



An analysis of the factors causing overrepresentation of Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors in reports made to the SRA and in reports taken forward for investigation

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1. Introduction

The universities of York, Lancaster, and Cardiff were commissioned by the Solicitors Regulation Authority (SRA) to understand the reasons why there is overrepresentation of Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors in reports about potential misconduct they receive. There are two main components to the research. The first looks at the factors, present in the legal sector and wider society, which may explain the overrepresentation in reports of potential misconduct made to the SRA. The second looks at decision making at the assessment stage, when the SRA decides which reports to take forward for investigation. The reason for this focus is that the overrepresentation is particularly evident at these two early stages of the SRA's processes. It is present in the reports received and increases further at the assessment stage. The research uses multiple complementary research methods, including both quantitative and qualitative analyses, to shed further light on this subject.

The overall findings from the research, including an overview of the component parts of the project, are published separately. This supporting report is part of both the first (looking at reports received) and the second (looking at the decision to take reports forward for investigation) component of the project. It sets out our findings from a detailed analysis of the data provided by the SRA, covering the reports received by the SRA, and those taken forward for investigation over a four-year period from November 2018 to October 2022.

In approaching this analysis, we took into account the findings from the literature review, which found there were range of characteristics which could affect the likelihood of reports being made about potential misconduct. These were broadly categorised as individual, organisational and case related factors. Following on from this, using the data provided by the SRA, we identified a range of relevant factors from the SRA's data, and have presented our findings in line with these three categories.

Identifying which factors were relevant and how significant they are in driving the overrepresentation of Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors is a complex process. Although it is often possible to determine which factors are important, it is difficult to say definitively if one factor is driving reports over and above other factors. In this report we will not be able to provide a simple answer which explains the factors causing the patterns that are seen. But we will present a comprehensive and systematic analysis of the factors which do seem to influence the likelihood of reports and whether those reports are progressed to an investigation.

We also present some analysis of how these factors may interact. This level of analysis has not been carried out before and although it provides real insight into the issues which affect the reports of potential misconduct which are received and investigated by the SRA, it does not identify a simple answer to explain the patterns.

The report is structured as follows:

- Part I examines the reports received by the SRA.
- Part II examines the reports taken forward for investigation.
- Part III sets out a summary of the analyses and conclusions for both parts I and II.

The Appendices A to E are published in a separate accompanying document:

- Appendix A provides a glossary of terms and a brief discussion of the limitations of the data and its analysis.
- Appendix B provides descriptive statistics for both the individuals and organisations in the data.
- Appendix C provides the results of additional chi-square tests that are useful to understand how different attributes are distributed in the population.
- Appendix D provides additional regression analysis, including the results of regression interacting variables.
- Appendix E provides an explanation of the sentiment analysis of report records.

2. Executive Summary

As outlined above the purpose of this report is to use empirical data from the SRA to try to understand the reasons why Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors are overrepresented in both the reports of potential misconduct received by the SRA, as well as reports that are taken forward by the SRA for investigation. The analysis is therefore split into two parts.

- Part I in [section 4](#) looks at the reports *received* by the SRA, and
- Part II in [section 5](#) looks at the reports that are *taken forward for investigation* by the SRA.

The SRA receives around 10,000 reports of potential misconduct about solicitors, law firms and others (non-solicitors) who work in them every year. The SRA provided us with five main datasets, with the overall number of data points running to over 10 million. The data sets included all reports received and taken forward for investigation over four practising years from 2018 to 2022, with information about the firms and individuals named in these reports. Information on the data is set out in [section 3](#).

In analysing the data, we used different types of statistical tests to examine the representation of solicitor ethnicity in the respective data sets and to assess the likelihood of a report being received or taken forward for investigation depending on a variety of different factors and when compared to a reference category.

These factors included:

- Individual factors - solicitor ethnicity, gender, age, post qualification experience and entry route to qualification.
- Organisation level factors - whether the firm where the solicitor worked is a one partner firm or not, whether the firm is a specialist, whether they do legal aid work, the longevity of the firm, firm size (in bands by partner count) and the firm's main practice area.
- Case related factors - complainant type and case categorisation.

We also looked at the distribution of these factors within the population.

Finally, having considered the effects of these various factors in isolation, to get a deeper understanding, we explored how these factors interacted with ethnicity.

Key findings: reports received by the SRA

Individual factors

- Ethnicity - our results show ethnicity is significant, in line with previous research. We found there were 22% more reports about Black, Asian and minority solicitors than one would expect compared to the population. When compared to the White group, being Asian, Black, or being from the Other minority ethnic group increases the likelihood by 14%, 9% and 6%, respectively.
- Gender - our results show gender is significant. Female solicitors are less likely by 12% than male solicitors to be named in a report received by the SRA.

- Age - age is somewhat less clear, on the whole older solicitors are more likely than younger solicitors to be named in a report received by the SRA. These results may be influenced by the possibility that older solicitors (particularly those in supervisory roles) are named alongside junior colleagues in reports to the SRA.
- Entry route - this factor showed less of an impact, with solicitors who enter the profession via QLTS being slightly less likely to be named in a report received by the SRA compared with those entering by Legal Practice Course (LPC) followed by a period of recognised training (PRT).

To provide a richer picture we looked at the interactions between ethnicity and the other individual factors we considered. Our analysis showed:

- Interaction with gender - it appears that both gender and ethnicity separately have a strong impact on the likelihood of reports being received, however these effects appear to be independent. Interactions show the patterns are similar across the ethnicity groups comparing male to female. When compared to a reference category, such as White females, Black and Asian females were slightly more likely to be named in a report by 4% and 6%, respectively.
- Interaction with age - there is a fairly strong trend in White solicitors being more likely to be named on a report with increasing age, this is not true for Black, Asian, and minority ethnic solicitors.
- Interaction with entry route - Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors who entered the profession via a LPC then PRT route are 15% more likely to be named in a report compared to White solicitors entering via the same route.

Organisational factors

- Working in a firm by size (grouped by partner count) - the relative likelihood of being named in a report to the SRA decreases as the firm size increases. Solicitors working in one partner firms are 45% more likely to be named in a report to the SRA than those working in large firms (more than 10 partners).

Looking at Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors in firms by size, 167% more work in one partner firms than one would expect, given the population of solicitors regulated by the SRA and 40% more work in small firms, 6% fewer work in medium firms and 38% fewer work in large firms.

- Working in a one partner firm - indicates that a solicitor is 33% more likely to be named in a report than working in a firm with two or more partners.
- Working in a specialist firm - indicates that a solicitor is 3% less likely to be named in a report than working in a firm that is non-specialist. There are 55% more Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors working in specialist firms than expected.
- Working in a firm that does legal aid - indicates that a solicitor is 7% more likely to be named in a report than a firm that does not. There are around 15% more Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors working in firms doing legal aid work than one would expect.

- Working in a firm which has been operating for 16 or more years - results show solicitors are marginally less likely to be named in a report.
- Working in a firm by main practice area - there were only three practice areas which increased the likelihood that a person would be named in a report compared with Residential Property, and those were Consumer, Discrimination/civil liberties/human rights and Payment Protection.
- In-house solicitors are much less likely to be referred to the SRA than would be expected given their background distribution – 58% fewer than expected receive reports.

We also looked at the interactions between ethnicity and some of these organisational factors:

- Interaction with size of firm - we see for the population combined, solicitors working in smaller firms are more likely to be named in a report than those working in large firms. Firm size interacts with ethnicity, with the effect of increased reporting rates for smaller firms being more extreme for White solicitors than Black, Asian, and minority ethnic solicitors. White solicitors are 40% more likely to be reported if they work in a one partner firm and 20% more likely in small firms, (compared to White solicitors in large firms). Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors in one partner firms are 15% more likely, and 13% more likely in small firms, to be named in a report than White solicitors in large firms.
- Interaction with working in a specialist firm - it seems that if a firm specialises in a certain area of law, this can also have an impact, with Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors in specialist firms being 6% less likely to be named in a report than a White solicitor in a non-specialist firm. This indicates a stronger effect than might be expected from ethnicity alone.
- Interaction with working in a firm by main practice area - there are some limited interactions between ethnicity and the main practice area of the firm where solicitors are working. For example, Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors working in the areas of Discrimination/civil liberties/human rights and Family/matrimonial are 270% and 25%, respectively, more likely to be named in a report than White solicitors working in the area of Property residential (our reference category).

Case related factors

- Source of report - there appears to be a sizeable difference between reporting rates across different groups making reports to the SRA. The group which is mostly made up of consumers (categorised as non-regulated individuals) is slightly more likely to report White solicitors and less likely to report Asian or Black solicitors. However, non-regulated organisations (mostly other agencies, including the police, courts and reports from the within the SRA) appear less likely to report White solicitors and

much more likely to report Asian and Black solicitors. Asian solicitors are also largely represented in terms of reports made by other solicitors.

- Category of report - this shows some differences between the ethnic groups for some report types. For example, for reports about potential fraudulent activity, White solicitors receive 19% fewer reports and Asian solicitors receive 70% more. Another example shows different outcomes for Asian and Black solicitor related to reports about potential money laundering with Asian solicitors receiving 38% more reports and Black solicitors 56% fewer reports.

Key findings: reports taken forward for investigation by the SRA

Individual factors

- Ethnicity - is an important factor associated with an increased likelihood of reports being taken forward for investigation. Reports about Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors are around 23% more likely to be taken forward for investigation, than one would expect, given the composition of the reports received. When compared to reports about White solicitors, reports about Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors are 52% more likely to be taken forward for investigation.
- Gender - gender is also a relevant factor. We found that reports received about female solicitors are 36% less likely to be taken forward for investigation, in comparison to reports about male solicitors.
- Age - younger solicitors are less likely to have reports taken forward for investigation.
- Entry Route - solicitors who qualified through the LPC then PRT route are less likely to have a report taken forward for investigation, in comparison to all other routes. In contrast, reports about Qualified Lawyer Transfer Test (QLTT) qualified solicitors are more likely to be taken forward for investigation, in comparison to reports about LPC then PRT qualified solicitors.

We also looked at the interactions between ethnicity and some of the individual factors we considered.

- Interaction with gender - it appears that both gender and ethnicity separately have a strong impact on the likelihood of reports being investigated, however these effects appear to be independent. Reports received about Black, Asian, and minority ethnic female solicitors are 45% more likely to be taken forward for investigation than those about White-Female solicitors. A similar pattern is observed for gender within the same ethnicity groupings, indicating a compounding interaction between gender and ethnicity for these groups. Reports received about Black, Asian, and minority ethnic male solicitors are 128% more likely to be taken forward for investigation, in comparison to White-Female solicitors.
- Interaction with entry route - this factor had less of an impact.

Organisational factors

- Working in a firm by size (in bands by partner count) - here again, we see the effect of smaller firms, with reports about solicitors working in small firms (2-5 partners), 32% less likely to be taken forward for investigation, while those about solicitors working in medium and large firms are 49% and 38% less likely, respectively, to be further investigated in comparison to one partner firms.
- Working in a one partner firm - reports about solicitors in one partner firms are 66% more likely to be taken forward for investigation. This effect decreases as firm size increases. The size of firm particularly, one partner firms appears to be a strong predictor of a report being investigated.
- Working in a specialist firm - reports about solicitors working in specialist firms are 15% more likely to be taken forward for investigation.
- Working in a firm by main practice area - reports in some practice area specialisations are more likely to be taken forward for investigation. For instance, specialisation in Personal injury and Immigration increases the likelihood of a report being taken forward for investigation by 54% and 64% respectively compared to the reference category of Property Residential.

We also looked at the interactions between ethnicity and some of these organisational factors.

- Interaction with firm size - this interaction showed that reports received about Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors working in one partner firms are much more likely to be taken forward to investigation in comparison to reports about White solicitors in large firms. While reports received about White solicitors are also more likely to be taken forward for investigation in one partner firms, there appears to be no difference within small firms.
- Interaction with working in a specialist firm - Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors working in specialist firms are 34% more likely to have report taken forward for investigation compared to White solicitors.
- Interaction with working in a firm by main practice area - for example, within firms specialising in the practice area of Personal injury, this interaction shows reports about White solicitors are 32% less likely to be taken forward for investigation, while those about Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors are 31% more likely to be taken forward. Immigration specialisation is an exception in this respect, as ethnicity effects are reversed - reports about White solicitors are 64% more likely to be taken forward for investigation, while those about Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors are 37% less likely to be taken forward.

Our findings about the increased likelihood of reports being taken forward for investigation across all ethnic groups working at one partner firms, indicates the importance of firm size as a predictor.

Case related factors

- Source of a report - again there appears to be differences in the source of a report and the likelihood of progressing to investigation. Reports submitted by members of the profession (regulated individuals) are much more likely to progress to investigation, in comparison to reports submitted by all other type of complainants. Reports made by consumers (non-regulated individuals), the largest category of complainants (68% of all reports), are the least likely to be taken forward for investigation.
- Case categorisations - some areas such as 'Money laundering concerns' and 'Sexual misconduct' are much more likely to proceed to investigation.

We also looked at the interactions between ethnicity and some of the case related factors:

- Interaction with source of report - reports about White solicitors are less likely to be taken forward for investigation, irrespective of the complainant type. In contrast, reports about Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors are more likely to be taken forward for investigation and this applies to reports submitted by both regulated and non-regulated individuals.
- Interaction with case category - we found ethnicity effects to be consistent in increasing the likelihood of a report being taken forward for investigation across most case categorisations.
- Interaction with size of firm and case category - overall, firm size effects within most key case categorisations are consistent: reports about one partner firms are more likely to be taken forward for investigation, while those about other types of firms (i.e. those with partner count > 1) are less likely to be taken forward for investigation.

Viewed together, the findings indicate a complex picture with a raft of contributing factors to the overrepresentation of Black, Asian and minority ethnic groups in both the reports received, and the reports taken forward for investigation by the SRA. While overall, our results confirmed that Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors correlate with an increased likelihood in both the reports received by the SRA and in the reports the SRA takes forward for investigation, it is clear that the picture is more complex than looking at ethnicity alone.

In particular, factors such as size of firm and gender of solicitor, do appear to have a potentially important impact on the likelihood of both a report being made, or on that report being taken forward for investigation.

However, it is important to note that this correlation does not, necessarily, imply causation. Whilst we have observed there are statistically significant differences in a number of factors which may interact with ethnicity, we cannot say whether ethnicity is the driving force behind this difference or not.

A number of these factors appear to interact with ethnicity (and potentially with each other) in ways which are neither linear nor necessarily predictable. Some factors have a compounding interaction with ethnicity (where the overrepresentation presents as more acute), and some factors have a mitigating interaction (where the overrepresentation presents as less acute).

3. The data and our approach to its analysis

About the data

The SRA receives around 10,000 reports of potential misconduct about solicitors, law firms and others (non-solicitors) who work in them every year. These reports come from a range of sources, often from members of the public who have concerns about how their solicitor has handled their legal matter. Some reports are made by solicitors or law firms about conduct they have seen in the course of their work. Law firms may also self-report issues that have arisen within their practice. Other reports are made by agencies who have concerns, such as the police or the court. Some are reported from within the SRA itself, for example if potential misconduct is identified through handling a routine application or from engagement with a firm.

An electronic record is opened for all reports of misconduct received about firms and individuals regulated by the SRA. This records the name of the law firm involved, the individuals which the complainant has named in their report as well as their concerns. These are the reports analysed in Part 1 of this report.

Each report is then assessed by the SRA using its Assessment Threshold Test, to determine whether the matter will be taken forward for a full investigation. Around 16 percent of the reports are taken forward for investigation. These are the reports analysed in Part II of this report.

The SRA determined that we would be able to carry out meaningful analysis about reports it receives from September 2018. It was from this period that the SRA was comprehensively recording all individuals named in reports received about potential misconduct. Prior to that, reports were often recorded about the relevant law firm, with the individuals added where relevant if the matter was taken forward for investigation. The SRA therefore compiled a data set to include all reports received over four practising years from 2018/19, with a wide range of background information about the firms and individuals named in these reports. The SRA included all the background information that could be analysed in a meaningful way, so we had a wide range of factors to consider.

The SRA provided us with five main datasets, with the overall number of data points running to over 10 million.

The first dataset – the “Individual Snapshot Data” dataset – provides data for individuals that were either practising certificate holders, Registered European Lawyers (RELs), or Registered Foreign Lawyers (RFLs) as of 1st November of each year from 2018 to 2021. This database contains 4.7 million data points on 176,834 individuals.

The second dataset – the “Individual Reports” dataset – provides data on the reports received since 1st November 2018 to 17th of October 2022, and data on the subject individuals listed in the reports. This database contains 659,950 data points on 26,398 individuals named in reports.

The third dataset – the “Organisation Reports Data” dataset – provides data on the reports received since November 2018 to 17th of October 2022, and data on the subject firms listed in the reports. This database contains 2.3 million data points on 38,019 reports about organisations.

The fourth dataset – the “Organisational Snapshot Data” dataset – provides data on SRA regulated organisations from November 2018 to 1st of November 2021 and the number of

reports made about them. This database contains 1.6 million datapoints on 22,200 organisations.

The fifth dataset – the “Reports” dataset – provides data on the reports received between November 2018 and 10th of October 2022. This database contains all these reports and comprises 643,296 datapoints on 40,206 cases.

We linked these databases using the unique identifiers (ID) they contain (i.e., the SRA case reference, the ID for the person named in the report, and the ID for the organisation named in the report). The ID did not identify the actual individuals and firms named in the reports, nor the individuals making the report.

Methodology

We carried out extensive analyses of the data provided and have included tables and charts to illustrate the key findings discussed in the body of this report.

We applied the same approach to each of the data sets for Part I (reports received) and Part II (reports taken forward for investigation). Our focus was on the individuals named in the reports, their individual characteristics, the characteristics of the firms where they worked and the characteristics of the reports themselves.

Firstly, we used chi-square tests to examine the representation of solicitor ethnicity in the respective data sets. These compare the observed population to the expected population.

Secondly, we undertook logistic regressions, a type of multivariate statistical test, to assess the likelihood of a report being received or taken forward for investigation depending on a variety of different factors and when compared to a reference category. These include:

- Individual factors - solicitor ethnicity, gender, age, post qualification experience and entry route to qualification.
- Organisation level factors - whether the firm where the solicitor worked is a one partner firm or not, whether the firm is a specialist, whether they do legal aid work, the longevity of the firm, firm size (in bands by partner count) and the firm’s main practice area.
- Case related factors - complainant type and case categorisation.

We also looked at the distribution of these factors within the population.

Finally, having considered the effects of these various factors in isolation, to get a deeper understanding, we explored how these factors interacted with ethnicity. Adding ethnicity as the second factor, would help us see whether the effect of being male, compared to female for example, may be different for the different ethnic groups. To investigate this, we used interaction effect models, looking at the odds ratios of all the different possible combinations of the two interacted variables.

An explanation of the analyses we carried out and the terms used in this report is available in Appendix A.

Ethnicity categories

For this report we have used the standard classification categories for ethnicity used by the Office for National Statistics. The White group in this analysis includes the White minority ethnic groups and the ‘Black, Asian and minority ethnic’ group include those in the Black, Asian, Mixed, and Other groups.

The SRA uses this classification in its data, and we generally present our analysis at level 1 (a binary comparison between the White group and the Black, Asian and minority ethnic groups) and level 2 (comparing all five ethnic groups). This allows us to see any differences between the Black, Asian, Mixed and Other minority ethnic groups. Where we can, we have broken down the level 2 ethnic groups further (to level 3) to see if there are any differences between those making up these groups. The analysis at level 3 is not possible where the analysis involves small numbers.

