings from the Crime and Justice Survey 2003.* Home Office Findings 246.

achieve enterprises

c/o Public Achievement
First Floor
7 Donegall Street Place
Donegall Street
Belfast BT1 2FN

Tel: +44 (0)28 9044 2813
Fax: +44 (0)28 9033 3198

email: info@publicachievement.com

www.publicachievement.com
www.wimps.tv

*i*CR
INSTITUTE *for* CONFLICT RESEARCH

Institute for Conflict Research
Unit 14 North City Business Centre
2 Duncairn Gardens
Belfast
BT15 2GG

E-mail: info@conflictresearch.org.uk
Tel: +44 (0)2890 742 682
Fax: +44 (0)2890 356 654

www.conflictresearch.org.uk