Purely for the purpose of presentation we use the term BAME in the charts and tables.

4. Part I - Analysis of reports received by the SRA

In this part of the report, we present the results of the quantitative analyses conducted on the reports received by the SRA.

As explained above, to begin with we used chi-square tests to examine the representation of solicitor ethnicity in reports received. We then undertook logistic regressions to assess the likelihood of a report being received (taking into account the breakdown of the full practising population) according to individual, organisational and case related factors. And for a deeper understanding, we analysed various interaction effects between key variables (e.g. solicitor ethnicity and gender).

The extent of overrepresentation in reports received

To ascertain the extent to which Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors are overrepresented in the reports received by the SRA, we analysed the number of reports the SRA actually received for each of the ethnic groups in the data and compared that with the number of reports one would expect the SRA to receive given the composition of that group in the population of solicitors in the profession¹.

We looked at the breakdown for all five ethnic groups (White, Black, Asian, Mixed and Other). Table 1 sets out the analysis at level 1, comparing the White group with the Black, Asian and minority ethnic group. Table 2 sets out the analysis at level 2, looking separately at each of the five ethnic groups. Table 3 sets out the analysis at level 3 for all ethnic groups.

Tables 1 to 3 show the number of reports received for each group (the observed reports) and the number of reports that we would expect for each group, if reports were distributed evenly across the population of solicitors (the expected reports). The differences between the two are represented in the 'Residual' and '% Difference' rows and we have set out a summary of the findings after each table.

Our analyses echo the findings from the SRA's [annual monitoring data](#) and shows that in the population of practising solicitors, Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors are overrepresented in the reports received by the SRA.

¹ When we talk about the reports we would 'expect' to see, we are referring to the proportion of reports we would see if there was an even distribution of reports received across different groups making up the profession. This is important as if for example, 20% of the population overall receive reports then if the population is 60% White, then we would expect (if all other factors are equal) that 20% of White people would receive reports. If this doesn't happen then we can say that the distribution of complaints is not evenly distributed over the population. This same reasoning stands for all the attributes testing by chi-squared analysis. Therefore the term 'expected' in this case refers to the number of reports we should see.

Table 1: Number of reports received compared to number of reports expected for White and Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors at level 1

Ethnicity of solicitors at level 1		No reports	Reports	Total
White	Observed	98,718.00	9,883.00	108,601.00
	Expected	98,052.89	10,548.11	
	Residual	2.12	-6.48	
	% Difference	0.67	-6.73	
Black, Asian and minority ethnic	Observed	20,718.00	2,959.00	23,677.00
	Expected	21,377.32	2,299.68	
	Residual	-4.51	13.75	
	% Difference	-3.18	22.28	
Prefer not to say	Observed	1,028.00	117.00	1,145.00
	Expected	1,033.79	111.21	
	Residual	-0.18	0.55	
	% Difference	-0.56	4.95	
Total		120,436.00	12,959.00	133,423.00
p-value	< 2.2e-16			

Shading indicates that the expected number deviates significantly from the observed number for that attribute in the data as indicated by the calculation of the residuals. For further explanation see Appendix A.

Table 1 shows that there are around 22% more reports about Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors than one would expect. And there are around 7% fewer reports about White solicitors than one would expect.

The analysis in Table 1 is at level 1 (looking at White groups and Black, Asian and minority ethnic groups) and is useful context for some of the later analysis and interpretation of results. In Table 2 we have also analysed this at level 2 (looking at White, Black, Asian, Mixed and Other groups), comparing the number of reports received by the SRA for each of these groups to the number of reports one would expect, given their frequency in the population. We have also been able to carry out this analysis at level 3, looking at the ethnic groups that make up each of the level 2 groups (and this is set out in Table 3) but the size of some of the groups at this level is small so we have not been able to carry out all our analysis at this level.

Table 2: Number of reports received compared to number of reports expected for each of the five ethnic groups separately (White, Asian, Black, Mixed and Other) at level 2

Ethnicity of solicitors at level 2		No reports	Reports	Total
White	Observed	98,718.00	9,883.00	108,601.00
	Expected	98,052.89	10,548.11	
	Residual	2.12	-6.48	
	% Difference	0.67	-6.73	
Asian	Observed	13,427.00	2,069.00	15,496.00
	Expected	13,990.92	1,505.08	
	Residual	-4.77	14.54	
	% Difference	-4.20	27.26	
Black	Observed	3,141.00	519.00	3,660.00
	Expected	3,304.52	355.49	
	Residual	-2.84	8.67	
	% Difference	-5.21	31.51	
Mixed	Observed	2,249.00	190.00	2,439.00
	Expected	2,202.11	236.89	
	Residual	1.00	-3.05	
	% Difference	2.09	-24.68	
Other	Observed	1,901.00	181.00	2,082.00
	Expected	1,879.78	202.22	
	Residual	0.49	-1.49	
	% Difference	1.12	-11.72	
Prefer not to say	Observed	1,028.00	117.00	1,145.00
	Expected	1,033.79	111.21	
	Residual	-0.18	0.55	
	% Difference	-0.56	4.95	
Total		120,464.00	12,959.00	133,423.00
p-value	< 2.2e-16			

Shading indicates that the expected number deviates significantly from the observed number for that attribute in the data as indicated by the calculation of the residuals. For further explanation see Appendix A.

Table 2 shows that in the reports received by the SRA, Black solicitors are the most overrepresented, followed by Asian solicitors. There are around 32% more reports received about Black solicitors than one would expect and around 27% more reports received about Asian solicitors than one would expect. Solicitors from a Mixed or Other minority ethnic background are underrepresented in the reports received by the SRA, respectively, by 25% and 12%.

These results highlight the importance of disaggregating the Black, Asian and minority group.

Table 3: Number of reports received compared to number of reports expected for ethnic groups at level 3

Ethnicity of solicitors at level 2	Ethnicity of solicitors at level 3	Report	Observed	Expected	Residuals	Percentage difference (%)
White	English	no	36549	36522.77	0.14	0.07
White	English	yes	3904	3930.23	-0.42	-0.67
White	British	no	22634	22466.39	1.12	0.75
White	British	yes	2250	2417.61	-3.41	-6.93
White	Welsh	no	2584	2634.5	-0.98	-1.92
White	Welsh	yes	334	283.5	3	17.81
White	Irish	no	2211	2163.22	1.03	2.21
White	Irish	yes	185	232.78	-3.13	-20.53
White	Scottish	no	1381	1331.7	1.35	3.7
White	Scottish	yes	94	143.3	-4.12	-34.41
White	Any other White background	no	32906	32496.09	2.27	1.26
White	Any other White background	yes	3087	3496.91	-6.93	-11.72
Asian	Indian	no	6032	6197.13	-2.1	-2.66
Asian	Indian	yes	832	666.87	6.39	24.76
Asian	Pakistani	no	3012	3366.71	-6.11	-10.54
Asian	Pakistani	yes	717	362.29	18.64	97.91
Asian	Chinese	no	1836	1729.85	2.55	6.14
Asian	Chinese	yes	80	186.15	-7.78	-57.02
Asian	Bangladeshi	no	721	768.32	-1.71	-6.16
Asian	Bangladeshi	yes	130	82.68	5.2	57.23
Asian	Any other Asian background	no	1785	1886.95	-2.35	-5.4
Asian	Any other Asian background	yes	305	203.05	7.15	50.21
Black	African	no	2006	2131.62	-2.72	-5.89

Ethnicity of solicitors at level 2	Ethnicity of solicitors at level 3	Report	Observed	Expected	Residuals	Percentage difference (%)
Black	African	yes	355	229.38	8.29	54.76
Black	Caribbean	no	934	965.14	-1	-3.23
Black	Caribbean	yes	135	103.86	3.06	29.98
Black	Any other Black background	no	189	195.92	-0.49	-3.53
Black	Any other Black background	yes	28	21.08	1.51	32.81
Mixed	White and Asian	no	896	864.93	1.06	3.59
Mixed	White and Asian	yes	62	93.07	-3.22	-33.39
Mixed	Any other Mixed background	no	866	851.38	0.5	1.72
Mixed	Any other Mixed background	yes	77	91.62	-1.53	-15.95
Other	Any other ethnic group	no	1808	1790.34	0.42	0.99
Other	Any other ethnic group	yes	175	192.66	-1.27	-9.17
Unknown	Unknown	no	1417	1416.56	0.01	0.03
Unknown	Unknown	yes	152	152.44	-0.04	-0.29

Shading indicates that the expected number deviates significantly from the observed number for that attribute in the data as indicated by the calculation of the residuals. For further explanation see Appendix A.

Table 3 illustrates some notable differences within each of the level 2 ethnic groups, but some of the groups are very small and this impacts the veracity of the findings.

Focusing on Asian backgrounds, Pakistani solicitors received around 98% more reports than expected, Bangladeshi solicitors received 57% more reports than expected (although the population is not very large) and Indian solicitors received 25% more reports than expected. Chinese solicitors received around 57% fewer reports than expected, although again, the population is not very large.

Within the Black group, there are 30% more reports about Caribbean solicitors and 55% more reports about African solicitors than expected, however the population is relatively small.

These results show the existence of different levels of overrepresentation among Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors, and highlight the importance of understanding this as a non-homogenous group. It is not practical to run all the subsequent analysis at this level of detail as the frequency of some of the ethnicities in the population is very low which would affect the results significantly.

Factors affecting the overrepresentation in reports received

After ascertaining the extent to which Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors are overrepresented in the reports received by the SRA, we examined the underlying factors associated with this overrepresentation.

Using a logistic regression, a type of multivariate statistical model, we examined the extent to which a number of factors are associated with the likelihood that a solicitor is named in a report received by the SRA.

Individual factors affecting overrepresentation

The individual factors we looked at include gender and ethnicity (see Table 4), age and post qualification experience (PQE) in Table 5 and route to qualification (entry route) in Table 6. All five of the individual factors we examined are associated with an increased likelihood that a solicitor is named in a report received by the SRA.

Gender and ethnicity

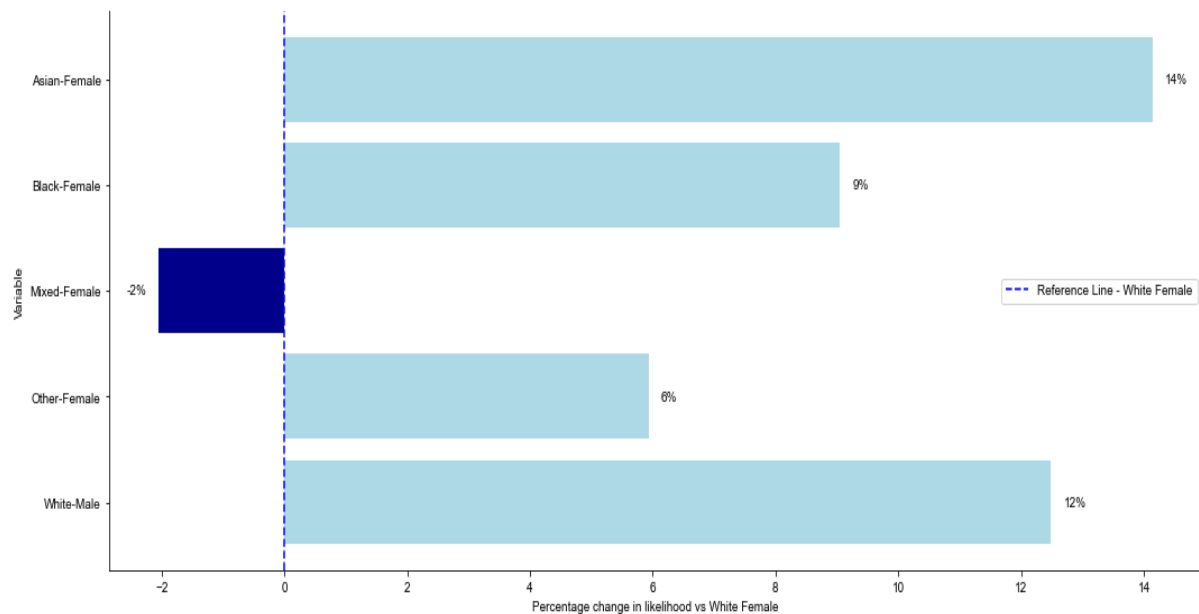
We found that gender and ethnicity are important factors in determining the relative likelihood that an individual is named in a report to the SRA.

Table 4: Individual factors associated with the likelihood that a solicitor is named in a report received by the SRA – gender and ethnicity

Gender and ethnicity	Odds ratio	P values significance	Relative likelihood of receiving a report	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
Gender				
Female*	0.889	<0.001	11% less likely	Male
Male	1.1249	<0.001	12% more likely	Female
Ethnicity				
White*	0.92	<0.001	8% less likely	Black, Asian and minority ethnic
Asian	1.1415	<0.001	14% more likely	White
Black	1.0905	<0.001	9% more likely	White
Mixed	0.9795	Not significant	2% less likely	White
Other	1.0594	<0.05	6% more likely	White

*To produce the values for Female and White the reciprocal model was run.

Figure 1: Individual factors associated with the likelihood that a solicitor is named in a report received by the SRA – gender and ethnicity



Starting with ethnicity, the results in Table 4 and Figure 1 indicate that solicitors from Black and Asian groups are more likely than White solicitors (the reference category for this analysis) to be named in a report received by the SRA by, respectively, 9% and 14% when holding all other factors constant. Solicitors from the Other minority groups are 6% more likely to be named in a report than White solicitors but with a lower significance (<0.05). The findings for solicitors from Mixed minority groups are not significant, meaning being in that group is not a good predictor of change in the relative likelihood of being reported. Solicitors from the White group (where the reference category is Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors) are 8% less likely to be named in a report.

Moving to gender, the results shown in Table 4 and Figure 1 indicate that male solicitors are more likely than female solicitors (the reference category in our analysis) to be named in a report received by the SRA. Specifically, being a male solicitor increases the likelihood by 12% in comparison to being a female solicitor when holding all other factors constant. Female solicitors are 11% less likely to be named in a report compared to male solicitors (the reference category for this analysis).

We know (from Table C4 in Appendix C) that distribution of gender by ethnicity is not even in the practising population, which could have an impact on factors like the relative likelihood of a male solicitor being named in a report versus a female. Table C4 shows that there are more White male solicitors than one would expect (around 3% more) and fewer White female solicitors than one would expect (around 2% fewer), compared with the practising population of solicitors regulated by the SRA. In contrast, there are more Black female (around 21% more), Asian female (around 9% more), Mixed female (around 18% more) and Other minority female solicitors (around 10% more) than one would expect.

And there are fewer Black male (around 22% fewer), Asian male (around 9% fewer), Mixed male (around 19%), and Other minority male solicitors (around 11% fewer) than one would expect, compared with the practising population of solicitors regulated by the SRA.

Therefore, the observed association between gender and the likelihood of being named in a report received by the SRA may not contribute to the overrepresentation of Black, Asian, and minority ethnic solicitors in the reports received by the SRA. This is because female solicitors are more likely to be from a Black, Asian and minority ethnic background, yet female solicitors overall are less likely to receive a report.

To gain a deeper understanding, we carried out further analysis about the interaction of these two factors.

The interaction between gender and ethnicity

We ran interaction models to look for possible interactions between gender and ethnicity and on the likelihood of receiving a report. White female solicitors are used as the reference category as they receive the lowest number of reports. Figures 2 and 3, and Table 5 below show the relative likelihood of different groups receiving a report, compared with White females when holding all other factors constant. Key findings from this analysis shows, that compared to White females, the likelihood of receiving a report are:

- 5% more likely for Black, Asian and minority ethnic females as one group
- 13% more likely for Black, Asian and minority ethnic males as one group
- 4% more likely for Black females
- 6% more likely for Asian females
- 10% more likely for White males
- 10% more likely for Black males
- 13% more likely for Other minority males
- 16% more likely for Asian males.

It appears that both gender and ethnicity separately have a strong impact on the likelihood of reports being received, however these effects appear to be independent of one another.

Table 5: Individual factors associated with the likelihood that a solicitor is named in a report received by the SRA - gender and ethnicity

Intersection of gender and ethnicity	Odds Ratio	P values significance	Relative likelihood of receiving a report	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
Level 1				
Black, Asian and minority ethnic-Female	1.047	<0.001	5% more likely	White/Female
Black, Asian and minority ethnic-Male	1.1322	<0.001	13% more likely	White/Female
Level 2				
White-Female	0.9	<0.001	10% less likely	Black, Asian and minority ethnic/Male
Black-Female	1.0439	<0.1	4% more likely	White/Female
Mixed-Female	0.9983	Not Significant	0	White/Female
Other-Female	1.0004	Not Significant	0	White/Female
Asian-Female	1.0622	<0.001	6% more likely	White/Female

Intersection of gender and ethnicity	Odds Ratio	P values significance	Relative likelihood of receiving a report	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
White-Male	1.1022	<0.001	10% more likely	White/Female
Black-Male	1.099	<0.01	10% more likely	White/Female
Mixed-Male	0.9504	Not Significant	5% less likely	White/Female
Other-Male	1.13	<0.01	13% more likely	White/Female
Asian-Male	1.1622	<0.001	16% more likely	White/Female

Figure 2 shows the interactions between ethnicity and gender at level 1, the reference category is White female solicitors.

Figure 2: The interaction between gender and ethnicity at level 1

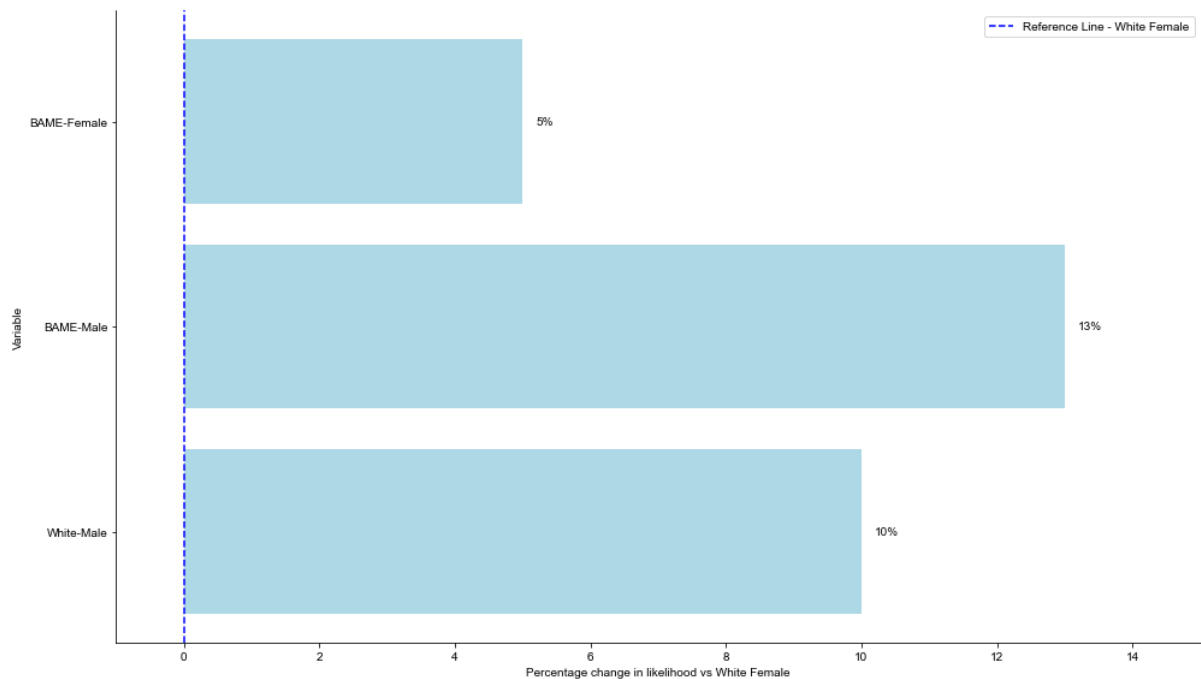
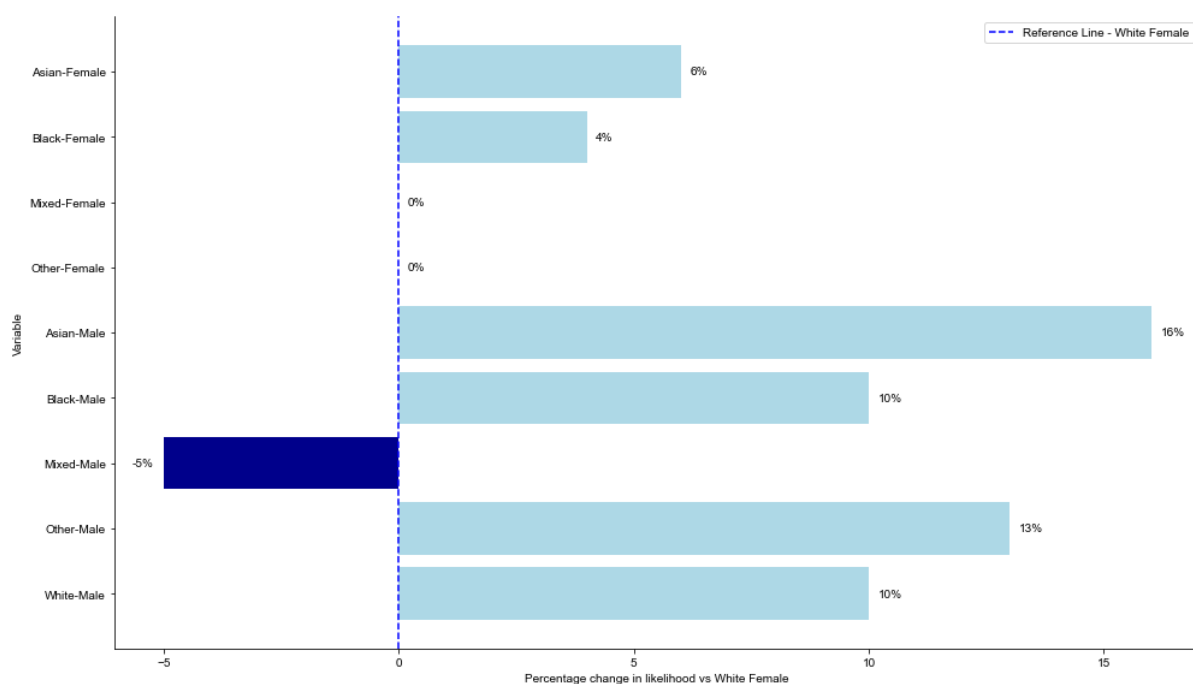


Figure 3 shows the relative likelihood of solicitors, including those from the Black, Asian, Mixed and Other minority ethnic groups (level 2) being named in a report versus White female solicitors. Some results are not significant (noted in the plot) but are included for completeness.

Figure 3: The interaction between gender and ethnicity at level 2



Age and post qualification experience (PQE)

We looked at age in bands and as a continuous variable and alongside that we looked at the number of years of PQE. The results are presented in Table 6 below.

Table 6: Individual factors associated with the likelihood that a solicitor is named in a report received by the SRA - age and PQE

Age and PQE*	Odds ratio	P values significance	Relative likelihood of receiving a report	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
Age				
Age	1.0061	<0.001	1% more likely	Continuous variable
35 - 44	1.0137	Not Significant	1% more likely	Age band 25-34
45 - 54	1.0079	Not Significant	1% more likely	Age band 25-34
55 - 64	1.0059	Not Significant	1% more likely	Age band 25-34
65+	0.9938	Not Significant	1% less likely	Age band 25-34
PQE				
Coded PQE	1.0141	<0.001	1% more likely	Continuous variable

*PQE coded as years 1 to 15, anything above 16 is termed as 16 or more years.

The results shown in Table 6 for the age bands are not significant, suggesting that age in bands is not a good predictor of a change in the relative likelihood of being named in a report. However, increasing age as a continuous variable is associated with an increase in relative likelihood of being named in a report (this is where we look at the individual’s actual

age rather than the age-band that they sit in). The results of our analyses indicate that older solicitors are more likely than younger solicitors to be named in a report received by the SRA. Specifically, for each increase of one year of age, there is a 1% increase in the likelihood of receiving a report.

Increased years of PQE makes solicitors more likely to be named in a report to the SRA, this is perhaps not surprising as it is a proxy for age. Specifically, for each increase of one year of PQE, there is a 1% increase in the likelihood of receiving a report.

Although not something we were able to test in these analyses, these results may be influenced by the possibility that older solicitors (particularly those in supervisory roles) are named alongside junior colleagues in reports to the SRA (see further discussion of the data limitations in Appendix A).

However, the observed association between age and the likelihood of being named in a report received by the SRA may not contribute to the overrepresentation of Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors in the reports received by the SRA. As shown in Table C5 in Appendix C, Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors tend to be on average younger than White solicitors. There are 33% more Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors present in the age band 25-34, 20% more in the 35-44 age band, 37% fewer in the 55-64 age band, and 70% fewer in the 65+ age band than expected. In contrast, there are 7% fewer White solicitors in the 25-34 age band, 4% fewer in the 35-44 age band, 8% more in the 55-64 age band, and 15% more in the 65+ age band than one would expect, given the population of solicitors regulated by the SRA.

The interaction between age and ethnicity

We looked at the interaction between age and ethnicity. This analysis is presented in Table 7 and Figure 4 below. The reference category for this analysis is White solicitors in age-band 25-34.

Table 7: The interaction between age and ethnicity at level 1 and 2

Ethnicity and age bands	Odds Ratio	P values significance	Relative likelihood of receiving a report	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
Level 1				
White-35 - 44	1.0483	<0.001	5% more likely	White/25-34
White-45 - 54	1.0936	<0.001	9% more likely	White/25-34
White-55 - 64	1.1675	<0.001	17% more likely	White/25-34
White-65+	1.2355	<0.001	24% more likely	White/25-34
Black, Asian and minority ethnic-35 - 44	1.0786	<0.001	8% more likely	White/25-34
Black, Asian and minority ethnic-45 - 54	1.1673	<0.001	17% more likely	White/25-34
Black, Asian	1.1102	<0.001	11% more likely	White/25-34

Ethnicity and age bands	Odds Ratio	P values significance	Relative likelihood of receiving a report	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
and minority ethnic-55 - 64				
Black, Asian and minority ethnic-65+	1.0572	Not Significant	6% more likely	White/25-34
Level 2				
Asian-35 - 44	1.1052	<0.001	11% more likely	White/25-34
Black-35 - 44	0.9792	Not Significant	2% less likely	White/25-34
Mixed-35 - 44	0.9996	Not Significant	0%	White/25-34
Other-35 - 44	1.0497	Not Significant	5% more likely	White/25-34
White-35 - 44	1.0484	<0.001	5% more likely	White/25-34
Asian-45 - 54	1.1857	<0.001	19% more likely	White/25-34
Black-45 - 54	1.1157	<0.1	12% more likely	White/25-34
Mixed-45 - 54	1.1015	Not Significant	10% more likely	White/25-34
Other-45 - 54	1.1401	<0.1	14% more likely	White/25-34
White-45 - 54	1.0938	<0.001	9% more likely	White/25-34
Asian-55 - 64	1.1487	<0.001	15% more likely	White/25-34
Black-55 - 64	1.0691	Not Significant	7% more likely	White/25-34
Mixed-55 - 64	0.9911	Not Significant	1% less likely	White/25-34
Other-55 - 64	1.122	Not Significant	12% more likely	White/25-34
White-55 - 64	1.1679	<0.001	17% more likely	White/25-34
Asian-65+	0.9556	Not Significant	4% less likely	White/25-34
Black-65+	1.2636	<0.05	26% more likely	White/25-34
Mixed-65+	0.6756	<0.1	32% less likely	White/25-34
Other-65+	1.6178	<0.01	62% more likely	White/25-34
White-65+	1.2362	<0.001	24% more likely	White/25-34

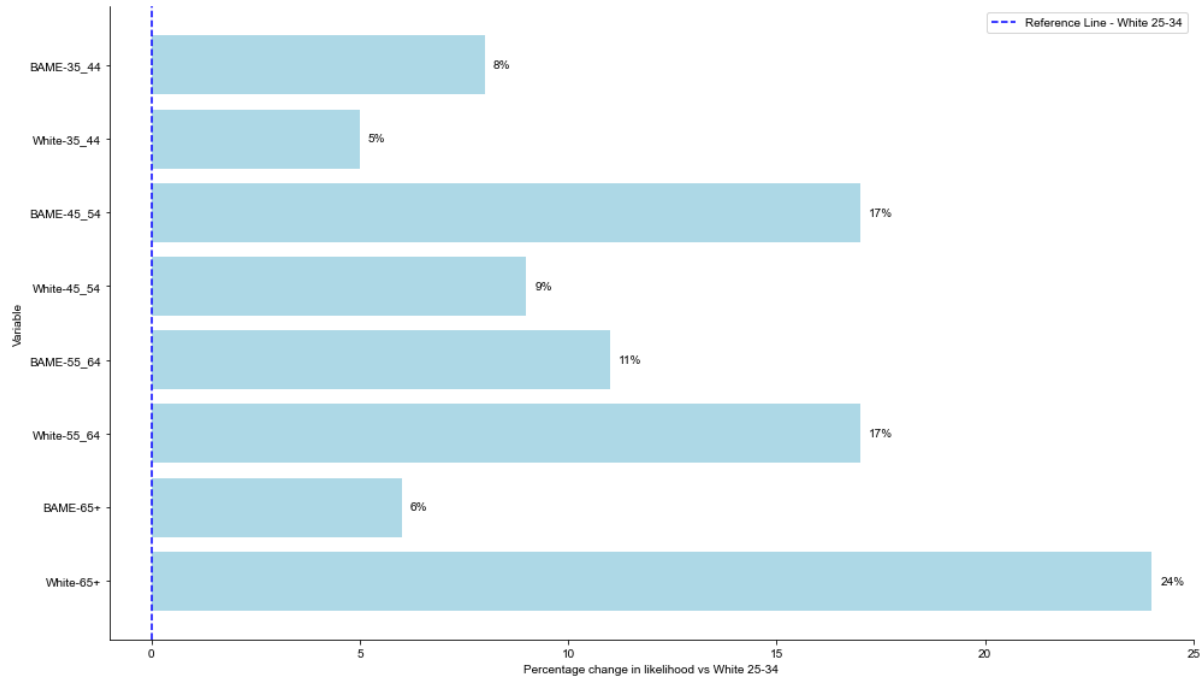
Key findings from this analysis shows, that at level 1 when compared to White solicitors in the age band 25-34, the likelihood of being named in a report are:

- 5% more likely for White solicitors in the age band 35-44
- 9% more likely for White solicitors in the age band 45-54
- 17% more likely for White solicitors in the age band 55-64
- 24% more likely for White solicitors in the age band 65+
- 8% more likely for Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors in the age band 35-44
- 17% more likely for Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors in the age band 45-54

- 11% more likely for Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors in the age band 55-64.

Figure 4 shows the relative likelihood of Black, Asian, or minority ethnic solicitors in different age-bands being named in a report versus White solicitors aged 25-34. Some results are not significant (noted in the plot) but are included for completeness.

Figure 4: The interaction between age and ethnicity at level 1

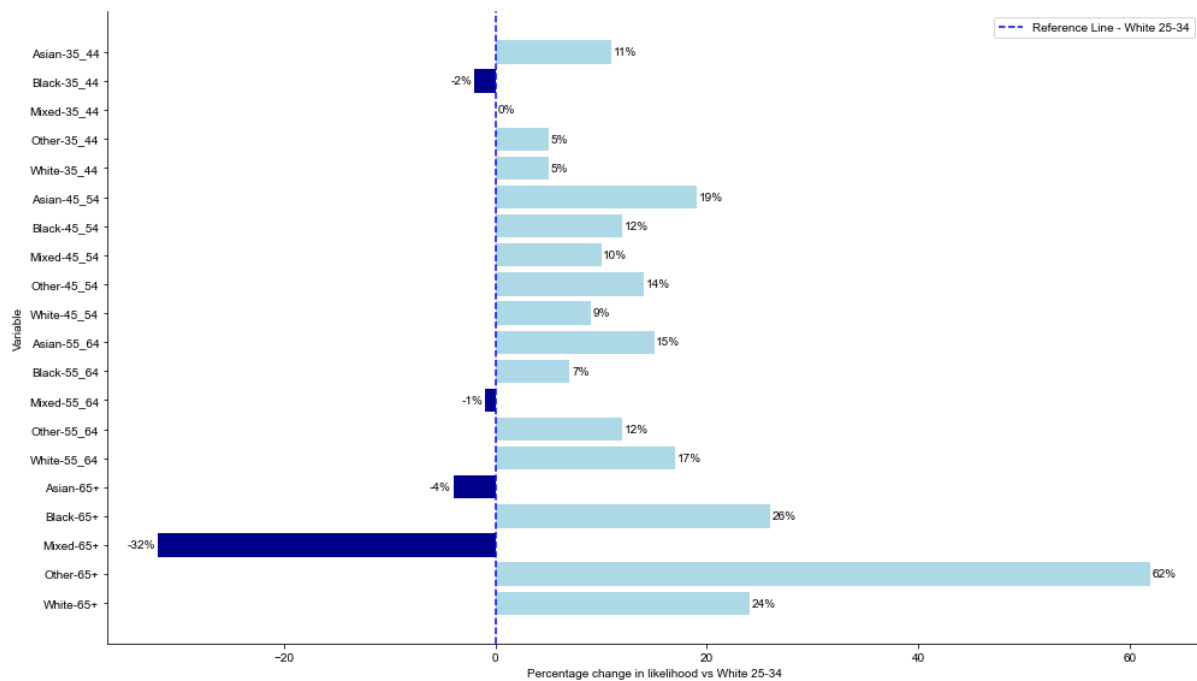


Looking at level 2 in Table 7 and in Figure 5 below, of the results that are significant and not presented above, compared to White solicitors in age band 25-34, we see:

- Asian solicitors aged 35-44 are 11% more likely to be named in a report
- Asian solicitors aged between 45-54 are 19% more likely to be named in a report
- Asian solicitors aged between 55-64 are 15% more likely to be named in a report
- Black solicitors aged 45-54 are 12% more likely to be named in a report
- Black solicitors aged 65+ are 26% more likely to be named in a report
- Mixed solicitors aged 65+ are 32% less likely to be named in a report
- Other minority solicitors aged between 45-54 are 14% more likely to be named in a report
- Other minority ethnic solicitors aged 65+ are 62% more likely to be named in a report.

Figure 5 shows in chart form the relative likelihood of solicitors of different ethnicities in different age-bands being named in a report versus White solicitors aged 25-34. Some results are not significant (noted in the chart) but are included for completeness.

Figure 5: The interaction between age and ethnicity at level 2



This analysis shows a clear interaction between age and ethnicity, with differing reporting rates across different ages for the same ethnicity and vice versa. This suggests that both an individual’s age and ethnicity are relevant in how likely they are to be reported to the SRA. It should be noted again that the results for more senior White solicitors (specifically assuming that age is a proxy for seniority, that more senior solicitors are more likely to be name in a report) could be impacted by being named alongside more junior colleagues (as noted before).

Entry route

There are different routes that an individual can take to qualify as a solicitor which change over time. The main route now is the Solicitors Qualification Examination (SQE) but this was not introduced until 2021, so the datasets provided for this research did not include anyone who had qualified through the SQE route. The main route for qualification before the SQE was passing the Legal Practice Course (LPC) and then completing a period of recognised training (PRT). We have therefore selected people who qualified through this route as the reference category for the analysis in Table 8.

Table 8 shows the impact of different entry routes to the profession on the relative likelihood of an individual receiving a report to the SRA. The reference category is LPC then PRT as the majority of solicitors qualify via this route. There are only two routes to qualification where there are statistically significant findings.

Table 8: Individual factors associated with the likelihood that a solicitor is named in a report received by the SRA – entry route

Entry route	Odds ratio	P values significance	Relative likelihood of receiving a report	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
CILEX ² route - authorised practising CILEX members (chartered legal executives) can qualify as a solicitor without being required to do the PRT	1.0526	<0.01	5% more likely	LPC then PRT*
Qualified Lawyer Transfer Test (QLTT) – qualified overseas lawyers could qualify as a solicitor via the QLTT which was replaced by the QLTS in 2011	1.009	Not Significant	1% more likely	LPC then PRT
Qualified Lawyer Transfer Scheme (QLTS) - qualified overseas lawyers could qualify as a solicitor via the QLTS from 2011 until it was closed in 2023 (replaced by the SQE route)	0.8926	<0.001	11% less likely	LPC then PRT
Equivalent Means (EQM) - since 2014 it has been possible to apply for various exemptions through a bespoke application to qualify as a solicitor by demonstrating equivalent skills and experience	0.9762	Not Significant	2% less likely	LPC then PRT
Republic of Ireland (solicitors admitted in Ireland do not need to pass additional assessments or work experience to qualify as a solicitor in England and Wales)	0.9797	Not Significant	2% less likely	LPC then PRT
Registered European Lawyer (REL) – individuals can qualify as a solicitor after practising as a registered REL for three years	0.9141	Not Significant	9% less likely	LPC then PRT
Northern Ireland – (solicitors admitted in Northern Ireland do not need to pass additional assessments or work experience to qualify in England and Wales)	0.9519	Not Significant	5% less likely	LPC then PRT
Other	1.0546	Not Significant	5% more likely	LPC then PRT

*Legal Practice Course (LPC) followed by a Period of Recognised Training (PRT)

² This category also contained very few assistance justices' clerks. Since 2023, one person qualified through this route. Therefore, the entry route is mainly CILEX.

Table 8 shows that solicitors who entered the profession through a CILEX route are 5% more likely to be named in a report received by the SRA (with a relatively weak significance, <0.01) compared with those entering by LPC then PRT when holding all other factors constant. In contrast, solicitors that enter the profession via QLTS are 11% less likely to be named in a report received by the SRA (with a significance of <0.001) compared with those entering by LPC then PRT when holding all other factors constant.

In Table C1 in Appendix C, we can see that a similar proportion of the population of Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors and White solicitors have entered the profession through a CILEX route. Relatively more Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors have entered the profession via QLTS (108% more) than White solicitors. There are around 24% fewer White solicitors who entered the profession via the same route.

The interaction between entry route and ethnicity

We looked at the interaction between entry route and ethnicity. This analysis is presented in Tables D2 (which looks at ethnicity at level 1) and D3 (which looks at ethnicity at level 2) in Appendix D.

There are some marginally significant results in Table D2 (for ethnicity level 1) which show that compared to White solicitors who entered the profession through LPC then PRT:

- Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors who entered the profession via a LPC and PRT route are 15% more likely to be named in a report
- White solicitors who entered the profession via a CILEX route are 7% more likely to be named in a report
- Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors who entered the profession via a CILEX route are 9% less likely to be named in a report
- White solicitors who entered the profession via a QLTS route are 9% less likely to be named in a report (with a relatively low significance of <0.05).

The significant results in Table D3 (for ethnicity at level 2) show that compared to White solicitors who entered the profession through LPC then PRT:

- Black solicitors who enter the profession via a LPC and PRT route are 9% more likely to be named in a report
- Asian solicitors who enter the profession via a LPC and PRT route are 16% more likely to be named in a report
- Other minority ethnic solicitors who enter the profession via a LPC and PRT route are 8% more likely to be named in a report
- Asian solicitors who enter via a CILEX route are 12% less likely to be named in a report
- Other minority solicitors that enter via QLTT route are 20% less likely to be named in a report to the SRA than White solicitors who entered the profession through LPC then PRT (significance of only <0.05).

No other interactions at ethnicity level 2 are significant at this level.

This analysis suggests that there is not a strong interaction between entry route and ethnicity as the combination of ethnicity and entry route doesn't differ significantly from the effect of ethnicity alone.

Organisational factors affecting overrepresentation

The organisational factors include: whether the firm is a one partner firm or not, whether the firm does legal aid work, and the longevity of the firm (Table 9), whether a firm is specialist or not (Table 10), firm size in bands by partner count (Table 11) and the firm's main practice area (Table 13). These six organisational factors are all associated with an increased likelihood that a solicitor is named in a report received by the SRA. We also looked at some data about reports related to in-house solicitors.

Table 9: Organisational factors associated with the likelihood that a solicitor is named in a report received by the SRA - various

Various coded organisational factors	Odds ratio	P values significance	Relative likelihood of receiving a report	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
Specialist firm*	0.9677	<0.05	3% less likely	Non-specialist
Firm does legal aid work**	1.0656	<0.001	7% more likely	No legal aid work
Coded firm longevity***	0.9887	<0.001	1% less likely	Continuous variable

*A firm is specialist if it receives more than 50% of its revenue from a single practice area. As the SRA can only collect financial data from regulated law firms, solicitors working in-house are excluded from this analysis.

**We count a firm as doing legal aid work if it receives any revenue from legal aid work.

***Firm longevity is the length of time a firm has been operating, which is coded for 1 to 15 years of operation by year, and then 16 or more years.

In Table 9 we have set out a range of organisational factors that are thought to contribute to the relative likelihood of being named in a report to the SRA. We have commented further on each of these factors below.

Working in a one partner firm

This is a separate analysis than firm size by partner count bands (covered in Table 11 below) and is useful to see the effect of working in a one partner firm compared to all other firms.

Table 11 also shows that solicitors working in a one partner firm are 33% more likely to be named in a report to the SRA than those in firms with two or more partners, when holding all other factors constant.

Working in a specialist firm

Table 9 shows that solicitors working in specialist firms are 3% less likely to be named in a report to the SRA when holding all other factors constant, than those that do not (note the low significance of this finding, <0.05).

The observed association between working in a specialist (compared to a non-specialist firm) and the likelihood of being named in a report received by the SRA may not contribute to the overrepresentation of Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors in the reports received by the SRA. This is because Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors are more likely to work in a specialist than in a non-specialist firm. If we look at the distribution of ethnicity in

specialist firms, we see from Table C11 in Appendix C that 55% more Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors work in specialist firms than expected.

Interaction between working in a specialist firm and ethnicity

We looked at the interaction between working in a specialist firm and ethnicity. This analysis is presented in Table 10 and Figures 6 and 7 below. The results show that Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors who work in non-specialist firms are 13% more likely than White solicitors who work in non-specialist firms to be named in a report received by the SRA. And Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors who work in specialist firms are 6% less likely than White solicitors who work in non-specialist firms to be named in a report received by the SRA (however the result is only weakly significant at <0.1).

When looking at ethnicity at level 2, Black solicitors working in non-specialist firms are 13% more likely to be named in a report than White solicitors in a non-specialist firm. Solicitors from 'Other' ethnic groups in non-specialist firms are 9% more likely to be named in a report than White solicitors in a non-specialist firm. Asian solicitors in a non-specialist firm are 16% more likely to be named in a report than White solicitors in a non-specialist firm. Solicitors from Other minority groups in specialist firms are 17% less likely and Asian solicitors in specialist firms are 6% less likely to be named in a report received by the SRA than White solicitors who work in non-specialist firms.

This analysis would indicate that there is some effect from the interaction between ethnicity and working a specialist firm, it is however limited. Black, Asian and minority ethnic (at level 1), and Asian and Other ethnicities (at level 2), in specialist firms are named in fewer reports than might be expected from looking at ethnicity alone.

Table 10: The interaction between working in a specialist firm and ethnicity – levels 1 and 2

Ethnicity and Specialist	Odds ratio	P values significance	Relative likelihood of receiving a report	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
Level 1				
Black, Asian and minority ethnic -Non specialist	1.1288	<0.001	13% more likely	White/Non specialist
White-Specialist	0.9808	Not Significant	2% less likely	White/Non specialist
Black, Asian and minority ethnic -Specialist	0.9441	<0.1	6% less likely	White/Non specialist
Level 2				
Black-Non specialist	1.0986	<0.001	10% more likely	White/Non specialist
Mixed-Non specialist	0.9848	Not Significant	2% less likely	White/Non specialist
Other-Non specialist	1.087	<0.01	9% more likely	White/Non specialist
Asian-Non specialist	1.1615	<0.001	16% more likely	White/Non specialist
White-Specialist	0.9813	Not Significant	2% less likely	White/Non specialist

Ethnicity and Specialist	Odds ratio	P values significance	Relative likelihood of receiving a report	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
Black -Specialist	0.9566	Not Significant	4% less likely	White/Non specialist
Mixed-Specialist	1.0663	Not Significant	7% more likely	White/Non specialist
Other-Specialist	0.8336	<0.1	17% less likely	White/Non specialist
Asian-Specialist	0.9389	<0.1	6% less likely	White/Non specialist

Figure 6 shows the interaction between ethnicity and specialist at level 1. Some results are not significant and are included for information.

Figure 6: The interaction between working in a specialist firm and ethnicity at level 1

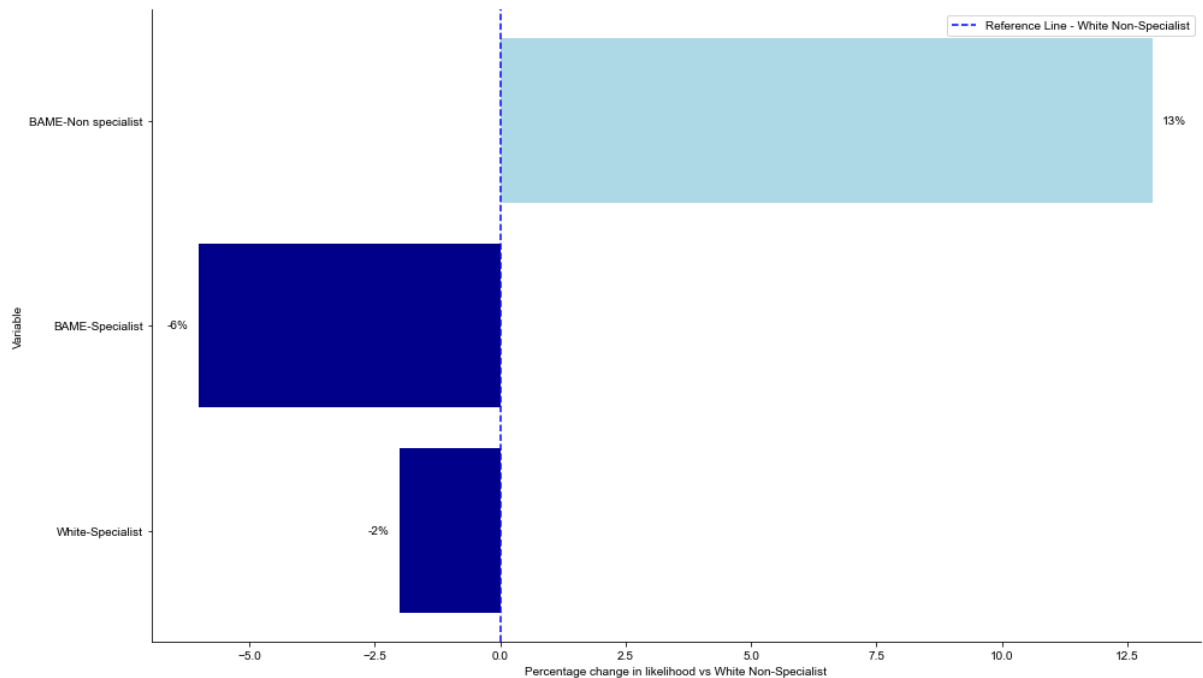
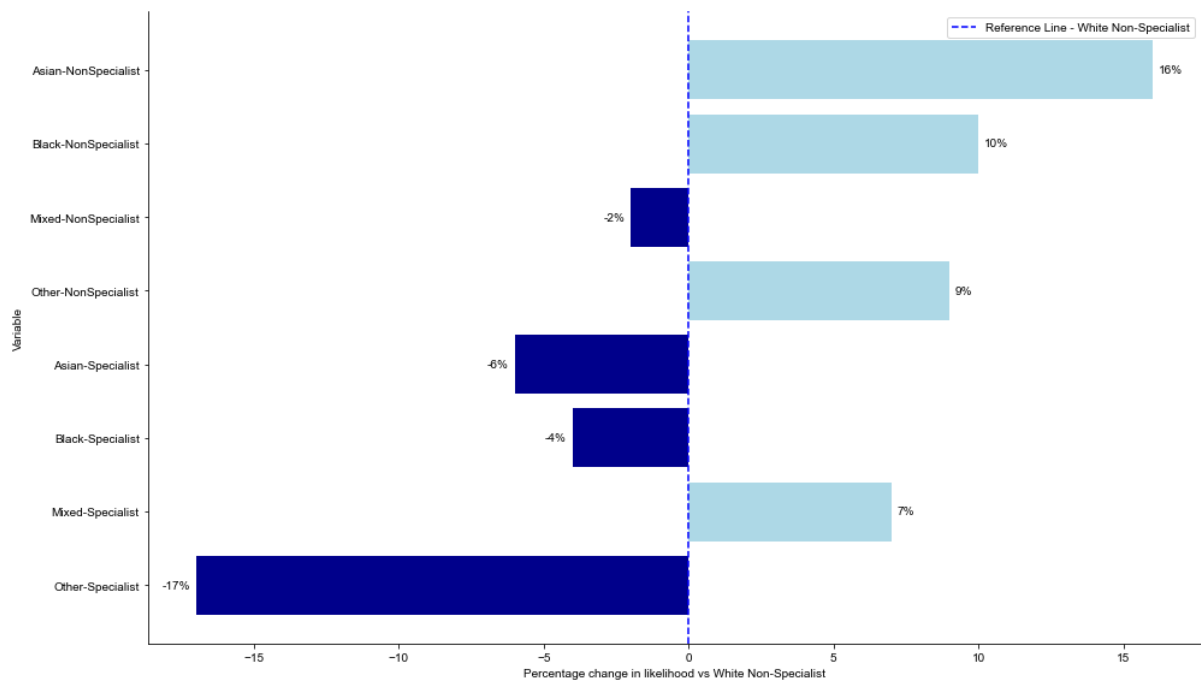


Figure 7 shows the relative likelihood of solicitors of different ethnicities in specialist firms receiving reports versus White solicitors working in non-specialist firms. Some results are not significant and are included for information.

Figure 7: The interaction between working in a specialist firm and ethnicity at level 2



Working in a firm that does legal aid work

Table 9 shows that solicitors who work in firms providing legal aid work are 7% more likely to be named in a report received by the SRA than solicitors who work in firms which do not carry out legal aid work, when holding all other factors constant.

The observed association between working in a firm doing legal aid work and the likelihood of being named in a report received by the SRA may contribute to the overrepresentation of Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors in the reports received by the SRA.

If we look at the distribution of ethnicities working in firms doing legal aid work (Table C13 in Appendix C), we find that around 15% more Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors work in firms doing legal aid work than one would expect. More specifically, from Table C14 (looking at ethnicity at level 2) in Appendix C, we can see that around 15% more Asian and around 53% more Black solicitors work in firms doing legal aid work than one would expect.

Working in firms of different longevity

It should be noted that the longevity of a firm may not accurately signify the length of time a firm has been operating. Some changes in a firm’s constitution type (for example where it changes from a partnership to a private limited company) may result in the old firm being closed and a new firm being opened, which would have the effect of resetting its longevity to zero.

That aside, Table 9 shows that those working in firms that have been operating for 16 or more years are less likely to be named in a report to the SRA. For an encoded increase of longevity there is a 1% reduction in the likelihood of being named in a report received by the SRA when holding all other factors constant.

It is methodologically not practical, particularly for a factor that has a marginal effect, to analyse the distribution of ethnicities across the 16 different encoded longevity for the firms whose solicitors were not named in a report received by the SRA. We cannot, therefore, say

whether firm longevity is a contributory factor in the overrepresentation of Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors in the reports received by the SRA.

Working in firms of different size by partner count

As seen above, the size of firm a solicitor is working in, is a relevant factor - the SRA is more likely to receive a report about a solicitor working in a small firm compared with a large firm.

Table 11: Organisational factors associated with the likelihood that a solicitor is named in a report received by the SRA – size of firm by partner count

Firm size in bands	Odds ratio	P values sig	Relative likelihood of receiving a report	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
One partner	1.4488	<0.001	45% more likely	Large firm*
Small (2 to 5 partners)	1.2261	<0.001	23% more likely	Large firm
Medium (6 to 10 partners)	1.1274	<0.001	13% more likely	Large firm
One partner firm	1.3309	<0.001	33% more likely	More than one partner

*A large firm is defined as a firm with more than 10 partners. Large firm is the reference category as it receives the lowest number of reports.

Table 11 shows that the relative likelihood of being named in a report to the SRA decreases as the firm size increases. Solicitors working in one partner firms are 45% more likely to be named in a report to the SRA than those working in large firms (more than 10 partners). Solicitors working in small firms (2 to 5 partners) are 23% more likely to be named in a report to the SRA than those working in large firms. Solicitors working in medium firms (6 to 10 partners) are 13% more likely to be named in a report to the SRA than those working in large firms.

Also, solicitors working in a one partner firm are 33% more likely to be named in a report to the SRA than those in firms with two or more partners, when holding all other factors constant.

The observed association between working in a one partner firm or a smaller firm and the likelihood of being named in a report received by the SRA could contribute to the overrepresentation of Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors in the reports received by the SRA. Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors are more likely than White solicitors to work in a one partner firm. Looking at the distribution of Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors in firms by size (in Table C7 of Appendix C):

- 167% more work in one partner firms than one would expect, given the population of solicitors regulated by the SRA
- 40% more work in small firms
- 6% fewer work in medium firms
- 38% fewer work in large firms.

Looking at ethnicity at level 2 (in Table C8 of Appendix C) we can see:

- Asian solicitors are 169% more likely to work in one partner firms than one would expect, given the population of solicitors regulated by the SRA
- Black solicitors are 318% more likely to work in one partner firms.

This suggests there could be a combined effect of working in smaller firms and ethnicity.

Interaction between firm size and ethnicity

We looked at the interaction between firm size and ethnicity, to understand how a solicitor's ethnicity and the size of the organisation they work in jointly affects the likelihood of being named in a report received by the SRA. This analysis is presented in Table 12 and Figure 8 and 9 below. The results show that working in a small firm increases the likelihood of receiving a report, relative to a White solicitor in a large firm, for:

- White solicitors in one partner firms by 40%
- White solicitors in small firms by 20%
- White solicitors in medium firms by 13%
- Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors in one partner firms by 15%
- Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors in small firms by 13%
- Asian solicitors in one partner firms by 20%
- Asian solicitors in small firms by 12%
- Asian solicitors in large firms by 3%
- Black solicitors in small firms by 10%
- Other ethnicity solicitors in small firms by 21%.

Table 12: The interaction between firm size and ethnicity at level 1

Ethnicity and firm size bands by partner count	Odds ratio	P values significance	Relative likelihood of receiving a report	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
Level 1				
White-One Partner Firm	1.3966	<0.001	40% more likely	Large/White
White-Small Firm	1.2028	<0.001	20% more likely	Large/White
White-Medium Firm	1.1296	<0.001	13% more likely	Large/White
Black, Asian and minority ethnic-One Partner Firm	1.1492	<0.001	15% more likely	Large/White
Black, Asian and minority ethnic-Small Firm	1.1282	<0.001	13% more likely	Large/White
Black, Asian and minority ethnic-Medium Firm	1.0004	Not Significant	0%	Large/White
Black, Asian and minority ethnic-Large	1.0157	Not Significant	2% more likely	Large/White
Level 2				
Asian-One Partner	1.1957	<0.001	20% more likely	Large/White
Black-One Partner	1.0455	Not Significant	5% more likely	Large/White
Mixed-One Partner	0.9518	Not Significant	5% less likely	Large/White
Other-One Partner	0.9965	Not Significant	0%	Large/White
White-One Partner	1.3966	<0.001	40% more likely	Large/White
Asian-Small	1.1176	<0.001	12% more likely	Large/White

Ethnicity and firm size bands by partner count	Odds ratio	P values significance	Relative likelihood of receiving a report	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
Black-Small	1.10 35	<0.05	10% more likely	Large/White
Mixed-Small	1.08 42	Not Significant	8% more likely	Large/White
Other-Small	1.21 32	<0.001	21% more likely	Large/White
White-Small	1.20 28	<0.001	20% more likely	Large/White
Asian-Medium	1.00 29	Not Significant	0%	Large/White
Black-Medium	0.96 05	Not Significant	4% less likely	Large/White
Mixed-Medium	1.04 43	Not Significant	4% more likely	Large/White
Other-Medium	0.92 59	Not Significant	7% less likely	Large/White
White-Medium	1.12 96	<0.001	13% more likely	Large/White
Asian-Large	1.03 17	<0.05	3% more likely	Large/White
Black-Large	1.02 25	Not Significant	2% more likely	Large/White
Mixed-Large	0.96 55	Not Significant	3% less likely	Large/White
Other-Large	0.99 16	Not Significant	1% less likely	Large/White

Figure 8 shows the relative likelihood of solicitors of different ethnicities in different sized firms receiving reports, versus White solicitors working in large firms. Some results are not significant but are included for completeness.

Figure 8: The interaction between firm size and ethnicity at level 1

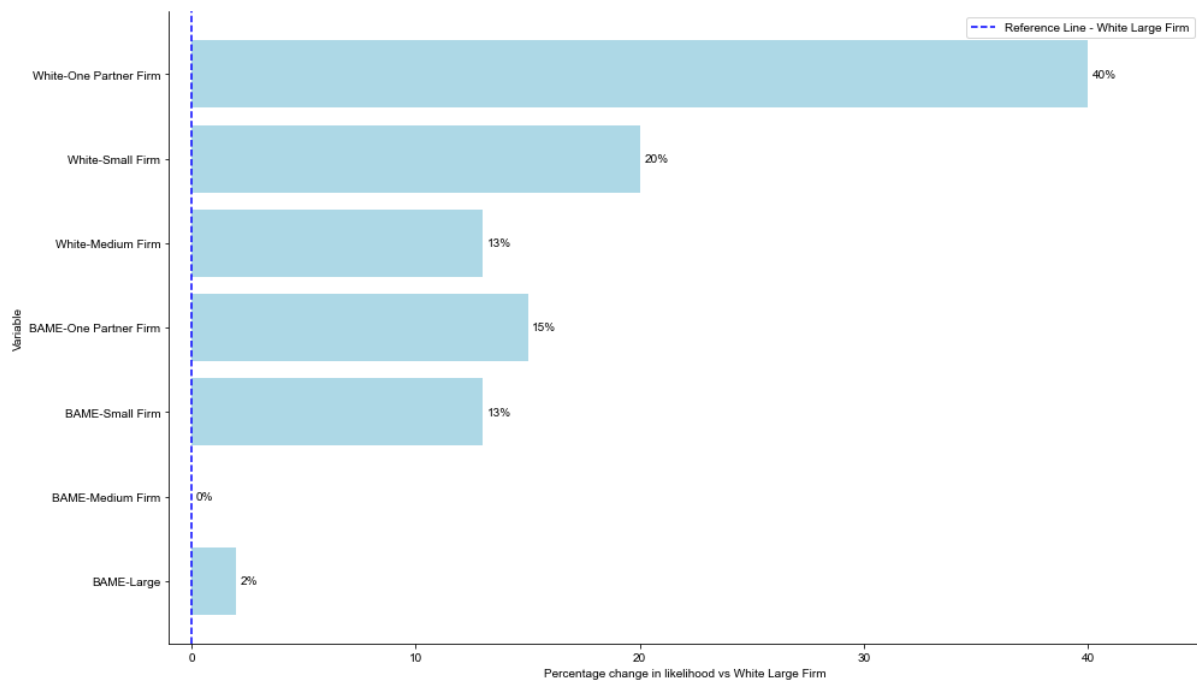
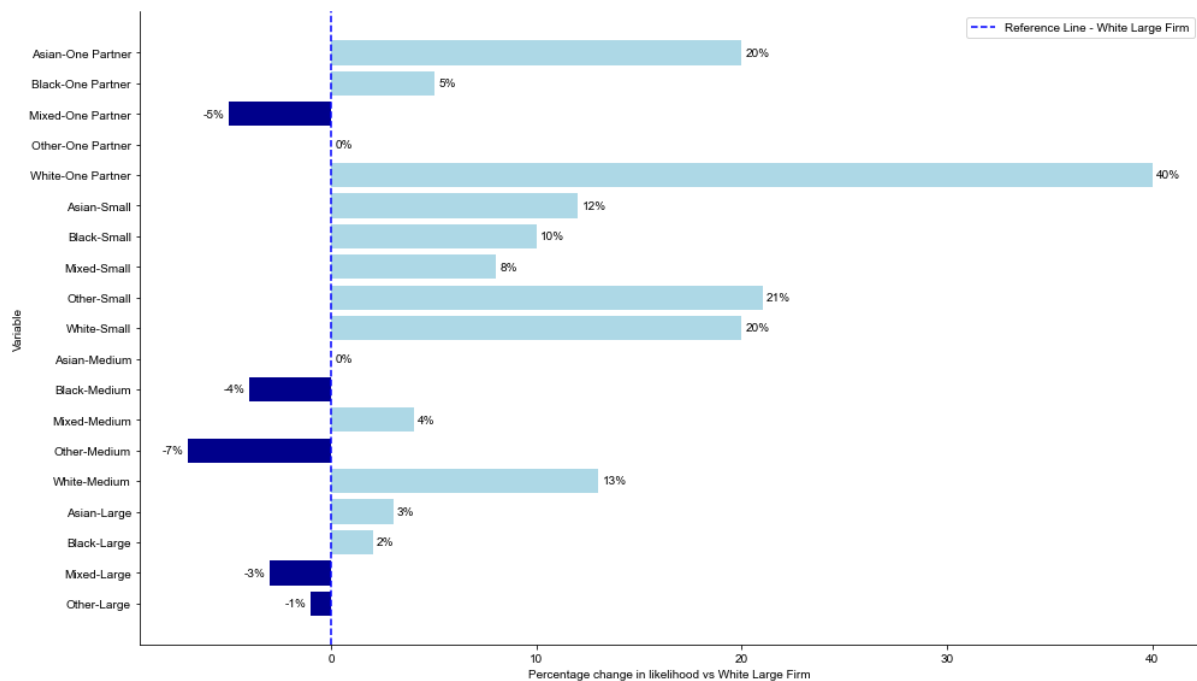


Figure 9 shows the relative likelihood of solicitors of different ethnicities in different sized firms receiving reports versus White solicitors working in large firms. Some results are not significant but are included for completeness.

Figure 9: The interaction between firm size and ethnicity at level 2



This shows the non-linear impact. For example, the increase in likelihood of receiving a report compared to White solicitors in large firms is lower for Black solicitors in one partner firms than White solicitors in one partner firms. Although for all ethnic groups, likelihood is increased when working in a one partner firm versus a large firm.

Working in a firm by main practice area

Table 13: Organisational factors associated with the likelihood that a solicitor is named in a report received by the SRA – main practice area

Main practice area*	Odds ratio	P values significance	Relative likelihood of receiving a report	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
Arbitration and alternative dispute resolution	0.7616	<0.001	24% less likely	Property residential**
Children	0.9044	<0.01	10% less likely	Property residential
Commercial/corporate work for listed companies	0.7117	<0.001	29% less likely	Property residential
Commercial/corporate work for non-listed companies	0.7253	<0.001	27% less likely	Property residential
Consumer	1.3441	<0.1	34% more likely	Property residential
Criminal	0.8936	<0.001	11% less likely	Property residential
Discrimination/civil liberties/human rights	1.3632	<0.01	36% more likely	Property residential
Employment	0.7744	<0.001	23% less likely	Property residential
Family/matrimonial	1.0197	Not sig.	2% more likely	Property residential
Financial advice and services (regulated by the SRA)	0.7157	<0.001	28% less likely	Property residential
Immigration	0.8832	<0.001	12% less likely	Property residential
Intellectual property	0.7274	<0.001	27% less likely	Property residential
Landlord and tenant (commercial and domestic)	0.9737	Not sig.	3% less likely	Property residential
Litigation - other	0.8339	<0.001	17% less likely	Property residential
Mental health	0.7857	<0.001	21% less likely	Property residential
Non-litigation (other)	0.8284	<0.001	17% less likely	Property residential
Other	0.8641	<0.01	14% less likely	Property residential
Personal injury	0.8572	<0.001	14% less likely	Property residential
Planning	0.6705	<0.01	33% less likely	Property residential
Probate and estate administration	1.0069	Not sig.	1% more likely	Property residential

Main practice area*	Odds ratio	P values significance	Relative likelihood of receiving a report	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
Property commercial	0.7696	<0.001	23% less likely	Property residential
Social welfare	0.864	Not sig.	14% less likely	Property residential
Wills, trusts and tax planning	0.8232	<0.001	18% less likely	Property residential
Claims management	0.7877	<0.1	21% less likely	Property residential
Payment protection insurance	1.1048	Not sig.	10% more likely	Property residential

*We count a firm as having a main practice area if it receives more than 50% of its revenue from the practice area listed. As the SRA can only collect financial data from regulated law firms, solicitors working in-house are excluded from this analysis.

**Residential property was chosen as the reference category as it receives a high number of reports.

Taking the information from Table 13, we set out below the main practice areas where being named in a report is less likely than if the solicitor is working in a firm whose main practice area is residential property (described in the table as Property residential) holding all other factors constant. We have only listed those practice areas where there is a significance of <0.001 or less.

- 29% less likely if main practice area is Commercial/corporate work for listed companies
- 28% less likely if main practice area is Financial advice and services (regulated by the SRA)
- 27% less likely if main practice area is Intellectual property
- 24% less likely if the main practice area is Arbitration and alternative dispute resolution
- 23% less likely if main practice area is Property commercial
- 23% less likely if main practice area is Employment
- 21% less likely if main practice area is Mental health
- 18% less likely if main practice area is Wills, trusts and tax planning
- 11% less likely if main practice area is Criminal
- 17% less likely if main practice area is Litigation (other)
- 17% less likely if main practice area is Non-litigation (other)
- 14% less likely if main practice area is Personal injury
- 12% less likely if main practice area is Immigration.

Again, focusing on the results where there is a significance of <0.001 or less, there were only three practice areas where it was more likely that a person would be named in a report and that was Consumer, Discrimination/civil liberties/human rights and Payment Protection Insurance where it was, respectively, 34%, 36% and 10% more likely.

When looking at the distribution of Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors in comparison to White solicitors working in firms with a main practice area (see Table C15 in Appendix C), we see that:

- For three practice areas (i.e., Children, Consumer, and Discrimination/civil liberties/human rights), there is no difference between the observed versus the expected numbers of solicitors for either White or Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors. This suggests that the observed association between these practice areas and the likelihood of being named in a report received by the SRA may not contribute to the overrepresentation of Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors in the reports received by the SRA.
- For two practice areas (i.e., Criminal and Immigration), there are fewer White solicitors and more Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors than expected. This suggests that the observed association between these practice areas and the likelihood of being named in a report received by the SRA could contribute to the overrepresentation of Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors in the reports received by the SRA.
- For four practice areas (i.e., Family/Matrimonial, Personal injury, and Probate and estate administration, and Property residential), there are more White solicitors and fewer Black, Asian, or minority ethnic solicitors than expected. This suggests that the observed association between these specialisms and the likelihood of being named in a report received by the SRA may not contribute to the overrepresentation of Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors in the reports received by the SRA.

The interaction between ethnicity and practice areas

We also looked at the interaction between these practice areas and ethnicity. This analysis is presented in Table D4 and D5 in Appendix D. For this analysis the reference category is White-Property residential. Comparing Table D4 with Table 13 above for White solicitors looking at the <0.001 or lower p-value we can see that the change in relative likelihood of receiving a report appears to be influenced by both the area of law and ethnicity.

In Table D4 at the <0.01 or lower p-value we found that Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors working in the areas of Discrimination/civil liberties/human rights and Family/matrimonial are 270% and 25%, respectively, more likely to be named in a report than White solicitors working in the area of Property residential (our reference category). In Table D5 we see that Asian solicitors working in Discrimination/civil liberties/human rights are 1848% more likely to be named in a report received by the SRA than White solicitors who work in Property residential (our reference category). This result could be impacted by the relatively low numbers of individuals in this category but they do differ from the results from the area of law alone.

Working as an in-house solicitor

Finally, we compared reports received about in-house solicitors (e.g. solicitors working in an employed role in commerce and industry or for other organisations such as local government) and solicitors working for a law firm.

Table 14: Distribution of reports received between solicitors working in-house and solicitors working in law firms

In-house/law firm	Report received	Observed	Expected	Residuals	Percentage difference (%)
Working in law firm	No	91841	93776.05	-6.32	-2%
Working in law firm	Yes	11031	9095.95	20.29	21%
In-house	No	36545	34609.95	10.4	6%
In-house	Yes	1422	3357.05	-33.4	-58%

Shading indicates that the expected number deviates significantly from the observed number for that attribute in the data. For further explanation see Appendix A.

Table 14 shows that for solicitors working for a law firm, 2% fewer than we would expect receive no reports, and 21% more than we would expect receive at least one report. Whereas for in-house solicitors, 6% more than expected receive no reports, and 58% fewer than expected receive reports.

This suggests that in-house solicitors are much less likely to be referred to the SRA than would be expected given their distribution. This is perhaps a reflection of the fact that many in-house solicitors are not as likely to be engaged in providing legal services to members of the public and are less exposed to the risk that a client will raise an allegation of misconduct with the SRA.

Case related factors affecting overrepresentation

Source of reports

The SRA receives reports from a wide range of sources. We have used the SRA's four broad categories for the source of the reports received, these are:

- Regulated individuals such as a solicitor or a partner or role holder in a firm.
- Regulated organisations such as a firm of solicitors, or an organisation where solicitors may work in-house, such as a government department, a court or a private corporation.
- Non-regulated individuals, who are often clients of a solicitors or law firm but could also be individuals who work in a law firm but who are not solicitors or individuals who work for the police, courts or for government departments.
- Non-regulated organisations which could include referrals from within the SRA, or from organisations such as insurers, government or other public departments, courts or banks.

Table 15 shows the distribution of solicitors' ethnicities (at level 2) between SRA regulated and unregulated individuals and organisations. The residuals highlighted in grey show where there is a significant deviation from the expected numbers for ethnicity and the sources of reports.

Table 15: Case related factors associated with the likelihood that a solicitor is named in a report received by the SRA – source of report and ethnicity at level 2

Report Source	Ethnicity	Observed	Expected	Residuals	Percentage diff (%)
Non-regulated Individual	White	16668	16313.77	2.77	2.17
Non-regulated Organisation	White	2011	2203.72	-4.11	-8.75
Regulated Individual	White	1329	1437.73	-2.87	-7.56
Regulated Organisation	White	3628	3680.79	-0.87	-1.43
Non-regulated Individual	Asian	3906	4184.73	-4.31	-6.66
Non-regulated Organisation	Asian	727	565.29	6.8	28.61
Regulated Individual	Asian	471	368.8	5.32	27.71
Regulated Organisation	Asian	959	944.18	0.48	1.57
Non-regulated Individual	Black	786	855.17	-2.37	-8.09
Non-regulated Organisation	Black	164	115.52	4.51	41.97
Regulated Individual	Black	80	75.37	0.53	6.15
Regulated Organisation	Black	209	192.95	1.16	8.32
Non-regulated Individual	Mixed	293	276.08	1.02	6.13
Non-regulated Organisation	Mixed	27	37.29	-1.69	-27.6
Regulated Individual	Mixed	26	24.33	0.34	6.86
Regulated Organisation	Mixed	54	62.29	-1.05	-13.31
Non-regulated Individual	Other	326	349.25	-1.24	-6.66
Non-regulated Organisation	Other	40	47.18	-1.04	-15.21
Regulated Individual	Other	31	30.78	0.04	0.72
Regulated Organisation	Other	109	78.8	3.4	38.33

Shading indicates that the expected number deviates significantly from the observed number for that attribute in the data. For further explanation see Appendix A.

Table 16 shows the distribution of firm size (banded by number of partners) and source of report between SRA regulated and unregulated individuals and organisations. The residuals highlighted in grey show where there is a significant deviation from the expected numbers for the sources of reports.

Table 16: The interaction between source of report and size of firm

Report Source	Size Bands Partner Count	Observed	Expected	Residuals	Percentage diff (%)
Non-regulated Individual	One Partner	4190	4505.81	-4.7	-7.01
Non-regulated Organisation	One Partner	991	527.24	20.2	87.96
Regulated Individual	One Partner	370	394.1	-1.21	-6.11
Regulated Organisation	One Partner	971	1094.85	-3.74	-11.31
Non-regulated Individual	Small	10387	10167.44	2.18	2.16
Non-regulated Organisation	Small	1134	1189.74	-1.62	-4.68
Regulated Individual	Small	959	889.29	2.34	7.84
Regulated Organisation	Small	2237	2470.54	-4.7	-9.45
Non-regulated Individual	Medium	3125	2923.04	3.74	6.91
Non-regulated Organisation	Medium	169	342.04	-9.36	-50.59
Regulated Individual	Medium	196	255.66	-3.73	-23.34
Regulated Organisation	Medium	741	710.26	1.15	4.33
Non-regulated Individual	Large	5073	5178.71	-1.47	-2.04
Non-regulated Organisation	Large	371	605.98	-9.55	-38.78
Regulated Individual	Large	467	452.95	0.66	3.1
Regulated Organisation	Large	1585	1258.35	9.21	25.96

Shading indicates that the expected number deviates significantly from the observed number for that attribute in the data. For further explanation see Appendix A.

We found some difference between source of report and ethnicities. In Table 15 (reporting only significant results) we can see that White solicitors receive 2% more reports from non-regulated individuals, 9% fewer from non-regulated organisations, and 8% fewer from regulated individuals than expected.

Black individuals receive 8% fewer from non-regulated individuals and 42% more from non-regulated organisations than expected. Other ethnicity groups receive 38% more reports from regulated organisations. Asian solicitors receive 7% fewer reports from non-regulated individuals, 29% more from non-regulated organisations, and 28% more from regulated individuals than expected.

Category of report

Looking at matter reasons for reports, in Table C18 in Appendix C (reporting only significant results) we can see that White solicitors receive 19% fewer reports for reasons of 'concerns about fraudulent activity', 10% more reports for 'conflict, confidentiality and disclosure', 22% fewer for 'financial stability', 3% more for 'maintaining trust and acting fairly', and 26% fewer for 'practising and employment arrangements' than expected.

Asian solicitors receive 30% more reports for 'client information and publicity', 70% more reports for 'concerns about fraudulent activity', 28% fewer for 'conflict, confidentiality and disclosure', 70% more for 'financial stability, 39% more for 'firm / practice management', 11% fewer for 'maintaining trust and acting fairly, 38% more for 'money laundering concerns, and 84% more for 'practising and employment arrangements'. However, some of these results are affected by low numbers.

Summary of the analysis of overrepresentation in reports received

The quantitative analyses of reports received by the SRA confirmed that Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors are overrepresented in the reports received by the SRA. Table 1 showed there were 22% more reports about Black, Asian and minority solicitors than one would expect. There are some differences within these as seen in Tables 2 and 3:

- 27% more reports are received about Asian solicitors (98% more about Pakistani solicitors, 57% more about Bangladeshi solicitors and 25% more about Indian solicitors) and 57% fewer about Chinese solicitors.
- 32% more reports are received about Black solicitors (55% about African solicitors and 30% about Caribbean solicitors).

Our further analyses indicate that a number of individual factors are associated with the likelihood that a solicitor is named in a report received by the SRA. The factors we considered include ethnicity, gender, age and entry route to the profession and our findings are as follows:

- Ethnicity - being Asian, Black, or being from the Other minority ethnic group of solicitors increases the likelihood by, respectively, 14%, 9% and 6% compared to White solicitors.
- Gender - being male increases the likelihood by 12% compared to female. However, the observed association between gender and the likelihood of being named in a report may not contribute to the overrepresentation of Black, Asian, and minority ethnic solicitors. This is because female solicitors are more likely to be from a Black, Asian and minority ethnic background, yet female solicitors overall are less likely to receive a report.
- Age - for each increase of one year of age there is a 1% increase in the likelihood of being named in a report. However, the observed association between age and the likelihood of being named in a report may not contribute to the overrepresentation of Black, Asian, and minority ethnic solicitors. This is because, Black, Asian, and minority ethnic solicitors tend to be on average younger than White solicitors.
- Entry route - entering the profession through a CILEX route increases the likelihood by 5% when compared with taking the LPC then PRT. In contrast, entering the pro-

fession via the QLTS decreases the likelihood by 11%. However, the observed association between entry route and likelihood of being named in a report may not contribute to the overrepresentation of Black Asian and minority ethnic solicitors. This is because a similar proportion of Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors and White solicitors entered the profession through a CILEX route. And there are more Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors who have entered via the QLTS route.

To provide a richer picture we looked at the interactions between ethnicity and the other individual factors we considered. The analysis of the interaction models highlights an often complex relationship between the factors being considered. Sometimes they have a compounding effect, and sometimes they have a mitigating effect when their potential interaction with ethnicity is considered.

- Interaction with gender - although for all ethnic groups, males are more likely to be named on a report than females, we see that this effect differs for different ethnic groups. White males are 10% more likely to be named on a report than White female solicitors. This is the same when comparing Black males (10%) yet increases for Asian males and Other males (16% and 13%, respectively). This demonstrates the complex picture and that the effect of ethnicity is not homogeneous across men and women. We found that White female solicitors were 10% less likely to be named on a report compared to Black, Asian and minority ethnic male solicitors. The effect is mitigated for Asian females who are 6% more likely to be named than White females and Black females who are 4% more likely to be reported than White females. It appears that both gender and ethnicity separately have a strong impact on the likelihood of reports being received, however these effects appear to be independent of one another.
- Interaction with age - this is a little more complicated. For White solicitors there is an increase in the likelihood of being named in a report as to be expected going up the age bands. However as discussed this could be due to more senior solicitors being named in reports along with junior colleagues. For Black, Asian and minority ethnic groups they are slightly overrepresented in reports when compared with White solicitors in age bands 35-44 and 45-54, 8% versus 5% and 17% versus 9%, respectively. They are however underrepresented in age band 55-64, 11% versus 17%.

When we look at level two ethnicity, Asian solicitors are overrepresented in age bands 35-44, 11% versus 5%, and 45-54, 19% versus 9%. In age band 55-64 they are close to but slightly underrepresented when compared with White solicitors at 15% versus 17%. For the Black group, not all the results are significant, but for those that are, the highest likelihood of being named in a report is for the older category - those aged 65+ are slightly overrepresented at 26% more likely versus 24% for White solicitors, with those aged 45-55 being 12% more likely versus 9% for White solicitors.

- Interaction with entry route - compared to White solicitors qualifying through the LPC then PRT, Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors who entered the profession through this route are 15% more likely to be named in a report. Black solicitors who enter the profession via a LPC and PRT route are 9% more likely to be reported. Asian solicitors who enter the profession via a LPC and PRT route are 16% more

likely to be named in a report. White solicitors who entered the profession via a CILEX route are 7% more likely to be named in a report. Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors who entered the profession via a LPC and PRT route are 15% more likely to be named in a report. White solicitors who entered the profession via a 'CILEX' route are 7% more likely to be named in a report.

Our analyses of organisational factors which are associated with the likelihood that a solicitor is named in a report received by the SRA include: whether the firm is a one partner firm or not, whether the firm is a specialist, whether the firm does legal aid work, and the longevity of the firm, firm size in bands by partner count and the firm's main practice area. Our findings are as follows:

- Working in a one partner firm – indicates that a solicitor is 33% more likely to be named in a report than working in a firm with two or more partners.
- Working in a specialist firm - indicates that a solicitor is 3% less likely to be named in a report than working in a firm that is non-specialist.
- Working in a firm that does legal aid - indicates that a solicitor is 7% more likely to be named in a report than a firm that does not.
- Working in a firm which has been operating for 16 or more years - indicates that a solicitor is 1% less likely to be named in a report than one that has been operating for 15 or fewer years.
- Working in a firm by size (in bands by partner count) - the relative likelihood of being named in a report to the SRA decreases as the firm size increases. Solicitors working in one partner firms are 45% more likely to be named in a report to the SRA than those working in large firms (more than 10 partners). It is 23% more likely for those in small firms (2 to 5 partners) and 13% more likely for those in medium firms (6 to 10 partners).
- Working in a firm by main practice area – the three practice areas where the likelihood of being reported are the lowest (compared to Property residential) are Commercial/corporate work for listed companies (29%), Financial advice and services (28%) and Intellectual property (27%). There were only three practice areas where it was more likely that a person would be named in a report and that was Consumer, Discrimination/civil liberties/human rights and Payment Protection Insurance where it was, respectively, 34%, 36% and 10% more likely. As practice types are not equally distributed across ethnicities, some may contribute to Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors being overrepresented in the reports received by the SRA, but others may not. Particularly important is the fact that Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors are more likely than White solicitors to work in firms that specialise in 'Criminal' and 'Immigration' law (see Table C15 in Appendix C).
- When looking at the distribution of Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors in comparison to White solicitors working in firms with a main practice area, for two practice areas (i.e., Criminal and Immigration), there are fewer White solicitors and more Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors than expected. This suggests that the observed association between these practice areas and the likelihood of being

named in a report received by the SRA could contribute to the overrepresentation of Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors in the reports received by the SRA.

- In-house solicitors are much less likely to be referred to the SRA than would be expected given their background distribution – 58% fewer than expected receive reports.

We also looked at the interactions between ethnicity and some of the organisational factors we considered, including working in a specialist firm, a firm by size (by partner count) and main practice area.

- Interaction with working in a specialist firm - there is some impact of working in a specialist firm for some groups. Black, Asian and minority ethnic in specialist firms are 6% less likely to be named in a report than a White solicitor in a non-specialist firm which is a stronger effect than might be expected from ethnicity alone. Similarly, Asian and Other ethnicities in specialist firms are 17% and 6% less likely to be named in a report than White solicitors in non-specialist firms. Again, this is a stronger effect than might be expected from ethnicity alone.
- Interaction with working in a firm by size - for the population combined, solicitors working in smaller firms are more likely to be named in a report than when working in large firms. This effect differs for specific ethnic groups. White solicitors are 40% more likely to be reported if they work in a one partner firm and 20% more likely in small firms, and 13% more likely to be reported in a medium (compared to White solicitors in large firms).

Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors in one partner firms are 15% more likely, and 13% more likely in small firms, to be named in a report than White solicitors in large firms. Asian solicitors in one partner firms are 20% more likely, in small firms 12% more likely, and in large firms 3% more likely. Black solicitors in small firms are 10% more likely to be named in a report than White solicitors in large firms. Finally, Other ethnicity solicitors in small firms are 21% more likely to be named in a report than White solicitors in large firms. Unlike many of the other factors, firm size interacts with White solicitors to produce the largest effect.

- Interaction with working in a firm by main practice area – there are some limited interactions between ethnicity and the main practice area of the firm where solicitors are working. The change in relative likelihood of receiving a report is predominately driven by the practice area not ethnicity. Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors working in firms with the main practice area of ‘Discrimination/civil liberties/human rights’ and ‘Family/matrimonial’ are 270% and 25% respectively more likely to be named in a report than White solicitors working in the area of ‘Property residential’ (our reference category). Asian solicitors working in Discrimination/civil liberties/human rights are 1848% more likely to be named in a report received by the SRA than White solicitors who work in Property residential (our reference category) as seen in Table D8. This result could be impacted by the relatively low numbers of individuals in this category.

We did not look at interactions for legal aid, longevity of the firm, or for working in a one partner firm compared to a two or more partner firm as these analyses would not contribute to our understanding.

Our analyses of case related factors which are associated with the likelihood that a solicitor is named in a report received by the SRA include the source and category of reports.

- The source of reports analysis shows that 2% more White, 7% fewer Asian and 8% fewer Black solicitors are reported by non-regulated individuals (mostly clients). In relation to non-regulated organisations (mostly other agencies, including the police, courts and reports from the within the SRA), there are 9% fewer reports about White solicitors and 29% and 42% more reports respectively about Asian and Black solicitors. Looking at complaints from the profession there are 8% fewer for White, and 28% more for Asian solicitors reported by regulated individuals (mostly other solicitors) - the findings for Black solicitors are not statistically significant. The only significant finding in relation to reports from regulated organisations (mostly law firms) is there are 38% more reports about solicitors from the Other minority ethnic group.
- The category of report type analysis shows some differences between the ethnic groups for some report types. Focusing just on the findings which are significant, for reports about potential fraudulent activity, White solicitors receive 19% fewer reports and Asian solicitors receive 70% more. For reports about potential money laundering, Asian solicitors receive 38% more and Black solicitors 56% fewer. For reports about potential financial [in]stability, White solicitors receive 23% fewer reports, Asian and Black solicitors receive, respectively, 70% and 64% more. For potential concerns about trust and acting fairly, White solicitors receive 3% more and Asian and Black solicitors receive, respectively, 11% and 4% fewer. For reports about potential conflict or confidentiality, White solicitors receive 10% more and Asian and Black solicitors receive, respectively, 27% and 39% fewer. And for reports about potential practice or employment arrangements, White solicitors receive 26% fewer and Asian and Black solicitors receive, respectively, 84% and 75% more reports.

We do not look at any interactions with ethnicity for these factors, given the low base sizes for some categories. However, there are some noticeable categories of report type for which white solicitors receive proportionately fewer reports and which are arguably more likely to be categorised as serious. For example, potential fraudulent activity or reports about potential money laundering.

5. Part II - Analysis of reports taken forward for investigation by the SRA

In this part of the report, we present the results of the quantitative analyses conducted on the reports taken forward for investigation by the SRA.

Once again, to begin with, we used chi-square tests to examine the representation of solicitor ethnicity in reports taken forward for investigation by the SRA. Second, as our data sample included both reports taken forward and not taken forward for investigation by the SRA, we undertook logistic regressions to assess the likelihood of a report being taken forward for investigation depending on a variety of individual level factors (solicitor ethnicity, gender, age and entry route to qualification), organisation level factors (firm size and firm's legal specialisation) and case related factors (complainant type and case categorisation). We also analysed various interaction effects between key variables (e.g. solicitor ethnicity and firm size).

The extent of overrepresentation in reports taken forward

To ascertain the extent to which Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors are overrepresented in the reports taken forward for investigation by the SRA, we compared the number of reports the SRA takes forward for investigation for each of the ethnic groups in the database to the number of reports the SRA would be expected to take forward for investigation, given the composition of the reports they receive.

The results of these analyses are shown in Table 17 which includes the ethnicity breakdown at both level 1 (comparing the White group with the Black, Asian and minority ethnic group) and level 2 (looking separately at each of the five ethnic groups).

Table 17: Number of reports taken forward for investigation by the SRA compared to the number of reports expected to be taken forward for investigation for White and Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors at level 1 and 2

Ethnicity		Not taken forward	Taken forward	Total
White solicitors	Observed	17077	6669	23746
	Expected	16176.96	7569.03	
	Residual	7.07	-10.34	
	% Difference	+5.56%	-11.89%	
Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors	Observed	5032	3239	8271
	Expected	5634.61	2636.38	
	Residual	-8.028	11.736	
	% Difference	-10.68%	+22.87%	
Asian	Observed	3681	2427	6108
	Expected	4161.07	1946.92	
	Residual	-7.442	10.880	
	% Difference	-11.53%	+24.71%	
Black	Observed	761	494	1255
	Expected	854.96	400.03	
	Residual	-3.21	4.69	
	% Difference	-12.52%	+23.50%	

Ethnicity		Not taken forward	Taken forward	Total
<i>Mixed</i>	Observed	310	92	402
	Expected	273.86	128.13	
	Residual	2.18	-3.19	
	% diff	+13.55%	-39.13%	
<i>Other</i>	Observed	280	226	506
	Expected	344.71	161.28	
	Residual	-3.48	5.09	
	% Difference	-18.60%	+40.37%	
Unknown	Observed	4207	2366	6573
	Expected	4477.85	2095.14	
	Residual	-4.04	5.91	
	% Difference	-6.03%	+12.93%	
Prefer not to say	Observed	171	119	290
	Expected	197.56	92.43	
	Residual	-1.89	2.76	
	% Difference	-13.19%	+29.34%	
Total				38880
p-value	< .01			

Shading indicates that the expected number deviates significantly from the observed number for that attribute in the data as indicated by the calculation of the residuals. For further explanation see Appendix A.

Table 17 shows that Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors are overrepresented in the reports taken forward for investigation by the SRA. The SRA has taken forward for investigation around 23% more reports about Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors than one would expect, given the composition of the reports received. White solicitors are underrepresented in the reports taken forward by the SRA for investigation by 12% in comparison to the composition of the reports received.

Given that Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors are also overrepresented in reports received from complainants, as documented earlier in Part I of this report (see Table 1), the overrepresentation of Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors in reports taken forward for investigation by the SRA shows a compounding effect.

To explore the possibility of different levels of overrepresentation within Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors, we considered each of these ethnic groups individually (at level 2). The results of our analyses show similar levels of overrepresentation of Black and Asian solicitors in the reports taken forward for investigation by the SRA. The SRA has taken forward for investigation 25% and 23% more reports about, respectively, Asian and Black solicitors than one would expect given the composition of the reports received.

Solicitors included in Other minority ethnic groups are also overrepresented in the reports taken forward for investigation by the SRA. The SRA took forward for investigation around 40% more reports about these solicitors than one would expect given the composition of the reports received. In contrast, solicitors included in the Mixed group are underrepresented in the reports the SRA took forward for investigation. The SRA took forward around 39% fewer

reports about these solicitors than one would expect given the composition of the reports received.

Taken together, these results document the previously identified existence of different levels of overrepresentation in reports taken forward to investigation among Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors³.

Factors affecting the overrepresentation in reports taken forward

After ascertaining the extent to which Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors were overrepresented in the reports taken forward for investigation by the SRA, we examined the likelihood of a report being taken forward for investigation based on a number of factors associated with the report. This included individual factors (e.g., ethnicity, gender, age, and entry route), organisational factors (e.g., firm size and specialism), and case-related factors (e.g., nature of the potential misconduct).

Individual level factors affecting overrepresentation

We started by examining the effect on the likelihood of reports being taken forward for investigation of various individual level factors (i.e., ethnicity, gender, age, and entry route of the solicitor) and then analysed relevant ethnicity intersections (ethnicity-gender and ethnicity-entry route).

Gender and ethnicity

Table 18 shows the individual factors associated with the likelihood of reports being taken forward for investigation by the SRA by gender and ethnicity.

Table 18 Individual factors associated with the likelihood of reports being taken forward for investigation by the SRA - gender and ethnicity

	Odds ratio	P-value significance	Relative likelihood of report taken forward*	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
Ethnicity				
White solicitors	0.65	<0.01	35% less likely	Black, Asian and minority ethnic
Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors	1.52	<0.01	52% more likely	White
Asian	1.54	<0.01	54% more likely	White
Black	1.43	<0.01	43% more likely	White
Gender				
Female	0.64	<0.01	36% less likely	Male
Male	1.24	<0.01	24% more likely	Female

³ For the reports taken forward, we did not examine individual ethnic groups at level 3 as the number of solicitors included in each of these groups was too small. Please also note that the database provided did not provide ethnicity data for around 18% of the reports on which a decision was made by the SRA.

Starting with ethnicity, we used White ethnicity as the reference category, as reports about White solicitors were 35% less likely to be taken forward for investigation, in comparison to all other (non-White) solicitors.

Table 18 shows that reports about Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors are 52% more likely to be taken forward for investigation, in comparison to reports about White solicitors. However, the likelihood of reports being taken forward for investigation varies within the level 2 breakdown for this category – with reports received about Asian solicitors 54% more likely to be taken forward for investigation and those about Black solicitors are 43% more likely to be taken forward for investigation, in comparison to reports about White solicitors.

Turning to gender, Table 18 shows that reports received about female solicitors are 36% less likely to be taken forward for investigation, in comparison to reports about male solicitors. In contrast, reports received about male solicitors are 24% more likely to be taken forward for investigation, compared with reports about female solicitors. To gain a deeper understanding, we carried out further analysis about the interaction of these two factors.

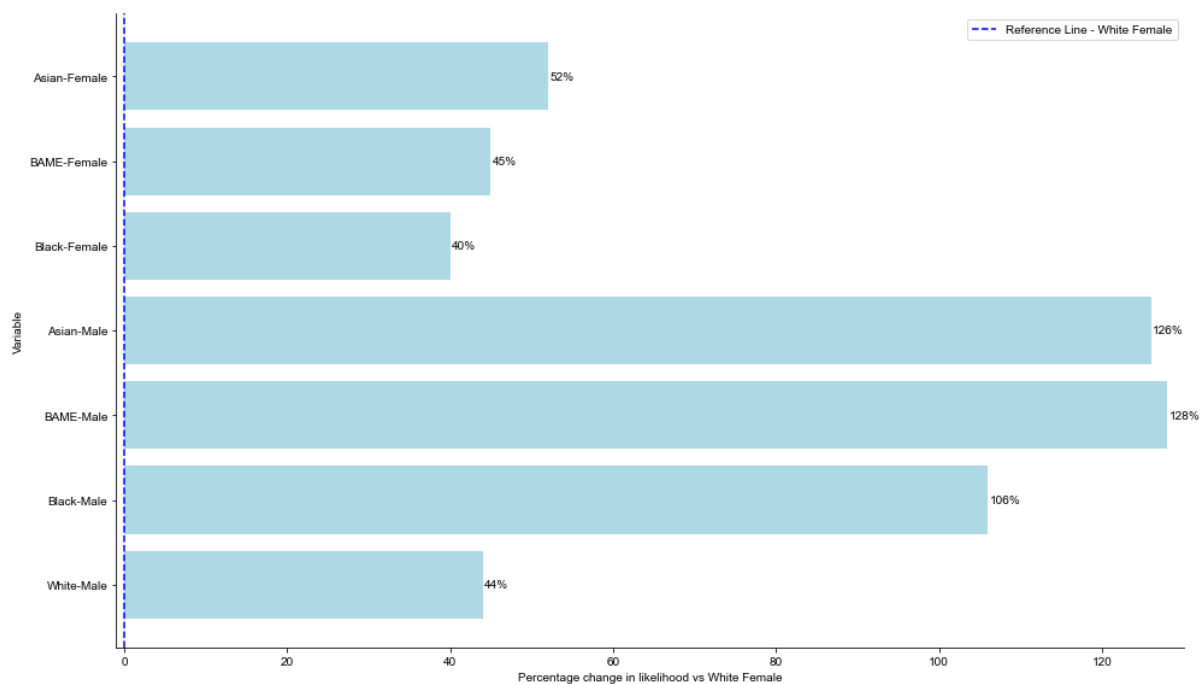
The interaction between ethnicity and gender

We also examined intersectional effects between ethnicity and gender. We used White female solicitors as the comparison category as reports about White females are the least likely to be taken forward for investigation – 40% less likely, in comparison to all others in the sample. We find that reports received about Black, Asian and minority ethnic female solicitors are 45% more likely to be taken forward for investigation, in comparison to White-female solicitors. Further, reports about White male solicitors are 44% more likely to be taken forward for investigation and reports received about Black, Asian and minority ethnic male solicitors are 128% more likely to be taken forward for investigation, in comparison to White female solicitors as shown in Tabel 19 and Figure 10.

Table 19 The interaction between gender and ethnicity

Ethnicity-Gender Intersection	Odds-ratio	P-value significance	Relative likelihood of report taken forward	Reference Category (Ratio: 1.00)
White-Female	0.60	<0.01	40% less likely	Not 'White-Female'
White-Male	1.44	<0.01	44% more likely	White-Female
Black, Asian, and minority ethnic-Female	1.45	<0.01	45% more likely	White-Female
Asian/Asian British-Female	1.52	<0.01	52% more likely	White-Female
Black/Black British-Female	1.40	<0.01	40% more likely	White-Female
Black, Asian, and minority ethnic-Male	2.28	<0.01	128% more likely	White-Female
Asian/Asian British-Male	2.26	<0.01	126% more likely	White-Female
Black/Black British-Male	2.06	<0.01	106% more likely	White-Female

Figure 10: The interaction between gender and ethnicity



Age

Moving to age, our results show a systematic positive effect of age on the likelihood that a report is taken forward for investigation. Our analysis of age bands show that younger solicitors are less likely to have reports taken forward for investigation. For instance, reports about solicitors in age band 25-34 are 23% less likely to be taken forward for investigation, in comparison to those in other age bands. In contrast, the age effects increase to 19%, 32% and 34% more likely to be taken forward for age bands 35-44, 55-64 and 65+, respectively, in comparison to those in age band 25-34. Although not something we were able to test in these analyses, these results may be influenced by the possibility that older solicitors (particularly those in supervisory roles) are named alongside junior colleagues in reports to the SRA (see further discussion of the data limitations in Appendix A).

Table 20 shows how age is associated with the likelihood of reports being taken forward for investigation. The reference category is the age band 25-34 years of age.

Table 20: Individual factors associated with the likelihood of reports being taken forward for investigation by the SRA - age

Age Band	Odds ratio	P-value significance	Relative likelihood of report taken forward*	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
25-34	0.77	<0.01	23% less likely	Not 'Age band 25-34'
35-44	1.19	<0.01	19% more likely	Age band 25-34
45-54	1.24	<0.01	24% more likely	Age band 25-34
55-64	1.32	<0.01	32% more likely	Age band 25-34
65+	1.34	<0.01	34% more likely	Age band 25-34

We did look at the interaction of age with ethnicity as age effects as there were no meaningful results.

Entry route

In relation to entry route into the profession, we chose 'LPC then PRT' qualification as the reference category as it forms the most common qualification route, with 53% of the solicitors in our sample who qualified via the 'LPC then PRT' route. These results are shown in Table 21.

Table 21: Individual factors associated with the likelihood of reports being taken forward for investigation by the SRA – entry route

Entry route	Odds Ratio	P-value significance	Relative likelihood of report taken forward*	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
LPC then PRT	0.88	<0.01	12% less likely	Not 'LPC then PRT'
CILEX	0.78	<0.01	22% less likely	LPC then PRT
QLTT	1.16	<0.01	16% more likely	LPC then PRT
Others	1.15	<0.01	15% more likely	LPC then PRT

Table 21 show that reports received about LPC then PRT qualified solicitors are 12% less likely to be taken forward for investigation, in comparison to all other entry routes. Reports received about solicitors with a CILEX background are even less likely to be taken forward for investigation – 22% less likely in comparison to reports about LPC then PRT qualified solicitors. In contrast, reports about QLTT qualified solicitors are 16% more likely to be taken forward for investigation, in comparison to reports about 'LPC then PRT' qualified solicitors.

However, the interpretation of the effect of the entry route into the profession on the likelihood that a report is taken forward for investigation is limited by the fact that entry route data was not available for 37% of the sample.

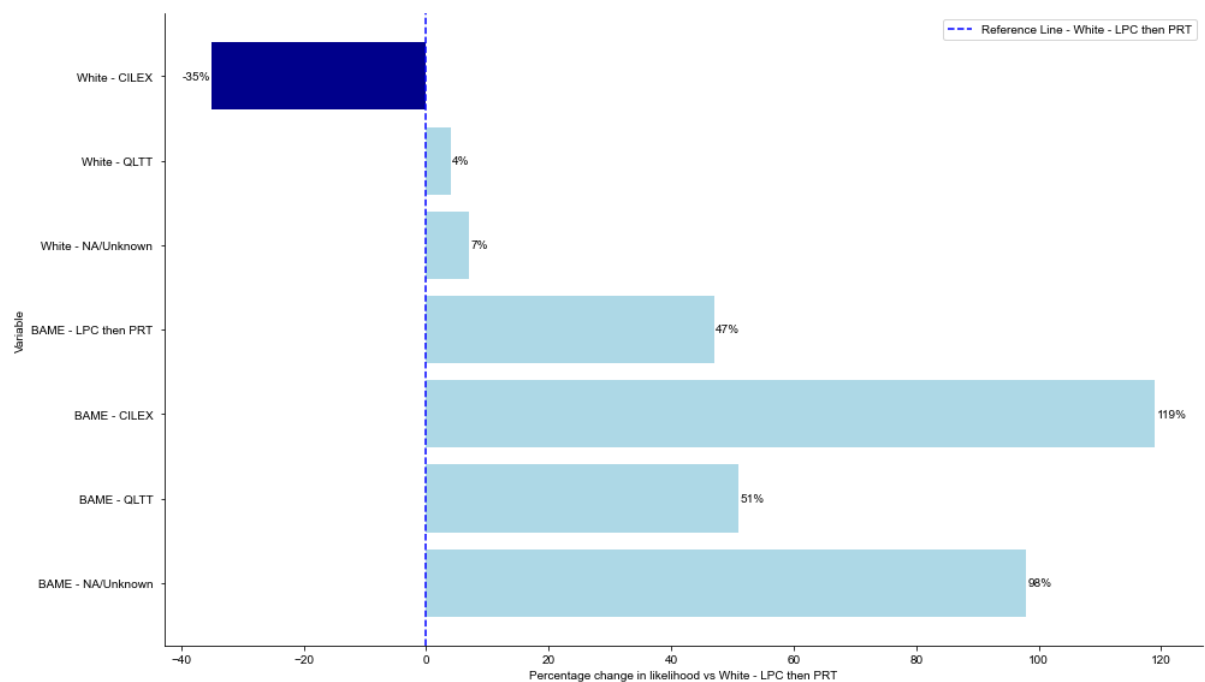
The interaction between ethnicity and entry route

Our analysis of intersectionality between ethnicity and entry route is shown in Table 22 and Figure 11. The results show that reports about White solicitors with a CILEX background are the least likely to progress to investigation – 35% less likely than the comparison category of White-LPC then PRT. In contrast, reports about Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors with a CILEX background are 119% more likely to progress to investigation than the comparison category of White-LPC then PRT. Overall, reports about Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors across all entry routes – LPC then PRT, QLTT and CILEX – are more likely to progress to investigation, in comparison to White solicitors.

Table 22: The interaction between ethnicity and entry route

Ethnicity-entry route intersection	Odds ratio	P-value significance	Relative likelihood of report taken forward	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
White - LPC then PRT	0.75	<0.01	25% less likely	Not 'White – LPC then PRT'
White - CILEX	0.65	<0.01	35% less likely	White – LPC then PRT
White - QLTT	1.04	0.639	Not Significant	White – LPC then PRT
White - NA/Unknown	1.07	<0.05	7% more likely	White – LPC then PRT
Black, Asian and minority ethnic - LPC then PRT	1.47	<0.01	47% more likely	White – LPC then PRT
Black, Asian and minority ethnic - CILEX	2.19	<0.01	119% more likely	White – LPC then PRT
Black, Asian and minority ethnic - QLTT	1.51	<0.01	51% more likely	White – LPC then PRT
Black, Asian and minority ethnic - NA/Unknown	1.98	<0.01	98% more likely	White – LPC then PRT

Figure 11: The interaction between ethnicity and entry route



Organisation level factors affecting overrepresentation

We examined the effects of various organisational level factors (i.e., firm size and specialisation) and relevant ethnicity intersections on the likelihood of reports being taken forward for investigation.

Working in a firm by size (in bands by partner count)

To assess the impact of firm size, we used one partner firms as our reference category, as our results show in Table 23, reports received about solicitors in one partner firms are most

likely to be taken forward for investigation - 66% more likely than all other types of firms. We find that this effect broadly decreases as firm size increases. Reports about solicitors working in small firms (2-5 partners) are 32% less likely to be taken forward for investigation, while those about solicitors working in medium firms (6-10 partners) and large firms (> 10 partners) are 49% and 38% less likely to be taken forward for investigation, respectively, in comparison to one partner firms.

Table 23: Organisational factors associated with the likelihood of reports being taken forward for investigation by the SRA - size of firm by partner count

Firm Size (partner count)	Odds ratio	P-value significance	Relative likelihood of report taken forward	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
One partner	1.66	<.01	66% more likely	Not 'One Partner Firms'
Small (2-5 partners)	0.68	<.01	32% less likely	One Partner Firms
Medium (6-10 partners)	0.41	<.01	49% less likely	One Partner Firms
Large (>10 partners)	0.62	<.01	38% less likely	One Partner Firms

The interaction between ethnicity and size of firm

To assess the impact of intersection between ethnicity and firm size, we used White solicitors working in a large firm as the reference category, reports about whom are 22% less likely to be taken forward for investigation, in comparison to all other intersections. Our results show that reports about Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors are more likely to be taken forward for investigation for all firm size types, except in the case of medium sized firms (6-10 partners).

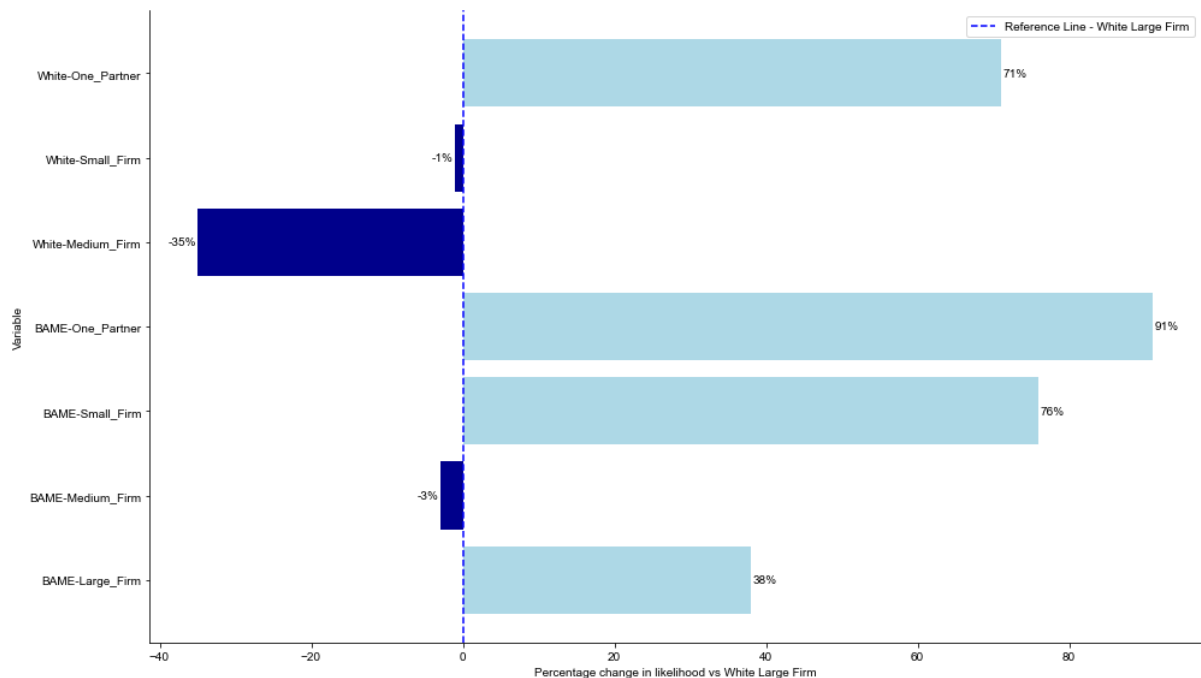
Table 24 and Figure 12 shows the likelihood of reports about Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors being taken forward is particularly high in firms with up to 5 partners, that is, one partner firms and small firms (2-5 partners). Reports received about Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors are 91% and 76% more likely be taken forward for investigation in one partner and small firms (2-5 partners), respectively, in comparison to reports about White solicitors in large firms. This contrasts with reports received about White solicitors that are 71% more likely be taken forward for investigation in one partner firms, with no statistically significant increase or decrease in likelihood for White solicitors working in small firms.

Table 24: The interaction between ethnicity and firm size

Ethnicity-Firm Size Intersection	Odds-ratio	P-value significance	Relative likelihood of report taken forward	Comparison category (Ratio: 1.00)
White-One Partner Firm	1.71	<.01	71% more likely	White-Large Firm
Black, Asian, and minority ethnic-One Partner Firm	1.91	<.01	91% more likely	White-Large Firm
White-Small Firm (2-5 partners)	0.99	0.93	1% less likely (<i>not significant</i>)	White-Large Firm
Black, Asian, and minority ethnic-Small Firm (2-5 partners)	1.76	<.01	76% more likely	White-Large Firm

Ethnicity-Firm Size Intersection	Odds-ratio	P-value significance	Relative likelihood of report taken forward	Comparison category (Ratio: 1.00)
White-Medium Firm (6-10 partners)	0.65	<.01	35% less likely	White-Large Firm
Black, Asian, and minority ethnic-Medium Firm (6-10 partners)	0.97	0.797	3% less likely (<i>not significant</i>)	White-Large Firm
White-Large Firm (>10 partners)	0.78	<.01	22% less likely	Not 'white-large firm'
Black, Asian, and minority ethnic-Large Firm (>10 partners)	1.38	<.01	38% more likely	White-Large Firm

Figure 12: The interaction between ethnicity and firm size



Working in a specialist firm

We assessed the impact of practice area specialisation at two levels. First, we used the binary variable “specialised firm”, that is a firm is specialist if it receives more than 50% of its revenue from a single practice area. Table 25 results show that, overall, reports about individuals working in specialist firms are 15% more likely to be taken forward for investigation.

Table 25: Organisational factors associated with the likelihood of reports being taken forward for investigation by the SRA - specialist firm

	Odds ratio	P-value significance	Relative likelihood of report taken forward	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
Specialist firm	1.15	<.01	15% more likely	Non-specialist firm

The interaction between working in a specialist firm and ethnicity

Table 26 below highlights the finding in specialised firms, reports about White solicitors are 35% less likely to be taken forward for investigation, while those about Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors are 34% more likely to be taken forward.

Table 26: Interaction between working in a specialist firm and ethnicity

Specialist firm	Odds ratio	P-value Significance	Relative likelihood of report taken forward	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
White	0.65	<.01	35% less likely	Black, Asian and minority ethnic
Black, Asian and minority ethnic	1.34	<.01	34% more likely	White

Working in a firm by main practice area

We also examined the impact of a firm’s main practice area (e.g. area of law such as Arbitration, Family law, and Commercial law etc) of a firm on the likelihood that a report is taken forward for investigation. A firm is specialist if it receives more than 50% of its revenue from a single practice area. We examined the effects of the specific practice areas (proportion of revenue), using the largest practice specialisation – Property residential – as the reference category. The results of our analyses are shown in Table 27.

Table 27: Organisational factors associated with the likelihood of reports being taken forward for investigation by the SRA - main practice area

Main practice area*	Odds ratio	P-value significance	Relative likelihood of report taken forward	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
Property residential	1.07	0.32	Not Significant	Not Property residential**
Personal injury	1.54	<.01	54% more likely	Property residential
Criminal	0.86	<0.1	14% less likely	Property residential
Immigration	1.64	<.01	64% more likely	Property residential
Litigation other	0.70	<.01	30% less likely	Property residential
Family	0.49	<.01	51% less likely	Property residential
Children	0.28	<.01	72% less likely	Property residential

Main practice area*	Odds ratio	P-value significance	Relative likelihood of report taken forward	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
				residential
Employment	0.53	<.01	47% less likely	Property residential
Commercial/corporate work for non-listed companies	0.99	0.98	Not Significant	Property residential
Commercial/corporate work for listed companies	14.88	0.13	Not Significant	Property residential
Probate	0.73	0.20	Not Significant	Property residential
Landlord tenant	0.38	<.01	62% less likely	Property residential
Non litigation other	1.14	0.57	Not Significant	Property residential
Property commercial	1.27	0.37	Not Significant	Property residential
Wills trust	2.11	<.05	111% more likely	Property residential

*We count a firm as having a main practice area if it receives more than 50% of its revenue from the practice area listed. As the SRA can only collect financial data from regulated law firms, solicitors working in-house are excluded from this analysis.

**Residential property was chosen as the reference category as it receives a high number of reports.

We found that reports in some practice area specialisations are more likely to be taken forward for investigation. For instance, specialisation in Personal injury and Immigration increases the likelihood of a report being taken forward for investigation by 54% and 64%, respectively. In contrast, specialisation in Family and Children practice areas decreases the likelihood of a report being taken forward for investigation by 51% and 72%, respectively. Several specialisations, e.g. Commercial and Probate, did not have statistically significant results.

The interaction between ethnicity and practice areas

To explore potential intersection of solicitor ethnicity and practice areas, we examined ethnicity effects for specialised firms and key firm specialisations as shown in Table 28.

Table 28: Interaction between ethnicity and main practice areas

Main practice area	Odds ratio	P-value significance	Relative likelihood of report taken forward	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
Property residential				
White	0.95	0.655	Not Significant	Black, Asian and minority ethnic
Black, Asian and minority ethnic	1.12	0.299	Not Significant	White
Personal injury				
White	0.68	<.01	32% less likely	Black, Asian and minority ethnic

Main practice area	Odds ratio	P-value significance	Relative likelihood of report taken forward	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
Black, Asian and minority ethnic	1.31	<.01	31% more likely	White
Criminal				
White	0.53	<.01	47% less likely	Black, Asian and minority ethnic
Black, Asian and minority ethnic	1.53	<.01	53% more likely	White
Immigration				
White	1.64	<.01	64% more likely	Black, Asian and minority ethnic
Black, Asian and minority ethnic	0.63	<.01	37% less likely	White
Litigation other				
White	0.62	<.01	38% less likely	Black, Asian and minority ethnic
Black, Asian and minority ethnic	1.49	<.01	49% more likely	White
Family				
White	0.58	<.01	42% less likely	Black, Asian and minority ethnic
Black, Asian and minority ethnic	1.49	<.05	49% more likely	White

The interaction effects show reports about White solicitors are less likely to be taken forward, while those about Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors are more likely to be taken forward for investigation, are consistent across all key firm specialisations, except Property residential, for which the results are not statistically significant and Immigration when the effect is reversed.

For example, within firms specialising in the practice area of Personal injury, reports about White solicitors are 32% less likely to be taken forward for investigation, while those about Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors are 31% more likely to be taken forward. Immigration specialisation is an exception in this respect, as ethnicity effects are reversed - reports about White solicitors are 64% more likely to be taken forward for investigation, while those about Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors are 37% less likely to be taken forward.

The number of in-house solicitors with reports taken forward for investigation is too low to analyse.

Case related factors affecting overrepresentation

Next, we investigated whether the source of report, or the category of report affects the likelihood that a report is taken forward for investigation.

Source of reports

The database included four types of complainants: Non-regulated Individuals; Non-regulated Organisations; Regulated Individuals; and Regulated Organisations. We also examined the

intersectional effects of type of complainant and solicitors' ethnicity. The results of these analyses are shown in Table 29.

Table 29: Case factors associated with the likelihood of reports being taken forward for investigation by the SRA - source of report

Source of report	Odds ratio	P-value significance	Relative likelihood of report taken forward	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
Regulated individuals	2.04	<.01	104% more likely	Not 'Regulated individuals'
Non-regulated individuals	0.29	<.01	71% less likely	Regulated individuals
Non-regulated Organisations	1.44	<.01	44% more likely	Regulated individuals
Regulated organisations	1.41	<.01	41% more likely	Regulated individuals

We conducted our analysis by using complainant type 'regulated individuals' as the reference category. We found that reports submitted by regulated individuals are 104% more likely to progress to investigation, in comparison to reports submitted by all other type of complainants. Our analysis shows that reports submitted by non-regulated individuals, the largest category of complainants (68% of all reports), are the least likely to be taken forward for investigation - 71% less likely to be taken forward for investigation, in comparison to reports by regulated individuals. Reports submitted by organisations, whether regulated or non-regulated, are more likely to be taken forward for investigation; those by non-regulated organisations are 44% more likely and those by regulated organisations are 41% more likely to be taken forward to investigation, in comparison to reports by regulated individuals.

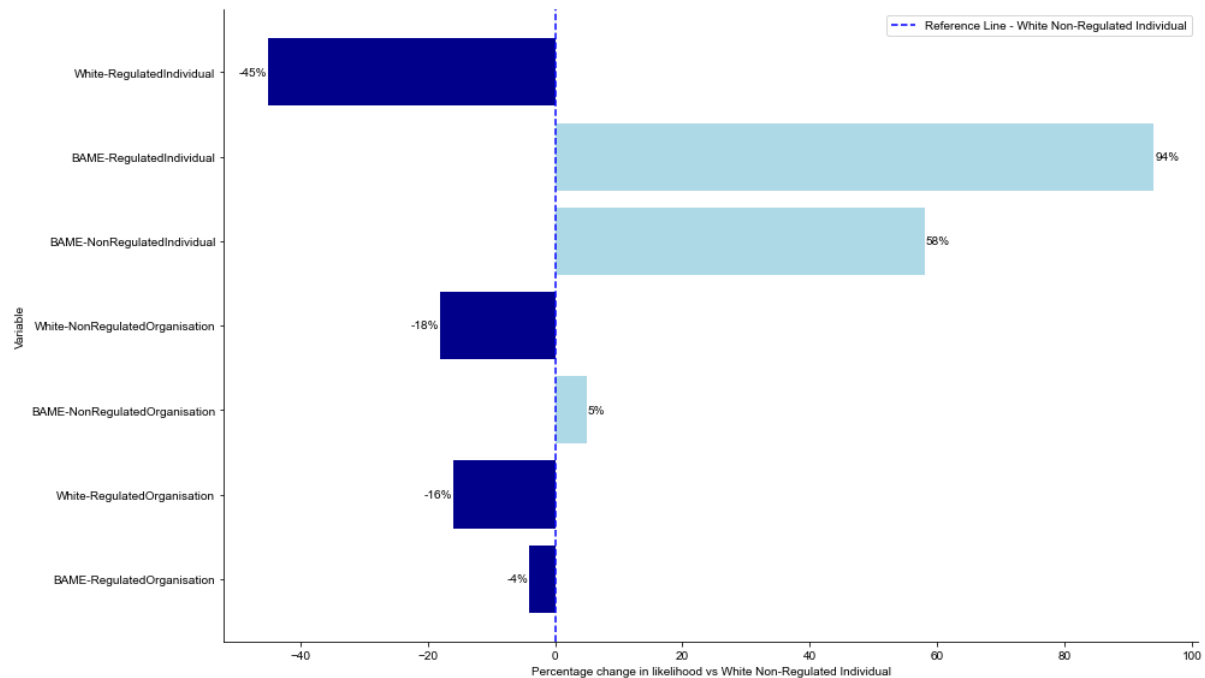
The interaction between ethnicity and source of report

To further examine the impact of complainant type on the likelihood that a report is taken forward for investigation, we looked at the intersection between this variable and solicitor ethnicity. The results of our analyses in Table 30 and Figure 13 show that reports about White solicitors are less likely to be taken forward for investigation, irrespective of the complainant type. In contrast, reports about Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors are more likely to be taken forward for investigation for reports submitted by both regulated and non-regulated individuals, 94% and 58% more likely, respectively. The findings illustrate a different relationship between ethnicity and the likelihood of reports being taken forward from reports which are received from individuals versus organisations. Reports about Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors received from individuals have a much higher likelihood of being taken forward for investigation than reports about the same groups received from organisations.

Table 30: The interaction between ethnicity and source of report

Complainant Type - Ethnicity Intersection	Odds-ratio	P-value significance	Relative likelihood of report taken forward	Comparison category (Ratio: 1.00)
Regulated Individuals				
White	0.55	<.01	45% less likely	Not 'White'
Black, Asian, and minority ethnic	1.94	<.01	94% more likely	Not 'Black, Asian, and minority ethnic'
Non-Regulated Individuals				
White	0.69	<.01	31% less likely	Not 'White'
Black, Asian, and minority ethnic	1.58	<.01	58% more likely	Not 'Black, Asian, and minority ethnic'
Non-Regulated Organisations				
White	0.82	<.01	18% less likely	Not 'White'
Black, Asian, and minority ethnic	1.05	0.484	5% more likely <i>(not significant)</i>	Not 'Black, Asian, and minority ethnic'
Regulated Organisations				
White	0.84	<.01	16% less likely	Not 'White'
Black, Asian, and minority ethnic	0.96	0.601	4% less likely <i>(not significant)</i>	Not 'Black, Asian, and minority ethnic'

Figure 13: The interaction between ethnicity and source of report



Category of report

Finally, we examined the impact of the category of the report (i.e., the nature of the potential misconduct) on the likelihood that a report is taken forward for investigation. The results of our analyses are shown in Table 31.

We created binary variables for each case categorisation. Case categorisation ‘maintaining trust and acting fairly’ is the largest in our sample and we used it as the reference category. Our results show that some case categorisations were more likely to be taken forward for investigation, e.g. ‘money laundering concerns’ – about 14 times (1395%) more likely and ‘sexual misconduct’ – about 20 times (2032%) more likely - in comparison to the reference category. However, ‘sexual misconduct’ is a very small case category, with only 104 reports. Among larger categories, ‘accounts rules concern’ and ‘concerns about fraudulent activity’ were 264% and 258% respectively, more likely to be taken forward for investigation. In contrast, some of the other case categorisations were less likely to be taken forward for investigation, e.g. ‘service and competence’ category is 46% and ‘bogus solicitors and/or law firm’ category is 45% less likely to be taken forward for investigation.

Table 31: Case factors associated with the likelihood of reports being taken forward for investigation by the SRA - category of report

Category of report	Odds ratio	P-value significance	Relative likelihood of report taken forward	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
Maintaining trust and acting fairly	0.63	<0.01	37% less likely	Not ‘maintaining trust and acting fairly’
Service and competence	0.54	<0.01	46% less likely	Maintaining trust and acting fairly
Conflict, confidentiality and disclosure	1.35	<0.05	35% more likely	Maintaining trust and acting fairly
Concerns about fraudulent activity	3.58	<0.01	258% more likely	Maintaining trust and acting fairly
Accounts Rules concerns	3.64	<0.01	264% more likely	Maintaining trust and acting fairly
Money laundering concerns	14.95	<0.01	1395% more likely	Maintaining trust and acting fairly
Practising and employment arrangements	2.13	<0.01	113% more likely	Maintaining trust and acting fairly
Proceedings before court	0.99	0.95	Not Significant	Maintaining trust and acting fairly
Equality and Diversity	1.03	0.78	Not Significant	Maintaining trust and acting fairly
Financial dishonesty	2.67	<0.01	167% more likely	Maintaining trust and acting fairly
Client information and publicity	1.76	<0.01	76% more likely	Maintaining trust and acting fairly
Co-operation and notification	4.13	<0.01	313% more likely	Maintaining trust and acting fairly
Bogus solicitors and/or law firm	0.55	<0.01	45% less likely	Maintaining trust and acting fairly
Financial Stability	1.65	<0.01	65% more likely	Maintaining trust and acting fairly

Category of report	Odds ratio	P-value significance	Relative likelihood of report taken forward	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
Firm / practice management	4.51	<0.01	351% more likely	Maintaining trust and acting fairly
Provision of service	0.67	<0.05	33% less likely	Maintaining trust and acting fairly
Criminal justice process	3.61	<0.01	261% more likely	Maintaining trust and acting fairly
Sexual misconduct	21.32	<0.01	2032% more likely	Maintaining trust and acting fairly

The interaction between ethnicity and category of report

To explore potential intersection of report's case categorisation and solicitor ethnicity, we examined ethnicity effects for key case categorisations. As shown in Table 32, ethnicity effects vary across case categorisations, though in most case categories reports about White solicitors are less likely to be taken forward for investigation, whereas those about Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors are more likely to be taken forward for investigation. In a few case categorisations the differences across ethnicities are statistically not significant.

For example, for the largest case categorisation, 'maintaining trust and acting fairly', reports about White solicitors are 37% less likely to be taken forward for investigation, while those about Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors are 34% more likely to be taken forward. Similarly, for case categorisation 'concerns about fraudulent activity', reports about White solicitors are 27% less likely to be taken forward for investigation, while those about Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors are 41% more likely to be taken forward. However, in some case categorisations, for example, 'service and competence', 'conflict, confidentiality and disclosure' and 'money laundering concerns' ethnicity effects are not statistically significant.

Table 32: The interaction between ethnicity and category of report

Category of report	Odds ratio	P-value significance	Relative likelihood of report taken forward	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
Maintaining trust and acting fairly				
White	0.63	<.01	37% less likely	Black, Asian and minority ethnic
Black, Asian and minority ethnic	1.34	<.01	34% more likely	White
Service and competence				
White	0.97	0.75	Not significant	Black, Asian and minority ethnic
Black, Asian and minority ethnic	0.91	0.46	Not significant	White
Conflict, confidentiality and disclosure				
White	0.85	0.21	Not significant	Black, Asian and minority ethnic

Category of report	Odds ratio	P-value significance	Relative likelihood of report taken forward	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
Black, Asian and minority ethnic	1.29	0.11	Not significant	White
Concerns about fraudulent activity				
White	0.73	<.05	27% less likely	Black, Asian and minority ethnic
Black, Asian and minority ethnic	1.41	<.05	41% more likely	White
Accounts Rules concerns				
White	0.66	<.05	34% less likely	Black, Asian and minority ethnic
Black, Asian and minority ethnic	1.42	0.097	Not significant	White
Money laundering concerns				
White	1.50	0.089	Not significant	Black, Asian and minority ethnic
Black, Asian and minority ethnic	0.61	0.061	Not significant	White'

The interaction between firm size and category of report

To explore potential intersection of categorisation of report and firm size, we examined firm size effects – one partner firm versus other firms (i.e. partner count > 1) - for key case categorisations. As shown in Table 33, one partner firm size effects are consistent across most report categorisations, except in few cases where the results are statistically not significant, such as conflict and 'confidentiality and disclosure'.

For example, for the largest case categorisation, 'maintaining trust and acting fairly', reports about one partner firms are 47% more likely to be taken forward for investigation, while those about other firms (partner count > 1) are 36% less likely to be taken forward. Similarly, for case categorisation 'money laundering concerns', reports about one partner firms are 176% more likely to be taken forward for investigation, while those about other firms (partner count > 1) are 64% less likely to be taken forward. Overall, firm size effects within most key case categorisations are consistent: reports about one partner firms are more likely to be taken forward for investigation, while those about other types of firms (i.e. those with partner count > 1) are less likely to taken forward for investigation.

Table 33: The interaction between firm size and category of report

	Odds ratio	P-value significance	Relative likelihood of report taken forward	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
Maintaining trust and acting fairly				
One-partner firm	1.47	<0.01	47% more likely	Other firms (partner count > 1)
Other firms (partner count > 1)	0.74	<0.01	36% less likely	One-partner firm
Service and				

	Odds ratio	P-value significance	Relative likelihood of report taken forward	Reference category (Ratio: 1.00)
competence				
One-partner firm	1.97	<0.01	97% more likely	Other firms (partner count > 1)
Other firms (partner count > 1)	0.53	<0.01	47% less likely	One-partner firm
Conflict, confidentiality and disclosure				
One-partner firm	0.98	0.949	Not Significant	Other firms (partner count > 1)
Other firms (partner count > 1)	1.07	0.688	Not Significant	One-partner firm
Concerns about fraudulent activity				
One-partner firm	1.18	0.314	Not Significant	Other firms (partner count > 1)
Other firms (partner count > 1)	0.76	0.139	Not Significant	One-partner firm
Accounts Rules concerns				
One-partner firm	2.51	<0.01	151% more likely	Other firms (partner count > 1)
Other firms (partner count > 1)	0.46	<0.01	54% less likely	One-partner firm
Money laundering concerns				
One-partner firm	2.76	<0.01	176% more likely	Other firms (partner count > 1)
Other firms (partner count > 1)	0.36	<0.01	64% less likely	One-partner firm

Summary of analysis of reports taken forward

Our analysis indicates that ethnicity is an important factor associated with an increased likelihood of reports being taken forward for investigation. In addition to ethnicity, we have also identified several other factors which are associated with an increased likelihood of reports being taken forward for investigation.

With reference to the reports taken forward for investigation by the SRA, several main conclusions can be drawn.

- Ethnicity - We found that reports received about Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors are 52% more likely to be taken forward for investigation, in comparison to reports about White solicitors. In contrast, reports received about White solicitors are

35% less likely to be taken forward for investigation, in comparison to all other reports.

- Interaction with gender - the Ethnicity-Gender intersectional analysis revealed various interesting, though complex, interaction effects. Across all groups, reports about male solicitors are approximately 50-60% more likely to be investigated than reports about female solicitors of the same ethnicity. This compounds with the effect of ethnicity shown above to give a large difference in investigation rates between certain groups when comparing White female solicitors to male Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors - a 128% increased likelihood for reports to be taken forward for investigation. Studying the interactions in more detail shows some interesting comparisons. Reports about White male solicitors are 44% more likely to be investigated than reports about White female solicitors. However, reports about Asian male solicitors are 74% more likely to be investigated than those about Asian female solicitors, showing a compounding interaction between gender and ethnicity for these groups. There is a similar effect amongst Black solicitors with reports about males 66% more likely to be investigated than those about female solicitors.
- Size of firm - our analysis of the effect of firm size at first indicated a similar result to our analysis of reports received and prior research commissioned by the SRA. We found that reports received about solicitors practising in very small firms are more likely to be taken forward for investigation (66% more likely to be taken forward for investigation, in comparison to all other firms). However, the likelihood of a report being taken forward broadly decreases as the size of firm increases. For example, reports received about solicitors practising in medium size firms (6-10 partners) and large firms (> 10 partners) are 49% and 38% less likely to be taken forward for investigation, respectively, in comparison to one partner firms.
- Interaction with size of firm - a closer look at Ethnicity-Firm size intersection showed intriguing results. We found that reports received about Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors are 91% and 76% more likely to be taken forward for investigation in one partner and small firms (2-5 partners), respectively. The effect is also strong for White solicitors in one partner firms (reports are 71% more likely to be taken forward for investigation). However, when looking at White solicitors in other firm sizes this effect decreases in likelihood of reports being taken forward for investigation. For example, reports about White solicitors in medium sized firms (6-10 partners) are 35% less likely to be taken forward to investigation. Overall, the effect of working at a one partner firm appears to be strong for reports taken forward for investigation across all ethnic groups, but the effect of working at a larger organisation appears to differ between different ethnic groups.
- Source of report - with respect to complainant type, we found that reports made by non-regulated individuals, the largest category of complainants (68% of all reports), are the least likely to be taken forward for investigation.
- Interaction with source of report - when considering the Ethnicity-Complainant type intersectional analysis, we found that reports about Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors received from individuals have a much higher likelihood of being taken forward for investigation than reports about the same groups received from organisations. In contrast, reports about White solicitors are not more likely to be

taken forward for investigation for any of the four types of complainants. This indicates that the source of the report may have an influence on whether a report is likely to be taken forward and an impact on the observed overrepresentation.

- Category of report - with respect to case categorisation, we found that most case categorisations were more likely to be taken forward for investigation, in comparison to the reference category ('maintaining trust and acting fairly'). Some categories, such as, 'sexual misconduct' and 'money laundering concerns' are highly likely to be taken forward for investigation.
- Interaction with category of report - we found that ethnicity effects within case categories varies. For the largest case category - 'maintaining trust and acting fairly' - reports about White solicitors are less likely to be taken forward for investigation, whereas those about Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors are more likely to be taken forward for investigation. However, in several case categorisations, for example, 'service and competence' and 'money laundering concerns', ethnicity effects are not statistically significant.

6. Part III - Overall summary and conclusions from analysis of reports received and taken forward

In this report, we illustrated and discussed the results of the quantitative analyses we performed on the datasets provided by the SRA. These analyses were conducted to assess the extent to which there is an overrepresentation of Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors in the reports received by the SRA and in those subsequently taken forward for investigation by the SRA and to identify the factors associated with this overrepresentation.

Our results confirmed that Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors correlate with an increased likelihood in both the reports received by the SRA and in the reports the SRA takes forward for investigation. However, it is important to note that this correlation does not, necessarily, imply causation. Whilst we have observed there are statistically significant differences in a number of factors which may interact with ethnicity, we cannot say whether ethnicity is the driving force behind this difference or not.

At the individual level, ethnicity appears to be associated with both the increased likelihood of being named in a report received by the SRA and the increased likelihood of it being taken forward for investigation.

However, we find that other individual factors are also significant.

Gender, for example, is a relevant factor in explaining both the likelihood of being named in a report received by the SRA and the likelihood that a report is taken forward for investigation.

Age also affects the likelihood of being named in a report received by the SRA and of a report being taken forward for investigation, although to a lesser extent.

Entry route to the profession can have a different effect on the likelihood of receiving a report than the case for the likelihood of that report being taken forward for investigation.

At the organisational level, our results show that the size of the firm, solicitors work in, also matters. In particular, working in a one partner firm appears to be an important factor in both the increased likelihood of reports being received by the SRA and on the likelihood of reports taken forward for investigation. Although the impact of firm size is not even across ethnicities.

Working in a specialist versus a generalist firm also matters. Solicitors who work in specialist firms are less likely to be named in reports received by the SRA than solicitors who work in generalist firms. However, for reports being taken forward for investigation, the opposite effect is true. At the case-level, the type of complainant submitting the report seems to be an important factor as well. Reports submitted by regulated individuals have a more than double likelihood of being taken forward for investigation.

Case categorisation (i.e., the nature of the potential misconduct being reported) also appears to have a sizeable impact on the likelihood of a report being taken forward for investigation. Some case categorisations were more likely to be taken forward for investigation, e.g. 'money laundering concerns' – 14 times more likely – and 'sexual misconduct' – 20 times more likely, in comparison to the reference category.

It appears that solicitors from a Black, Asian and minority ethnic background are more likely to be reported for some case categorisations (such as 'concerns about fraudulent activity') which as categories are then more likely to be investigated. Further, reports about Black,

Asian and minority ethnic background solicitors are more likely to be investigated for the largest case categories, such as, 'maintaining trust and acting fairly'.

We have seen a number of other factors, in addition to ethnicity, which appear to be relevant in changing the likelihood of reports being received by the SRA and on the likelihood of reports taken forward for investigation.

While there are some areas of similarity emerging between findings within the two different stages, we also find some differences. This indicates an underlying complexity because the same variables in some scenarios appear to have different effects at different stages of the process.

The findings indicate a complex picture with a raft of contributing factors to the overrepresentation of Black, Asian and minority ethnic groups in both the reports received, and the reports taken forward for investigation by the SRA.

The findings also indicate that these factors may interact with ethnicity (and potentially with each other) in ways which are neither linear nor necessarily predictable. Some factors have a compounding interaction with ethnicity (where the overrepresentation presents as more acute), and some factors have a mitigating interaction (where the overrepresentation presents as less acute).

As such, individual factors such as ethnicity or gender should not be viewed in isolation, or as being independent from each other. This is because in addition to ethnicity, a number of other factors also appear to have strong effects on the likelihood of the SRA receiving a report, and then taking it forward for investigation.

To conclude, our quantitative analyses shows that a number of factors, above and beyond ethnicity, have to be taken into consideration when examining the reasons behind the overrepresentation of Black, Asian and minority ethnic solicitors in the reports received and then investigated by the SRA. We further investigated the impact of these factors using other research methods, such as interviews with solicitors and SRA employees.